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Who's on first

Teacher professionalism in the wake of the förstelärare-reform

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Abstract

Aim: The aim of this thesis is to straighten out the question mark of the ambition of professionalism which is present in the first teacher reform's background work. But the concept of professionalization is not without controversy, over time a new definition of professionalism has come into use, the so called organisational professionalism could influence the notion of professionalism in the background work and also in the whole reforms implementation. With that in mind the research question is set as:

With the reforms outspoken ambition to further teacher professionalism in mind, what underpinnings of professionalism are present in the reform and is it of occupational or organizational nature?

Theory: Critical discourse analysis provides the theory to study the reform and how it is developed. A theoretical frame based on profession theory, taken into account such concepts as division of labour, boundary work, teacher reconstruction, organizational professionalism and occupational professionalism, is used as reference in constituting the social practice.

Method: Critical discourse analysis also provides the method to study the reform and how it is developed. The reforms intention is analysed primarily through its two major texts The Memorandum and The Proposition. How the reform is constituted in the practice is analysed through interviewing three head teachers at different schools in three Swedish municipalities.

Results: When comparing what discourse the text establishes and the outcome in the practice we find that it is fairly consistent in pointing out an ambition to administer an organizational professionalism as the professionalism of choice in pursuing the objective to increase teacher professionalism. There are traces of occupational professionalism, but they are all present in the practice and as part of specific school activities of differencing magnitude decided by the school themselves. Throughout the analysed texts underpinnings indicate the markers of organizational professionalism as well as there is boundary works preventing the teachers to evolve into occupational professionalism. Division of labour is mostly focused on bureaucratic and to some extent free competition as well as, in line with the comment above, some traces of occupational in the practice.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

At present many deem the Swedish school system to be in a crisis. A crisis is by definition sudden in its appearance, serious and could bring fatal consequences and such is not the situation in the Swedish school as a gradual process of lowered quality, compared to other nations' school systems would be a better description. But is the Swedish school a bad one and are Swedish pupils less knowledgeable than they were 10-50 years ago? Media and the political debate seem to think so at least (Åman, 2011).

Crisis or no crisis, the department of education has been launching a number of reforms in an ambition to change and improve the quality of the school system. The most recent of these reforms are summed up by the minister of education in a speech. The reforms include new teacher education programmes, licensing teachers and lastly mentioned - higher salaries for teachers (Björklund, 2013b). The last reform should be interpreted as the career appointment [karriärvägar] reform if other statements of the minister are investigated (Björklund, 2013a; "13 000 fler karriärtjänster", 2013).

The new reform on career appointments and its most distinct component, the first teacher [förstelärare], have two set up ambitions as presented in its background work - The Memorandum [Promemoria] (Regeringskansliet, 2012). The two objectives are, making the teacher vocation more attractive and increasing teacher professionalism. How these ambitions are to be achieved is not properly explained in The Memorandum. What constitutes attractive is only hinted at and probably hidden away in the text and professionalism is merely sketched from a supranational point, all in all presenting the reform with a large question mark.

Aim

That professionalism is one of the outspoken objectives of the reform opens up the possibility to investigate that aspect. As professionalization is well investigated, it provides an interesting point of departure for an investigation and as increased professionalism also would make the teaching vocation more attractive due to its increased social prestige (Broman, 1995) it could give indications in that directions as well.

But even if professionalism "is perceived to be a way of improving the occupational status" (Evetts, 2005, p. 8), such is not always the case. Professionalism and professionalization are open to contrasting interpretations which in turn opens different ambitions depending on what intention and meaning an agent has with the ambition of developing professionalism. Evetts (2005) uses two categorisations when differencing the ambitions of professionalization. It can either be set *from within* – developing their own occupational and practitioner interest, or *from above* – developing "a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct" enabling "control by the organizational managers and supervisors" (Ibid., p. 8). These two ways of identifying professionalism is named *occupational professionalism* and *organizational professionalism* and stand opposing each other on whose interest is being promoted (Ibid.). This makes it interesting to investigate which discourse of professionalism is present in the first teacher reform signalling who is to benefit from it, as occupational professionalism is deemed beneficial for the vocation (Freidson 2001) while organizational professionalism is not (Evetts, 2005). With that in mind the research question is set as:

With the reforms outspoken ambition to further teacher professionalism in mind, what underpinnings of professionalism are present in the reform and is it of occupational or organizational nature as devised by Evetts (2005)?

Background

The development of the career appointment reform

The roots of the career appointment reform can be found from a governmental decision in 2006. The result was presented in an investigation set to construct a system for teacher authorisation and in its conclusion it also presented ideas on two career appointments for teachers. The two presented career appointments, particularly qualified teacher [Särskilt kvalificerad lärare] and secondary school lecturer [Gymnasielektor], were suggested to be protected professional titles and appointment were to be handled by the Swedish national agency for education [Skolverket] (SOU 2008:52).

Later in the budget proposition for 2012 a statement about a career development reform is announced. Its purpose is to reward the best teachers and that there shall be career appointments for skilful teachers in accordance to specified requirements. All decision in regard to this reform is to be made by the school owners after consulting the unions. How this reform is to be constructed is to be decided by the state and the employer organization of the municipalities - Sveriges kommuner och landsting (Utbildningsutskottet, 2011).

This proposition was followed up by the then head of one the teacher unions, Metta Fjelkner (2011) of Lärarnas riksförbund. She suggested that teacher career appointments could increase teacher status and be helpful to keep teachers in the occupation. It could also be used as a motivator to attract good students to the teacher education programmes. Both are seen as important factors to increase the ability of the Swedish school system to live up to its objectives. The suggested system calls for a firmer control by the government and can be applied to the present school system. Teachers should by the system be differenced into four stages of career, newly examined teacher, licensed teacher[1], first teacher and lecturer [lektor]. The proposition mainly puts forward suggestions of increased salaries which the system would permit, an added 10 000 SEK[2] a month for the licensed teacher, a newly examined teacher would earn 90%, a first teacher 125% and a lecturer 150% of a licensed teacher's monthly pay. Not much emphasis is put on expected career tasks. The hefty pay raise is augmented to compensate for the fact that teachers have not had the same raise in salaries as other similar groups[3].

Later that year, the department of education begins work on a memorandum to enable possible career appointments for teachers and increase the number of lectors within the Swedish school system. The finished report and suggestion is presented on September 24th 2012 as a joint venture between departments of education, finance and labour (Regeringskansliet, 2012) and the report is finalised with conclusions and suggestions. Concluding suggestions follow the budget proposition (Utbildningsutskottet, 2011, p. 40) and to some extent Fjelkner's (2011) propositions quite closely. The school owners [skolhuvudman] shall have the possibility to employ two types of career appointments - the first teacher and the lecturer, and a governmental grant should be used as an incitement. The report determines that even if the demands on the teachers have increased due to the introduction of the license (Regeringskansliet, 2012), the licensed teacher is not invested as a career appointment nor are any suggestions of an associated increase in salary suggested to licensed teachers.

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[1] The reform to make a teacher's license more or less compulsory for teaching teachers has been in the making since 2006 (SOU 2008:52; SFS 2010:800).

[2] If this would have been introduced in 2012, it would represent an increase in salary of 38% giving a monthly mean salary of 36 500SEK for a licensed teacher (SCB).

[3] The mean salary of a teacher in the compulsory school was 26 500SEK monthly in 2012. Comparing to all salaries in Sweden which gives 29 800SEK and to employees with 3 years or more higher education (in which teachers are included) males had 40 900SEK and females had 32 000SEK (SCB)

21st of February 2013 the government approves a regulation [förordning] (SFS2013:70), which in effect introduces the possibility for school owners to apply for a state grant supporting career appointments for teachers. The grant is set to raise the teachers pay with 5000SEK a month to first teachers and 10 000SEK a month to lecturers. Included in the regulation are the requirements set on the teachers in order to make it possible for the school owner to apply for the state grant. The requirements for a first teacher are set as:

1. Have a teacher's license [lärarlegitimation] in accordance with the education act [skollag].
2. Documented proof of four years acknowledged good work from one or more employments within the school system.
3. Shown particularly good ability in enhancing student results and strong interest in development of practice.
4. Other items towards education or tasks associated to education, deemed by school owner as qualifying.

(SFS 2013:70, 3§)

Other demands are that the teacher employed as a first teacher should primarily be working with education and tasks connected to education (Ibid., 6§) and be employed in a pre-school-class [förskoleklass], a compulsory school or a secondary school (SFS 2013:70, 9§).

The demands to appoint a lecturer are similar, but with the necessity to have a researcher exam, licentiate or higher, added (Ibid.).

On the 23rd of February 2013 the government propose a change in the education act to facilitate the new way to handle teacher career appointments as set out in the associated state grant. This is done by including a policy provision [målsättningsstadgande] and an information provision [upplysningsbestämmelse] in the Swedish educational act. In effect this opens up the education act to permit the appointment of first teachers and lecturers in accordance to regulation 2013:70. No regulation of the career appointments is included in the education act as it is the government's intention not to force any ambition or action on the school owners. School owners are free to introduce career appointments by their own free will, either by their own judgment and needs or in accordance with regulation 2013:70. The latter being strongly suggested[4], but not made compulsory, as well as informed about in the education act. The new regulation is effective as of 1st of July 2013 (Prop. 2012/13:136).

Receiver's end

The minister of education has presented the first teacher reform as a means to increase the teachers' salaries (Björklund, 2013a; "13 000 fler karriärtjänster", 2013), but how do other actors on the education scene present the purpose of the first teacher reform. A quick generalized look shows the following. Both the former (Fjelkner, 2011) and the present head of the teachers' union Lärarnas Riksförbund (2014) points out its usability to increase teacher salaries, moving along the same road as the minister of education. The other teachers' union, Lärarförbundet (2013), on the other hand puts emphasis on the ability to formulate professional issues and evolve teacher professionalization. The employer organization of the municipalities, SKL - Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting's (2013), main focus is an increased differentiation in work tasks and wages for teachers. Another ambition is to reward the best teachers who can then influence improvements in the school. The organizer of the private schools' [friskolor] school owners, Friskolornas Riksförbund (2014), has yet to evaluate and express their ambitions. They do however put forward a statement from an official of The

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[4] The modal verb should [bör] is used.

Swedish National Agency for Education, pinpointing the competitive advantages of having first teachers.

These actors in the education area see the first teacher reform as different means to create something that lies within their point of interest. Some of these ambitions and ways of accomplishments are possible to achieve without imposing on others, but there are possible conflicts. Whose ambition takes precedence over the others and could it also be possible that other agendas are present?

Theoretical framework

An important aspect of the reform is to evolve the professionalism of the teachers (Prop. 2011/12:1; Regeringskansliet, 2012). As professionalism also is linked to division of labour the combination of these is part of understanding the reform. But professionalism today is a contested word with different meanings and applications (Fournier, 1999).

By looking at different concepts of division of labour and professionalism, a frame is created upon which we can compare where the different ideas in the first teacher reform are situated. This frame is thus representing the social practice and is to be used in the critical discourse analysis to see how the analysed texts were shaped.

Division of labour

The phrase division of labour has often been used interchangeably with specialization. But one definition is "the concept of the division of labour to represent the relations between workers performing different interconnected specializations," where specialization "both presupposes a more general set of activities from which it is sought to derive or which it is designed to replace, and at least one other specialized activity that arises in the course of the division or differentiation of a more general set" (Freidson, 2001, p. 36-38). Division of labour can be structured around three types of ideal-typical ways, free competition, bureaucracy and occupation. These three ways give ideas on how to organize labour in accordance with its theoretical base.

Division of labour in free competition

In this structure all workers can compete on equal terms to perform any kind of work since all are ruled by individual decision and no organized constraint. Workers and employers both act to gain the most advantageous situation available and those that are not up to the task are forced to change strategy. Most jobs' existence will be fleeting as the task needed will change according to market needs. The fleeting characteristic of jobs will mean that few of them will rely on extensive experience or training but rather of their ability to adapt and perform in accordance of needs.

Careers will have the characteristics of diverse and temporary positions based on competitive wage rates as the sole factor on who gets the job and upward mobility might well be the cause of random accident (Ibid.).

Division of labour in the bureaucratic

The bureaucratic milieu is hierarchical in its structure. Work is set up according to a plan on what tasks to do, who shall do it and who shall exercise direction. The hierarchical authority is set to dictate what specialized tasks are needed and this is usually done through a rational plan or specification that has been analysed.

Careers are seen as an expected part of the bureaucratic. The hierarchical organisation sets up the ability to enter and move upwards in the organisation, thus acquiring higher status

and pay. But the organisation is often segmented and movement between the segments is harder than rising within the segment (Ibid.).

Division of labour in the occupational

The workers themselves set out and manage the tasks to perform in effect negotiating specialization. But this is not to be seen as a working class controlled organisation. The members of this occupation decide what qualifications must be met to enter into the occupation and how the qualifications are constituted if a license is needed to demonstrate those qualifying feats. To be able to do so, some kind of power must be present to facilitate such privilege. That power is usually being knowledge. Another way to get jurisdiction is to get it established by the state on the same premises.

The occupational career is most often of the horizontal type and is based on expertise instead of bureaucratic authority. Two ways of vertical movement are usual. The first is having experience deemed suitable to supervise less senior workers by credit of expertise. The other is to leave the occupation and move into a staff position to gain authority and executive positions, but that would mean leaving the true craft of the occupation (Ibid.).

Professionalism

"Professions are occupations that claim to join theory and practice" (Broman, 1995, p. 836) and has also been an object of study since the middle of the last century. This effort was in many ways pioneered by Talcott Parsons. Through the years an effort to distinguish professional groups from other occupational groups has resulted in a set of criteria. An example of such criteria is presented in the following list, adapted from Charles E. McClelland's work.

1. specialized and advanced education
2. a code of conduct or ethics
3. competency tests leading to licensing
4. high social prestige in comparison to manual labour
5. monopolization of the market in services, and
6. considerable autonomy in conduct of professional affairs

(Broman, 1995, p. 835).

This list sets professionalism closely to the concept of occupation presented by Freidson (2001) who states that much of what is specified as the occupational organisation can be connected to professionalism as well. Evetts (2006) points out that it is no longer important to distinguish between occupation and profession, since they share common characteristics. But the word professional and its relational words have a problematic flaw. Today the word professional and the words connected to it have been given a more widened meaning and are used in a variety of situations (Fournier, 1999).

Another result of the dispersed usage of the word professionalism has had the effect of it being transferred into a different form of professionalism, which is set as organizational professionalism (Evetts, 2005) which takes its root in professional conduct (Fournier, 1999). This has moved professionalism from a defining aspect with focus on its performers to an approach used for social and political effects being part of a disciplining system (Foss & Lindblad, 2008).

Professional conduct

As the word professional has evolved to constitute a wider meaning, the word professional could now be applicable to any occupation - due to the casual generalization of the word professionalism. Now the word's main purpose is to give away some sort of quality marker and is thus transformed into a label. This transformation of professionalism introduces a new way to use the label profession in situations usually connected to non-professional labour, with a purpose of effectively creating a new form of professionals. The good status of professionalism and its connection to autonomy is transformed into a disciplinary mechanism in said non professional labours. In this system an employee is given autonomy and control to achieve the labour set out to be done and is then controlled by an appropriate conduct. This conduct tells the employee what is expected to uphold the given position in the vocation-profession. This would mean that the one controlling the labour force only needs to monitor if what's coming out from the employee, lives up to the prescribed conduct. This makes for an easy control tool for management, without the need to control how work is done, but merely the outcome (Fournier, 1999).

Organizational professionalism

The concept of professionalism is getting a wider meaning, most often attributed to "privileged, high status, high income occupational groups" (Evetts, 2005, p. 2). Since more people have access to higher education and the expansion of knowledge-based work, new management methods have evolved to control knowledge-work, as well as service work. One use is to explain and justify means to improve professionalism in work, shifting it away from its original meaning – a generic category of occupational work and the process to develop and maintain closure of the occupational group. The discourse of professionalism has now turned into an instrument of "occupational change and social control at macro, meso and micro levels and in a wide range of occupations in very different work, organisational and employment relations, contexts and conditions" (Ibid., p. 3). Three interpretations of professionalism can be recognised:

- As an occupational value
- As an ideology; professionalization as market closure
- As a discourse of occupational change and managerial control

(Ibid., p. 4)

Due to this new recognition we can divide professionalism into two categories or discourses, the organizational professionalism and the occupational professionalism. (For a schematic presentation of the dissimilarities between them as set out by Evetts (2005), see appendix 1).

The type of organizational professionalism is often found in educational institutions, were it takes the form of a self-controlling construction which does not require close managerial control. It creates an myth/ideology of professionalism, as it signals expertise, autonomy and discretion, but is in fact governed by "bureaucratic, hierarchical and managerial control rather than collegial relations; managerial and organizational objectives rather than client trust based on competences; budgetary restrictions and financial realizations; the standard of work rather than discretion; and performance targets, accountability and sometimes increased political controls" (Ibid., p. 11).

For the individual the self expectations on how to accomplish the mission will become the supreme task as the professional is expected to make every personal effort to do so even if not materially possible (Ibid.).

Boundary work

Boundary work can be used to define what something is to include or exclude what it is not. It can be seen as a struggle between different actors, with different ambitions, in a contest to control the processes that constitute the boundaries. In that way it can be used to include and exclude potential actors from some kind of autonomy and control over specific knowledge. For teachers boundary work can be illustrated as "different actors struggle over the meanings and values of what it means to teach and be a teacher" (Foss & Lindblad, 2008, p. 1). This control is of obvious interest for the teachers themselves, as well as for politicians and other stakeholders who whish to have their say in the policies of teaching and schools. In the world of professions, the inclusion of teachers into that group would mean that they need to establish an authority based on their expertise of being educators (Ibid.).

Reconstruction of the teacher vocation

In some ways there is a transformation going on in the teaching vocation as new objectives of the schools are set to lessen the importance of the role as the maintainer of a social system. Instead there is a movement towards the school being a productive unit producing knowledge which can be used in an increased competitive international society (Sohlberg et al, 2010). This way of restructuring the educational system influences the way in which teachers should act and "is an essential constituting part of making new categories of teachers who are able to fit into new preconditions of work" (Foss & Lindblad, 2008, p. 10). At the same time reports on lessening status and authority for teachers in combination with these new challenges as education moves from "latent functions depicted by social scientist to manifest ones intended by policy makers" (Sohlberg et al, 2010, p. 46) must be taken care of. Thus teachers are to be directed by a focus on education performances, where evaluations or outcomes play an increasingly major part on how a teacher is valued (Foss& Lindblad, 2008). The concept of the client is always right is thus true in more than one case, but the introduction of such a sovereign client can only be done through the expense of the teacher (Fournier, 1999).

Part of this reconstructing is the adaptation to a market induced system where teachers are being forced to adapt to new requirements of new-market identity where "jobs like teacher […] are no longer even formally democratic and comprehensive, but concern instead the application of market disclosure to a local situation no matter what the consequences" (Beach, 2010, p. 37). This new market adaptation uses the neo-liberalism notion to negate state expenditure and allow for rewards through competition. This is done by opening up the possibility to position monetary rewards were it is needed and desired, making money incitements an attractive tool to regulate and reconstruct the market towards preconceived interests with the need to only pay up where it is needed (Beach, 2010).

The instigator of change

Development and change goes hand in hand. But to induce change, knowledge on how to do so must be present - often achieved through expertise and experience. Teachers with these qualities who are also able to "open themselves up to the process of inquiry into their own practice" (Lieberman & Pointer Mace, 2009, p. 469) are suitable as instigators of such change. It is important to point out that the insight on how to change is not something that comes automatically with experience. It is something that needs to evolve through different steps. The first step is to look at ones own practice. In the process of articulating what happens, you investigate the layers of you practice (Ibid.). Voicing these investigations to colleagues starts processes which can help bridging the translation of schools' goals into the practice. This will involve the other teachers in the school development; making them part of

it. If such role as instigator of change is given officially it can also put leadership close to the practice and in relationship with its actors. This establishes a collaborative culture through the instigator of change's mediating role through presence in both the decision organisation and the practice organisation (Mujis & Harris, 2003).

If officially organised these instigators of change are often referred to as change agents or teacher leaders. Change agents are usually teachers who combine their development role, which is a relatively minor part of their working tasks, with ordinary teacher tasks. But the outspoken expectation on the change agent is to act as a supervisor in informing fellow teachers (Blossing, 2013). A change agent might adopt different roles. This in itself is not a problem as long as the change agents' role is outspoken, defined, and also in some cases open to development, and known to all (Blossing, 2012). The process to change and develop must still involve all participants of the school. By referencing their own experiences, their insight will prove valuable knowledge and experience which will be added to an ever growing common knowledge. When such an arena is opened up, other processes are enabled and will ultimately lead to discoveries of other items to be developed in collaboration within the school (Lieberman & Pointer Mace, 2009).

The following is seen as important, in defining and developing the change agent.

- Decide the purpose of the change agents
- Give the change agents a fundamental education
- Give them a clear position, in relation to the purpose
- Communicate the purpose and give mandate
- Organise the change agents continuous learning
- Evaluate and control the present situation

(Blossing, 2012, p. 56)

Change agents or other types of teacher leaders are still teachers by name and could thus be seen as on equal level with other teachers, who could take offence from being seen as of lesser value than the teacher leaders. That notion could create us and them identifications, which in turn could result in the other teachers resisting the teacher leaders' instructions or attempts on that basis (Mujis & Harris, 2003). To act towards change can be a struggle. Descriptions of change agent battling with fellow teachers, feeling like they are always on the starting spot might be discouraging. But the opposite is also true where change agents easily inspire their colleagues with new and interesting input (Blossing, 2012).

Another aspect is that a resistance to change can be created if the teachers feel they are subject to a top bottom management structure. This can be countered by implementing a shared decision-making type of leadership (Mujis & Harris, 2003). Teachers are also sometimes regarded as stubborn and not apt to implement change. To overcome this care must be taken to either make the move towards change when a school is "in the mood" for change or arrange for change by initial preparations (Levinson, 2011).

Collaboration can also lead to unperceived problems. When teachers are discussing their practice, be it problems, ideas and how they are invested, teachers open up to scrutiny from fellow teachers that can have adverse effects. Both encouragement and corrections are part of what shapes an individual and corrections both direct and indirect can stigmatize a teacher. In these processes power positions are created and confirmed by this type of collaboration. Usage and utilization of such power positions, unconsciously or not, may have a great impact on the teacher and might cause trouble and frustration (Langelotz, 2013). The ability to have awareness, knowledge and ability to react to the expected good and bad effects which might be the result of the action taken by a school developer, gives a strong notion on the high demands on a person set to act in such a role. External experts set to guide and assess the

actions and processes made in the cause of change might prove an invaluable asset in a school's ambition to develop (Levinson, 2011).

To implement and develop change agents into a school structure is "complex and dependent on the strategic work to create a structure for and communicate the purpose of the change agents, [---] [as well as] a cooperative culture [---] with a structural and strategic perspective" (Blossing, 2013, p. 168). It is important to set the scene and communicate what the purpose and functions of the change agent is to be (Ibid.). To further establish and develop teacher leadership the teacher leaders must be given time to collaborate, mainly on the issues of curriculum matters, school plans, structures that permit collaboration with colleagues and investigating other successful schools. They also need to be given the possibility to enhance their own professional development and be given support to improve their self confidence in acting as part of the school leadership (Mujis & Harris, 2003).

If change agents are to be part of a career appointment system, Åman (2011) gives the following suggestions. Care should be taken to not make such a nomination a reward for good service or for being the best educators. That could potentially cause a split and make teachers keep information on experiences and insight to themselves due to competitive reasons. Career appointments should be given, not rewarded, due to good collegial guidance abilities, in an ambition to create a collaborative platform based on openness and cooperation.

Teacher differentiation in perspective

Teacher career appointments and differentiation as phenomena are not new, either generally or specifically for the compulsory and secondary school system nationally and internationally. Presented here are some different systems to enable comparison with the new Swedish career appointment system.

The Swedish lecturer

The title of lecturer was introduced in 1913 due to school reform work. Until 1951 a doctoral degree was needed to be a lecturer, but this was then changed, lowering the demands to a licentiate exam. The purpose of the lecturer was to get a connection to educational research and was present in the secondary school. They were initially appointed by His royal majesty by suggestion from the national school board [skolöverstyrelsen]. After the municipalisation of the school system in the 90's the lecturer system has been in decline, even if their mission were still present and deemed important. There is a belief that this decline is a consequence of the rules on how the lecturers' wages are financed after the municipalisation (SOU 2008:52).

One ambition of the career appointment reform is to reinvent the lecturer and to make it a feature in both the secondary and compulsory school (Regeringskansliet, 2012).

International perspective

Other nations have created career options for their teachers. Here follows a quick summary of some of the English speaking nations' teacher career options. These are also the nations investigated by the preparatory work towards the Swedish reform[5] (Regeringskansliet, 2012).

In England Excellent Teacher and Advanced Skills Teacher, appointments are made through an assessment performed by The National Assessment Agency. But it is the schools who decide if they want to employ these career teachers (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007; Regeringskansliet, 2012).

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[5] Poland is also investigated in the memorandum, but is only referenced by a conference in Warsaw. I myself have not been able to find any available information in English on the Polish career system. In the memorandum it is sparsely commented (Regeringskansliet, 2012).

The New Zealand specialist teacher, of which one in every secondary school can be appointed, is assigned if qualifying a simple specification (New Zealand Educations, n.d.) – much in the same way as the Swedish system (SFS 2013:70, 3§).

In Scotland a teacher who manages to meet a set of standards can apply to a chartered teacher programme which is both academically validated, by universities, and professionally accredited, by the General Teaching Council for Scotland. The career system is integrated in a standardized teacher salaries system (The Educational Institute of Scotland, n.d.; The Government of Scotland, 2002, 2009).

In Australia the highly accomplished teacher position is open to teachers that manage to meet a set standard through certification based on national criteria, where evidence of student outcomes is central to the certification process. It is the ability to achieve the certification that limits how many of these teachers there can be and the title is bound to the teacher not the school (Australian institute for teaching and school leadership, 2012).

In these given examples two kinds of teacher competences are prioritised, how the teacher acts in the classroom and in the overall school aspect (Regeringskansliet, 2012).

Conclusions

The teacher career appointments reform has a history containing different ideas on how it shall be constituted. The initial instructions are set by SOU 2008:52 and the reform is finalized by The Proposition in a totally different form.

Professionalism is dependent on division of labour as well as boundary work to establish itself. But new features have entered the arena through reconstruction of the teacher vocation and the evolution of the concept professionalism. These aspects need to be taken into consideration when investigating how professionalism is constituted in the first teacher reform. As school development is an important part of what is intended to be the first teachers' tasks and every day life, characteristics of the change agent must also be taken into account when to consider the first teachers' position in the occupation.

Method

Design

To answer my research question I am designing my analysis to have two parts. The first part is a critical discourse analysis of The Memorandum (Regeringskansliet, 2012) as it serves as the background material constituting the base from which the governmental Proposition (Prop. 2012/13:136) stems, which will also form part of the analysis. This will give an indication as to what kind of discourses the reform builds its ideas around and how these are being presented. The second part is a continuation of the first part, constituting a series of interviews to see how the instructions and ambitions set out by the government are set into practice. This will give examples of how the reform constitutes itself at schools.

Samples

In the first part of my investigation there are two official documents that have the role of being the outspoken voice of the thoughts directing this reform. The first of these documents is The Memorandum (Regeringskansliet, 2012) which is presented as a work to make suggestions on how career appointments for teachers shall be conducted. This is done through different investigative steps and drawing conclusions in accordance with given instructions. The second document is The Proposition (Prop. 2012/13:136) presented to make decisions on how the education act is to be changed to accommodate the new career appointments for teachers. The Proposition works as a summary and clarification of The Memorandum highlighting what is most important as well as giving examples of critique from respondents having read The Memorandum. These two documents give ideas on the ambitions as well as which decisions were made to conclude the reform. They are both official documents developed by departments of the Swedish government.

The two primary texts are chosen due to their identity as official, in as they carry the official intent of the reform. They are also supplemented by texts that complement and extend them, such as official addendums and rules, investigations concerning outcomes. These documents are the SFS 2013:70 which sets out the actual rules concerning the first teacher reform, two quantitative investigations on how the reform is used and implemented (Lärarnas Riksförbund, 2013a; Skolverket, 2014) and a guide book (Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2013) made to advice the member of the largest group of school owners on how to use the reform.

The second part of my investigation consists of three interviews. The number of three is chosen as appropriate to constitute an adequate work load with regard to the thesis ambition. Head teachers are chosen as appropriate interviewees as they are involved in monitoring and implementing the introduction of career appointments at their schools. The three head teachers are chosen by using contacts of either the writer or the supervisor of this thesis. One of the contacts choose to participate in the interviews and the two other choose to act as intermediate contacts and in turn made contact with head teachers of their own acquaintance. The two intermediates then presented one head teacher each who was interested in participating in the investigation. Contact was established with the head teachers to set dates when the interviews were to be conducted. The three head teachers are all from different municipalities and are working in schools where the school owner is the municipality. One school is located in a suburb while the two other are in the centre of their respective municipality and they are all compulsory schools.

Data collection

Data collection will be done firstly by identifying discourse through discourse analysis and secondly by conducting interviews to identify how the reform is constituted in practice.

Discourse and discourse analysis

"A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about" (Cheek, 2004, p. 1142). Another attempt to define discourse is given in Jorgensen and Philips (2002, p. 1) as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)." Both these definitions involve communication and since the main communication tool is language, it gives that discourse is strongly connected to language and its structures. These structures that affect language can then also be applied when communicating social practice and the social world. The main aspect at large when interpreting a word is in which relation to other words it is presented, since that affects the words meaning. By solely mentioning dog we conjure an image of a canine mammal on four legs but if we make a reference to some kind of trait attributed to a dog it differs very much depending on which other words are used to do so. Mark the difference between the expressions; *behave as a dog* and *loyal as a dog,* which only differ in one single but oh so important word. This function in a similar way when describing social dimensions, the chosen words which describe or are connected to a social phenomenon indicates what meaning we attribute to that phenomenon. The meaning is then connected to a discourse which could be outspoken or hidden, which can be either confirmed or discovered by an analysis of the wordings used in giving that meaning (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

A discourse gives a set of notions that can either be easily discernible, hard to see or even assumed depending on the usage of language. "They both enable and constrain the production of knowledge in that they allow for certain ways of thinking about reality while excluding others" (Cheek, 2004, p. 1142). That way of thinking is connected to what can be described as truths. Truths are created through a discourse, since the discourse defines what is right or wrong within it. Impressions of a discourse are regulated and set limits on the meanings and truths presented in the spirit of the discourse. But one has to remember that the truths created by a discourse are only a truth within that discourse, universal truths do not exist (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). In effect this gives a framework of rules that affects how different types of actions are investigated, interpreted or executed. To complicate things further an action and possible related objects could be under the influences of multiple discourses, but usually one discourse takes precedence (Cheek, 2004).

Interviews

Interviews are associated with different aspects, one such is bias. Bias can be the result of that the participants in an interview will interpret the situation in accordance to their own view (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). In this investigation this kind of bias could be regarded as the result of an active discourse which influences the respondent to answer in a specific way. Through this aspect that type of bias is wanted and should be recognised as such if possible. To furthering this instrument of analysis it is important to "clarifying the meanings of statements during an interview [which] will make the later analysis easier and more well founded; asking control questions during the interview will facilitate the validation of interpretations" (Kvale, 2007, p. 42).

To investigate the quality of the interview it is important to reflect on the theme and the purpose of the interviews at the start of their structuring (Kvale, 2007). One item to be taken

into consideration is to which purpose the interview functions. By using Cohen et. al.'s (2007) purposes, these interviews serve the purpose of gathering information (find out how the reform is practically implemented) and are to be used in conjunction with other methods (find out how the reform is interpreted as part of the discursive practice).

What are wanted in this investigation are genuine answers which stems from the interviewees personal interpretation of the investigated matter. If a questionnaire was used the nuances of the interviewees answers would be lost in the pre-set answers, in essence making those answers technically mine not the answerers. Since how the answers are worded is part of my analysis, an opening to let the answers show the interviewees own opinion and inclinations must be present. That would imply that the questions need to be structured and open to interpretations that enables "a position to frame questions that will supply the knowledge required" (Cohen et. al., 2007, p. 354). A structured interview would give a standardized set of questions given to all interviewees following a specific pattern. To make this accomplishable an interview guide is created from which questions can be asked based on how the interview turns out (Stukát, 2011). With regard to the interviewees' possibility to answer, the questions must be structured to give as much possible leeway to answer in accordance to their own understandings. The solution to this is to ask open ended questions. These types of questions are used to open up the ability to answer the questions with only one restraint, which is the subject of the question (Cohen et. al., 2007). To make this possible the interview guide is constructed avoiding why- questions, instead using how- and what-questions in the ambition to enable narrative answers (Trost, 2004).

Process

The texts were read in search of statements, explanations and ambitions as well as other factors as traces of discourse were found out. This identified ideas that influenced division of labour, professionalism and boundary work associated with professionalism. As possible discourses were found out, text analyses were done where the structures of the texts were analysed with the help of the linguistic tools presented by Fairclough (1992). These finds were then set against the social practice to make out the discourse practice.

The interviews were done with head teachers representing three different schools. Due to the long travelling distance to one of the schools, one interview was conducted using Skype. The two other interviews were made at the head teachers' own schools, face to face. Before the interview each head teacher was told about the general intention of the interview and that it was to be part of a thesis investigating the first teacher. Information concerning the ethical rules was also told to the head teacher, but apart from that nothing else was informed. The interviews were conducted with the use of an interview guide where the questions had been constructed before the interviews were conducted. The interviews were recorded and were later transcribed on the same day and the next day after. All interviews were conducted and transcribed in Swedish and the schools' identities were changed to three invented names – Arrow, Beton and Coxford and all identity bearing information was removed from the transcript. The parts of the interviews set to be used in the analysis were translated in English, by me, to make it possible to use them in the thesis text.

Analysis model

To discover which type of discourse is present in a document different analytical models are used. As each models has specific structures and definitions connected to it that are specifically defined to that method, a specific method has to be chosen. In this investigation critical discourse analysis is chosen.

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis was evolved in the late 1980s by Norman Fairclough, who is most associated with the method, together with amongst others Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk. It has become one of the most influential of the discourse analysis methods. Critical discourse analysis is used to study social interactions by investigating relations between language and society (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Critical discourse analysis has five distinctive features:

1. The character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive
   Discursive practices – through which texts are *produced* (created) and *consumed* (received and interpreted) – are viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the *constitution* of the social world including social identities and social relations. It is partly through discursive practices in everyday life (processes of text production and consumption) that social and cultural reproduction and change take place.
2. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted
   Discourse is a form of social practice which both *constitutes* the social world and is *constituted* by other social practices. As social practice, discourse is in a *dialectical* relationship with other social dimensions. It does not just contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures but also reflects them. [---] Discursive practices are influenced by societal forces that do not have a solely discursive character (e.g. the structure of the political system and the institutional structure of the media).
3. Language should be empirically analysed within its social context.
   Critical discourse analysis engages in concrete, linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interaction.
4. Discourse functions ideologically
   Discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups – for example, between social classes, women and men, ethnic minorities and the majority. These effects are understood as *ideological* effects.
5. Critical research
   Critical discourse analysis does not […] understand itself as politically neutral.

(Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p 61-64)

Fairclough's idea is to do a detailed analysis of a presented text to see how a discourse has affected it as it is presented. But this is not enough for a thorough analysis since it does not take into account the influences from societal and cultural processes. By taking into account how texts are influenced by a discursive practice that are material in producing the text as well as it is influenced by as it is influential to social practice, we are given a three dimensional model upon which we can structure our analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). This model is displayed in the following figure.
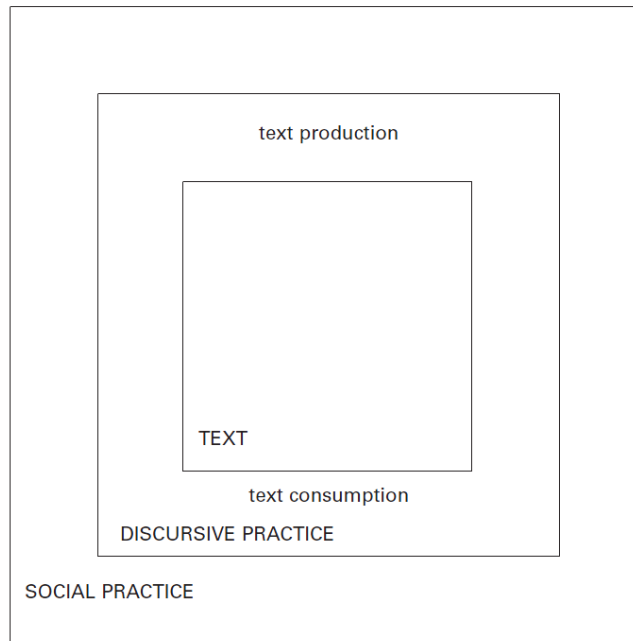
Figure 1 Fairclough's three dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 68)

The three dimensions are thus:

- it is a text (speech, writing, visual image or combination of these)
- it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts
- it is a social practice

<div align="right">(ibid., p. 68)</div>

Social practices are shaped by social structures and power relations and are represented by the theoretical frame. Text and social practice are seen as mediated through the discourse practice – e.g. how the text is produced, consumed and how social order is maintained and changed – thus reproducing or challenging the order of the discourse. None of the three dimensions are to be seen as an isolated part; they are all intertwined and will influence the analysis to transform from a three part analysis to one analysis result. (Ibid.)

A second dimension to analyse is how the text is actually interpreted (Fairclough, 1992). A way to do so is to see how the text is actually interpreted when implemented. This is usually not done (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002), but in this investigation the interviews are set on doing that. This gives some kind of indication on how the use of this reform will form itself in the school practice.

Analytical outline

The analysis uses the following pattern. The primary texts are text analysed using the linguistic tools presented by Fairclough (1992). The tools used are *intertextuality* – how another text is transferred to the text, *modality* - how verbs or adjectives can be used to set the ambition of something, *word meaning* – the meaning of a given word can be contested in the context of which it is set, *wording* – the way in which a word is used in a non traditional way and thus in a way change its meaning is an aspect of rewording, *transitivity* – how something is to be done and by who and *ethos*- the social context which an actor usually displays or is expected to act upon.

The linguistic tools are used to observe and identify discourses. These findings are then set against the theoretical frame, which constitutes the social practice, to see if the discursive statements reproduces or develop specific ideas. This in turn presents a result on how the text contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations. The results are organized into four different themes, which serve the purpose of categorizing the different outcomes as well as identify different aspects of the reform. The themes are constructed and as such are not to be considered flawless. The boundaries between the themes are diffuse by nature and parts of the analysis results might be placed in more than one theme. But to enable categorization an analytical part is only placed in one. The four themes are named Governance, Objectives, Teacher ambition and Professionalistic ambition.

Although the analysis is made through different steps were part of the texts are scrutinised with the help of the linguistic tools and compared and connected to the theoretical frame, that work and its text is to extensive to be presented in this paper. Instead a short condensed conclusion is written of what the analysis has brought forward concerning each theme. Each conclusion contains a summary indicating the discourse practice, as well as a specification of what kind of division of labour, boundary work and professionalism the content of the theme can be attributed to. To illustrate these conclusions, the different parts that has been analysed in the theme are given a shortened description of the analysis made.

The interviews are analysed in much the same way, but more care are taken to see how they confirm or contradicts the findings from the texts instead of being scrutinized by the linguistic tools. This is done with the ambition to see how the texts are interpreted and put into practice. The analysis process and the results of the interviews are handled in the same way as the text analysis and its results. Even if identified as a school name or school, the statements and ideas presented are to all extent that of the schools head teacher.

To summarize the results a matrix is done to illustrate how each theme stand in way of discourse with regard to division of labour, boundary work and professionalism in the text and interpreted in the practice. This is also set down in text in a conclusion of the whole analysis.

Validity & reliability

With regard to validity Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002) suggest certain items to relate to. The first is to have as solid analysis based on as many different texts as possible. The documents used are to the most extent those available and the analytical process is also connected to research within the subject of my research. The second is to have a comprehensive analysis, where focus is on the texts aspects on what is being researched. This has been done and should be easy to recognise in the analysis. The third is to have a transparent analysis where the reader can follow and test the made claims by the analysis. The analysis is presented as to show my train of though in a condensed form based on a more extensive material. Even so the analysis and conclusions are possible to follow.

Reliability is established if there is consistency and trustworthiness to the research findings. In the interviews this can be dependent on how trustworthy the interviewees are and if the answers would have been different if another person had conducted the interview. The same goes for the analytical part (Kvale, 2007). The trustworthiness of an interview is checked by consistency and no flaws can be found indicating inconsistency. The analysis and conclusions follows the statement made on validity and are possible to follow.

Ethics

The participants of the interviews were informed by e-mail and right before the interview about the general intention of the interview and in what context it was set. Information was

also given about my intent to follow the instructions of ethics set out by Vetenskapsrådet (n.d.). Those instructions are laid down by four key requirements on protecting the individual.

The first is the demand on information [informationskravet] and was given through presentation of me, in what kind of context the interview was done and what the interview was going to investigate.

The second is the demand on consent [samtyckeskravet] and were set through asking them to participate through direct or indirect contact on which they gave a positive answer by contacting me. The interviewees were also in control of when to go through with the interview.

The third is the demand on confidentiality [konfidentialitetskravet] where as the identity of the interviewees and their surroundings are to be kept hidden. This ambition was informed of right before the interview took place, and in one instance discussed thoroughly. It has been acknowledged by removing all kind of identity markers, even vague ones, from the transcriptions of the interview – replacing them with the text with either neutral words or being removed and replaced by [identity carrying information removed]. The names of the schools have been replaced by fictional names and no information which could be used to directly decode them is present except in my head.

The fourth is the demand on usage [nyttjandekravet] stipulating that the results of the investigation are only to be used for its outspoken purpose and not be used commercially, which is absolutely in line with my intention.

Results

The result is divided to two parts, one for the text analysis and one for the interview or practice analysis, both following the same pattern as described in the analysis model. The result part is then concluded by a comparison between the two parts and a conclusion of the analysis.

Analysis of texts

Governance

This part of the analysis is investigating how the overall decisions are governed in the reforms background work.

In an attempt to mimic the genre of investigation or research report The Memorandum uses *ethos*, by setting up objectives to study and explore. The different objectives are duly presented, studied and investigated and conclusions are presented. But most conclusions are not explained or grounded in the accompanied investigations or gathered information. Instead the investigations are to most extent set to acknowledge already set directives, acknowledging instructions given and decisions taken before the work on The Memorandum started. The results of the investigation are thus already set and presented under false premises of being rooted in investigation, research and cooperation of the different actors within the school system. What is decided was actually decided prior to The Memorandum set out its work. This in turn implies that the government controls this reform and had no intention of letting any other ambition, information or interest influence the outcome of The Memorandum.

This is an example of a highly centralized process and that change is processed through formal rules and set to accommodate tasks already decided. It places this in the division of labour in the bureaucratic. Such a top to bottom construction does not open up to influence and authority from the occupation itself, instead indicating hierarchical structures of authority and decision-making. This indicates organizational professionalism. Boundary work is set to prevent the teachers to influence the reform. This is done by making the decision and then pretending to be investigating other possibilities - ignoring teachers' wishes in that process.

Investigation turned decision

This part illustrates that the decision made on who shall appoint the first teachers is not relevant in The Memorandum.

An important aspect of the background work of the reform is the decision on who shall appoint the first teacher. This is decided already by instruction in the budget proposal of 2011/12. This instruction is duly acknowledged in The Memorandum both in its introduction and after being given an inquiry where a different solution is tested. This different solution follows the idea that a state controlled institution shall be given the right to appoint the first teachers. Four arguments in all, both promoting and opposing the suggestion, are put forward discussing that proposal. The first is that the suggestion creates consistency. The second is that the system will be hard to administrate. The third is that it is the school owners who know which teachers to reward and who will fit in their organisation. The fourth is that since an appointment should include a raise of pay, school owners might not be interested in or able to carry that extra cost. A state appointment without concern for the school owner's budget is deemed to not be in line of the purpose of the reform. There could also have been a fifth argument stating based on what the teachers declared in The Memorandum's field study, that the responsibility for the appointments should be placed at state level. But this is omitted and no fifth argument is proclaimed.

Analysing these four arguments one finds that the second and third are based on that no standardized criteria are set on what constitutes a possible first teacher. If that was done it would be easy to administer such appointment, either you qualify or you do not and that would be known to the state as well as the school owner. The fourth argument is a bit of a conundrum as an already decided and budgeted state grant will take care of the expected raise of salary. Thus if the state made a teacher appointed to first teacher a state grant covering the raise of pay would be included. This is covered up by use of *word meaning*. By separating *raise of pay* from the suggested state grant, these two items can be treated separately. This enables treating the raise of pay – to be paid by the school owner, and the state grant – to be paid by the state, as two separate entities despite the fact that the raise of pay shall be financed by the state grant – both in theory and practice. This separation opens up the ability to argument that in an effort to not impose such an economic burden on the school owners, the decision to appoint first teachers must by logic be given to them. This intention to humour the school owners' imagined problems and ignoring the teachers' wishes gives a clear indication of who the reform takes. Above all the arguments presented confirms an already decided decision and gives an impression that the decision is made through investigations and logic.

This is an example of how The Memorandum uses *ethos* to give an impression that it follows the standards of a researched and well decided investigation when conclusions and decisions are already set.

Conclusions on what constitutes a good teacher

This part illustrates how no decision is made on what constitutes a good teacher in an attempt to let this be open to local interpretation.

The first objective mentioned to be analysed in The Memorandum is set on defining which qualifications or standards a teacher needs to have to be deemed appropriate for a career appointment. As career appointments are to be seen as rewards, a standard or criteria to be eligible for such a promotion is expected.

An inquiry is done by gathering ideas from documents and from persons connected to the school system by use of a field study. But when a conclusion is presented it is in no way connected to what is stated earlier in the investigation. Instead, without any previous mention in either the investigated documents or the field study, a decision is presented stating that four years are enough to determine if a teacher is skilful. Why the time period of four years is chosen and what constitutes skilful is not presented, but instead it is stated that it is a delicate [grannlaga] matter to do exactly so. A multitude of possible competences are presented as examples, without stating any of them as more or less important. Since this task seemed to be of importance for The Memorandum, decision to not specify what constitutes a good teacher must be attributed to an ambition to let it all depend on what those who appoint first teachers need. This open the ability to apply to market needs.

Decision without investigation

This part illustrates how the proclaimed investigation of the first teacher name is carried.

The naming of the specifically skilful teacher is another proclaimed investigation that is not conducted. The Memorandum states that it has investigated which appropriate title a practice-close career appointment should have. That investigation is not accounted for in The Memorandum, so who decided and on what grounds the title first teacher came to be is not disclosed in the text. What is written is that the decision is taken and that first teacher is deemed as a suitable name, showing yet another attempt to give the impression of being an investigative report - whilst instead being a paper acknowledging already decided facts. This exemplifies another governed decision camouflaged as investigated.

Objectives

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how the reforms objectives are set up, administered and controlled.

The ambition is clearly set on letting the school owners control all aspects of the career appointments. The few restrictions set by the reform, mainly by the state grant, can easily be side stepped by the by the school owners who can decide not to use it. The school owners can appoint or not appoint first teachers as it fits their needs with or without the state grant. This total control severely opposes any chance of an occupational control by its practitioners to establish an occupational professionalism for the teachers.

The use of a monetary reward to increase the first teachers' salary opens up the possibility to talk about raising teachers' salaries, as done by the minister of education, without the need to include all teachers and thus keeping in line with the neo-liberal notion to negate state expenditure. This also gives the government, as an actor with an ambition to improve the students' results, an incentive that is easy to control and apply without the need to administer through a resource heavy administration. As the rules are made almost non-existent, there is no need to administer controls of rules-abuse.

The structure of nearly no rules sets a milieu that has few organized constraints and is controlled by the school owners. The incitement to apply for a career appointment, by a promising of a more competitive salary positions this in the division of labour in free competition. Boundary work is set up by giving all control to the school owners and minimizing the ability to control the reform by the teachers'. The teacher ability to influence is up to the good will of the school owners or the possibility that the school owners' ambition correlates with the teachers. This indicates that no controls are operationalized by the practitioners and points towards organizational professionalism.

Attractive

This part illustrates that even if the objective to make the teaching vocation attractive is important, it is not important enough to tell exactly how it is to be done.

The word *attractive* plays an important part in The Memorandum as it sets out one of its objectives as:

> To secure a high quality on the teachers the teaching vocation *must* be made more *attractive* so the pupils get improved teaching and thus increased preconditions to reach the national objectives and good results. Teacher competences and potential *must* in a better way than today be *utilized* and encouraged. (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 4) [my italics]

Through the use of *modality* in the text it is discovered that increased attractiveness is of essence. The use of the word attractive also places the issue in a pleasant mode which is easy to acknowledge. *Transivity* on the other hand shows that how this is to be accomplished is another issue. There is no mention of what the attractiveness constitutes and in contrast to the positive manner in the statement, the teachers are not the subject of the sentence but rather the object and described as a target to be utilized.

No agent on how to accomplish the wanted attractiveness of the reform is specifically stated, but there is one line in The Memorandum which gives a clue. This is done by proclaiming the mission to "develop a suggestion on how the government can contribute with economic incitement to make the teacher vocation more attractive than today"

(Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 8). This monetary reward is confirmed in The Proposition as that the career appointments shall be connected to an increase of salary.

Even though the ambition of attractiveness is stated as the main objective of the reform in The Memorandum, the solution to this ambition is not discussed or put down in any form of concluding remarks, but left open to interpretation. This strengthens the idea that the attractiveness is merely a mechanism, likely monetary, to achieve an ambition to enable the pupils get improved teaching and thus increased preconditions to reach the national objectives and good results.

Governance through no governance

This part illustrates that the objectives of the reform are to be accomplished with as few rules and regulations as possible.

The regulation SFS 2013:70 confirms the rules set up by The Memorandum by specifying what a first teacher needs to qualify to be financed with a governmental grant. This is set as four directives. The first of these rules is made obsolete by The Memorandum itself, stating that only licensed teachers are applicable to be employed as permanent teachers and independently be responsible for teaching, giving the implication that on all accounts only licensed teachers are eligible. The fourth rule is also obsolete as it is not a rule but some kind of optional variable. This leaves us with two rules, which are not very detailed on specific demands except the four years service.

The Proposition is very clear on the fact that no school owner is forced to appoint first teachers and it also describes that anyone can become first teacher, or a similar appointment, as long as they are not financed by the state grant and gets approval of a school owner. In such cases there are no rules on how that appointment is to be constituted. It is also stated that the government encourages such actions.

The rules concerning teacher careers can be summarized as follows: If you, the school owner, *wants* to appoint a first teacher *and* use a state grant to finance it, that teacher must have four years experience where she has shown interest in school development and enhanced the pupils' results. *If not* you, the school owner, can do whatever you want including appoint teachers on other grounds. The first teacher is therefore not a protected title as was suggested by the SOU 2008:52.

As seen the teacher careers are not governed, unless the state grant is used and even then the school owner are not restricted to much. This reform is indeed created to let the school owners decide in accordance to their needs.

Second teachers

This part illustrates that making the teacher vocation attractive is not a priority.

In The Proposition the government emphasizes that the policy provision concerning the career appointments in no way creates any rights for individuals or demands on the school owners. That statement puts the school owners before the teachers, as the teachers can have no demands on the school owners in this matter. School owners first and teachers second when control of the reform is provided by the government.

Teacher autonomy

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how the reform influences teacher autonomy by implementing set goals and how their professional knowledge is brought into play.

There is evidence of an ambition to increase the use of standardized goals, making it possible to create governance from a distance by monitoring the results of the teachers' endeavours. By focusing on what a teacher produces, her abilities or expertise to do so

becomes irrelevant. What constitutes a good teacher is irrelevant if we instead focus on what she produces. If that production results in satisfied clients in accordance to set goals – all is well. The client is always right is thus true in more than one case, but the introduction of a such a sovereign client can only be done on the expense of the teacher, as such a scenario where teachers were given a relative professional autonomy in their everyday work life would present a problem with regard to systematic governing. If teachers were to work relying on their discrete knowledge, results depending on how they interpret the situation and would be impossible to rate in a standardized way.

By further diminishing the teachers expertise by implying that all persons active in education have more or less the same knowledge, boundary work is presented to prevent teachers' claim to be able to perform a defined set of discretionary tasks satisfactorily to make them experts on education and teaching as others also can do so.

The discourse is to diminish teacher autonomy through use of set goals which are controllable. This creates a division of labour set to accomplish the specified tasks of the bureaucratic. Together with standardized procedures and managerial control this indicates a focus on organizational professionalism. Boundary work by implying teacher expertise as more or less void is an obstacle for teachers.

Control by conduct

This part illustrates how teachers' ability to control their education is diminished by instructions to work towards standardized measurable goals.

Set out by the reforms objectives, the result wanted is that "the pupils get improved teaching and thus increased preconditions to reach the national objectives and good results" (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 4). With this reconstructed focus on pupils' performance and result an emphasis on what is produced is highlighted. The ambition to achieve better production results through set goals makes it easier to control teacher achievement. This can be done by monitoring teacher achievement by measuring if their education presents good student results. Set measurable goals thus create a managerial tool where only the outcome needs to be controlled, not how the outcome was created. In Sweden this can be done through national test and the PISA tests. This set the teachers to be ruled by an expected conduct instead of their professional knowledge.

The equalizing field study

This part illustrates how teachers' identity and knowledge are ignored, nullifying their expertise in the process.

In the field study presented in The Memorandum, opinions and ideas on the career appointments were investigated and presented. The field was represented by four municipalities and one private school. On the field, group interviews were conducted with representatives from pupils, teachers, and school managers and in some cases politicians. No ratios between participants or specific numbers were presented on the participants.

When presenting the results the pupils are singled out as a group being consistently identified when their ideas and statements were put fourth. They are also done so in definitive form. Such is not the case regarding teachers, head teachers and managers, who are presented in indefinite form and lumped together into one identity – giving the impression that they are speaking with one voice. To add confusion this is changed when the opinion of *some of the interviewees* are voiced, followed by the voice of *several*. This usage of *word meaning* removes the identity of the speakers of the given opinion, which now can be attributed to any of the aforementioned identities. This presents a pattern where the interviewees are divided into two groups. One group is the pupils whose statements are consistently and specifically

singled out. The other groups are lumped together or are seemingly connected to statements without an identifiable sender, presenting a picture that the groups are fairly consistent in their opinions. This in effect creates only two groups of opinion out of the interviewed groups, which can be named *children* and *adults*. The *children* are singled out to show that they do not have extensive knowledge of how teachers' work really functions and its complexities. Lumping together the *adults* proves the opposite, they all have the knowledge and expertise to identify and point out the complexity of the teacher vocation.

In The Memorandum's field study, when discussing the specifically skilful teacher, there is a statement on *pedagogical and didactical competences* which is mentioned as presented by *some of the interviewees.* It sounds very much like a statement made by teachers, since those words and their meaning lies within their field of expertise. An almost identical statement is presented in another section discussing the lecturer. In this case it is attributed to "these groups of teachers that were interviewed and specifically those who work in the compulsory schools" (Regeringskansliet. 2012, p. 22). This is clearly not done in the discussion of specifically skilful teachers, where the statement instead can be attributed to all by the use of *word meaning*. It is not done so to exclude the teachers from the statement, but to include the head teachers and managers as originators of it.

If, as this field study tries to imply, it can be shown that teachers, head teachers and managers are equally apt at knowing what constitutes a good teacher and the work she does and needs to be doing, the teacher has no special knowledge that excludes the others from knowing so. Teachers' special knowledge is void in these questions as the others, with the exception of pupils - which in some ways are singled out already, are equally capable as the teachers to set the standards and rules on how to control the teacher vocation and careers.

Professionalistic ambition

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how professionalism is presented in the reform's texts.

Throughout the text in The Memorandum the objective to give the teachers a possibility to evolve their professionalism is voiced. But the discourse of professionalism constituted in the reform is clearly between that of centralised governance and self control. Professionalism, in The Memorandum is presented through following instructions made by supranational instructions voiced by EU and OECD or through promoting interaction between teachers. But that interaction is spelled as school development and school development is identified as career appointments in The Memorandum. If professionalism equals career appointments, as indicated by The Memorandum, it seems like whoever controls the career appointments controls the professionalism of the teachers. There is also example of boundary work with the ambition to keep the teachers out of the control on both how to define good teaching as well as setting standards for the first teacher, which in effect counteracts occupational professionalism and occupational boundary work.

Division of labour is set as bureaucratic as the ambition of the EU is presenting specifications on what the teacher professionalism shall be and the ambition of promoting career appointments for their own sake - without grounds in a framework. As control and definition of professionalism is set as being constituted from the top as well, applying a professional conduct and hindering occupational control the professionalistic ambition must be put down to organisational professionalism.

The OECD ambition interpreted

This part illustrates how setting professional standards for teachers by the teachers themselves is ignored, even if it is recommended by an investigation The Memorandum relies on.

OECD has made an assessment of the Swedish school system (OECD, 2011) which is referenced in The Memorandum. This reference is used in highlighting that "career appointments are *very important* to enable teachers to be effective and successful" (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 15) [My italics]. But using *intertextuality* to investigate how The Memorandum transforms the OECD text, it becomes clear that only the connection between a system for registration and career appointments are highlighted in The Memorandum. This is done in the strongest possible way by the words *very important* to give a high *modality*. That strong modality is hard to credit as in the original text, career appointments are stated as an association to the registration system and an absence of career appointments is *likely to undermine* potential powerful links to other positive accomplishments or objectives (OECD, 2011, p. 68).

A point highlighted in The OECD report is the need of a national framework of professional standards which should provide a clear and concise frame to appraise teachers and it is in conjunction with that frame the career system would be beneficial. Such a framework is neither referenced to in The Memorandum nor taken into consideration when setting up the professional standards for the appointment of the first teacher. By removing the importance of the framework of national standards in the concept of school development and career appointments, another important aspect is also removed. It is recommended in the OECD report that the teachers themselves, suggested with the modal verb, *should* influence and govern this framework. The teachers would in such a scenario not only be in control of that framework, they would also be in control of the credentials governing their own vocation. Such control would be in line with occupational professionalism, establishing the division of labour by themselves. An attempt to do exactly so is present in The Memorandum's field study, where several of the interviewees, especially the teachers, pointed out "the importance that there is a concise formulated national criteria on specifications to be qualified to the higher career appointment" (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 25).

Professionalism equals school development?

This part illustrates that the reform equals professional development with career appointments.

In the fourth chapter of The Memorandum, results are presented showing that to influence pupils' results the teachers need to be professional, well educated and allowed to participate in the development of the best education possible in accordance with the pupils' needs. It also points out some signifiers of successful teaching, such as teacher leadership, teacher's passion for subject, relationship towards pupils and other items associated to the teacher as an individual. The Swedish National Agency for Education puts forward that "it is of importance to the teachers' professional development that teachers also learn from each other and that teachers through a systematic learning develop their teaching" (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 17).

The above is also summarized in a conclusion at the end of the fourth chapter of The Memorandum as:

> An overview of earlier studies shows that the individual teacher has a critical significance on pupils' performance and results. At the same time is the possibilities for professional development and career appointments which does not mean stepping away from teaching relatively scarce in many countries" (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 18).

The conclusion that professional development is relatively scarce in many countries unless you distance yourself from the profession is quite an odd statement, which establishes that

sentence as not logical of simplified. Rather it shows that the sentence uses *word meaning* in an attempt to closely associate professional development with career appointments. In this way it gives an impression that the one always comes with the other. In a way this can be true. The OECD (2011) report did suggest that the teaching professionalism could benefit from a system which included career appointments, but teacher professionalism is in no way bound by a career system to enable its development. In the occupational professional development there is no need of careers proper since it is the knowledge and expertise that gives authority and momentum for development.

Professionalism as objectives

This part illustrates that professionalism is regarded as something other actors then the teachers shall be able to use.

The Memorandum presents the teacher profession in the following light by indicating that

> teacher's profession in general needs be re-established to enable teachers to be *used* more in line with what they are actually educated for, teaching and tasks that are a prerequisite for good teaching (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 29) [My italic].

The word *used* in that statement gives away that the teachers are deemed as a tools that must be used in some kind of professional context.

The EU take

This part illustrates that professionalism is regarded as something teachers shall perform according to other actors' wishes and not control themselves.

The Memorandum presents the four common European principles regarding teachers' development. The first one is that teachers are a well qualified profession, where all are graduates of higher education and are able to continue studying to reach the highest possible level and gain knowledge on all levels of education. The second is a profession placed within the context of lifelong learning where teachers shall strive to continuously learn new items of their trade and to participate actively in professional development. The third pinpoints teachers' as a mobile profession where participation in other schools and school systems, locally, nationally and internationally, is encouraged. The fourth is that as a profession based on partnerships the teachers shall participate in collaboration with colleagues as well as other professions and higher education institutions to widen knowledge and work-based training to increase competence and confidence (European Commission, 2010).

All these are instructions of what is wanted of the teachers and can be seen as an instruction towards a professional conduct. This conduct is not forced on the individual but given as a way towards improvement and to do better. As it is placed within The Memorandum it can be seen as recommendations on what a first teacher shall strive to achieve.

Analysis of interviews

Governance

This part of the analysis is investigating how the overall decisions are governed when the reform is implemented in the practice at the investigated schools.

The appointments to first teacher are done at levels above the head teacher at all three schools. The decision to single out these teachers is laid in the hands of persons distanced from the practice. When decisions are made by centralized institutions with perhaps none or little knowledge on school matters, the possibilities to find adequate teachers must diminish. It is also an indication that the general goal-setting for teachers are done at high political level and not by teachers themselves. At two schools this is changing, as the head teachers are given more impact on decisions.

As the reform does not stipulate either tasks or resources to perform tasks, this is left to the school owners to decide. This is done differently at the three schools and in general this is done by allocating time. Time as a resource is set locally to confirm in some way to the schools needs or, as in 40 % of the schools in Sweden, not given at all. There are also examples of this not being governed by the municipalities at all, but left for the school to handle by themselves. Solutions and amounts differ between schools, even in the same municipality. Different items are solved differently, either by decision at central level, ignored or left to the schools - but not by the teachers.

The career appointments are controlled by central institutions of the municipalities or the head teachers using templates and standardized recruiting methods gives support to a hierarchical authority as it dictates what specialized tasks are needed by using a bureaucratic model. This indicates a division of labour in the bureaucratic. The hierarchical structures and the standardized processes make this incline towards organizational professionalism.

The allocation of time to first teacher tasks opens up possibilities where the teachers can influence school development and be an active part of it rather than a pawn expected to perform tasks without resources. But it is unclear as to how much influence the occupation has in controlling the allocation of time or other resources? So far the indications are not much. Getting the time to actually perform the work is beneficial to establishing control of occupation whilst the opposite hinders it and acts as a boundary. The idea to assign or not assign resources by decentralized decision with little control given to the occupation, gives a division of labour in free competition.

Recruitment

This part illustrates how recruiting first teachers are done and who controls who gets appointed.

Recruitment on all three schools is made through standardized procedures and decisions are taken on a level above the head teachers. This follows the recommendation made by the municipalities organisation Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (2013) who has an agenda that it is the school owners needs that are essential when to decide how many first teachers one needs, in which knowledge areas they shall work, in which schools they shall work and which individuals are to be given the appointments.

At Arrow school they can forward requests, but it is not up to them to decide.

> Arrow: But it was not up to us to hire them - but centrally

This indicates a strong centralized system where all decisions are made above school level. Influence is possible but only in part.

At Coxford School a centralized system is presented, which is under construction and reconstruction. Even so there are strong indications of formal processes, standard procedures and a continuing strong focus on a centralized idea above the school level.

> Coxford: Those positions which we appointed 2013 was made through
> internal advertisements on the schools but we had centralized

appointments but the head teachers were permitted to have a say in
who they had most confidence in

For Beton School it is a centralized decision, set against formal criteria created at a level above the school. The next year it is set more into the control of the head teacher. There seems to be no involvement in this process by the teachers.

Beton: Yes we have had pretty clear criteria from the city council a
template
[---]
Me: Yes were the teachers themselves involved in the process
Beton: No

This is contrary to what is mentioned in The Memorandum, where it is stated that the head teacher should have a central role in judging which teachers to appoint. It seems that the school owners have adapted the instructions of Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting instead.

The head teachers of Beton and Coxford schools are being given more influence to choose which teachers to appoint now or in the future, but the teachers are still excluded from these decisions.

Resources

This part illustrates what resources, mainly time, were given the first teachers to enable them to accomplish their given tasks outside teaching.

The amount of given time, as a resource to develop their tasks as first teachers differs between the schools. At Coxford School it depends on how their task was constituted before the teacher is appointed to first teacher.

Coxford: Alas some of those assigned first teacher [---] they already
had time reduction and they still have it eh but those that did not -
have not been given assigned time [to do specific work]

As different tasks give different amount of resource at Coxford School, Beton and Arrow Schools have a set amount of time of 2h for the former and 1 day for the latter each week for each first teacher. The head teacher at Beton is open to change this depending on what tasks the first teacher is given. All three schools contribute in some way to the first teachers' work by giving an amount of time to be used to conclude the given tasks. This is not true about all first teachers at Coxford School where first teachers are not given any extra time.

60% of the school owners in Sweden have some kind of arrangement providing time to accomplish the given first teacher tasks. Although it is not investigated how much time the first teacher is given in general (Skolverket, 2014).

It is also found that extra resources are not provided automatically by the school owner.

Arrow: No that [cost] is to be carried by the unit [school] and if you
have a unit with very bad economy you might have to fire someone

This would also result in that schools in the same municipality solve this differently and will thus have different preconditions for the first teachers.

Arrow: On many other schools they have 0% - but I think that you get
what you pay for

There are also examples of schools just handing out the state grant, with no other ambition than to do so, putting no ambition, demands, resources or whatsoever on these first teachers to accomplish. To most extent they continue their work as before their appointment. The minister of education is defending such decisions by claiming that the only purpose of the reform is to increase teachers' salaries ("Satsningen på förstelärare får häftig kritik", 2014).

Objectives

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how the reforms objectives are set up, administered and controlled in the practice at the investigated schools.

When looking at what task or objectives the first teachers are assigned at the three schools, differences become very apparent, but this is not a surprise as first teacher tasks is in no way regulated by the reform and opens up to all possibilities and ideas.

The Arrow School's first teachers were introduced in the already existing quality work, as organized by the schools management, taking the role of information nodes. The first teachers' parts in this work have further established the bottom-up perspective by engaging all staff in this development work. This bottom-up perspective is central in promoting the schools ability to open up for control by the practitioners.

The Beton School has a clear plan of progress as the introduction of first teachers is easily integrated into their already set system. The first teachers are given different areas to develop and are governed in this by the head teacher. But the other teachers are also included in this deciding process. The high demands on the first teachers are highlighted by the head teacher and can be seen as an indicator of professional conduct as a way to guarantee standards. But there are also indications that the role of being a school developer puts high demands on the person to do so. The need to have extensive research knowledge towards and ability to implement change can be an indication that such task might be too complicated for some teachers.

The Coxford School seems to be in an investigating and reconstructing phase in which they try to find out how to address the first teacher. This reconstruction is done by looking how other schools or municipalities do this, rather than investigating their own needs and what their teachers want. The school started by positioning most of their first teachers in government induced projects and seems to continue this overall central policy by opening the possibility to use the first teachers as a resource to be used within the school-district.

There is a mix of centralized and occupational control in all three schools and in different varieties. The developing work is carried out and controlled in varying degrees by those connected to the specialization, the teachers. This establishes a placement in the division of labour in both the occupational and the bureaucratic. Through both hierarchical structures of authority and control operationalized by practitioners, both at different levels depending on school, there are indications of both occupational and organizational professionalism. Thanks to this dualism, boundary work is hard to define.

Tasks

This part illustrates what kind of tasks the first teachers are given and how they are organized.

Initially the first teachers at Coxford School were given their appointment based on their earlier tasks in developing projects, of which many were in government initiated projects such as math and Swedish developing projects or other centrally controlled projects.

> Coxford: Appoint a first teacher who will give us all something on a
> general level – thus we need to continue on this assessment project we

started we need to continue with special needs school and that is started with a person as well and we need a VFU-coordinator[6] a first teacher as well and supervisor of maths and a developer of the subject Swedish they are also included and the IT-administrator and then it is what "the district" wants- that perhaps politicians want us to develop schools – no that we shall develop schools with low performance

This indicates that it is very much the government, by its other reforms and instructions that controls what the first teachers' tasks are. But the school is reconstructing this organisation gathering ideas from experiences made by another municipality. The influences on how to organise their first teachers are definitely gathered from other actors then itself.

There is also an intention to let the first teachers work at more than one school in the future.

Coxford: And then go to other schools and have this supportive role as supervisor or supervisor and critical buddy

A change agent can naturally be useful in spreading good ideas to other schools. In doing so it is important to consider that those schools might have a totally different school culture, preconditions and set situations.

At Beton School everyday operations are used as the most important factor when establishing what tasks the first teachers shall be given. This gives an ambition to let these decisions be influenced by the occupation.

Beton: they will also improve the schools pedagogical competences on assessments for example
Me: Yes
Beton: And be good role models to others and in this it is important that this mandate is not given but they have it [through merit]

The objective to be seen as a role model is in line with the professional conduct, used as a controlling tool to uphold standards.

The Arrow School has a clear plan of progress as the first teachers are integrated in an existing quality work. The first teachers are used as hubs of information which are gathered through a concise plan constructed through interaction between science/research and the teachers. By being in position to have a meaningful relation with decision makers, research and the active teachers they are able to coordinate and influence the different individuals and groups in the organisation. The (first) teacher's access to different levels of the organisation is vital to secure the ability to be part of the organisations decision making.

Arrow: Focus on teaching is the name of our school developing project of which the first teachers are being made responsible [---] to make formative assessments that is to look forward mm to be conscious on what you do as a teacher so on study days on conferences they have fixed items which they shall do in accordance to their planning […] thus I gave them the mission to write something on how they look at school development and how they want to develop the teaching on these parts

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[6] A person administrating and taking care of students on teacher programmes doing their practice training at the school.

> [---]
> Arrow: Every Friday do they work on these tasks so that they can have the possibility to be out in the practice not only studying theory – they shall be out doing visits to teachers and the teachers shall visit them – they can test different methods to reach what we call focus on teaching

Such comments, as well as others similar made by the head teacher place the first teachers of Arrow School into a well devised and structured ongoing developing plan, into which they are firmly and naturally placed. Thus the first teachers are an integral part of a project that seems to encompass and engage the whole staff at the Arrow School.

Teacher autonomy

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how the reform influences teacher autonomy by implementing set goals and how their professional knowledge is brought into play in the practice at the investigated schools.

The teachers at the investigated schools are not given much say as most structures concerning the first teachers are set at levels above them. When major changes are made at a school, it is important to involve the staff in the decision making and to make them part of the changing processes by creating a common ambition known to all. If this is not handled correct, collaboration with teachers might turn out badly and result in situations where the first teachers who shall work towards change, instead are battling with fellow teachers and will have problems changing anything. Adding an unjustified difference in salary can further such conflict unless measures are taken to justify that difference. The need to have a working organisation into which its needs are well communicated, rooted and based on a common agenda is vital. To enable this there is evidence that the teachers, as a collective, must be part in creating such an agenda.

Most Swedish school owners follows the advice from Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (2013) on employing the first teachers as temporal assignments instead of following the minister of education and the teacher unions' directive that they shall be permanent employment. This is also true for our investigated schools. This indicates that the reform is used by the school owners in accordance with their ambitions, not to indulge the teachers. This is a use of a standardized procedure to retain control of the situation. This enables the possibility to correct those teachers that do not deliver in accordance to the school owner's wish, which in turn enables blame on an individual instead of the organisation.

This show of no trust together with denial of occupational control of the work situation indicates organizational professionalism. The practice to adapt to what is given and utilize it, positions this in the division of labour in free competition. The typical hierarchical way of decision and differencing teachers forms a part of the division of labour in the bureaucratic. Boundary work is set on keeping the teachers outside the structural work of structuring the reform at school level.

Teachers' part of decisions

This part illustrates how the teachers are included in the deciding processes regarding implementation of first teachers at the schools.

In general the teachers were very much left out in the creation of the implementation of the reform.

> Me: Yes were the teachers themselves involved in the process

Beton: No

This is also true for Coxford. At Arrow the decision to implement first teachers is decided from above, but as they are positioned in a structure with a firm cooperative spirit it is perhaps not seen as such. The teacher unions are present in some negotiations, but how much influence they have is hard to tell.

Differenced pay

This part illustrates that the difference of salaries achieved by the state grant presents problems that have to be countered.

One problem mentioned, is how to motivate the high pay increase for the first teachers, specifically when they are to most extent teachers doing teacher work. That problem is present at Coxford School.

> Coxford: Problems can be that some are part of a b-team if they are not first teachers – and that it lowers their self esteem and engagement [---] I have had many discussions on salaries and very few people accept that anybody else gets higher pay

The salary issue is easy to recognise, especially as the first teachers are, to most extent, doing the same tasks they did before they were appointed first teachers. The problem can also evolve from a hierarchical structure of authority and decision making which produces results which are decided without involving the teachers. The result being that it is seen as unjust and out of proportion. At Beton School the problem is also present and is actively countered through logic that it is beneficial for all.

> Beton: I have had the discussion if they get so much more salary it will also raise the salary of others and it is in fact positive[7]

A similar logic is presented at Arrow School, which in contrast to the other schools seems to have evaded the issue.

Potential drawbacks of differenced teachers might come from the fact that first teachers are still teachers by name and could be seen as on an equal level with other teachers. These teachers might take offence by being seen as of lesser value than the first teachers. Another aspect is that this divide can be further implemented if the first teachers are part of a to a top bottom management structure. This can be countered by implementing a shared decision-making type of leadership. But this must also be supported by giving time and resources to develop such a leadership. The school management must also communicate the purpose of the first teachers as well as their support for them. The importance of establishing an organisation based on shared norms, values and collaborative practice is essential as a base to legitimise the first teacher's special status.

Type of employment

This part illustrates what type employment the first teachers are given, temporary or permanent.
All first teachers in the three schools are given a temporal assignment instead of a permanent employment. This is to be changed with the exception of Arrow school were such decision to make the first teacher a permanent employment is not yet taken. The most common way to

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[7] A take on this issue is presented in Appendix 2.

handle this issue is to make the appointment to first teacher temporary. 93% of all first teachers appointed in 2013 were employed on temporal basis in the interval of 12-23 months (Skolverket, 2014). The reasons for Beton's and Coxford's change might be that this was not the ambition of the reform (Skolverket, n.d.). This ambition has been further highlighted by the minister of education, who has clarified that the first teacher appointment is meant to be a permanent appointment ("Satsningen på förstelärare ska bli permanent", 2013). In contrast to this outspoken, but not regulated, intention Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (2013) informs that it is totally possible to use a temporal appointment. This can specifically be done when the appointment is newly made, making it possible to connect the state grant to a person during a set time.

> Me: The first assignment was it permanent or temporal
> Arrow: No it is in effect to 2015 next autumn I think it is what is decided
> Me: The government has said that it is to be permanent
> Arrow: I do not know [---] I do not know the rules about this but I have concluded that it is to be temporal at start and then we will have to see the municipality's position on the subject

It is also interesting to note that the head teacher of Arrow School seems to be ignorant about the rules that concern the first teachers. But such is not the case. With the exception on who to appoint to get the state grant and rules concerning the grant, which is done by others than the head teacher in that municipality, there are no rules or regulations about organizing first teachers at head teacher level (Svensk författningssamling, 2013).

Professionalistic ambition

This part of the analysis is set on analysing how professionalism is recognized in the practice at the investigated schools.

The ambitions of both Beton and Arrow schools seem to continue their already established journeys toward a better school as set out by them before the first teachers were introduced. At Beton School this is to be done by using the first teachers as role models, illustrating an idea of a conduct to be followed by the other teachers. The change is to be set by example. At Arrow School the change is to be made by instruction, based on a decided vision on what is to be done. As this vision is illustrated and by using first teachers as mediators of knowledge, the schools personnel can both receive as well as give information that can be used to achieve this vision. Coxford School is still struggling to set the mechanisms right contemplating both measurements of control and where to find influences of ambitions.

When implementing the first teacher both Arrow and Beton schools have a clear path of development, their teachers are very much already involved in their developing work and see the role of the first teachers in that structure. That precondition has made the introduction of first teachers at Beton and Arrow schools to run relatively smoothly. Coxford School are on the course of trying to find and communicate their strategies concerning the position of the first teachers, gathering ideas and frustrations from their teachers in that process.

To act as a professional agent set on change, knowledge of both what is to be done and knowledge on how it is done is important. As school development is both complex and dependent on that all concerned are aware of how and what to be done as well as their part of it, it is essential that all this is communicated and set to involve all concerned. How this communication is done and how much degree of involvement is permitted are indicators of professionalism.

At present there can be no such indicators at Coxford, since they do not know what do or how to handle the first teacher. What is done is also done by management decisions. The opposite goes for Arrow and Beton where both communication and involvement are present. Thus generalizing, Arrow and Beton adhere to the division of labour in the occupational and occupational professionalization whilst Beton and Coxford adhere to the division of labour in the bureaucratic and organizational professionalization. Again, due to this dualism, boundary work is hard to define.

Intentions & ambitions

This part illustrates how the first teachers are to be used at the three investigated schools.

The Arrow School has an active policy of engaging their staff in the school's quality work by connecting them to a set and outspoken strategy. This is mostly done by making them focus on themselves and their practice. This permits the practice to be operationalized by the practitioners. The first teachers, as they fit in this procedure, are perfect additions to continue this already started process.

> Arrow: The main thoughts have been described how to focus on the knowledge areas conciseness formative assessments enters into a meaningful teaching entrepreneurial teaching shall also be weaved into this and we have developed a structure together on reconciliation of the developing work literature [---] everybody has been able to write about their vision on teaching and this is interesting when you get a 100% of your personnel to write this to enable a further step in the thinking

A clear outline of the purpose on what to accomplish, works as gathering points from which collaborative work can start and continue. Initiating these processes based on the personnel's own ideas enables development based on the actual practice. This creates a platform where the staff can use their own experiences and knowledge in the work towards a known set goal.

The ambition of Beton School are set on using the first teacher to further establish a role model or professional conduct that also actively works as a change agent focusing on school development.

> Beton: I think because the first teachers will work more actively with cooperative assessments penetrating the subjects look at which abilities it is we are to assess ehm many are role models where many teachers have not reached as far and they are given a push to teach in accordance with Curriculum 11 not after what they have done earlier – Curriculum 80 or 94
> Me: Yes
> Beton: But I think that one can se a general shift in that these role models in the classroom know each other and I am a first teacher and I have to keep this level and you are under pressure to do a good work in the class room one has both the eyes of parent's and children's and politician's on you so you cannot you have to keep a high level

This is in effect a continuation of a process begun prior to the introduction of the first teachers.

Beton: Yes I have had much focus on developing work and many have had clear tasks and responsibilities but I think this puts eh much more yes puts focus on it

Coxford School set out to control the first teachers work by directing from above, amongst other by focusing on the issue of time as a resource.

Coxford: We have also discussed if we are going to make a special agreement on the first teachers the 40+5 agreement [working time instead of 35 –regulated + 10 unregulated]
Me Yes
Coxford: We are going to demand this from our point of view – but we have not decided yet it is for the future but we saw it as positive that we could use them without making them stressed since they get more tasks which are time consuming

An investigation gives that 13% of the first teachers are employed like this (Lärarnas Riksförbund, 2013a). It is also an example of using a rational-legal form of authority to implement their ambitions. Coxford also has a somewhat scattered ambition where first teacher objectives seem to be lacking.

Coxford: But we have in earlier discussions looked at what we need and found that our objectives set our needs [---] but we do not all have the same opinion on what is needed and must set this against each other and find a way that includes those below in a way that ideas from below from teachers or first teachers whoever are not rejected if it is good

There is no larger plan into which the first teachers can be placed. This makes them isolated actors doing different tasks which are not connected to a local idea or plan. There is an ambition to create such a plan, including its entire staff in that process.

Implementing first teachers

This part illustrates how the first teachers where introduced at the three investigated schools.

It is vital to set the scene and communicate the purpose and functions of designated change agents, in order make them function in the collective that constitutes a school. This was done at the Arrow school.

Arrow: […] we had prepared this pretty well and described it as well
Me: Yes
Arrow: That it is a natural part and if we want to succeed we will have to work like this – it might be that some might have opinions on this but it has not been spoken directly to us – nothing has been said to the first teachers – nothing has been said in meetings

The teachers at Beton School seem to be involved in the definition of the first teachers' tasks making it stem from collegial authority. Still it is the head teacher that is making the decisions.

Me: Have the teacher corps been involved in what the first teacher shall accomplish [---]
Beton: Yes they have had opinions on that yes they want to develop the subjects we need to – it is a continuous work to penetrate each subject and eh look over the abilities exercise instructions etcetera. and ehm implement assessment instructions on this subject they have had opinions on what they think the first teachers must do

Coxford School is still developing their structure and do still need time to organize what the first teachers is to accomplish. They also have to create a vision on where the school is heading, which is done through the use of standardized types of assessments. There is an ambition to analyse what genuine tasks can be given to the first teachers, but that this is done after the introduction of the first teachers has caused commotions. This is further reinforced that most decisions regarding the first teachers are done above the heads of the teacher corps at Coxford School. This seems to have caused some dislike directed towards the concept of the first teachers.

Coxford: Not in the first parts – that is what is going to happen now – thoughts about – but it is hard for them to have opinions on how they [first teachers] are going to be used when they are not given any time cause then they can think they can do more [tasks] – as well as teach as much and do more tasks than us because they earn more […] some have not been too pleased with the differenced salaries

There is an ambition to solve this commotion by initiating dialogue on how the first teachers shall function, still with a top bottom steering perspective.

Comparing text and practice analysis

To make an overview of the results of this investigation they are presented in a matrix. This matrix will show what type of division of labour, professionalism and boundary work that are found in the four different themes first in the text and then in the practice. This is done by marking which of the possible results found in grey. Above the arrows the results found in the investigated texts are marked, whilst below the arrow the result found in the investigate schools are marked. This enables one to se how the discourse is set in the text and how this is interpreted in the practice.

Themes Comparison	Governance	Objectives	Teacher autonomy	Professionalistic ambition.
Division of labour Text	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational ⇓ ⇓
Division of labour Practice	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational	Free competition Bureaucratic Occupational
Professionalism Text	Organizational Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Organizational Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Organizational Occupational ⇓ ⇓	Organizational Occupational ⇓ ⇓
Professionalism Practice	Organizational Occupational	Organizational Occupational	Organizational Occupational	Organizational Occupational
Boundary work Text	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive ⇓ ⇓	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive ⇓ ⇓	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive ⇓ ⇓	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive ⇓ ⇓
Boundary work Practice	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive	For teachers Against teachers Inconclusive

Example on how to read the matrix: If looking at the theme Governance and Division of labour, we find that the text establishes bureaucratic and practice gives bureaucratic and free competition.

Conclusions

When comparing what the text establishes and the outcome in the practice we can find that it is fairly consistent in pointing out an ambition to administer an organizational professionalism as the professionalism of choice in pursuing the objective to increase teacher professionalism. There are traces of occupational professionalism, but they are all present in the practice and as part of specific school activities of differencing magnitude decided by the school themselves. Throughout the analysed texts underpinnings indicate the markers of organizational professionalism as well as there is boundary works preventing the teachers to evolve into occupational professionalism. Division of labour is mostly focused on bureaucratic and to some extent free competition as well as, in line with the comment above, some traces of occupational in the practice.

The theme showing the most scattered result is objectives, where markers of all investigated aspects can be found. This can be a result of the reforms open ended directive,

leaving no restrictions whatsoever on how to constitute the rules and regulations concerning the tasks and objectives of the first teacher.

Discussion

The notion of a crisis usually opens up to drastic measures. If someone cries wolf people do not linger to gather facts but reacts by instinct rather than by logic. If the solution presented takes the form of a quick-fix, the inclination to step aside from principles or common sense can be even stronger. If that is the case with the first teacher reform is hard to say, but it is undisputed that it was quickly introduced in the wake of a so called crisis. The introduction went so quick that only three out of four of the expected first teachers were appointed. One reason to this is that the school owners did not manage to appoint first teachers in the given time (Skolverket, 2014). This indicates that some schools had not adequate time to adapt to the reform. Another indication that schools might have rushed into the reform is Coxford School which shows proof of not yet having set a clear course for their ambitions and intentions regarding their first teachers. This also implies the fact that the reforms introduction is forced. To further its stressed ambition the reform is also due to be expanded without much thought on how it have or will affect the Swedish school system. There was also almost a contest where different political parties overtrumped each other in an ambition to spend money and expand the reform ("MP vill fördubla karriärtjänster för lärare", 2013).

Crisis or social turbulence is often a starting point from which school development initiates. But if such is the case it is important to not turn to hasty solutions. The basis on such school development must proceed from the schools own needs and ambitions and not from pre-constructed strategies and ideas that are not firmly based on the schools everyday work. To be able to succeed in development works, it is important that the developing works are based on the bottom up perspective where the schools personnel are able to influence the developing procedures (Berg, 2003).

But the Swedish school is not in a crisis. According to the department of finance's investigation such is not the case (Åman, 2011) and, as has been seen in this investigation, the first teachers are not naturally introduced on the basis of the schools own needs and ambitions.

Results

The results of this investigation show that the reform is set on adapting the organizational professionalism, with division of labour positioned on the bureaucratic and to some extent the free market. Thus the notion made on professionalism in The Memorandum is an indicator that the division of labour takes the form of the bureaucratic, which is clad in new clothing and added some new managerial functions based on a professional self expectation. For the teacher the self expectations are a driving force to accomplish the mission to deliver accordingly what is needed and demanded. This will become the supreme task of the teachers and it is expected they make every personal effort to do so even if not materially possible (Evetts, 2005).

The question is if this individualistic self expectation is enough to induce development at schools. Evidence suggests that first teachers need to be placed in relation to a school policy and strategy that is outspoken and known to all personnel at the school. Failure to do so might cause resistance from the other teachers who do not sympathise by being run over by first teachers who have an unknown purpose and have been sanctioned to suggest that they know more than others. On the other hand given ample understanding through a well devised and outspoken plan that is firmly grounded, first teachers with a purpose are in a position to understand and identify the teachers everyday workday and can function as an important factor to start a bottom up managerial structure based on collaboration. But a structure that permits this needs to be built up and invested in (Muijs & Harris 2003), as is shown by the example of Arrow School and to some extent in Beton.

As most power of control have been given to and seems to have been taken by the school owners, the appointment of first teachers might easily turn into a top controlled process which is set on achieving goals that are constructed without connection to the schools own needs and ambitions. Instead it is possible to structure solutions based on what someone other than the teachers think is needed or even opt for solutions that worked at other schools with totally different needs and ambitions. This is shown at Coxford School that uses the first teachers to either reinforce other government reform tasks or search for ideas at other municipalities schools. What Coxford school do not seem to do is to find their own ideas to develop, based on their own needs, with the use of the first teachers. This reinforces the idea that a top controlled process can have trouble finding a genuine purpose, making the first teacher appointments seem arbitrary and in turn alienating the other teachers.

As with other change agents, the first teachers' position and role in the organisation must be communicated (Blossing, 2013) and be positioned in genuine positions to solve needs based on actual problems.

As the organizational professionalism takes its form in a management were supervision is not required and instead is substituted by self-control, the conditions based on building strong organisations based on collaboration might be easily over-stepped. Instead belief is set that individual self-control and conduct will take care of what needs to be done and often these needs are set by a client.

> The appeal to the discourse of professionalism by managers often includes the substitution of organizational for professional values; bureaucratic, hierarchical and managerial controls rather than collegial relations; managerial and organizational objectives rather than client trust based on competencies; budgetary restrictions and financial rationalizations; the standardization of work practices rather than discretion; and performance targets, accountability and sometimes increased political controls (Evetts, 2005, p. 11)

Comparing this with what is needed to create an environment for development and change in the school, the concept of organizational professionalism is not a likely way to go.

A restructuring of the teaching vocation to focus on better performances and results by the pupils is confirmed as The Memorandum sets this as the ambition of making the teacher vocation attractive. That the attractiveness itself is constituted by the monetary reward of the state grant, give indications of the ambition to position monetary rewards were results are needed. This is in line with new market adaptation and is part of the neo-liberalistic influences of our time. It is also possible to see the word attractive to have the meaning of alluring, giving that the grant-money will have an alluring effect to create better teachers.

The control of how this reform is set out indicates a strong governmental influence, which is in line with a notion that the government are taking over more and more of the control of the Swedish school system (Lo Skarsgård, 2013). But this reform contradicts this in one way by giving the school owners total control on how to implement the reform. Still the government has created an instrument to wield in their own ambitions. The reform constitutes an attractive tool to regulate and reconstruct the market towards preconceived interests (Beach, 2010). This is shown as the first teacher is used to improve schools in trouble. Directed grants are given to schools where there is a found out need of improvement (Larsson, 2014). In this way the government can leave all the work to change on individuals instead of taking care of structural deficiencies, at the same time proclaiming that they have shown force in taking care of the problems.

A critique directed against the minister of education is that he has on more than one occasion started up enquiries to investigate different aspects of the Swedish school system. Lately the minister has been accused of giving preset instructions on what the investigation is to find out (Hultén, 2014; Dahlberg 2014). This seems to be true regarding the first teacher investigation as all important decisions were already decided before the work on The Memorandum commenced. Moreover the investigated results were swept aside or ignored when the conclusions were made in order to make all decisions function within the pre-set decisions.

Another aspect is Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting's (2013) influence and how they regard the reform. In their statement on how to implement the first teacher reform, it is stated that it is the school owners' needs that are essential when to decide how many first teachers are needed, in which areas they shall work in, which schools they shall work on and which individuals are to be given the appointments. It is interesting to note that it is not the teachers, pupils nor the schools' needs that are to be satisfied, but the school owners. If the school owners' needs are to keep the budget, lower the taxes or make a profit, are that what is going to be the main target for enlisting first teachers then? This boundary work is telling!

Lastly the results that imply an ambition to implement organizational professionalism open up the question if it is a good idea to implement occupational professionalism as an alternative. Are teachers ready or even competent enough to achieve occupational professionalism? That is a question that is all but readily answered.

The analysis

Critical discourse analysis was used as the analytical tool in this thesis. As something suspicious or remarkable was discovered in the texts the use of the text analysis tools proved effective. This enabled the connection to the social practice and the unpacking of the discourse of the text. In the choice of the theoretical frame which was a vital part in setting the social practice a practical solution was found. The choice of theoretical frame was to most extent done through a course on professionalism taken at the end of last year. The aspects of professionalism and reconstruction of the teacher vocation presented at that course became the basis for my theoretical framework, supplemented by newly found and earlier discovered texts on school development and related issues.

As to things that could have influenced the investigation, two items are recognised. The first is personal bias. As being a teacher this reform influences my occupation and there are specific items in it that irritates me. To counter this it has been important to set all analysis against the social practice that constitutes my theoretical frame without letting my personal feelings interfere.

The second part is the choice of schools to investigate. As the reform is quite recent, there is no notion as to what constitutes a typical solution on how the first teachers are organised. There is the option to make references to the two investigations that has been done so far on the reform (Lärarnas Riksförbund, 2013a; Skolverket 2014). But they are quite shallow and of limited use and have therefore only been used when information useful to this investigation was available. As no common solution or average school is presented anywhere, it is hard to decide if my sample is ordinary or spectacular. The selection of the sample must be considered partly random. Only in one instance was the interviewee the same as the contact, where as the other two were chosen by the contacts themselves. The main intention was to have a spread representation on ambition, intention as well as geographical position and in hindsight this was successful. Another issue is that the use of only three head teachers as interviewees gives limited indications on how the reform is implemented in the practice and can only be seen as examples.

Further investigation

During my analysis it was easy to be sidetracked and start to analyse and interpret other aspects of the reform. Some of those efforts are presented here as possible takes on further investigation.

Teacher importance

The restructuring of the teacher vocation has put a larger emphasis on end results when monitoring teacher performance. But to understand teachers' professional behaviour there is also a need examine the influencing structural aspects and elements of actions that do impact the outcome of teacher performance (Beach, 2010)

It is not enough to look at student outcome to fully understand and analyse teacher performance. To do so there is a need to look into how teaching works as an occupation, what influences it and what consequences can be drawn from such observations. These observations must find its base by investigating which problems the teachers have to solve, how they will solve them and what do they need to solve them, to reinforce an ambitious learning. Teaching puts a heavy reliance on the interaction between the teacher and the pupil. This interaction, depending on its structure and the teacher's performance influences the education, but other important influential factors are how social inferences make an impact on the learning process. Influential factors can be infrastructure of practice - the background on how the teacher is working, influenced by curriculum, teacher education and how the employment is actually structured with regard to task to perform, commitment - how teachers manages to organise themselves and their will to succeed and resources - how much that is invested in production of knowledge, workable organisation and teacher's acknowledgement of pupil's background situations (Cohen, 2012).

In The Memorandum the expectance set on pupils reaching national objectives, set the teacher objectives on the improvement of clients' results and making it central to satisfy the customer or client[8]. Quality is thus set as giving the clients what they want or should have. Teachers' accountability is now placed in the lap of clients and policy makers, where clients are producing the results of teaching and the policy makers set the objectives of result accomplishments for the clients. Focus is on results and client performance (Foss & Lindblad, 2008). To further establish this, the minister of education has stressed the need to teach pupils more directly (Björklund, 2011). This way of teaching is often referred to as "master's desk education" [katederundervisning] in Sweden, transforming teaching to a "pedagogic communication of knowledge to their pupils" (Sohlberg et al, 2010, p. 52). The Department of Education's April launch of new reforms 2014 with focus on knowledge results, with earlier grades, new knowledge demands [kunskapskrav] and focus on standardized tests (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2014) as well as a statement by the minister of education that it is a myth "that the school results in Sweden can be improved without the knowledge demands" (Björklund, 2013b). This further acknowledges the focus on knowledge.

The focus on client result and performance establishes education as production of factors, factors that can be measured to show results. These results can be used as pointers when hiring or firing teachers based on market needs and performance. This in turn indicates an increased objectification of teachers and learners and a sacrificing of professional training, substituting it "for practical technical training (and above all economic interests)" (Beach,

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[8] Both are used interchangeably when talking about the pupils' role in the Swedish school system. As customer is usually one that pays for service delivered, I use the word client when not mentioned in a direct quote.

2010, p. 35). Will this in turn create teacher robots that are set to educate in the most winning way to achieve good test results in the next forthcoming PISA-test?

This new possible concept of teaching forwards the question if teachers are important. In The Memorandum it is pointed out at least twice, but surprisingly with different words and meaning.

> *One of the most* important factors influencing pupils study results is the teachers. (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 4) [my italics]

> *The single most* important factor to the study results of the pupils are the teachers. (Regeringskansliet, 2012, p. 47) [my italics]

In the first example the teachers are deemed one of the most important whilst in the second it is singled out as the most important factor. This inconsistency corresponds with what is described by Åman (2011) that the importance of teachers is vital but as to what extent is hard to say, stating the effect of the teacher as d=0,40, indicating that the importance of teachers only has a modest effect (Muijs, 2004). Do these statements in The Memorandum differ to illustrate the uncertainty about how important the teachers are or to set us wondering? Notable is that the less definitive version is the one reprised in The Proposition, giving a clue on which version the government subscribes to. To confuse us even more the minister of education states that the teachers have Sweden's most important occupation (Björklund, 2013a).

In this restructuring struggle on teaching, who will be the leading force in the developing ambitions to create the school that performs accordingly? As has somewhat been indicated in my investigation of practice, is the head teacher becoming the pedagogical expert who knows how to create a teaching organisation single handed? Will this in turn downgrade (non-first) teachers into teaching robots who will teach by the numbers, supported by first teachers who primarily work as showcases of conduct?

Who's on first?

The Memorandum states that it has been investigating what name is deemed appropriate for a specifically skilful teacher. This investigation is in no way accounted for in The Memorandum and instead it is easy to suggest that the name has simply been taken from the suggestion made by Mette Fjelkner (2011). The name has been open to debate, as the name first teacher endorses a representation that is easy to criticise and have also been so, amongst others by Lärarförbundet (2012) who finds the title first teacher archaic and suggests a change to a more modern title like developing teacher, career teacher, expert teacher or particularly qualified teacher. Even so the non-career teacher would be equally downgraded, as the criticism for first teacher goes, merely by putting non- or not in front of any of these suggested titles.

Even though the name might be contested and can easily be swept aside as of petty importance in a bigger picture, the notion of being first[9] does not to seem to be very Swedish. But that might be an old fashioned perspective on my behalf. Anyhow due to the name's spectacular expression it would have been interesting to follow the investigation on how and why it came to be decided.

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[9] One example of such scepticism regarding the name can be seen through an observation, involving a Swedish word pun, done by the first teacher Sandra. She, in a sense of embarrassment of being singled out as better than her peers, references to the local dialectic habit of pronouncing the letter ö similar to the letter u. By so changing the first vowel the Swedish word förstelärare will be converted into furstelärare. In English this will be translated as transforming the *first teacher* to the *prince of teachers* (Arnt, 2013).

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Organizational and occupational professionalism – a comparison

MODEL 1

Organizational professionalism

- discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations

- rational-legal forms of authority

- standardized procedures

- hierarchical structures of authority and decision-making

- managerialism

- accountability and externalized forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review

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- linked to Weberian models of organization

Occupational professionalism

- discourse constructed within professional groups

- collegial authority

- discretion and occupational control of the work

- practitioner trust by both clients and employers

- controls operationalized by practitioners

- professional ethics monitored by institutions and associations

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- located in Durkheim's model of occupations as moral communities

(Evetts, 2005, p. 10)

A reform to increase teaches' salaries

One of the effects of the first teacher reform is that it increases the salary of those appointed by 5000SEK, it also adds to the total increase of teacher wages – and will thus influence the amount of money available to distribute after the annual wage revision is made. To se the effect of this increase on teacher wages as a whole, the following generalised example is set. If the 4000 predicted to be first teacher get their wages raised by 5000SEK each, that would create a further 500 000SEK to be distributed amongst the teachers at the 2014 salary revision – using a prediction of a salary percent increase of 2,5% based on the industrial mark of 2,1% (Lärarnas Riksförbund, 2013b). In 2012 there were around 130 000 teachers working in Sweden (Skolverket, 2013), if we divide the 500 000SEK amongst these 130 000 teachers each teacher will get an extra monthly increase of 3,85SEK due to the first teacher career reform. Thus the ambition to create a reform to increase teachers' salaries is set to just below 4SEK monthly if the general pay raise is 2,5%.

Only 3040 first teachers were appointed and only 7% of these got the grant as a permanent pay raise, the others got their increase as a temporal add-on (Skolverket, 2014). This gives that 213 teachers raised their salaries by 5000SEK, creating a total of 26 625SEK to distribute amongst the 130 000 – giving each teacher 0,20SEK monthly.

The ambition of Lärarnas Riksförbund was that the introduction of career appointments would give an increase of 10 000SEK monthly to all licensed teachers (Fjelkner, 2011).

Appendix 3

A note on Swedish words

This text is about the Swedish school system. Due to this and since the text is written in English; sometimes specific Swedish words will have to make an appearance. To handle that and to avoid misunderstandings the following steps have been taken.

In this text I will use a system similar to that in use when it was common to write Swedish text in gothic letters. Swedish and Germanic words used gothic letters, while words of Latin origin, usually from French or Latin proper, used Latin letters. I will use a similar system were English words are written in a font using serifs while Swedish words will be depicted with a font without (sans) serifs. Thus a Swedish word in the text will be written thus: *The promemoria serves as the background for this reform.*

Most of the time I will try to translate the Swedish specific word into an English equivalent. To hinder misinterpretation I will give the Swedish word subsequently in square brackets. In the continuing text I will use the English translation throughout, having already established its heritage. The following gives an example: *This new reform introduces the first teacher [förstelärare] to the Swedish school arena. The first teacher is introduced together with a state grant, giving those assigned first teachers a hefty pay raise.*

Swedish word will also be used without Swedish articles, substituting them for English ones – which can be seen in the first example above. Swedish titles used solely as references will not be used in the above manner, since they are not part of the actual text. References (set in parentheses in accordance with the APA-system) will thus, to all extent, be using the same font as the actual text.

Finally, I will also like to clarify that all translations from Swedish texts to English were made by me.