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THE RECONTEXTUALISATION OF SOCIAL PEDAGOGY
A study of three curricula in the Netherlands, Norway and Ireland
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1 Introduction

International contacts with colleagues in educational programmes within the area of social pedagogy have offered much inspiration for the organisation and content of the curriculum in Malmö, the workplace of the authors of this thesis. One of our exchange programmes has been between Malmö and Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen in the Netherlands. The first impression was of a very dynamic college characterised by a large number of creative elements. One’s very first steps into the premises would startle any visitor. The rooms for dance lessons, drama teaching, and music were all placed closed to the entrance. The sounds of practice sessions were mixed with the buzz of teachers and students on the run. A bustling life!

To the impression of a truly dynamic college was added an interesting version of the integration of different elements of the curriculum: basic theoretical subjects, practice, and creative subjects. During one of the first visits to the college we had the opportunity to observe a lecture, in fact the last lecture of a five-week long period in the subject sport en spel. The lecture contained a series of games designed for different kinds of participants, with carefully elaborated, theoretically founded aims, – in all a brilliant manifestation of the college’s ambition to integrate the different aspects of education.

We can also recall another episode, this time a music lesson lasting an hour and a half on the theme of African drumming: a theoretical intro followed by an hour-long drumming session, students in two opposite lines drumming at each other. During the last five minutes there was a somewhat shallow discussion on how to use this type of music in different institutions, with different participant groups and so on. We were a bit puzzled by how isolated the theoretical discussion was from the core of the lesson and in the discussion, the lecturer meant this was due to the fact that every, literally every, lesson should end with a discussion on how to make use of its particular content. That was compulsory.

To sum up, what did we have here? Education with a strong emphasis on creativity, traditional academic subjects, a distinctive aim of cre-
ating strong personalities, and a pedagogical approach with a marked stress on integrating academic, practical, and creative elements.

Different colleges, different programmes, that is a truism. But the curriculum in Nijmegen seemed to be a fundamentally exceptional one. Our experiences in Nijmegen inspired the idea to carry out a more systematic study of the Nijmegen curriculum and to add a comparative approach through expanding the study to other colleges.

1.1 Social pedagogy in diverse contexts

An Irish social care worker is employed in a community work project supporting lone mothers in a poor area in the outskirts of a small town. Her tasks are, among others, to look after the children when the mothers are in-group discussions with another social care worker. Sometimes she is the one who takes an active part in the supportive talks. Once a week she runs a cookery course to help overcome the children’s problem with obesity. Once in a while there are excursions to historical sites and visits to museums and theatres.

In another part of Europe a welfare nurse talks to an elderly woman in her flat. The woman, called Mette-Marit, has recently returned from a stay at the hospital because of a fractured thigh. The welfare nurse gives information to the woman about her rights regarding her after care needs. She also inquires about Mette-Marit’s social activities, interests, social network, and her daily way of life in general. She listens to and encourages Mette-Marit to find her own solutions on how to cope with her situation. She does not want to be too demanding - Mette-Marit’s wishes and solutions have to be met with respect. Everything is carefully recorded by the welfare nurse, notes that are vital parts of the assessment procedure. Mette-Marit’s needs are in the next phase evaluated with reference to the municipal financial norms.

In yet another setting, an institution for people with learning difficulties in Amsterdam, a social educational worker is occupied in a music session with a group of people. Her task is to with the help of music develop the communicative skills of her clients. Turn taking, using voices to respond to each other and the joint rhythmical movements support the participants’ feelings that they have a common language and mutual points of reference. Even if each member’s effort is minimal, the joint product is edifying. The collective feeling between the group members might function as a liberating force, which in the long
run can help them to be more self-aware and independent. The social educational worker uses music as a means to communicate with the participants who have no spoken language. Music might be a starting point for further communication.

These situations are examples of a very broad work field. The events described above have common features, independent of context. Someone is trying to influence another person. There is an aim to teach people who are in a subordinate and dependent position, through a variety of pedagogic means; it is a matter of informal learning, education and life-long learning. Learning processes that have become more and more focused in, for example, public health and life style issues (Svederberg and Svensson 2001). Professional welfare workers are encouraged to use different ways to educate people to live a “better” life.

The professionals seem to have joint repertoires: communication is vital, they try to help people to find ways to cope with “life” in society, they have to find a proper balance between influential actions and “sisterly” friendship – the work is first and foremost carried out by women.

The actions are on one hand a mixture of everyday, down to earth, and commonsense reasoning, and on the other hand systematic and rational choices of performances. All the described actions can be seen as pedagogic influential processes. Actions that are taken by the professional workers in these examples have gone through a process of recontextualisation, i.e. the actions that are implemented by the workers have been clad in scientific terms in the educational system.

In this thesis, pedagogy and the pedagogical perspectives are central. The foundations of the pedagogic perspectives and the pedagogic questions are the varieties of observable human actions. The array of human activities is unlimited and as well as this individuals may act very differently in apparently similar situations. Some actions are respected as “better” than others. The pedagogic questions that arise are how to promote actions that are seen as better. The questions are on one hand about which actions are to be valued higher and why, and on the other hand if the so-called better actions can be achieved and if so how? The relation between the two sides of the coin – what is desirable and what is possible – is central (Svensson 1989).

Social pedagogical activities are based on help and assistance to people in need. The activities are emancipating, aiming at mobilisation of
human resources. The activities are also pedagogical interventions imbued by power since one person seeks to influence another.

1.2 The recontextualisation of social pedagogy

Power in society is present in different arenas. Bernstein (1990) identifies one form of power exercise as *symbolic control* and says that it

... is the means whereby consciousness is given a specialised form and distributed through forms of communication, which relay a given distribution of power and dominant cultural categories. (p. 134)

Symbolic control controls us in an invisible way. Expressed in more technical terms, symbolic control acts as a conduit to translate power into discourse. Bernstein compares symbolic control to a language. When we communicate, we acquire the rules underlying language and in this way we are able to create almost unlimited combinations of elements of the language. This can be compared to the function of symbolic control. In an unconscious way our minds are shaped through structures already present, such as roles, ways of thinking, norms, rules, and normalising processes in society. The essence of symbolic control “... lies in the transformation of the language of feeling and desiring” (p. 158).

Various institutions have their main purpose in different “missions” in society, and they serve as agents of symbolic control: *Repairers* whose function is to diagnose, prevent, and repair breakdowns in social relationships. Examples of those agencies are medical, psychiatric, and social services. *Shapers* – creators of symbolic forms – are agents within higher education, universities, and research centres. *Reproducers* are agents of the school system. *Executors* are agents in civil service, central and local government. There are as well the *Regulators* who define, monitor and maintain symbolic control, e.g. religious and legal agencies. Professionals in the field of social pedagogy, social educational workers, can be found in the repairers and the reproducers categories.

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1 According to Power and Whitty (2002) Bernstein later added a sixth group the “Diffusers” / “Recontextualisers” / “Propogators” working in mass- and special media.
The symbolic control agencies/agents are more or less dependent on and controlled by the state. The point is, according to Bernstein, that “… these agencies/agents are concerned with the maintenance and change of order by discursive means, and all are concerned with aspects of normalization” (p. 139). But symbolic control is not a one-dimensional phenomenon in society. It is also constantly in flux. Processes of normalisation are very often contradictory and uncover more or less visible antagonisms between groups and standpoints, because:

Control cannot control itself, any more than discourse can control discourse. Symbolic control, always a condition for someone else’s order, carries within itself the potential for transforming the order of the imposing other. (p. 159)

A condition for this argumentation is that theories about cultural reproduction at the same time are theories about resistance. To keep watch on control, on the discourse, is the key to dominance. Bernstein derives some arguments from Foucault, – for instance the gaining of power through discourse – and from Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) who express similar thoughts summarised in their concept symbolic violence. The innovative element of the analysis by Bernstein on symbolic control is his careful and detailed inspection of the medium for symbolic control, for which he introduced the concept the pedagogic device.

Social pedagogy exists “out there” in an unmediated guise. Social educational workers interact in typical social pedagogical situations with clients in institutions and in open encounters, in teams or in one to one encounters in more temporary situations. Actions come from spontaneous decisions as well as from carefully designed plans.

Whatever the circumstances, these actions and their contexts are inaugurated into a theoretical form, i.e. into a discourse. The primary discourse is moved to a new context, the pedagogic context, according to the operations of the pedagogic device, the medium for symbolic control. In short: Bernstein goes into detail on how an entity or a procedure is organised in a pedagogical form according to the innate rules of the pedagogic device. The foremost rule is about how power structures could be maintained symbolically in pedagogic processes.

Social pedagogy as a substantive practice is thus removed from its natural position into a pedagogic practice. In this removal it is made abstract. Bernstein (1990) describes these operations and their societal, power-oriented repercussions.
Pedagogic discourse, then is a principle which removes (delocates) a discourse from its substantive practice and context, and relocates that discourse according to its principle of selective reordering and focusing. In this process of the delocation and the relocation of the original discourse the social basis of its practice, including its power relations, is removed. In the process of the de- and relocation the original discourse is subject to a transformation which transforms it from an actual practice to a virtual or imaginary practice. (p. 184)

Bernstein calls the transformation recontextualisation, a process that is following recontextualisation rules (discussed further in chapter 3). It takes place in a field where several discourses are present, one of them being the discourse of social pedagogy itself.

1.3 Social pedagogy – discipline or emancipation

There is a long European tradition to foster children and youth through the educational system, often with religious characteristics. There are 17th century examples of schools in France in which social educational workers were operating to spread the Catholic faith (Eriksson 1999).

The term social pedagogy emanates from the early 19th century. Adold Diesterweg made use of the term in a textbook utilized in teacher education (Hegstrup 2003). The first definition of social pedagogy was formulated by Paul Natorp in 1904. Natorp’s concept of social pedagogy contained a philosophical view of man and society and was meant to permeate the educational system. In his view, the role of a teacher was to educate and foster children to be prepared to handle all aspects of life. Social pedagogy was, according to Natorp, a way to teach children to become citizens; a view of education that is close to how Dewey defined it (Eriksson & Markström 2000, 2003; Mathiesen 2000).

In Germany, two types of institutions for upbringing evolved: a) the school system which was to educate, socialise, and prepare for working life, and b) institutions for children and youth not able to succeed in the normal school system. The latter institutions gained clearly defined normalisation functions in the construction of the institutionalised social policy in Germany, a thought that was spread to other embryonic welfare states in the 1920–1930s (Madsen 1995).
Social pedagogy has since developed in various directions. The contemporary conception of social pedagogy has by Eriksson and Markström (2000) been characterised as upheld by three pillars: a) the continental version advocated by Natorp aiming at fostering and upbringing of children and youth b) the second pillar influenced by community work, social mobilisation, empowerment of groups, and the French movement “animation” c) and lastly the American version of social work, the case-work method, built upon a medical diagnosis-treatment-evaluation model.

There are both emancipating and disciplining undercurrents in social pedagogy, tensions that presumably are reflected in social educational practice as well as in the curricula that are constructed to train students for social educational practice.

Social educational workers relate to people in difficult situations to meet their material and social needs. This simple description of the work is but a narrow view of a complex relation between a professional and her client. An analysis of the relation between the two might start with an inquiry into the organisational aspects of the relation. Since the bulk of the social educational work is carried out in organisations, private or governmental, it is always interesting to investigate the importance of the organisation’s interests as compared to that of the client, in Habermas’ (1984, 1987) *lifeworld* or *system* oriented. Will social integration give space for emancipation, or is life in modern society and accordingly social pedagogy’s function merely disciplinary and an instrument for normalisation (Foucault 1985)?

1.4 **Social pedagogy, the welfare state, and professionalisation**

Social educational workers are one of many social professions that are expected to help people in need to be able to take part in the welfare state. They are more or less supposed to act on commission of the state, dependent on if they are employed by governmental agencies/organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGO:s), voluntary services, self-help organisations, and the like.

The welfare society is not a fixed entity; the obligations of the social professions are varying depending on the nature of the welfare state.
The routes to the formations (and the deconstruction) of the welfare states are filled with debates, power demarcations, and political conflicts. Their different trajectories lead to varying conceptions of the welfare state in European countries due to facts such as economic developments, political preferences, and knowledge about human needs.

Comparisons between welfare states are highlighting the intersection between the state, civil society, and the market. Some welfare states put emphasis on governmental measures, whereas others organise welfare on market principles or on the basis of the civil society (Abrahamsson in Munday 1996). Other comparisons between welfare states are based on how social rights such as pensions, sickness benefits, and unemployment securities are distributed to citizens in capitalist welfare states (Esping-Andersen 1990).

All welfare professions (e.g. nurses, doctors, social workers, occupational therapists, social educational workers) are fighting for the right to call themselves professions. Processes of professionalisation take various routes in the different states. The boundaries between the welfare professions have miscellaneous configurations depending on unique routes to professionalisation.

In the course of professionalisation there are three main arenas with active agents in the construction of professional groups: the state, the professional bodies, and the universities. These three parties stand in a complex relation to each other. Welfare workers, through the state’s social political intentions, are in the end important tools for the realisation of the welfare state, a circumstance that gives a complex mix of dependency and freedom for professional actions.

The state is an important player in deciding and legitimising the knowledge base underpinning professional activities. The legitimising of the properties of a profession is an important component in the route to academicalisation.

It is important to note that we in this thesis are not concerned with professional activities as they are performed as professional practice; our emphasis is on how processes of professionalisation are interpreted by the players in the field of reproduction.

Discourses of professionalisation, academicalisation, social pedagogy, and the discourse of the welfare state will all have an impact on the recontextualisation of social pedagogy into a curriculum.
1.5 Purpose and contents of the study

The purpose of this thesis is to describe, analyse, and compare the recontextualisation of social pedagogy in three different curricula; in Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen in Hogeschool Arnhem en Nijmegen, in Applied Social Studies in the Institute of Technology Sligo, Ireland and in Barnevernpedagogutdanningen and Vernepleieutdanningen at Høgskolen in Lillehammer. These curricula represent different academic orientations and are located in different social-political contexts. The connection between curriculum and environment is central in the analysis.

First this is about the educational properties of the recontextualisation. Second it is about how social pedagogy is presented, compared to contemporary views on social pedagogy. Third it concerns the connection between educational and social pedagogical properties.

After the introductory chapter the thesis will contain the following chapters:

Part I: The theoretical foundations
Chapter 2: A background sketch of social pedagogy and welfare ideologies. Professionalisation, academicalisation, and the knowledge base of social pedagogy are discussed. Social pedagogy is given a provisional definition.
Chapter 3: A critical analysis of higher education in social pedagogy with the use of concepts from the writings of Basil Bernstein

Part II: Starts with an account of the objectives that are used in the analyses of the curricula
Chapter 4: Methods and material.
Chapter 5: Analysis of the curriculum of Nijmegen
Chapter 6: Analysis of the curriculum of Lillehammer
Chapter 7: Analysis of the curriculum of Sligo
Chapter 8: The recontextualisation of social pedagogy. Conclusions

Both authors are responsible for chapters 1, 5 and 8
Mats Högström for sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, chapters 3 and 6
Pelle Hallstedt for section 2.4, chapters 4 and 7
Part I
2 The welfare state and the social professions

This chapter will discuss the following questions: How is the welfare state to serve its citizens? How can welfare states be characterised? What different social professionals are agents of welfare states? What are the main characteristics of social pedagogy?

The chapter will contain an outline of the development of the welfare state and the implementation of social policy. Some of the means in the construction and preservation of the welfare state are certain occupational groups – the social professions. Social work with its ramifications, in particular social pedagogy, will be discussed in relation to the state’s intentions, as well as in relation to human needs. Issues of professionalisation and academicalisation will be reflected on. Finally, social pedagogy will be given a provisional definition.

2.1 Social professions as a means to realise the welfare state

To work with people as the “raw material” is one of the characteristic features of human services organisations (HSO) (Hasenfeld 1983). HSO is a class of organisations that play an important role in realising the welfare state. The agents of the human service organisations are among others teachers, doctors, nurses, and social workers. The overall designation for these occupations is usually “welfare workers”.²

² Lyons (1999) and Lorenz (1994) prefer to collect the different occupations under one heading the “social professions”.
2.1.1 The Welfare State

According to Esping-Andersen, the welfare state is: “... state responsibility for securing some basic modicum of welfare for its citizens” (1990, pp. 18-19). Education is one of five key welfare services that are provided by the state. The others are – according to for example Midgley (1997) – income security programmes, health services, housing, and social work services. The focus is on social welfare issues. Midgley gives a three dimensional definition of the concept: “… a state or condition of human well-being that exists when social problems are managed, when human needs are met, and when social opportunities are maximized” (in italics by Midgley, p. 5).

The welfare state, sometimes called the welfare society, is a fairly recent device for the distribution of a state’s resources. The starting point for the development of the welfare societies of today was in the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. There were in most industrialised countries attempts to regulate the growing problems with mass movements from rural to urban areas (Midgley 1997).

The term “social policy” was introduced in the wake of the rise of the welfare state. The term was used in two ways. Social policy was introduced as an academic discipline as well as the development and the operation of state welfare policies and practices.

The main purpose of welfare societies is to level out differences between socio-economic groups and to compensate for loss of income. But, Esping-Andersen says that the welfare state does not only create a more egalitarian society, it is also a system of stratification. He says that: “It (the welfare state) is an active force in the ordering of social relations” (1990, p. 23). Two examples of social stratification caused by social political actions are discussed by Williams (1989). The Beveridge plan was said to support white male middle class standards and Bismarck’s implementation of the social security system was a way to hide class conflicts. The welfare state has also contributed to the

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1 Social Policy was in the beginning of the 20th century known as “social administration” (Williams 1989).

4 The Beveridge report was implemented in Great Britain 1942. The policy programme made Great Britain the world’s leading welfare state.

5 Bismarck implemented a social security income programme for low-income workers in Germany 1883.
stratification of professions, an issue that will be discussed in later sections.

The organisation of social welfare is traditionally divided between “key social welfare institutions”: non-formal welfare institutions; religious and secular philanthropy; commercial enterprises; state welfare; and voluntary institutions. In the last decades there has been a move towards a welfare pluralism, which means mixtures and movements between the key welfare institutions (Midgley 1997). Even if globalisation processes are changing normal patterns, each state has its own characteristics.

The welfare state and its relation to its citizens have been debated by a number of scholars. Habermas, for example, uses ideas about the system’s colonisation of the lifeworld to describe how human relations are rationalised via money and power. Foucault has outlined how the welfare state is disciplining people through its institutions.

2.1.2 Welfare capitalism

The Esping-Andersen typology (1990) is based on the theory of de-commodification. Esping-Andersen conducted vast statistical analyses of how much 18 states (13 European states plus Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and the U.S.) each spent on social security for its citizens. He could thus identify three “capitalist welfare-state regimes”. Crucial for his analyses and for the formation of the welfare state are the three actors and their interrelations; the state, the civil society, and the market.

The states in Esping-Andersen’s survey are clustered in “regime-types” (1990, pp. 26–27).

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6 Esping-Andersen’s thesis is that capitalism turned labour into a commodity. When social rights were produced by the state to its citizens there was a loosening of the commodity status of labour. This detachment of the status of human labour is denoted de-commodification. This occurs “… when a service is rendered as a matter of right. And when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market” (1990, p. 22). That is a citizen can freely without the risk of losing his/her job, take a break from work. Put in another way, the worker in a de-commodified state has a stronger position vis-à-vis the employer compared to a worker in a state where labour is commodified to a higher degree. Of course this is a simplification, the regime types are to be seen as ideal types. Esping-Andersen says that the concept of de-commodification does not mean a complete loss of labour as a commodity. The concept refers to the degree to which citizens can survive on an acceptable standard of living independently of the market.
- The first cluster is called the *liberal* welfare state. Significant for these states are means-tested aids, modest universal transfers, and modest social insurances. The beneficiaries are mainly the low-income working class population. Benefits are associated with stigma. The effect of de-commodification is minimised. Typical examples are the United States, Canada, and Australia.

- The second type is the *conservative-corporatist* welfare state. These states have a moderate degree of de-commodification. There is an acceptance of social welfare as citizens’ rights. These rights exist within traditional authority structures: the state is dominated by traditional religious beliefs; there is a stress on the family as the core actor in social welfare; and on traditional beliefs about gender relationships. Churches and voluntary organisations play an important role for the social welfare. Austria, Germany, France, and Italy are typical states in this cluster.

- The third regime-type is the *social democratic* welfare state, which is led by the principle of comprehensiveness and a high degree of de-commodification. The social welfare also embraces the middle class. There is a mixture between liberal and socialist ideas in this model. In a way this model is also family centred but in contrast to the second regime-type the welfare state does not wait until the resources of the family are drained. The Scandinavian countries, with Sweden in particular, are the model states for this regime-type.

2.1.2.1 The national contexts of the three curricula

The curricula investigated in this thesis were created in the Netherlands, Norway, and in Ireland. How can these states be classified in relation to regime-types and other classification systems?

Esping-Andersen compared, among other variables, old-age pensions, sickness benefits, and unemployment insurances. On each of these variables the higher the score, the more de-commodification. On the variable *pensions* Ireland scored 6.7, the Netherlands 10.8, and finally Norway 14.9 (Sweden 17.0, the highest score). On the variable *sickness* the figures are in Ireland 8.3, in the Netherlands 10.5, and in Norway 14.0 (Sweden again the highest score on 15.0). The variable *unemployment* shows a different feature, but the mentioned figures are enough to illustrate the point with the Esping-Andersen scoring procedure.
From this we may draw the conclusion that Ireland is a state with low de-commodification and thus belonging to the first regime type, the liberal welfare state.\footnote{But, as Midgley (1997) says there are many ways to score and measure each state’s status as a welfare state. Lorenz (1994) uses a combination of Esping-Andersen’s and Leibfrieds’ (1992) ways to characterise European states. According to Abrahamsson (in Munday 1996) the Latin welfare model includes except Ireland also Greece, Spain, Italy, and Portugal. In spite of the differences in how to classify the states, we find similarities between them. Ireland can be placed in the Latin welfare model (Abrahamsson), the rudimentary model (Leibfried) as well as in Esping-Andersens liberal welfare state.}

The Netherlands is a mixture of a conservative-corporativist welfare state and the social democratic model.\footnote{Some welfare scientists such as Abrahamsson (in Munday 1996) also use, besides the conservative-corporatist model, the concept of the institutional model (Wilensky and Lebeaux) to characterise the Netherlands. Lorenz (1994), who uses Leibfried’s method of classification, prefers to place the Netherlands in the conservative-corporativist cluster.} Esping-Andersen places the Netherlands close to the Nordic cluster (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden) once all the de-commodification variables are combined.

Norway belongs to the social democratic welfare regime-type, sometimes referred to as the Scandinavian model. The underlying philosophy is that earning through wages is the best way to secure welfare. If people are employed, the state has less compensatory duties.

Even if the Esping-Andersen classification is debated (and in some respects it is “out of fashion” since the regime-types are derived from data collected at the end of the 1980s), we still find it useful as a framework for our analysis of the curricula. The welfare typologies have to be complemented with other national characteristics, which is done in the introduction of the analytic parts of the thesis (see chapters 5, 6, and 7).

2.1.2.2 What is the position of the social professions in the welfare state?

According to Lorenz (1994) the formation of the welfare state is one of the most determinative factors for the possibilities and the restrictions of the welfare professions. But even if the rise of the social professions coincides with the rise of the welfare states the social professions cannot be seen as formed by the states. The social professions belong to civil society which is one of the self-regulating units of modern society. They make up an important connecting link between civil society and the state.
The role of the different typologies of welfare states is to help determine to what extent a) the market, b) the civil society, or c) the state and the mixture between the spheres\(^9\) has an impact on people’s welfare as well as how the social professions are designed.

2.2 Professionals taking part in realising the welfare state

The questions to be discussed in this section are: What different social professionals are agents of the welfare states? What are the main characteristics of the social professions?

This thesis has social pedagogy as its focus. There is no straightforward answer to the question to what social pedagogy is. “Social pedagogy” is described as identical to and interchangeable with the more established “social work” whereas social pedagogy by others is described as distinctly different from social work. There is a fairly good international agreement on what social work is even if its boundaries change depending on contexts. It is more difficult to make an internationally viable definition of social pedagogy. First, it does not exist as a demarcated concept outside Europe\(^{10}\) and second, the use of the term is limited to the northern and eastern non-Anglo-Saxon part of Europe.\(^{11}\) But even if the varieties of social professional groups are different they are, according to McDonald, Harris, and Wintersteen (2003), surprisingly similar.

The next section will first outline the quality of social work. Secondly, we will discuss the term social pedagogy specifically.

2.2.1 Social work

The main group within the broader term social professions consists of social workers. The profession emerged in the middle and second half

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\(^9\) Abrahamsson (in Munday 1996) called the three elements “spheres” and used to illustrate the elements as three corners of a triangle.

\(^{10}\) Through personal communication with colleagues in Denmark we have learnt that there is one local educational programme in the U.S. that is established with the help of Danish educators in social pedagogy.

\(^{11}\) The term is known by educators in Great Britain and in Ireland due to an extensive European exchange of ideas in the last decade.
of the 19th century. Initiatives from individuals, charity organisations, and the church laid the foundation for modern social work. From the beginning, individuals and loosely coupled organisations worked to diminish the effects of poverty, bad living conditions, and demoralisation. Even at the time of the very emergence of this occupation, ideas and practical experiences were interchanged between nations and continents. Tracing the roots of modern social work is like untangling a spider’s web of intertwined ideas and thoughts.

Some forerunners are mentioned in textbooks about the history of modern social work. The Frenchman Claude Saint-Simon advocated, from a sociological stand-point, a total change of the organisation of people’s life (Soydan 1993) and the American Jane Addams was deeply devoted to the settlement movement in Chicago12 (Eriksson & Markström 2000). The British Octavia Hill’s work in the philanthropic organisation “Charity Organisation Society” was crucial for the foundation of social work as an occupation.

From the start social work was a non-governmental occupation. Early pioneers developed methods based on their practical experiences. Policy makers, politicians and those in powerful positions used the knowledge gained from early experiments to create the welfare state.

2.2.1.1 A tension between discipline and emancipation in social work

In the practice of social work there is a tension between adjustment/discipline/oppression on one hand and emancipation/empowerment/liberation on the other. The emphasis may be on adjustment, on liberation, or on both.13

The literature is dominated by the discussion of some general classifications and views:

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12 The settlement movement was the name given to “alternative living”. Addams was influenced by John Dewey’s ideas about education for adults.

13 There are several attempts to find the one and only definition of social work. For a discussion of the contents and range of social work practice and as an area of research see e.g. Meuwisse & Swärd (2000); Nygren (2000); Thompson (2000); Mullaly (1997); Payne (1996, 1997).
Box 1. Perspectives on social work practice theory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification on social work theory</th>
<th>Perspective on society</th>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Theoretical influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive-therapeutic</td>
<td>Social consensus</td>
<td>Social change</td>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>Existentialist, humanist, social psychological, empowerment of the individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist-collectivist</td>
<td>Social conflict</td>
<td>Social change</td>
<td>Structures</td>
<td>Radical, anti-oppressive, empowerment of groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualist-reformist</td>
<td>Social consensus</td>
<td>Social order</td>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>Task-centred/systems theory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Payne (1996, 1997) classifies the theories as “perspectives” (the left-hand column in figure 1). The three perspectives may be represented within either an order or a conflict perspective.

The reflexive-therapeutic perspective promotes and facilitates the clients’ personal growth and self-realisation. There is an ultimate aim for people to “… gain power over their own feelings and way of life …” (p. 2). These are emancipating aims of social work, with achievements measured in the empowering of an individual client or groups of clients.

The socialist-collectivist perspective emphasises the empowerment of the oppressed and disadvantage people in society. People are made conscious of their subordinated position in order to change societal power structures.

The individualist-reformist perspective stresses the role of social workers as service givers and relievers of suffering. Social workers should be active in the improvement of the service system. Social work practice seen in this perspective may be close to the oppressive and disciplining elements of social work practice.

The order perspective of social work was influenced by scholars, such as Weber, Parsons, and Durkheim. The order perspective, which also gives the functionalist view of society, assumes that social problems, like deviant behaviour, are due to the person’s socialisation processes. The solutions proposed are to help the person to function

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14 The box is an interpretation of Payne (1997, chapters 1 and 13).
normally in the society’s institutions. The psychosocial approach is a
good example of this perspective. The functionalist view of social
work has had a great impact, especially in North America (Mullaly
1997).

The conflict perspective is closely related to Marxism and its succes-
sor the “critical” and “radical” perspectives. Conflict theorists do not
accept the understanding of an ordered society; they want radical
changes, a re-organisation of the structures of society. Critical theorists
from the Frankfurt school are the most well known representatives for
this perspective.

Different theoretical knowledge bases have developed to guide so-
cial work practice from both the consensus and the conflict perspec-
tives of society. Mullaly’s division into four “paradigms”: The
Neo-Conservative; The Liberal; The Social Democratic; The Marxist.
These paradigms can be seen as covering all thinking in modern social
work. The two first mentioned paradigms are the most common be-
cause of their individualistic, casework, psychosocial solutions on
problems of social order. The latter paradigms emphasise structural
changes. Mullaly himself advocates “structural social work” – a radical
approach close to the Marxist paradigm. This is important for the sur-
vival of true social work since, in his opinion, all other attempts have
failed (Mullaly 1997).

Most researchers and practitioners in social work are familiar with
the classification outlined above. If social work is seen from an order
or conflict perspective, it varies over time and contexts.

2.2.2 Social pedagogy – a historical background

There are many names for the different occupational groups that are
active in the welfare society. The scattered field of social professions
in “the arena of work sites” (a term borrowed from Johansson 2001)
are seldom uniform, an issue that is not very important or troublesome
as long as the occupations do not claim to be professions.

Social pedagogical work have joint contents with many other oc-
cupational groups such as social educational work, social care work-
ers, youth workers, child welfare nurses, welfare nurses, and anima-

15 Mullaly defines it as: “… a specific type of cognitive framework from which a discipline or a
profession views the world and its place in it” (ibid. p. 18).
The next section will outline social pedagogy which has influenced several occupational groups, whatever they are called, in welfare societies.

2.2.2.1 The origins of social pedagogy

Social pedagogy has its roots in continental Europe. In France, for example, there were during the 17th century a number of associations aiming at preserving and strengthening the Catholic faith among European citizens. Some of these more or less formalised organisations such as “frères d’ecoles chretiennes et gratuites” were active within the school system (Eriksson 1999). These educators can be seen as the forerunners to the more modern terms social pedagogues/social educational workers.

Pastor Obelin in Alsace ran some institutions for poor children; the activities pursued within these homes are in more modern linguistic usage denoted as social education. These “conductrices d’enfant” were similar to modern pre-school teachers.

Another example is Heinrich Pestalozzi who, inspired by the ideas of Rousseau, tried to socialise children in institutions, into society.

According to Eriksson (1999) there were some vocational schools for men aiming at work amongst poor people, primarily in the countryside. These professionals may be considered to be a combination of teacher and welfare worker. In these early years of industrialisation, when poor people were marked for life, there was an evident strive to educate children and youth into good citizenship. The first professionalisation of these educators emerged through a Swiss (in the German region) occupational association “Verein fur Schweizerisches Heimvesen VSA”.

The original social educational workers saw themselves as missionaries not “social workers” (a term hardly invented then) but the term “sozialpädagog” emerged in this context (ibid., p. 40).

Two German philosophers Karl Mager and Adolph Diesterweg are said to be the founders of the concept of social pedagogy in early 19th century (Mathiesen 2000; Hämäläinen 1989). Diesterweg used the word “Sozialpädagogik” in 1835 in a textbook for teacher students (Hegstrup 2003).

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16 In the analytical parts of the thesis (chapters 5–7) we use the terms social educational work and social educational workers consistently since the term covers the different designations in the three curricula.
The work of Paul Natorp, another German philosopher, is probably the most important for the theoretical understanding of social pedagogy. One of Natorp’s books, *Sozialpädagogik*, published in 1904\(^{17}\) is a volume about human beings’ perception of the world. Natorp, influenced by Immanuel Kant, was highly occupied with the ideas of how human beings are socialised into society. Natorp’s social philosophy stresses the reciprocal action between man and society. As Natorp said: “Der Mensch wird zum Menschen allem durch menschlische Gemeinschaft” (1904/1974, p. 90). Mathiesen (1998) remarks that these neo-Kantian\(^{18}\) ideas are similar to the social psychological theories outlined by G.H. Mead – that is, human thoughts cannot be understood independently of the society of which they are parts. In other words it is a matter of an epistemology with a social constructivist viewpoint.

The first definition of the German term Sozialpädagogik as a scientific concept was made by Natorp.\(^ {19}\) The basis of the concept of social pedagogy is that the upbringing of an individual is the integration of the individual into society. The subject for the science of social pedagogy is the conditions for culture (Bildung) in social life.

Natorp, as a neo-Kantian, was occupied by questions of ethics and “will”, and their relation to each other. Moral rules are created in society and as a consequence, he maintained that the individual was not solely responsible for her actions. As members of a society we all share the “poor morals” of each individual. The most important task for education (life long learning) is to enhance community and moral development.\(^ {20}\) Thus according to Natorp, social pedagogy is education of the “will” (Eriksson & Markström 2003).

\(^{17}\) This was never translated into English. This is possibly one of the explanations to why the term social pedagogy is rare outside Germany, Benelux, and Scandinavia.

\(^{18}\) Almost all social scientists that are referred to in this chapter such as Natorp, Dewey, Adams, Richmond, Freire, and Habermas are more or less influenced by Kant (Eriksson & Markström 2000).

\(^{19}\) Der Begriff der Sozialpädagogik besagt also die grundsätzliche Anerkennung, dass ebenso die Erziehung des Individuums in jeder wesentlichen Richtung sozial bedingt sei, wie andererseits eine menschliche Gestaltung sozialen Lebens fundamental bedingt ist durch eine ihm gemäße Erziehung der Individuen, die an ihm teilnehmen sollen. Danach muss dann auch die letzte, umfassendste Aufgabe der Bildung für den Einzelnen und für alle Einzelnen sich bestimmen. [Die sozialen] Bedingungen der [Bildung] also und die [Bildungs] bedingungen des [sozialen Lebens], dass ist dass Thema dieser Wissenschaft. (1904/1974, p. 98)

\(^{20}\) This is close to Dewey’s thoughts about socialisation. The difference is that Dewey was occupied with questions about the pragmatic value of knowledge (Eriksson & Markström 2003).
Natorp emphasised a shift in social pedagogy from the school context to a more general context – society at large. According to Mathiesen (2000), Natorp did not associate social pedagogy with a certain field of practice. He was more concerned with these issues on a general and a philosophical level.\textsuperscript{21, 22}

Issues of adjustment, (re-)socialisation and education inspired a strong discourse, strengthened by emerging ideas of social policy, especially in Germany. The use of social pedagogy as a tool for the welfare state gave rise to the establishment of institutions for children and youth (Mathiesen 2000). Social pedagogy became the means to foster and re-educate youth in need within institutions (outside the context of elementary schools). “… it was made possible for social pedagogy to serve the state as a new form of social engineering” (Lorenz 1994, p. 114).

Madsen (1995) calls the period between 1900 and 1970 the defensive period in the history of social pedagogy. There were plenty of examples of how social pedagogy was used to discipline people – primarily marginalized children and youth – in the course of scientification and exploration of social policies.

One example is a development in Germany which had great impacts on social policies and social pedagogical actions. Nohl and Bäumer, two central players in the nationwide welfare programme for youth, outlined three areas of upbringing:

- **primary** – upbringing and socialisation
- **secondary** – education and qualification for working life
- **tertiary** – contributions for those not able to take advantage from the primary and the secondary areas.

The tertiary area of social pedagogy has as its consequence that the concept of normalisation is implemented in governmental social policy

\textsuperscript{21} There are some resemblances between social pedagogy and “reform pedagogy”. Reform pedagogy refers to modern ideas of instructional theories and methods. In Germany, as well as in the U.S., there were movements towards more liberal ideas in the formal education of children. These ideas and systems of belief, strongly advocated by Dewey, were known as “reform pedagogy”. Natorp can be seen as one of the reform pedagogues (Arfwedsson 2000), as he formulated the central themes of modern thinking in instructional theory and upbringing.

\textsuperscript{22} According to Mathiesen (2004) Natorp, who influenced the debate about pedagogy in Germany until the 1930s, was criticised by contemporary scholars in Germany. His ideas were considered as too idealistic and also because that the neo-Kantian thoughts advocated by Natorp were seen as dangerous.
According to Holst and Madsen (1998), a new area of knowledge was thus created, since social pedagogy was finally separated from general pedagogy. Through these actions, the state started to educate marginalized people, education in the sense of re-socialisation and adjustment. This was the start of a movement called “educationalism”.

Early ideas of professional social (educational) work (such as those reported in earlier sections on France and Switzerland) hallmark modern social pedagogy in a European context. Lorenz (1994) says that a typical distinguishing feature of professional social pedagogues is the “living-in” method of relation with the clients. This means a close relationship with clients in institutionalised care, often in residential homes in the countryside some way off from cities. The professionals working as social pedagogues are denoted “living-in staff”, with the aim of sharing daily activities with the clients in order to help them to (re-)socialise into society. According to Lorenz there is a “streaming of pedagogy” in this way of organising social educational work and social work. There are many similarities to social pedagogy as it was pursued by Pestalozzi, Rousseau, and Oberlin.

There seems to be some resemblance between the development and action taken by the upholders of social pedagogy in Europe on one hand and social workers in other parts of the world on the other hand. One example is the Settlement movement in Chicago with Mary Addams in the fore. The social workers saw themselves as warriors against poverty and deprivation, a war which partly could be won through education.23

The notion of social pedagogy as a discourse was laid in Germany and spread to the Scandinavian countries. In Sweden, leading scholars such as Alva and Gunnar Myrdal implemented some of the ideas of the German interpretation and implementation of social pedagogy. They were strongly influenced by the ideas of Saint-Simon: social planning, educationalism, and scientific solutions to social problems (Hirdman 2000; Soydan 1993). Their mission (the Myrdal couple) is known as social engineering. Alva Myrdal laid the political foundation for institutions for marginalized children. The Myrdals also argued in favour of preventive social work through the education of

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23 Even if Natorp and Addams may be respected as different representatives for two different discourses, there are strong links between them. They were both influenced by John Dewey’s ideas on learning and society.
Social work as the art of social engineering has been criticised for its paternalistic view of citizens. It is interesting to note that the term social pedagogy never spread to the Anglo Saxon hemisphere. The occupational areas similar to social pedagogy are denoted “community work” and “youth work” in Great Britain. Social pedagogy is in Ireland called social care. The idea of folk high schools corresponds to “informal learning” in Great Britain.

2.2.2.2 Animation and social mobilization

The term *Animation* is associated with informal learning, adult education, and the concepts of “conscientization” and “dialogue” (Freire 1972). “Pedagogy of the oppressed”, the way Friere organised education for the poor and oppressed people in South America, is according to Mullaly (1997) a good example of social work (social educational work is an appropriate term). The roots and the underlying assumptions in this direction of social work are radical humanism. These ideas of Marxism and oppression were spread to some European countries such as France, Italy, and Spain in the 1960s.

Animation aims at social mobilization. This direction of social work practice is also called “community work” (cf. Twelvetrees 2002), which means a shift of focus from the individual to structural processes in society.

The notions of animation and social mobilization are tendencies within the broader concept of social work, which is one of the cornerstones for the understanding of contemporary social pedagogy. There are strong links between community (social) work, animation, and the use of creative methods in social (educational) work (Payne 1997). Learning in a life-long perspective is emphasised.

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24 In Germany and the Nordic countries, the idea of folk high schools was widely spread; a kind of institutionalised education for “the people”. The ideas of Pestalozzi and Jane Addams can be traced in this. But in these educational settings there was more emphasis on liberation and empowerment.

25 According to Lorenz (1994) there were two main reasons for this: a) a need for re-animation of humans lives b) the social unrest in the wake of the revolts in 1968.

26 In France, where most of the “animators” are to be found, the profession of "animatuer socioculturelle" plays an important role as a catalyst in community based activities. They have according to Birks (1987) an ambiguous position because in spite of their importance there is no standard qualification imposed by statute.

27 In England the concept of animation is close to the term “popular adult education”.

34
Madsen (1995) calls this historical period of social pedagogy, from 1970 and onwards, as *action-oriented* social pedagogy.

2.2.2.3 Social pedagogy compared to the three perspectives of social work

Eriksson and Markström (2000, 2003) describe social pedagogy as upheld by three "pillars".

One is the continental version of social pedagogy with its emphasis on education and fostering of people (see the discussion on Natorp).

The second pillar is the social mobilization/animation strand of social pedagogy. Social mobilization is about liberating groups of people from oppressing power structures of society. This element of social pedagogy is in line with two of the perspectives outlined by Payne (1996, 1997): the socialist-collectivist and the reflexive-therapeutic.

The third pillar is the American casework tradition which originally is close to the individualist-reformist perspective but it may also be placed in the reflexive-therapeutic perspective.

2.2.2.4 Social pedagogy in The Netherlands, Norway, and Ireland

So far we have not explicitly commented on how the term social pedagogy is put into action in the three countries in which the curricula are constructed. We will give a brief presentation of how the term social pedagogy is understood and what social educational workers do as practitioners in each national context.

*The Netherlands*

There is a social profession that in Dutch is called *sociaal pedagogische hulpverlenen*, translated into English – socio-educational work. The word usage is quite young. It dates back to the beginning of the 1990s when it was decided that a variety of social professions had to be amalgamated into five educational areas; Creative Therapie; Culturelle- en Maatschappelijke Vorming; Maatschappelijk Werk en Dienstverlening (social workers); Personeel en Arbeid; and Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen (SPH).

SPH was in its turn an amalgamation of three occupations: Occupational therapy, Residential work, and Special needs youth work. The division of professional groups into academic fields is from a general point of view mirroring the professional groups active in the field of social work.
The circumstances outlined above show that social pedagogy in the Netherlands has many different roots. It is a mixture of youth work, residential work with a variety of target groups, and occupational therapy.

The target groups are physically, psychologically, and socially handicapped people of all ages. Residential care has increasingly changed to ambulant care and services.

The three occupational groups that together formed social educational work resemble social pedagogy as a social political means to take care of people in institutions. But there is also the strong links to “animation” with its empowerment aims on the level of the individual. Social educational workers are trained to do things together with people.

Norway

The term social pedagogy is used to describe what the child welfare workers do (barnevernspedagoger). There is as well another social profession, welfare nursing (vernepleier), that together with the child welfare workers is comparable to the Dutch “sociaalpedagog”. I.e. the Dutch sociaalpedagog on one hand and the Norwegian child welfare worker/welfare nurse is trained to work with similar groups of clients.

The welfare nurse (vernepleier) traditionally works with people with disabilities of different kinds, in particular learning problems. Recently the target groups were expanded by including the elderly with a dementia, people with psychiatric problems, and people with substance abuse problems. Because of the previously established process of care giving outside the bigger institutions, the work takes place in many different settings. The occupation of welfare nursing is licensed, which gives certain regulations for the study programmes.

28 Social pedagogy as a discipline was established at the University of Oslo in 1974 (Mathiesen, 1998; Nordland, 1998). The faculty of Pedagogy was split in two parts: Pedagogy and the Social Pedagogical Alternative (SPA). The SPA was a product of the discussions in the wake of the “student revolution” in 1968. Students’ demands on student democracy and alternative ways of learning pressured for change. According to Mathiesen (1998) the contents and planning of the SPA was influenced by the ideas of Paul Natorp (note earlier account). The SPA did exist in that shape at the University of Oslo until 1995. The SPA had some followers in Norway, e.g. Nordland gives a thoroughly account on Den Socialpedagogiska Högskolan (the College of Social Pedagogy). The programme, two years part-time, is equivalent to university studies.
The child welfare worker (barnevernspedagog) works primarily with problems of children and youth. Problems for other target groups such as refugees, substance abusers, and the mentally ill are likewise common tasks for the child welfare worker. The work takes place in different settings, such as residential homes, youth clubs, and after-school centres.

Social pedagogy in Norway may take many different forms. There has been a move from care taking of clients in institutions to ambulant settings. The different tasks and context of social pedagogy make an occupation that is influenced by traditional social pedagogical ideas as well as the different social work perspectives.

_Ireland_

The professional group that is comparable to the social pedagogues in the Netherlands and the child welfare workers/welfare nurses in Norway is in Ireland called _social care workers_. Historically, they were working in residential childcare services that were established in the second half of the 20th century. There were two main organisations that took care of children in need: the Reformatory and Industrial School system. The industrial schools took care of children who were neglected, orphaned or deviant in one way or another. The reformatories, managed by religious orders, took criminalised youth in custody (Gallagher & O’Toole 1999).

There is another professional group that corresponds to the social care workers, social pedagogues, child welfare workers and the like. They are called youth workers, defined as informal educators occupied with the development of young people outside the formal school system. But, not only is the promotion of the development of the individual central, there is as well an aim to engage with the society and bring about social change: a group of social professional workers that is described very close to the aims of social pedagogy as it is expressed by Natorp (see previous sections). According to Jenkinson (2000), the youth workers, offshoots from social work, are struggling for an identity of their own.

It was not until the 1970s that the social care workers/youth workers were given qualifications through a one-year long training programme. Now there is a three-year long diploma course and an optional fourth year degree course designed for social care work. The social care ser-
vices have the last three decades become more and more community based and less residential.

2.2.2.5 Summary

Is there a basis for talking about different occupational groups or professional areas? Wouldn’t it be easier to label everything social work, that is evidently the biggest and most established group of workers? All different welfare workers seem to connect with each other since they have overlapping tasks.

Our opinion in this matter is that there are reasons to consider social pedagogy as something different from social work. There is in the international discourse a division between curricula aiming at social work on one hand and social pedagogy/social educational work on the other. The educational system in each country is one of the most powerful institutions in the process of professionalisation. But the demarcation line between the two, social work and social pedagogy, is very different in various countries. There are differences concerning academic standards, target groups, and context.

We find it justified to disconnect social pedagogy from social work. There are occupations, as well as curricula, that are parallel to social work in the Netherlands, in Norway, and in Ireland.29

2.3 Professionalisation, academicalisation, and the knowledge base of social pedagogy

This section starts with an outline of concepts that are derived from theories of professionalisation. The importance of the development of a knowledge base to help legitimize the processes of academicalisation and professionalisation will be discussed.

2.3.1 Professionalisation

There are four different meanings of professionalisation (Dellgran & Höjer 2005). Professionalisation is a collective process, which infers

29 The curricula we analyse in this thesis are situated in these countries. There are similar divisions between professional groups and curricula in e.g. Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, and in Germany.
the different occupational groups’ efforts to reach status, discretion, autonomy, and authorisation. This is close to the second meaning: professionalisation as a societal process. Professionalisation can also be seen as an individual process. The focus here is on how the social educational worker becomes more “professional” in terms of skills and traits in course of her/his experiences in practice. The fourth aspect of professionalisation is the socialisation process, the identity formation of the professional worker. Higher education – for instance the education we investigate in this thesis – is often the starting point for the socialisation process.

All occupations aim at professional status because it gives a number of advantages. Professionalisation of occupations gives status which is beneficial for identity formation, helpful when professional groups use their position to raise salaries, and it gives access to knowledge. Professionalisation is presumably also beneficial for the receiver of the services. A client wants to feel safe in the hands of a skilled worker who uses dependable methods. It is essential when promoting a relationship of high quality between a social educational worker and a client that there are ethical rules guiding their encounters. The social educational worker has to know when to keep a proper distance and when to encounter the client on a more familial level. There seem to be reasons enough for occupations to raise their professional status.

There are constant movements within, as well as between, these occupational branches. There is an ongoing defining and re-defining of occupational areas. There is a continuous professionalisation, a process where boundaries and contents of occupational practices are defined. Professionalisation is vitally concerned with the control of knowledge, which in its turn is related to power.

2.3.1.1 Theories of professionalisation

Professionalisation as societal and collective processes are extensively discussed by sociologists like Parkin (1979) and Murphy (1984, 1988). Their point of departure is the term closure which is defined as: “…

30 We use the terms “occupations” and “professions” interchangeably although there is a difference between the two concepts. Occupation refers to the explicit parts of the practice of the profession, i.e. in agencies where clients or school children are taken care of or educated. The term profession refers to the comprehensive meaning of the practice as educational requirements, authorisation, and rules of ethics.
the process of mobilizing power in order to enhance or defend a group’s share of rewards or resources” (Murphy 1984, p. 548). Through "monopolisation of opportunities”, one class of people is oppressing a subordinated segment of society. Closure strategies are in this way aspects of power distribution. Closure is a matter of constructing and preserving class interests. According to Parkin (1979, p. 47), there are two “exclusionary devices” by which the bourgeoisie maintains itself as the upper class. There are the institutions controlling property, and there are the institutions that control academic, professional qualifications, and credentials. Credentialism is defined by Parkin as: “… the inflated use of educational certificates as a means of monitoring entry to key positions in the division of labour” (1979, p. 54). Credentialism, the device for securing the market value for occupational groups, has become more and more important in the process of professionalisation.

Collins (1990) was the one, alongside the aforementioned Parkin and Murphy, to emphasise "credentialism”, that is, the symbolic values connected to education manifested in university degrees, diplomas, and examinations.

Criteria of professions

To decide what occupations may be defined as professions cannot only be a matter of power games. There has to be some objective criteria. The first scientific investigations within the area called “the essentialist view” identified two occupations as the first professions: lawyers and doctors. They were acting on a direct commission from the client and not employed by agencies and therefore “free” professions (Brante 1990). In the beginning the most important question for researchers was to differentiate professions from occupations. The most frequently cited scholar31 is Grenwood (in e.g. Selander 1989; Dellgran & Höjer 2000, 2005), whose criteria were used for this purpose. Greenwood’s five criteria are summarised as follows: theory/theories underpinning action, authority from the state, societal sanctions, ethical rules, and the possibilities for the social worker to be socialised into a professional culture.

Some questions that are connected to these ways of using criteria arise. Is it necessary to be able to apply all five criteria in their fullest sense on a group of practitioners in order to define them as profession-

31 There are also Parsons’ criteria: Neutral affection, all clients are respected as equal (impartial services), actions are taken in favour of the collective (altruism), professional status is gained through competence not by heredity (competence).
als; which of Greenwood’s five criteria are considered most important; are there other criteria more suitable in the post-modern society?

At first glance, using the Greenwood criteria, we may propose that social work is a profession. But in recent years, social work has been debated for a number of reasons. It is questioned (e.g. Payne 1996, 1997; Mullaly 1997) if there are significant social work theories guiding action. Others claim that social workers belong to a professional group since the ethical values are well defined (e.g. Thompson 2000).

Dellgran and Höjer (2005), who made vast empirical investigations on Swedish social work, found that the professional trajectory varies between different social workers. There are differences in status, salaries, satisfaction with working conditions, and how each group is valued within the social workers’ collective.

There are also other objections to the essentialist view, a position which is equivalent to the functionalist sociological view of a society. There are other more important forces and sources of power explaining why some groups of practitioners are more powerful and well respected than others. Brante (1990) denotes the essentialist view as the “naive” and the latter as the “cynical”. The “naive” view proposes that: “Professions exist because society needs them” whereas the “cynical” claims that: “Professions exist because they want to” (Dellgran & Höjer 2005, p. 39).

It is in the intersection between formal requirements based on the educational system and the "real" requirements arising from practice, that occupational systems or "professions" are developed. The curricula we inquire into are highly vocational, i.e. they are to a large extent dependent on developments and demands of the occupational fields. The curricula are not only dependent on occupational demands – they also have to adjust to academic demands. There are thus two sets of conditions, two fields of power that sometimes fit together, and sometimes are in opposition to each other.

32 In this account we use the term “social work” or “social workers”. When this occupation is discussed in literature (e.g. Banks 2001; Dominelli 1997; Larsson 1977; Brante 1990; Payne 1997) it is difficult to know what group or what kind of social work they refer to. Sometimes they tend to refer to a distinct profession social work, hence not referring to the other occupational groups as social care workers, social educational workers, social pedagogues, welfare nurse, child welfare nurses, and the like. What distinguishes the occupational groups is mostly that they are occupied with different target groups in a variety of settings. In some accounts the authors cover all different occupational groups.
2.3.1.2 The knowledge base, academicalisation, and state dependency

One central aspect of a profession is the existence of a scientific, theoretical knowledge base that is specific for the occupational group. But, it is also necessary that it is possible to use scientific knowledge in practical work. One condition for a positive process of professionalisation is the production of knowledge that is accepted and made legitimate by institutions where both research and education are pursued, i.e. the universities. On one hand the state is a very active agent in the process to decide what counts as legitimate knowledge. On the other hand another hallmark for a profession is its relative autonomy from the state, which for the welfare professions creates certain tensions.

Brante (1990) discerns four different types of professions: “Free” professions; professions of the capital; professions of the welfare state; and the academic professions. Social educational work belongs to the welfare state profession type.33 Their undertakings are seen as secondary to values expressed in acts ruling social welfare (legislation and frameworks). Hence the social professions are likely to be state dependent.34

In the process of professionalisation of occupations there are complex relationships between the state, the universities, and the professional bodies. Larsson (1977) discusses the important role of the universities in the process of professionalisation of social work. Through

33 Dominelli (1997) claims that social work has a complicated relationship to the state (her references are limited to Great Britain). Community workers, the more radical camp of social workers, disassociated themselves from the more traditional individual interventionists, in order to be more independent from state interventions. In the case of Great Britain, social work education is regulated and strongly controlled by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCESTW). The organisation consists nowadays of a decreasing number of academics and educators in favour of a body consisting of employers. The organisation is setting standards and qualification criteria for social work training through the competency-based Diploma in Social Work (DipSW). Because of these strong alliances between social work education and employers the emphasis is on training rather than on education in the university programmes. The alliance is biased in favour of the state; the alliance is a manifestation of domination, power and control of the work force. These measures are not in favour of the professionalisation of the social workers. On the contrary, the effect is the opposite; the status for social workers is reduced. James (2004) takes this discussion further. He calls the de-professionalisation of social work in Great Britain (beginning with the Thatcher regime) “the McDonaldization of social work”.

34 These types of occupations are by Weber denoted as “heteronomous” organisations because they can’t get an autonomous relation to the state. Parkin gives further reference to Etzioni who said: “…the semi-professions should renounce their ‘inauthentic aspirations’ to achieve full professional standing and simply ‘be themselves’” (1979, p. 103).
the establishment of “case work” as the method for social workers, it was possible to define a scientific legitimate knowledge base for social work.\(^\text{35}\)

In spite of the social work state dependency, Dominelli (1997) still labels social work as a "profession" in its original sense. Her argumentation for this is that social work has developed concepts and a theoretical framework unique for social work and separated from sociology and psychology. The terms "elder abuse"; "child protection"; "battered child"; "child sexual abuse"; are all concepts developed in a social work discourse and lent to the common lexicon. This is of course not the only criteria used to decide whether an occupation is a "profession" or not – it is a much more complex issue.

But, if this is a way to decide to what degree occupational areas are to be denoted as professions, we may raise the question whether there are some concepts especially designated for social pedagogy? Eriksson and Markström (2000) conclude that three concepts can be central when defining social pedagogy: fellowship, action-orientation, and will.

It is much debated if social work has a distinct theoretical core of its own since psychology, anthropology, and sociology are the main subjects constituting social work.\(^\text{36}\) It is also questioned whether social pedagogy has a theory of its own. Mathiesen (2000), for example, says that social work as well as social pedagogy lacks a theoretical core.

Eriksson and Markström (2000, 2003) claim that the epistemological roots of social pedagogy are to be compared with Aristotle’s concept “phronesis”\(^\text{37}\), that is, practical knowledge separated from theoret-
cal knowledge. The similarities between phronesis and social pedagogy according to them are (ibid.): emphasis on action-orientation; its dependency on situation; improvisation as an approach; the emphasis on the individual in the collective; the use of the self as an instrument; and the possession of good judgement. With the help of the concept of phronesis, the conclusions advocated by Eriksson and Markström are that the aim of social pedagogy is the integration of citizens into the “good” life.

Hämäläinen (2003) advocates that social pedagogy is something autonomous that is possible to distinguish from social work. He says there are two lines in the development of social pedagogy: the tradition of practice activities and the tradition of theoretical discussions. The two traditions are dependent on each other; if there is no academic development there is no practice, and vice versa.38 In Hämäläinen’s search for the specific themes and concepts that are valid for the theoretical substance of social pedagogy, he claims that: “… a certain way of thinking is emphasized” (p. 135). To arrive at this “certain way of thinking” it is necessary to start with the three main elements of social pedagogical practice: creative working styles, community orientation, and experience orientation. But, social pedagogy cannot be reduced to an enumeration of pedagogical practices; it has to be defined theoretically. He is in opposition to the prevalent method of defining a discipline, which is to compare and demarcate it in relation to existing disciplines. Social pedagogy has to be defined from its own questions. To arrive at the philosophical and ethical roots of social pedagogy Hämäläinen, suggests three starting points (p. 138):

- an educational theory and research that pay attention to the connections and reciprocity of education and society
- as a theory and practice of community based education
- emphases on preventing and alleviating social problems

The points underpin the definitions of social pedagogy that were previously were formulated by Scandinavian and German researchers. The theoretical definitions have in common that social pedagogy is oriented towards problems in the relationship between the individual and society, i.e. in the spirit of Paul Natorp’s concept of social pedagogy (see

38 A reasoning that goes for all social professions, see e.g. Soydan’s (1993) account of the development of social work.
section 2.1.4.1). According to Hämäläinen the theoretical foundation of social pedagogy is closely connected to moral philosophy and ethics.

Hämäläinen’s contribution to the search for the theoretical core of social pedagogy is his understanding of social pedagogy as being of the same origin as social policy. He arrives at this conclusion because he finds it non-productive to do as other North European researchers, who are trying to define social pedagogy in relation to (mostly seen in a subordinated position) social work/social care or pedagogy. Hämäläinen finds support from the German social politician Herman Nohl who said:

As politics aims at promoting welfare by influencing the legislation, structures and institutions of society, pedagogics aims at promoting welfare by developing society from the inside, by influencing people and culture. Both strategies – political and pedagogical – are needed for the development of well-being and welfare. (Hämäläinen 2003, p. 143)

Hämäläinen claims that social policy as well as social pedagogy is practical social sciences, meaning that analysis of both goals and empirical preconditions play a crucial role. The disciplines have the possibility of combining meta-level analyses and concepts of social philosophy with empirical findings.

The conclusion of Hämäläinen’s reasoning is that the scientific disciplines social policy and social pedagogy are, together with the disciplines social ethics, sociology, social psychology, the theoretical foundation of the social professions (including social pedagogy). In his understanding, social workers, teachers, and youth workers are the practical outcomes of the mentioned disciplines. Social pedagogy contributes with the “pedagogical questioning” of the other disciplines, which have other core questions such as political, ethical, and societal. “Pedagogical questioning” is a way of thinking, a way of orienting social problems and a way of helping people.

2.3.2 Prospective versus retrospective attitude

Lorenz (1994) was described in an earlier section as a defender of social pedagogy as something with a well-defined core. This is opposed to the view of the social work that he describes in the following way:
Social work, by contrast tends to take the diversity of social work and agency setting as the starting point for the search for appropriate theories, a search which used to be guided by the desire to find a general unifying theory of social work but has since given way to the more pragmatic and often eclectic use of theory elements from neighbouring disciplines. (ibid., p. 111)

The social worker is here outlined as someone who takes the starting point in existing social work practice, i.e. a non-theoretical position. The analytic dimension seems to be missing, the approach is rather synthetic.

Lorenz (ibid.) is convinced that social pedagogy has a substantial well-defined core, a core that social work lacks. He says:

Social pedagogy defines the task and process of all social activity from theoretical positions beyond any distinct institutional setting and instrumental interest, and thereby safeguards the autonomy of the profession and appeals to the reflective and communicative abilities of the worker as the key to competence. (p. 118)

The analytical, autonomous social educational worker, who is able to communicate and reflect, is mirrored in the quotation. Lorenz points out the theoretical core of social pedagogy, a core that can be summarised in the concept ”self-directed learning processes”. The concept can be understood as follows. A person in need of assistance has to formulate his problems and be an active part of their solutions. The task of the social educational worker is to assist the client using professional skills. In such collaboration the social educational worker is supposed to use his/her theoretical knowledge to give qualified guidance.

But, as Lorenz says, the differences between the two branches, social work and social pedagogy, are less articulated in recent years even if social pedagogy demarcates itself through its emphasis on client related work methods.

The different views of the two social professions are close to the characteristics given by Guzzetta (1984). He developed a model for the analyses of social work curricula. Guzzetta focuses the relation between curricula and social work practices.

39 For further reading see Hallstedt and Högström (1996).
One of the dimensions of his model, called *attitude* is an aspect of curricula that is time oriented. There are two ways to respect time: *prospective* and *retrospective*. The prospective attitude fits to the opinion that Lorenz ascribes social pedagogy whereas the retrospective attitude is suitable for social work.

Guzzetta called another dimension *mode* – referring to the nature of action of the curriculum. There are two modes, dynamic and static. The dynamic mode promotes the students’ responsibility to act themselves. The static mode uses analysis and examination in relating to social work. As Lorenz presents the difference between social pedagogy and social work, the former is dynamic and the latter is static.

Other differences between the two are the traditionally strong links between pedagogy and social pedagogy as disciplines. These links were not found between social work and pedagogy. Social pedagogy found its own routes; it became a practice area of its own, institutional work with children and youth. We also reported Hämäläinen’s discussion on the historical relationships between social pedagogy and social policy.

2.4 Towards a provisional definition of social pedagogy

As we have seen, social pedagogy has a long history of defining its core and boundaries. The general traits of social educational work that form the starting point for the analysis in this section are summarized in *close work with people in difficult situations*. People referred to in this sense might be abused children, youth with problems, drug addicts, ex-convicts, old people with special problems and people with learning problems. Problems differ, of course, but in general, social educational work in these situations is characterised by the fact that the relations between the social educational worker and the clients generally are long lasting and intense.

A widespread view of social educational work is that the relation between clients and social educational workers is the key factor to the understanding of the outcome of the work. At times it is expressed that the relation *is* social educational work (see e.g. Morén 1992).

The logic of this way of looking at the core of social pedagogy is built up in the following typical sequence of events. The general aim for the contact between the two parties is for them to engage themselves in an attempt to change a negative situation. This attempt has cognitive as well as motivational, emotional and relational aspects and
the relational aspect is the superior one. This is because a functioning relation is a necessary condition for a dedicated and unbiased search for optional actions. The client, e.g. a young person, must feel confident in the social educational worker to accept the offer to start a process of change and when this confidence appears, the remedial work has begun. Analysed in this fashion the relation could be seen as a necessary as well as a sufficient factor in the social pedagogical process. Looked at in detail, the success of the process will of course also be a function of linguistic skills, logical thinking and other competences of the social educational worker, but the mutual relation between youth and worker is the cornerstone.

Mathiesen (2000) characterises the dialogue between client and worker as gratifying in itself, since it shows a recognition of and an interest in the other.

Madsen (1995) also stresses the fundamental place that the relation to the client has for social educational work. But still, it is not enough just to establish and keep a relation. The pedagogic process has to have a distinct goal and methods attached to it. Without that social educational work is nothing but a social encounter. Madsen’s version of social educational work can be described as an exploration of the possibilities to change critical life situations and at the same time not to deprive the client of his autonomy. Madsen draws on Habermas in his analysis of the society’s need for social integration and he sees this as the ultimate goal for social educational work.

Habermas (1987) states that when we experience other people and their actions, as well as act towards and in conjunction with them, we aim at viable compromises and definitions of situations through what he calls actions oriented toward reaching understanding. These actions share specific properties. They make it possible for people to discuss, to exchange views, to make compromises, to arrive at solutions for different matters they have in common. Through the exchange of ideas in conversations, actions are coordinated and the social world is being integrated.

Madsen emphasises the difference between adaptation (to learn the rules) and education\(^\text{40}\) (to understand the rules and their background). Communicative actions oriented toward reaching understanding are for Madsen connected to the positive dimension of the social pedagogical

\(^{40}\) A difficult word to find a proper translation into English. In German: Bildung, in Danish: dannelse, and in Swedish: bildning.
relation and to education, whereas actions oriented toward reaching success are connected to adaptation and mere corrections.

Mathiesen (2000) discusses the issue of symmetric and asymmetric relations between the social educational worker and the client. There is always what he calls a “factual asymmetry” (Mathiesen uses Skjervheim’s words) incorporated in the situation between a teacher and a student, a doctor and a client, and a social educational worker and the client. The factual asymmetry is the foundation of the social educational worker’s power to define the situation. There are certain expectations of the social educational worker that s/he is competent enough to be able to interpret the situation appropriately and find ways to act in relation to the correct definition of the problem. The core of the social educational worker’s competence is to take the relation one step further. The client should be educated step by step to be able to define the situation and to find proper solutions by himself. Help is thus turned into self-help. If the factual asymmetry never turns into the client’s way to look at the situation the asymmetric relation remains in or turns into a “methodical asymmetry”. In this kind of asymmetric relation, the communicative relation between the parties is over, the social educational worker is still the one who uses the power to find proper definitions.

In his analysis of the potentials for social integration of social educational work, Madsen (1995) points to the fact that the relation between the actors in the social pedagogical encounter is in effect asymmetrical. The social educational worker is employed by the state and in that function the society’s servant. This organisational background creates three potentially crucial problems, seen from the aspect of social integration, where symmetrical relations are a prerequisite.41

First, the deliverance of help to the client should be accompanied by the social educational worker being active in the development of the

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41 Fritzell (1996) suggests that education is always made up by teaching and learning. These concepts can be separated analytically, not empirically. Further, Fritzell (1996) characterises the pedagogical relation as partly symmetrical (oriented toward the lifeworld), partly asymmetrical (oriented toward the system). The goal for the pedagogical analysis of the relation is to be able to identify both aspects at the same time (as in the title of the article “Pedagogical Split Vision” [ibid.]). A common goal for practical pedagogy would be to work toward symmetrical relations, because in essence the pedagogical relation is another word for a symmetrical relation, as Fritzell (1996) states in a paragraph: “It could be argued therefore that the pedagogical relation is a symmetrical relation because it is the fundamental task of the pedagogue to make it happen” (p. 212).
client’s education. The risk is to get stuck in conveying help, omitting the second phase. Second, the control aspect is never far away. Third, there is a particular contradiction present when professional help enters another person’s lifeworld. There is always the risk that social educational work will be reduced to an administrative action, and administrative actions are success-oriented and thus per definition not promoting social integration. Social educational work can promote social integration if these problems are avoided, and through supporting the clients to developing a competence to forming their own lives.

This requires certain competences and postures in the social educational worker:

A. An ethical posture to minimize or delay the administrative structure of the relationship. One part of this is professional ethics, a special kind of professional competence that concerns the relation to the client which should be characterised by trust and a general will to meet the client on the same level. The relational competence of the social educational worker.

B. The competence to lead a critical discussion on life conditions in contemporary society. From this critical discussion a constructive pedagogical goal should be formulated in relation to the actual client’s situation and resources. Goal-directed social education work.

The relational competence of the social educational worker

Let us first discuss the prospects of the characteristics of the relationship. Is it possible to establish a profession on the need for the professional to engage herself in a free and open communication on matters of the utmost importance for a person in difficult circumstances? Does this not create a far too idealistic foundation? Turning once again to one of Madsen’s sources of inspiration, Habermas, it is worth noticing that this objection often is a frequent comment to Habermas’s texts.

Habermas is said to exaggerate the functions of communicative actions directed toward understanding, and also to misinterpret how people actually communicate (see e.g. Kelly 1994). Habermas’s response to this critique is that there are numerous strategies we use when the immediate solution to a problem is not at hand. In addition to that, there seems to be a feeling for uncovering situations where strategic and communicative actions are enmeshed. If the situation is defined as communicative any "strategic deviance” calls for action.
It is certainly true that in communicative action unintended consequences may appear at any time; but as soon as there is a danger that these will be attributed to the speaker as intended results, the latter finds it necessary to offer explanations and denials, and if need be, apologies, in order to dispel the false impression that these side effects are perlocutionary effects. Otherwise, he has to expect that the other participants will feel deceived and adopt a strategic attitude in turn, steering away from action oriented to reaching understanding. (Habermas 1984, pp. 294–295).

Of course it is very difficult to judge whether a person really acts authentically, but people arrive at workable definitions also in this field.

Even if we often experience the contrary, and maybe even accept that a person keeps his inner feelings to himself, we know that what Habermas calls the ideal speech situation is something that we can strive for. There is a dialectical relation between the ideal and the factual where the ideal speech situation functions as correlate to actual conversations, as a “factual fiction” (Carlehedén 1996, p. 27). However, being just a construct, it interferes in the real world of interactions. As an ideal it guides us when we judge whether a statement is authentic or meant as a deceit. We have the ideal speech situation in mind when we conclude whether we are in the midst of a communication where the aim is to arrive at an understanding or compromise, or if it is an act of empirical contest, that is, based on strategic acting, on actions oriented toward success (Habermas 1999).

If it is in the role of the social educational worker to act according to the principles of communication towards reaching understanding, it can also be analysed by means of one of Habermas’s sources of inspiration, Goffman, who presents his view clearly in the famous introduction to Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), where the moral aspect of communication is put forward.

In stressing the fact that the initial definition of the situation projected by an individual tends to provide a plan for the co-operative activity that follows – in stressing this action point of view – we must not overlook the crucial fact that any projected definition of the situation also has a distinctive moral character. It is this moral character of projections that will chiefly concern us in this report. Society is organised on the principle that any individual that possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second,
namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he
has social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is. (pp.
12–13.)

The resemblance with the Habermasian concept the ideal speech situa-
tion is evident.

Relying on your role is acceptable if you are sincere. You can’t (and
this applies to both parties) make believe that you are approaching the
other in a different guise. That would mean first that it is an immoral
(Goffman) or a non-communicative approach (Habermas) and second
and most important, that your insincerity will most probably be re-
vealed by the other.

An example from an Irish novel, *Eureka Street*, shows this matter
clearly. The main character, Jake, has made friends with and helped a
12 year old boy, Roche, who has a background very much like his own.
Roche has moved into Jake’s place a couple of days before. Jake talks
with his friend Slat, a social worker about it.

‘I couldn’t let him sleep on the street. He’s only twelve.’
‘If anybody finds out, they’ll think you’re having sex with him.’
I frowned. ‘What can I do?’
Slat smiled sadly. ‘There’s nothing you can do.’
‘What about social workers or something?’
‘Social workers can’t take a child-care referral from some guy on a
building site, Jake. It’s got to be the cops or a GP or something.’
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‘Should I let him move in, then?’
‘No!’ Slat almost shouted. Some diners looked round at us and my
revolutionary waitress sneered.
‘No,’ he repeated. ‘Tell him he has to go back home. He should tell
his teachers about his troubles. They can put the wheels in motion.’
‘His teachers? Jesus, Slat, this kid probably can’t remember what
street his school’s on.’
‘That’s the way it is.’
And that was fair enough. That was the way it was.
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‘Listen, kid. I spoke to a friend of mine today about you.’
Roche’s smile shut itself down as tracelessly as a Belfast shipyard.
‘You want me to leave,’ he stated.
‘It’s not like that,’ I pleaded.
‘Forget it. I was leaving anyway.’

(Wilson 1996, pp. 306, 312)

Where does this lead us in the search for social pedagogy? A simple, yet important conclusion is that if you engage in a communication process it is very hard to deceive your communicator. Maybe the most difficult thing to do is to actually prove that you mean what you say. In an originally asymmetric relationship, the subordinate will probably be on the alert for deviations, like Roche in the excerpt from the novel.

The communicatively organised relationship between the client and worker then seems to constitute a necessary basis for social educational work. From one viewpoint this is a normative, idealistic and in a way non profession-like requirement. Once again we can find this argument in the debate on Habermas’s theory.

In attributing the ills of modern society to the lack of integration, Habermas has been accused of adding a normative element to his theory. The critique is rejected thus: society needs social integration for its survival and social integration is created through communication. If large and important sectors in society are integrated through other means, then social integration, and society in itself, will suffer. This consequence has a normative value attached to it, not the analysis (Kelly 1994).

If this line of reasoning is transferred into the debate on social pedagogy it can be argued that the seemingly idealistic “stepping-down” to the client’s level and from that position to engage in open communication on the client’s situation are necessary ingredients of successful social educational work.

**Goal-directed social educational work**

The other part of social educational work is about the pedagogic aspect of the relation. From this point of view, the communication between social educational workers and clients has mainly three core elements:

First, the meeting of, on one hand, the system represented by the social educational worker and on the other the lifeworld of the client, and at the same time the meeting of two different lifeworlds. To make the communication take place, the social educational worker must set aside
one part of her professional self, the system’s representative, and that means she has to make a change of perspective. She must be able to take the perspective of the other, not in order to explain the other’s life; merely to understand it. According to Mathiesen (2000), the social educational worker has the power to change the contents of the relation between herself and the client, i.e. it is possible to tone down the asymmetric relation but she is not able to change the context in which the education takes place. An example is the pedagogical relation between a worker and a client in correctional institutions. The law says that the client has to be there and follow certain rules, facts that a social educational worker cannot change. The social educational worker’s competence consists of the art of changing the asymmetric relation into a working relationship between the two.

The second core element concerns the interpretation of important parts of the client’s life, which is dependent on the social educational worker’s ability to conceptualise human processes. This should be seen as a joint action with the aim to reach a shared understanding of the client’s life, his resources, potential lack of resources, and also an understanding of the intersection between the client’s concept of his life and relevant cultural norms.

Third, the synthesis of the communication should include an evaluation of the content, of the client’s life aspirations and resources, the culture, and, ultimately, of the potentials for action (Madsen 1995).

*The combination of relational competence and goal-directed competence*

The social educational worker is therefore challenged by the obligation to combine two processes; to act according to a pedagogical goal and to be in the lead for securing the goal on one hand, and to accomplish this in a communicative process characterised by two persons on the same level on the other.

We will now discuss the combination of the communicative approach and the impact of the pedagogical goal-directed process. Madsen (1995) establishes conditions for this emancipatory venture.

First, a pedagogical act must be intentional; there must exist a will to accomplish something with the action, and the responsibility for the action is mainly with the pedagogue. The relationship with the client is
two-fold; it is a personal relationship and it is also a relation based on the pedagogue’s competence.

Second, the pedagogue must on one hand be competent in delivering help and on the other to facilitate learning processes in the client. The areas of the learning processes are knowledge of the self, of the social world and of the culture. The pedagogue should lead a critical discussion on life conditions in contemporary society, and from this critical discussion a constructive pedagogical goal should be formulated, in cooperation with the client. The ultimate goal is that the client develops the competence to form his life, though the pedagogue must be aware of the client’s difficulties to accomplish that, especially in critical life situations.

Third, the pedagogue must be skilled in reflecting on her behaviour in the relationship. This is of particular importance, since she has to combine the capacity to represent the system and at the same time to engage herself in a communicative relation with the client. The pedagogue must be able to establish and stick to the communicative format, and it goes without saying that the communicative relation per definition cannot have a result known in advance. She must at the same time be aware of the asymmetry of the relation as far as her role as the responsible person for the pedagogical process is concerned, in which in effect she represents the authorities.

A provisional definition of social pedagogy

Social pedagogy’s mission in society is social integration. The client groups have in common that they live in difficult situations. The social educational worker should initiate and develop a pedagogical process based on the competence:

- to meet the client on the same level and to take the perspective of the other
- to lead a critical discussion on the client’s life conditions in relation to contemporary society, from which a constructive pedagogical goal should be formulated with reference to the actual client’s resources and the potentials for action
- to reflect on her behaviour, to be aware of the quality of the current relationship, and to act in accordance with ethical principles

The provisional definition of social pedagogy has disciplinary as well as emancipatory properties. It is disciplinary in the sense that the fundamental structure is pedagogic; somebody (the social pedagogue) is committed to propose and work for a change in another person’s life. S/he has as a professional to set up a goal for the process of change. The professional role comprises actions designed to influence the other person. The disciplinary property is balanced through partly the strong communications element, partly the emphasis on ethical principles.

The relation between social pedagogue and client should be built on respect and a genuine will to see things from the other’s perspective. This should also include the other’s perspective on the goals for change. Goals that are set in advance, before the building up of the relation and consequently prior to any discussions on the goal would per definition not belong to the social pedagogical sphere. A provisional goal, open to discussion, and communicated to the client draws a line between social pedagogy and, e.g., psychotherapy. The asymmetry in the therapeutic relation is very different from the social pedagogical relation, a relation characterised by the attempt to create symmetry.

Could the communication on a symmetrical level really come about in this kind of relation? After all, in most cases the social pedagogue is “the society’s servant”, working for integration in society. What is there in the relation for the client? What could he gain from entering the relation? A provisional answer is that he is offered a chance to look at himself through the contact with another person. He will have the opportunity to reflect upon himself. In the end this may create a platform for him to change those aspects of his personality that make up obstacles in his life.

One of the most important tasks for the social educational worker is to establish and maintain the relation to the client. From that follows that to keep up the relation is in itself gratifying for her. It means to experience success at work, and to feel competent. This competence is used before a “moveable” situation, i.e. relations between human beings can’t be expected to develop alongside a fixed plan.
The question can be asked, using Habermas’s (1984) terminology: will the seemingly system-oriented institution allow communicatively reached integration? On one hand this is futile. Bureaucratic organisations function on the basis of power and therefore the communication in these organisations is success-oriented. In one of Habermas’s revisions of this section of the theory he has incorporated the empirical “fact” that communication towards understanding also takes place in bureaucratic organisations (Habermas 1996). He also points to the human capacity for creating viable compromises. Theoretically this might mean that in the relation between the two, the client as well as the social pedagogue can profit from a working relation. The reason for this can’t be attached to one of the parties only. It seems that either both or no one will profit from the relation.

Seen from a different angle the question of the provisional definition’s either disciplinary or emancipatory properties might as well be avoided. Alongside Foucault we would then presuppose that we cannot escape normalisation. All the same its appearance and its effects on people can be reflected on. There is no correlate to use as a means to decide on what to do, how to do it, and what not to do. The ethical challenge for the social educational worker is to side with the underdog; that is the emancipatory option in the relation.
So far, we have discussed social pedagogy with the help of the work field where social pedagogical actions take place. We have also outlined the theoretical foundations of social pedagogy in a historical light. The space and location of social pedagogy, that is, the public function that is marked for social pedagogy by the governmental social political intentions is one of the factors that determines the quality of the relationship between the social educational worker and people in need. We have also discussed that social pedagogues, like other occupational groups, are in a process of professionalisation, – a process in which every day informal care, fostering, and guidance into citizenship have been objects of scientification and rationalisation. The higher vocational educational system is a crucial accelerator in the process of professionalisation. In the system of education, in our case, education at the tertiary level in university colleges, the language in the work field has gone through a transformational process with the introduction of a body of academic concepts.

Social pedagogy as practice has been seen as principally a female task based on care in close relationships. In the processes of transformation, social pedagogy becomes gendered, i.e. social pedagogy is coloured by a “male” language, which is one of the consequences of professionalisation and academicalisation. The “traditional” female area of relations and relational competence is shaped in an obligatory form. In the distinction caring about – caring for the former indicates an intellectual activity, and concepts like abstractness and objectivity are central (Camilleri & Jones 2001). Caring for stands for intimacy, personal relations and the necessity to recognize the individuality of the person who receives the service/care. Caring about, objectivity as a cornerstone in social educational work, goes well together with our analysis of the demands of a profession. Caring for and relating to the
individuality of the client is not so easy to put into a fixed arrangement for the work.

Looking back on the development of social pedagogy as a scientific concept, we find a number of male authors. In chapter 2 we used interpretations and discussions by “early” as well as contemporary authors as e.g. Paul Natorp, Adolph Dieterweg, Karl Mager, John Dewey, Paolo Freire, Walter Lorenz, Bent Madsen, Roger Mathiesen, all of them men (with two exceptions; Lisbeth Eriksson and Ann-Marie Eriksson) active in academic and professional development and thus significant actors in the recontextualisation process of social pedagogy. It is interesting to note that in the “father country” Germany, social pedagogy traditionally was taught in universities whereas social work was taught in Fachhochschulen that had a non-university status.

The aim of this chapter is to outline a set of concepts that are useful in understanding the transformational circular processes that are in progress; i.e. when the curriculum “takes charge of” and transforms discourses of social pedagogy, professionalisation, and the welfare state, and translate them into pedagogic discourses. Students who go through the educational programme are influenced by the use of specialised language, an outcome of the transformation. As graduates, they influence the work field and thus change the language and cultural perceptions of how to relate to and act before people in need.

In order to understand the transformational processes, we will now turn to the concepts developed by Basil Bernstein. He searched answers to questions on how school practice reflects society, as well as how acquirers of school knowledge influence society. In his famous paper

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42 The development of social work on the other hand was predominately led by women, e.g. Mary Richmond, Jane Addams, and Octavia Hill.

43 The transformational processes of social pedagogy, in which one outcome is the genderisation of occupations, can be compared to an example from another occupational area. Somme-stad (1992) reports that the dairy production traditionally was a female task in farming until the 1930s. The handling of milk was associated with femininity because of women’s breast-feeding of children, milking was connected to the human body. Although originally a hard manual work, the bulk of the industry’s workforce was female, but as industrialisation and scientification of milk production progressed, traditional beliefs were changed into a scientific language and meanings. Paradoxically, when much of the heavy work had been reduced with the introduction of machines, milk production turned into an enterprise designed for male workers.
Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, he stated:

How a society selects, classifies, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within and change in the organization, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest. Indeed, such a study is a part of the larger question of the structure and changes in the structure of cultural transmission. (Bernstein 1971, p. 47)

Schools are not only transmitters of knowledge as pure facts, they instil moral conduct and social order, and they preserve and reinforce social injustice. Researchers should focus on the formal as well as the hidden curricula to reveal the forces behind the socialisation of students.

The devices for the transmission of knowledge and control are (more or less) state regulated and monitored. The notion for this invisible regulation is ‘symbolic control’. The symbolic control is adjusting all thinking and behaviour through discourses in an indiscernible way. (Bernstein 1990, p. 134)

Symbolic control is ”something” surrounding us, forcing us to behave and think in a certain direction. Education through formal school systems is in his view the instrument for the transmission of symbolic control.

What is transferred to students in the process of symbolic control? The answers are, according to Bernstein, societal power relations and established discourses.

Power and power distribution are crucial concepts in Bernstein’s theories. But, we have not found a distinct definition of “power” formulated by Bernstein himself. Bernstein was influenced by many different scholars, but first and foremost the development and the theories and concepts were inspired by Durkheim’s sociology as well as by Marxism. In the course of his career Bernstein became more and more influenced by Foucault. He thus moved from a rational, top-down view of power, to the more elusive, hard to get hold of view which was intro-
duced by Foucault. Diaz (2001), who has published a number of articles using Bernstein’s theories, proposes that:

Bernstein holds a relational notion of power. At different levels, power is inseparable from physical and symbolic boundaries of experience, meanings, and the contexts of interaction in which realisation of meanings take place. Boundaries provide possibilities, potential space for power positions, oppositions, and strategies. (p. 84)

In the quotation there are resemblances to the Foucauldian use of the concept power, that power can be found anywhere. Diaz stresses another crucial understanding of “power”; the importance of what is “between” power structures and the forces that create meanings of objects. We will return to this issue in the next section.

In this thesis we are primarily concerned with external circumstances that influence the curriculum: how social pedagogy as a tradition is conceived; how social welfare is produced by citizens (the socio-political context); and the impact of processes of professionalisation and academicalisation. The different aspects are selected because they are considered as significant objects of transformation into the curriculum. When study plans, textbooks, lectures, field studies and all other curricular activities are constructed, at different levels of universities and colleges, discourses have been the subject of a process of filtering. Bernstein called this transformational process recontextualisation. The tool that is put in action in fulfilling the transformation is called the pedagogic device.

In the following sections, we will outline and discuss some of Bernstein’s theories and concepts. We will start with his code theory, second we will outline the rules of recontextualisation, and finally the pedagogic discourse.

3.1 The code theory: Classification and framing

A curriculum consists of many elements that are more or less coupled. There are components such as policy documents: study plans, syllabuses, written assignments, and guidelines. The curriculum consists of elements such as school subjects, different teachers, and students. The
elements are related to each other. There are hierarchical or equal relations and there are strong or weak links between them. Bernstein developed a set of concepts that focus on the forces that bring elements together or keep them apart. The concepts are developed to express the division of labour and the patterns of communication between elements.

The code theory is about communication, its voice and messages. Out of Bernstein’s early concepts “personal” and “positional”, which classified different patterns of communication in families the notion of "code" was introduced. Bernstein distinguished between two different modalities: elaborated and restricted codes.

Bernstein found that language patterns arose because of the division of labour, and the division of labour was due to the fact of power distribution in society. He used these findings later to classify school practice.

As Bernstein commenced to use the theory to explain school practice, he introduced the concepts of classification and framing. Classification and framing are the two modalities of the code (discourse) which “… do not merely regulate language or curricula, but replicate social identities” (Atkinson 1995a, p. 91). The potency of the code theory is summarised by Atkinson (1985, p. 88): “… code is intended to capture the notion of a regulative principle which, in most general terms, determines the selection and combination of elements”.

44 This shows Bernstein’s sociolinguistic origin. He was early influenced by structuralism, e.g. the Saussurian concepts paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between objects. These concepts are the foundations of “classification” and “framing” (Atkinson 1995 b).

45 Bernstein was known for his findings in the 1950s which revealed the different patterns of communication in working class families and middle class families. Children from working class families gave context bound explanations about relations between objects (positional) whereas children from middle class families to larger extent gave explanations that were context free (personal). The different patterns of communication indicated different ways of relating to the material base. The more abstract way of thinking and communication in middle class families was explained by the different positions of the families in the division of labour.

46 In an interview (published in Bernstein 2000, pp. 197–213), he says that the concept of code in recent years was replaced by “discourse”. Two new concepts were introduced: vertical and horizontal discourse.

47 Bernstein developed his code theory very early in his career. The theory of the pedagogic device is of a later origin. As we understand his development of the theories, the code theory was partly modified and replaced by “the pedagogic device” in the 1980s.
The constructs classification and framing provide a means to analyse how power and control are transmitted as a result of the way that content is classified and the way interactions are framed.

With the help of the concepts it is possible to explain micro and macro processes at the same time. Micro processes refer to for example the relationship between a student and a teacher communicating in the classroom, whereas the macro processes refer to the transformation of primary (exterior) discourses into school practice.

More than curricula and school practice can be studied with the help of the code theory. Bernstein wrote that he later in his research changed the scope of pedagogic practice:

Pedagogic practices would include the relationships between doctor, and patient, the relationships between psychiatrist and the so-called mentally ill, the relationships between architects and planners. In other words, the notion of pedagogic practice which I shall be using will regard pedagogic practice as a fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place. (Bernstein 2000, p. 3)

Bernstein’s extended use of the term pedagogic practice is an example of *pedagogization* in any societal institution.

### 3.1.1 Examples of classification

It is thus possible to use the term classification in any context. It can be used to analyse curriculum as well as other organised institutions. According to Bernstein, there are two “fields” that are important for the understanding of the construction of curricula; the field of *production* and the field of *reproduction*.

In order to show the nature of classification in the field of production, we will start with an example from a setting normally used as a practice placement for students at a college or university course aimed at social work or social educational work – a group home for the elderly.

To give qualified care to the elderly living in a residential institution, there are certain occupational groups with specialised functions. There
is a unit manager, a qualified nurse, a doctor, a social worker, social educational workers, assistants, kitchen personnel, cleaners, etc. There are distinct boundaries between these employees; there are identities connected to each function; there are certain expectations of each worker. There is behind these categories an ordering principle, which on one hand keeps them apart and on the other hand brings them together. The relation and the insulation between categories is denoted classification.\textsuperscript{48} It is important to note that it does not mean the mere contents of a classification, a category: “Classification refers to the nature of the differentiation between contents” (Bernstein 1971, p. 49), i.e. classification refers to a defining attribute between categories, rather than to a defining characteristic of the category itself. Power relations create, legitimise, and reproduce boundaries between different categories of groups (e.g. gender, class, and ethnicity).

In the field of reproduction (e.g. schools and universities), school subjects are categories, which are defined in relation to each other. Subjects such as Psychology, Sociology, and Economics have more or less sharp boundaries between them. Each of these subjects carries its own discourse in schools. The discourse underlying the subject has its discursive counterpart outside the school, in the field of production relevant to the societal division of labour.

As we saw in the example from the group home for the elderly, more than “things” can be separated by principles of classification. The boundaries between different teachers at the college, boundaries between staff and management as well as the boundaries between the social worker and the client are maintained by principles of classification.

In other words, it is the insulation between the categories of discourse which maintains the principles of their social division of labour. In other words it is the silence which carries the message of power; it is the dislocation in the potential flow of discourse which is crucial to the specialization of any category. (Bernstein 1996, p. 20)

\textsuperscript{48} The origin of the concept of classification is according to Bernstein (1974), from Mary Douglas. Her book Purity and Danger (1966) gave him the idea to denote things through which they are kept apart and how things are defined cultural. The sentence “keeping things apart” also shows the influence Durkheim’s theories had on him.
The nature of classification may be strong (C+) or weak (C-). In the case of a strong classification, the boundaries are very distinct. Weak classification means that the discourse is less specialised and the principles of separation less articulated. Strong classification says: “things should be kept apart”, weak classification says: “things should be brought together”. A result of this is that strong classification produces marked off identities.

Bernstein says that classification may refer to inner conditions in a school context, for example, the relationship between teacher and student (Ci) or the relationship between inner and outer context (the external discourses), for example, professionals active in the field of social educational work (Ce). Thus there is the following scheme of classifying relations: Ci+ Ci- Ce+ Ce-.

With the help of the concept of classification it is possible to distinguish between two different types of curricula. One type is governed by a steering principle regulating aspects of power and control; an underlying code, a collection code. A curriculum of a collection code type is synonymous with strong classification. The other type of curriculum, with the integrated code as a leading principle, has blurred boundaries between, for example, different school subjects – that is to say, weak classification.

3.1.2 Examples of framing

Let us turn back to the example with the group home for the elderly. Between these categories, classifications of “objects”, there are flows of communication and relational links between members of staff. Since members of staff have different importance due to traditional values of status upheld by differentiated salaries, professionalisation and images of power, the communication between the different actors are supposedly different. There are those who control the flow of communication because some actors are seen as more influential than others; these aspects are denoted “framing”.

A simple way to explain the difference between the concepts of classification and framing, so fundamental in Bernstein’s theory, is to state: the concept of classification refers to what, and the concept of fram-
Framing is communication; it is about actual meetings between, for example, teacher and student, social worker and client. Framing is about the form of the context in which knowledge is communicated. As in the case with classification, framing does not refer to the contents of the message. Framing refers to the strength of what is legitimate or illegitimate in transferring in a caring, a therapeutic or pedagogical context. Framing regulates relations within a certain context and in this way framing is a question of who is controlling what.

Frame refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and may not be transmitted, in the pedagogical relationship. Where framing is strong, there is a sharp boundary, where framing is weak, a blurred boundary, between what may or may not be transmitted. Frame refers us to the range of options available for teacher and taught in the control (in italics by Bernstein) of what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship. Strong framing entails reduced options; weak framing entails a range of options. (Bernstein 1971, p. 50)

Bernstein gives examples of what to look for when investigating framing aspects in a pedagogical context:

Framing is a matter of the nature of the control over: the selection of the communication, its sequencing (what comes first, what comes second), its pacing (the rate of expected acquisition), the criteria, and the control over the social base that makes the transmission possible. (Bernstein 2000, pp. 12–13)

Bernstein derived the concept out of theories on symbolic interactionism. He says: From Durkheim I took classification and from the early symbolic interactionists I took the concept of framing, although I defined both differently” (1996, p. 101). The early interactionists he is referring to are probably Mead and Cooley. According Marshall (1998) “framing” is a concept used by Goffman in 1974. Atkinson (1985) states that there are similarities between Goffman’s “frame analysis” and Bernstein’s “framing”.

The concept of “social base” is derived from Marxism and is refers here to authority and position.
Bernstein carefully states that when framing is weak, for example, in the case when a student or a group of students have control over sequencing, pacing, and criteria, this control is only *illusory*. The principles of classification keep the power relations intact.

Turning back to the example of the group home for elderly, daily care may be organised in different ways. Framing aspects may be very strong, meaning that the assistants control what time the elderly are supposed to have their meals and go to bed in the evening. The care might be organised in a way that as few assistants as possible meet each client, or in a more Tayloristic way that every assistant, with her/his special duties, is involved in the care of each client. There are some important postures in modern principles of care ethics. One of these is the principle of continuity, which can be seen as an aspect of framing.

There are also framing aspects between the different categories of workers. In what way are those "on the shop floor" involved in tasks concerning the management of the group home?

The values of framing, strong or weak, can vary between the different elements of pedagogic practice. There can be weak framing over pacing but strong framing over the selection of communication. The interplay between aspects of framing in the classroom is shown in a study by Morais (2002). She found that weak framing over pacing and hierarchical rules and weak classification of spaces and discourses was of importance to promote learning.

As in the case with classification there are internal and external features of framing. It is possible to sketch a similar scheme:

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\begin{align*}
Fi+ & & Fi- & & Fe+ & & Fe- \\
\end{align*}
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From the examples, it is obvious that the two modalities of a discourse are dependent on each other. The modalities of classification and framing, strong or weak, internal or external, give a range of options for variations. That is for example, when classification is strong, framing may be weak. The insulation between different subjects taught at school, or the insulation between different members of staff, may be very sharp (Ci+), but the students’ (or the clients’) possibilities to control communication, the pacing, etc may be significant (Fi-). A pedagogical method like “problem based learning” may serve as a good example of Ci- and Fi-. The starting point is not the subject with distinct boundaries to other subjects, as students are supposed to be in con-
control over the criteria mentioned above. To this may be supplemented that the external relations, Ce and Fe, may also be weak since students are supposed to communicate and collect facts outside school in the local community and “real life” situations.

The different modes should not be seen as static conditions. The C’s and F’s may vary over time. Thus Bernstein stresses the potential for changes of discourses integral to the theory.

What are the implications for the acquirers of knowledge that the pedagogic discourse might be characterised by weak or strong classification and framing? What is the nature of symbolic control that students, clients, and all others that enter a pedagogical practice, experience? What do different code modalities do to you? In the first place, Bernstein (2000) says that, how these codes are acquired is as difficult to reveal as the process behind how habitus (in the way Bourdieu defines it) is shaped. In spite of these difficulties, Bernstein tries to make sense of the processes behind the recognition and realisation of codes through the concepts of recognition rules – referring to power and classification, and realisation rules – referring to control and framing.

Recognition rules operate on the level of the individual. S/he recognises how things are put together, how things are given meaning in its specific context. Rules are thereby constituted to distinguish meanings. Recognition rules are so to speak constructed in the course of intertional pedagogical practices. The process works via the principle of classification, the rules that are concerned with what.

The realisation rules refer to how the individual is able to construct pedagogic texts. The rules enable students to produce texts within the parameters established by a specific pedagogic discourse. Students thus acquire and put into effect rules by making conclusions about the procedures and principles of selection and pedagogic relations (Bernstein 2000). Realisation rules are derived from framing principles and are thus concerned with how.

Bernstein (2000) gives the following implications that are true for many schoolchildren as well as clients, subordinates in bureaucratic organisations, and so on. We will quote him at length because this statement also expresses why Bernstein was genuinely interested in what consequences unequal power relations might have for learners:
However, we may have the recognition rule which enables us to distinguish the speciality of the context but we may still be unable to produce legitimate communication. Many children of the marginal classes may indeed have a recognition rule, that is, they can recognise the power relations in which they are involved, and their position in them, but they may not possess the realisation rule. If they do not possess the realisation rule, they cannot then speak the expected legitimate text. These children in school, then, will not have acquired the legitimate pedagogic code, but they will have acquired their place in the classificatory system. For these children, the experience of school is essentially an experience of the classificatory system and their place in it. (p. 17)

3.2 Recontextualising rules

Our objects of investigation are school curricula, not the primary discourses as such; that is, not how the relation between a social educational worker and a client appears in the work field, nor the welfare state’s relation to its citizens or professional closure strategies. We are interested in the interpretations – or expressed in a similar way, the transformation of the discourses. When we analyse curricular texts we are not “looking into” the primary discourses. We expose the discourses as they appear in the curricular texts, with Bernstein’s concepts; primary discourses that have been recontextualised to pedagogic discourses.

According to Bernstein, discourses are moved into a new context, the pedagogic context in line with recontextualising rules. Welfare discourses, professional demarcations and social pedagogy as substantive practices are all removed from their natural positions into a pedagogic practice. In this relocation, they are made abstract. The pedagogic discourse is in this way not a discourse but a principle for removing and circulation of discourses:

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51 The word “principle” is, according to Apple (2002), a key word for understanding Bernstein’s theory of the pedagogic device. Apple says about “principle”: “Like Durkheim, Bernstein saw the most powerful connections between social consciousness and the division in society not in the specific content of that consciousness, but in its relations. In general terms, what was ’in’ consciousness was less important than how the “what” was organised”. (p. 609)
… is a discourse without a specific discourse. It has no discourse of its own. Pedagogic discourse is a principle of appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation to each other for the purposes of their selective transmission and acquisition (in italics in the original text). Pedagogic discourse, then, is a principle that removes (delocates) a discourse from its substantive practice and context, and relocates that discourse according to its own principle of selective reordering and focusing. (Bernstein 1990, pp. 183–184)

In this process, as discourses are moved and relocated from their original site to sites where schooling takes place (or other pedagogical practices), a space is created. When discourses are transferred they are, according to Bernstein, ideologically transformed. That is the reason why they are not the same discourses anymore. When discourses are removed from their original site, their real setting from the “unmediated”, to the school, the discourse turns into a “designed” discourse, an “imaginary” discourse. The pedagogic discourse is conforming itself to unmediated discourses and transforms them into imaginary subjects. Bernstein gives an example of this:

When I was at school I spent three years in a large room with wooden benches and with side benches with saws and hammer and chisels. After three years I had a pile of wood chippings as high as the bench itself. But what was I doing? Well, what I was doing was this: outside pedagogy there was carpentry, but inside pedagogy there was woodwork. In other words, here was a transformation of a real discourse called carpentry into an imaginary discourse called woodwork. (1996, p. 47)

In this process of transformation, the original text is not the same text anymore. The text is recontextualised; the text is given a new meaning in another context through a “decontextualisational principle” (Bernstein 1990, p. 192).

What happens when typical social educational work actions (“the real discourse” according to Bernstein in the quote above) are recontex-

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52 It is important to understand the meaning of (privileged) “text”. Bernstein (according to post structuralism) is using text in a literal and extended sense. He says: “It can refer to the dominant curriculum, dominant pedagogic practice, but also to any pedagogic representation, spoken, written, visual, postural, sartorial, spatial”. (1990, p 175)
tualised (removed and transformed) in a pedagogic context (into “an imaginary discourse”)? One effect is that discourse-based actions within the educational system will enter the field. Actors in the pedagogic context will add their instructions and regulations when the pedagogic discourse and the primary discourse merge. New channels for power will be added. The definitive effect on the people involved can of course only be assessed empirically. An example: when aspects of family life, especially problems in the family, are made the object of theoretical studies in social pedagogy, the studies may very well stress the children’s situation in families in crisis, and also underline the possibility of intervention in the families. That will add to the normalisation process in society. From one viewpoint, it is possible to see this as a reduction of freedom. From another angle, it may be conceived of as productive.

In the discourse of social pedagogy, there have been proposals to draw strict limits between the exercise of state power, based on social law, and social educational work. If these limits were recognised, social educational work would truly be on the side of the client. As far as we understand it, this conception suffers from being too formal, and it is surely incompatible with the idea of power as a property of all relationships. The social educational worker cannot close her eyes, hoping that she is not part of society’s organised structure with the utmost objective of bringing order to society. Power based on law is only one of the forms in which it appears (Flyvbjerg 1991). The practice of power will be present in all relationships. At the heart of the matter lies how the exercise of power is judged. In the Foucauldian tradition power is simply there, neither good nor bad. You can’t escape power. It can be disguised and hard to track, which to the naive, may seem unjust.

This value-free way of looking at power is that sometimes or often, power works in a disguised form, merely because that is the most effective way. There is nothing negative in that per se. In a famous paragraph, Foucault (1985) presents this position.

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it ‘excludes’, it ‘represses’, it ‘censors’, it ‘abstracts’, it ‘masks’, it ‘conceals’. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained from him belong to this production. (p. 194)
3.2.1 Recontextualising fields

Recontextualisation takes place on several levels in different sites. The merges between the primary discourse and the pedagogic discourse takes place in the orbits of the official recontextualising field (ORF) and the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF) (Bernstein 2000).

The ORF is the central government’s ideologically based intentions with schooling, on different levels. The agents who carry out the government’s intentions are politicians and civil servants in the ministries and central bureaucracies.

The PRF is made up of pedagogues in schools and colleges, in departments of education, in textbooks, in specialised research journals, and in research foundations.

The interrelation of the two fields determines the structure of the process of recontextualisation. The actual dominance of the ORF sets the limits for the PRF, and consequently, the PRF can experience different amounts of autonomy in different periods.

Generally, the impact of the ORF is bigger the lower the level of the educational institution, that is, the space for autonomy is ordinarily greater in universities than in elementary schools.

In higher education, the recontextualising process has traditionally taken place in either singulars, i.e. single academic disciplines, or in regions like medicine or engineering.

The traditional academic discourse with its emphasis on the academic discipline as its heart, views the discipline (e.g. sociology, psychology) as a singular (Bernstein 2000), meaning that the discipline is the starting point for analytic procedures. The discipline is regarded as a specialised discrete “discourse” (p. 52). From the point of view of the discipline, there are a number of actors and activities to maintain the legitimisation of the core of the subject. The aim is as well to protect its boundaries in relation to other academic subjects. Above these agencies referring to the contents of the subject, there are number of material circumstances to uphold the academic standard. There is an organisation of a certain kind, for example the lecturers of the subject are required to have a certain minimum of qualifications, and the examinations of students follow certain procedures. It is not solely a matter of maintaining the core of the subject; there is as well an organisation for its development. There are research units, staffed by senior lecturers.
and professors. In the Bernsteinian framework, these features are examples of a strong classification of subjects.

As far as the regions are concerned, there is an inward attitude towards the academy as such and an outward attitude towards the field of external practice.

The so-called new regions, to which social pedagogy belongs, are more dependent on the work field. Social pedagogy must be constantly updated to the current trends in the field that will set a limit to what may be introduced in the curriculum. Since the work field is not a monolithic entity, the framing and classification in it has an impact on the education, too.

We can see another interesting factor here, and that is that the work field may be attracted by the possibility of gaining status from the connection to the academic sphere. That surely has a distinct bearing on the advancement of the profession and its power in the field.

3.2.1.1 Recontextualisation as an ongoing process

There are besides the recontextualisation that takes place on a “higher” level, that is, in the recontextualisation fields, infinite processes of recontextualisation on a local level. There are constantly ongoing revisions of local guidelines, booklists, study programmes, syllabuses, and lectures. Changes to the curriculum are all interpretations and adaptations to external discourses. Transformations of discourses might be more or less loosely coupled to decisions that are made in the recontextualising fields. Guidelines can be followed almost to the letter, but there is also on the spot selection of teaching content that each lecturer brings to students. Thus a lecturer makes his/her more or less personal interpretation of social educational work, relationship to clients, and how the world should be conceived; elements that all are parts of the recontextualisation process.

The recontextualised discourses are presented to the students. They meet this often-powerful instrument, the power-knowledge system (Foucault 1980a). The curriculum of an educational institution in social pedagogy is a means for members of the institution, such as administrators, teachers with different tasks (theory, practice), to exert their influence, albeit for different purposes. These might be ideas about educa-
tion, of the substantive area of education, or about personal ends. It can be done openly, or in disguised form.

Students themselves will be the targets for these influential activities and, in the end, clients of institutions will be subjected to parts of the content and postures that the students have been fostered to take on. It is of course not the case that the mere existence of a curriculum means that students will adhere to it. Students will react to a curriculum as individuals, group members, on ideological and professional motives, for personal reasons. They might act in opposition to or in co-operation with college officials.

There are two mistakes that must be avoided. One is to underestimate the possibilities for action from the seemingly inferior party, the other one to underrate the alternatives for the superior one.

Bernstein (1990) points to the instability of power relations when he states that discursive-based dominance contains the roots of its dissolution. Symbolic control, as Bernstein conceives it, functions like a language. Tacitly, we learn through interaction the immanent rules of the language and in that way we master the language, meaning that we can create new combinations using all the elements of the language as long as it “feels right”. Symbolic control works in an analogous way when it transforms the language of feeling and desire - that is, makes us do things that “feel right”. But, since combinations are infinite, this (symbolic) control cannot be complete, because

… normalizing processes produce norms and their agencies, which are rarely true of their contradictions, cleavages and dilemmas they are set up to control. Socialization into norms, from this point of view, is then always socialization both into another’s voice and into one’s own ‘yet to be voiced’. (Bernstein 1990, p. 159)

Thus, in Bernstein’s view, there are openings for resistance. Symbolic control is never all embracing, not in the long run.

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53 In an essay on the development of relations between the direction and tenants in a housing renewal project, Tord Jacobson (1991) writes: “But the power over the pupil isn’t the power to make him learn, the power over the intern/client is not the power to cure. --- The day-to-day resistance in the form of obstruction could, when the circumstances permit it, be transformed to open resistance and revolt, even though displayed with politeness and concern. The prerequisites and the intersections of the instances when discipline and resistance are confronted with societal mechanisms like force, control and domination, when power is used and changes take
The generative regulative pedagogic discourse produced at the “top” level of society (by the state, in the fields of production, and discursive resources [=symbolic control] – is eventually in a recontextualising process settled in the pedagogic context. It is thus important to pay regard to the society in which the curriculum is constructed. Neves and Morais (2001) give an example of curriculum research where societal changes reflect curricula and school practice. Their research on curricula in Portugal show how the general regulative discourse is filtered on different levels to finally constitute the pedagogic discourse. There are advantages in investigating curriculum changes in a society like Portugal’s that underwent radical societal changes fixed to a certain period of time. The function of the Portuguese state was to legitimise the principles of social power and control.

3.3 The pedagogic discourse – the rules of discursive order

Recontextualising rules constitute pedagogic discourses. What is pedagogic discourse? Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse as: “… a rule which embeds two discourses: a discourse of skills of various kinds and their relation to each other, and a discourse of social order” (2000, pp. 31-32).

A learner at school, students at a university, a client in a social work context, are taught facts and norms. A social work student is supposed to gain deep knowledge about legal systems, human conditions and social structures among other important issues, but they also learn how to behave, that is, to learn appropriate attitudes and socio-affective competences. So, seemingly there are two distinct sets of rules.

But, in the way Bernstein discusses these matters (1990, 1996, 2000) there is only one pedagogic discourse; his argumentation for this is as follows. On one hand, the “tools for control” regulate framing, pacing, selection, sequence and criteria. These are denoted the “rules of social order”. On the other hand we have a discourse that mediates facts. Students are so to speak taught cold figures and soft figures. The cold figures, the hard facts, refer to the instructional discourse (ID) whereas
the soft figures are *the regulative discourse* (RD). But, the RD is always the dominant one. The ID is embedded in the RD. To interpret this, there is in every instructional theory, or teacher-student relationship, a discourse teaching the student values on how to relate to human beings, a (hidden or explicit) message about the social order and identity, messages about norms.\(^{54}\) To express it in another way according to Morais (2002):

RD is a discourse of order which translates the dominant values of society and regulates the form of how knowledge is transmitted. ID is a discourse of competence that refers to what is transmitted. (p. 560)

Morais points at the links and the transformations of regulative discourses, from the macro context to the micro context, i.e. from society (the state, the fields of production, and discursive resources [– symbolic control]) to the context in which pedagogic practice takes place (cf. the example of the Portuguese curricular changes in section 3.2.1.1).

Cognitive competences and knowledge about e.g. scientific processes are the contents of ID, whereas social positions and principles of social order are the contents of RD. It is not always easy according to Morais (ibid.) to detect when the interaction between teachers and students are attached to RD or ID. The two modalities of the pedagogic discourse cannot be used as empirical concepts without a prior operationalisation. An example of an operationalisation of the ID is when the teacher addresses a student “right”, “wrong” or “incomplete”. On the other hand utterances as: “I can see that you have studied”; “If you had paid attention to …”; or; “The group work helped you to …” refer to RD since they appeal to rules of conduct, cooperation, and obedience.

But, even if the RD is not made explicit, it does not mean that it is not present; it is always superior to ID. According to Bernstein RD is a discourse about moral conduct and social order. He argues that all school subjects are charged with discourses about social order, values,

\(^{54}\) In Bernstein 1990, pp. 210–211, he says that: “The distinction between instructional and regulative discourse clearly has its origins in Parsons’ distinction between instrumental and expressive”. Instrumentalities have their origins in economic theory (Smith’s division of labour) oriented towards goal attainment. “Expressive activities are concerned with relations to ordering principles, to solidarity with and loyalty and commitment to these principles”. (Parsons in Bernstein 1990, p. 211)
and statements of how things “are”\footnote{Bernstein’s reasoning is in line with how Durkheim uses the term ”social facts”, i.e. collective phenomena that arise because of human relations. For example, fashion is outside each individual but influences each one of us.}. As a result of the recontextualisation process, the contents of a textbook have gone through several transformations. For example, school subjects such as physics have lost their intrinsic logic (the instructional discourse); instead social facts are transmitted to students. Discourses are added to discourses – what is left is a regulative discourse.

Popkewitz (1998) says about textbooks used by white middleclass teachers (so called corps members) who were engaged in a project called \textit{Teaching for America}, that:

\begin{quote}
The textbook is ‘made’ into a real thing that sets the pace, provides the criteria of learning, and defines the formulas by which one arrives at the truth. The text, the corps member implied, has intention; indeed, it can even ‘trick’ the reader. (p. 104)
\end{quote}

Popkewitz shows, in line with the Bernsteinian reasoning, that certain codes about moral conduct and social order are embedded in classroom discourses. The management of knowledge, in this case textbook knowledge, is also the management of the school children’s consciousness. He means that: “The textbook is a marker that orders children in the moral order of the school” (ibid., p. 105). The textbook, school subjects, as well as all pedagogic practice, has a normalizing function. There are codes attached to the pedagogic practice that contain moral rules – that is, the children are told what behaviour has low or high values, respectively. Children who have the right dispositions manage to learn the correct behaviour, which leads to redemption. Those who fail become irredeemable.
Part II

The empirical study of the three curricula will be presented in Part II. A comparison between them is outlined in the concluding chapter (8). The analysis and comparison of the recontextualisation process in the three curricula is structured by the following objectives:

- How can the recontextualising field be described? What is the distribution between ORF/PRF?
- What is the curriculum code; integrated, collective?
- What are the classification and framing aspects of the relations between school subjects, students and lecturers, the college and the work field and different categories of lecturers?
- What is the balance between the regulative and instructional discourse?
- How can the impact on the recontextualisation of aspects of professionalisation and academicalisation be described?

The pedagogic discourse does not have a discourse of its own (cf. chapter 3.3); it is a fusion of recontextualising rules and the object of recontextualisation.

- What is the curriculum’s construction of the client in terms of categorisation, personal and societal background, gender, and on the dimension dependence/independence?
- What are the main characteristics, in terms of framing, classification, symmetry/asymmetry, and gender aspects of the relation between the client and the social educational worker as it is pictured in study programmes, assignments, texts and other parts of the curriculum?
- What are the core characteristics of the social educational worker?
- What is the curricula’s approach to social educational work, compared to a definition based on the contemporary discussion of social pedagogy?
4 Method and material

Our ambition with this thesis is to add to the discourse of social pedagogy by producing a text on three educational programmes in social educational work.

According to Bernstein (1996), the recontextualisation process adds something, mainly a structure, to the primary context. Following the logic of the recontextualisation process, social educational work becomes “tangible” when it is transferred into the educational context. The pedagogical discourse is a discourse that contains other discourses. It doesn’t have a discourse of its own. It becomes “alive” so to speak, when it is utilised for educational purposes; when a set of principles is formed in its structure. Having served in the educational environment in an educational format, it is fed back to its original environment by means of the graduates that start to work in the field.

The objects of the study are all kinds of curricular actions in the three colleges that have been reviewed, (cf. chapter 5–7) carried out by professionals in the pedagogical field of social education.

Vitale (2001) shows that a curriculum can be studied in different forms. He identifies the external form, which is the official, public form consisting of documents, study plans, syllabuses, bibliographies, and rules of access. This is distinguished from the curriculum as activity, which is the internal version, approximating what is actually transmitted to students. This thesis comprises analyses of both forms.

Curricular actions are, for example, giving a lecture, leading a seminar, visiting a student on placement, the production of written material ranging from the study programme, course syllabus to assignments and exam questions – that is, all activities within education that have a bearing on the concept of social pedagogy.

4.1 Methodology: Recontextualisation as discourse analysis

The recontextualisation is itself a language or word process. The recontextualisation of social pedagogy is to transfer it from one context, the work field, to another, education. Language must be used to capture the primary context, the work field. Social pedagogy is described in documents such as manuals, in statements by social workers, or evaluation reports. What is central is that probably one of the most elaborated descriptions of social pedagogy can be found in the institutions in which social pedagogy has been recontextualised, that is, the colleges where the education of social educational workers takes place.

The recontextualisation process is consequently a discursive process and its analysis draws on the traditions of discourse analysis, especially on the emphasis that these traditions put on the importance of the structure of texts and actions. Both spoken and written language uses established structures to convey messages. Words contain messages outside of mere content. Studying the process of recontextualisation is different from stating what education to become a social educational worker is. Behind this line of reasoning lies the difficulty of distinguishing content from its presentation. The recontextualisation of social pedagogy utilises language. The words that are used, the structures of presentations – like the genre that are chosen and what presentations are about; everything is interwoven into a totality.

There are different perspectives possible under the heading discourse analysis, each stressing different aspects of the common foundation that emphasises the discursive element in how the world appears to us. This is phrased by Gee (1999):

Language has a magical property: when we speak or write we craft what we have to say to fit the situation or context in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that very situation or context. It seems, then, that we fit our language to a situation or context that our language, in turn, helped to create in the first place. (p. 11)

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56 The work field could be conceived of as the sole primary discourse or as one of the primary discourses, cf. the discussion on the issue of the limits of discourse in 4.2.
Social pedagogy is a series of actions where the use of language is a prominent factor. There are other acts, but the bulk of what is traditionally conceived of as social pedagogy consists of speech acts. When the social educational worker uses her/his professional competence to arrive at an understanding of a situation, and a way to act properly in that situation, s/he draws on the different systems of thought that s/he has internalised. One way of understanding this is to say that s/he is utilising different discourses. We might also say that s/he is captured in discourses. Or we might say that there is a discursive aspect of her/his actions.

As various aspects of the interconnection between language and action are treated differently by divergent schools of discourse analysis, we will begin this section with a short presentation of different definitions of discourse and of important concepts of discourse analysis.

### 4.2 Discourse – a variety of meanings

As an introductory and provisional definition of discourse, Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (2000) use: “… a distinct mode of talking about and understanding the world” (p. 7). A slightly different definition by the same writers is: “… an unambiguous determination of meaning in a specific domain” (p. 7). Alongside these definitions, discourse creates the structure within which we develop our conception of the material world. It enables as well as delimits our perception.

At times and in specific areas one discourse dominates the field, but changes will most likely take place, because discourses are not immovable structures. Rather, they are resources that can be reinforced or changed through the actions following from the discourse.

This property makes discourses hard to detect, and changes in discourses and changes in the impact of different discourses present in the same field likewise hard to discover.

Wodak (1996) adds to the characteristics of discourses that “… there is no objective beginning and no clearly defined end, because every discourse is related to many others and can only be understood on the basis of others” (p. 14).

The differences between various specific definitions of discourse are mainly connected to the range of the concept. At one end of a contin-
uum from a smaller to a greater range, we find the purely linguistic use of the concept, where it is defined as language-in-use (Gee 1999).

Gee (1999) uses a two-tier definition. One is that “language-in-use” or stretches of language (like conversations or stories) (p. 17) are called little d discourse. Another definition is big D discourse which he explains as “When ‘little d’ discourse (language-in-use) is melded integrally with non-language ‘stuff’ to enact specific identities and activities …” (p. 7). Gee gives examples of big D discourses, such as “being a type of middle-class American, factory worker, or executive … member of a club or street gang … are all Discourses” (p. 18). Discourses are detected through recognition. If people act, interact, use different devises that go together with a particular identity and if they will be recognised as that identity, they are “pulling off a discourse” and they are “in the discourse”.

In this definition, discourse is treated as a fixed identity resource for people to use, to feel comfortable in or to strive for. These fixed identities are determined outside of the individual’s reach, but are all the same potentially open to change through actions near the limits of the identities. The identity of a client will surely be different in different settings in different periods of time. The intention in this thesis is to investigate education-oriented social educational work discourses and to compare the order of discourse57 in three colleges in different countries. Basically, the concentration is on how the presentation of the relation client – social educational worker and the organisational context of social educational work may differ in different national contexts.

Fairclough (1995) attaches two different meanings to discourse. One is “language use conceived as social practice” (p. 135), meaning how people interfere in the material world through the use of words. The second definition is “way of signifying experience from a particular perspective” (p. 135), or, how these perspectives structure the way the world “comes to us”, although not in a once and for all fixed structure. On the contrary, the volatile character of discourses is underlined.

If Fairclough’s second definition is compared with the way Foucault conceives discourse the resemblance is salient. Using different texts by Foucault (1972), the following definition can be detected: For social

57 The concept “order of discourse” is defined by Fairclough (1995) as the “totality of discursive practices of an institution, and relations between them” (p. 135).
reasons and through the use of the power that operates through the discourse, the structure of the discourse tells us what can be said, who are obliged to comment, and the way it could be expressed. In the field(s) of social pedagogy and social work, the struggle for power equals the struggle for a certain way of looking at the field, emphasising certain definitions, concepts and methods.

Laclau’s and Mouffe’s (2001) conception of discourse centres on the meanings that are attached to objects and actions in a domain. The emphasis is on the struggle to achieve a particular system of meanings, a particular discourse, the dominating position.

Discourses constitute our perception of the world (Torfing 1999; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). We cannot formulate any concept of objects or actions without using language – that is, without making use of the concepts that are available to us. The way concepts in a domain are defined, how the relation between them are described, and how distinctions between concepts are constructed, form the basis for our understanding of objects and actions. The content of the concept “client”, how professional social educational work is distinguished from parents’ education of their children, the relation between aggression and self-defence; those are potentials of debate between different discourses. The point with Laclau’s and Mouffe’s version is that the meaning attached to clients, aggression and the distinctions created between parents’ education of their children and professional social educational work cannot be distinguished from the objects and actions as material entities. We can conceive of them only through language (or discourse).

In contrast to that, Foucault (and, following him, Bernstein and Fairclough) sees two disparate entities in discourses and their material counterparts; the dialectic relation between the material world and discourse is emphasised. Discourses bring about changes in the material world and social practice changes the adherent discourses.

Whether we see discourse as covering the whole area under scrutiny or as a conceptual version of the area, there is yet another difference in emphasis. One emphasis focuses on the way an established discourse directs social and discursive practices. Another emphasis focuses on the analysis of how different discourses strive for hegemony.

The curriculum should be analysed as a discursive action based on established discourses as well as a discursive action with the potential to change the discourse of social pedagogy. This takes us to the ques-
tion of what could be achieved through the employment of discourse analysis.

4.3 The outcome of discourse analysis

Discourse analysis does not see reality as an entity to be arrived at after a series of thorough investigations. There is no way to arrive at the true meaning of a situation, since there is no true meaning outside of the language used about the situation. There is no truth outside the discourse. That is why the end product of discourse analysis is the corroborated description and analysis of the construction of reality that has materialised itself in the form of speech. Scior (2003) writes of her study of gender-based experiences of women with learning disabilities:

In contrast to the preoccupation in a lot of research into the experiences of people with learning disabilities to reconstruct ‘what actually happened’, this study looks at interviewees’ accounts not merely as pathways to an ‘objective reality’, but at the meanings given to events and the ways in which such accounts are constructed. The analysis pays attention to linguistic representations the women use in talking about themselves to arrive at an understanding of the meaning given to experiences, and the places of gender and disability therein. (p. 780)

The women are studied with the focus on how they construct their self-images on the basis of discourses of gender and disability. Language is not studied as a tool of communication, but as a tool for the construction of the self-images. This is a shift from a search for the truth to an understanding of the conditions in which accounts are produced. This shift also changes the researcher's position. Scior (2003) writes:

Rather than positioning the researcher as an ‘objective observer’, it is recognised that meaning is actively constructed and constantly renegotiated during the conversation between the researcher and the researched. (p. 793)

In this thesis, different “elements of speech” (actions, syllabus texts, lecture material, etc) have been chosen by us as material for an analysis of the curricula and ultimately for a contribution to the discourse of
social pedagogy. In other words, one of the outcomes of the analysis could be expressed as a description of the curricula’s constructions of the client, the social educational worker, the relationship between them, and the organisation of social educational work.

4.3.1 An integrative approach

Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (2000) have suggested an integrative approach. They mean that at different stages, the analysis can benefit from the employment of a number of advice or tools from all traditions of discourse analysis concerning method, as well as for penetrating methodological matters of importance throughout the process. It suggests treating the diverse traditions as a source for the handling of theoretical and practical-analytic problems in research.

Following this line of reasoning, an integrative approach has been taken, and consequently our inspiration comes from many traditions of contemporary discourse analysis; from the work of a number of scholars; Laclau and Mouffe (2001, and in Torfing 1999); Gee (1999); Fairclough (1992, 1995); Potter and Wetherell (1987).

The development of critical discourse analysis provides a model for combining the language and action aspect of discourses. In *Language and Power* (Fairclough 1989), the analysis is directed at integrating three different analyses: of texts; of processes of text production, consumption and distribution; a socio-cultural analysis of the discursive event (such as a conversation or an interview). In later publications (Fairclough 1992; Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Fairclough 2001; Fairclough 2003), the combination of the analyses of discourse and social change is the principal theme with an emphasis on the critical aspect – that is, the purpose of the research to be working for the oppressed.

When significantly divergent discourses (or genres) are present in a domain, it might create a high level of ambivalence for the people involved as to how to interpret a situation and how to act in it. In the domain of social pedagogy, the different discourses that we have identified will be considered in relation to their potential divergence or convergence.
Discourses and genres are used to mould the content of competing discourses into favoured ones and thorough analyses are needed to disclose alternative constructions.\textsuperscript{58}

The open character of discourses is underlined by Laclau and Mouffe (2001). Due to the fact that different discourses can appear in the same field and compete for hegemony with one another, the advantages and disadvantages of, for example, the attitudes about acupuncture can be considered in traditional and in alternative discourses of medicine. To incorporate acupuncture in traditional medicine will alter the relationship between different parts (moments) in the discourse (for example, lack of theoretical evidence for acupuncture might shake fundamental traditional “principles”); not to incorporate it might change its position in the conflict with the alternative school (to refrain from a successful therapy will diminish public support).

In the field of social work, there is a long history of “discourse battles” between psychiatrists and social workers over the treatment of different client groups such as teenagers with behavioural disorders, and substance abusers.

Social pedagogy characterised by a dual emphasis on discipline and emancipation could very well be conceived as an example of a discourse battle where either the difference is emphasised or where one concept will be incorporated in the other through redefinition.

In the social pedagogical context, basic elements of the current discourse (categorisations of clients, the construction of the worker, the distinctions made between client and worker) have an impact on the praxis, and in its turn practice will affect the discourse. If the construction of the client as a self-aware and active individual will appear inefficient to a group of social educational workers, the practice will

\textsuperscript{58} This is exposed in a study of changes in British social work education where Humphries (1997) expresses the view that a normalizing discourse is contained in the definition of social work as enabling people to function, participate and develop in society. This discourse of normalization has integrated in itself elements from the more traditional discourses in the social work field such as emancipation and welfare.

In a study on people with neuro-psychiatric diagnoses Palmblad (2002) concludes that the concept of empowerment is dependent on the discourse of normalization, because empowerment presupposes the acceptance of clienthood. In that way she finds the emancipatory quality of empowerment to be “contaminated” by a discourse with an adverse content.
change and the construction changed as well, e.g. from a symmetrical relation to a more asymmetrical one.

A key feature of the Laclau and Mouffe version is the analysis of the struggle for a hegemonic position. A central device in that enterprise is to accentuate dissimilarities with competing discourses. For the discourse of social pedagogy, neighbouring discourses are social work, psychiatry and psychotherapy. For social pedagogy it would be important to strive for the originality of its position in a discourse order often described as human service organisational work. One aspect of this competition between discourses is the struggle for the exclusive right to define concepts, attitudes and postures with a potential place in several of the competing discourses. In the Laclau/Mouffe tradition: to acquire an element and turn it into a moment in the particular discourse.

Still another aspect of the struggle for hegemony concerns the relation between the different moments of the discourse. The coherence of the discourse should be an important asset in the competition. In our understanding, this could be expressed as an inter-discursive process, or as a struggle with discursive means in the field of human service organisations. If the latter approach is the vantage point, it becomes easier to analyse contemporary “musts” in the design of curricula. To present social educational work features in a particular form to make it accessible for evaluation could be one such “must” or necessary component. These “necessary” components or series of components might be analysed in their impact on students’ and graduates’ work performance. Such analyses reflect the dual relation between the social world and discourses emphasised by the critical discourse analysis school. One fundamental position is that socio-cultural practices are influenced by the discourse practice, and that discourse practice is changed with occurring events in society. The struggle for power takes place in social practices and in discursive practices. The struggle for power can be detected in the interplay between social and discursive practices.

Following Fairclough, the analysis of, for example, genres used in a discursive practice, could on one hand show the limits put on the content by the proscribed genre. The use of a story lines in a curriculum’s presentation of a “client’s career” structures the comprehension of an apparently central aspect of social educational work. This doesn’t make the comprehension of “the client” more or less true than other ways of presenting him. The point is that the utilised genre will make up the
presentation as much as “the content”. In this way, formal aspects of the discourse will have an impact on social educational practice. On the other hand, such practice could make deliberate use of discursive “assets” to emphasise the central qualities of a discourse, like presenting clients as engaged in (negative) careers in order to gain control over key concepts in the field. This is a controversial stance, because it presupposes an integrated person.

According to one strand of discourse psychology, people can come to terms with this discontinuity of modern identities by relating to people from one position at a time.

What distinguishes discourse psychology’s concept of discourses from the other traditions is that it proposes that people utilise discourses in communication as resources that are open for modification. The active, rather than the “subjected” subject is modelled.

Changes of discourses or orders of discourse can have their origin in practice or in the formal part of the discourse. The analysis should thus cover the effects that actions in society have on discourses, whether reproducing them or initiating changes.

4.4 The comparative study

We have examined the three curricula as three different cases. Case studies are discussed by a number of authors, e.g. Merriam (1994), who claims that case studies quite often are used as a common methodology in formal pedagogic settings. Classroom studies have been made to shed light on questions of sociological, psychological, social-psychological, and historical issues. Studies of the development of school practice and educational reforms in a historical light have been published by Goodson and Anstead (1993) and Goodson (1988). According to Merriam, case studies have common characteristics: “… intense holistic descriptions and analyses of a single unit or phenomena. Case studies are particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic … which have to handle sources of information full of nuances” (p. 29).

59 In the discourse analysis tradition, a distinction between content and form is not discussed at all.

60 Of course the discourse analysis tradition does not conceive of any distinction here.
Yin (1994) defines case studies as:

… an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical positions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 13)

The definition indicates the methodological research process in case studies. The aim is to arrive at a plausible understanding of the effects of the variety of variables that possibly may impact the quality of the case. Since case studies are holistic by nature, a variety of research methods and sources of data are needed.

Stake (1994) stresses that case studies are often made to learn about phenomena as they appear in “real life”. The process is as important as the product of the research.

4.4.1 Selection of cases/colleges

In the planning of the thesis and in the development of the aims of the study, a decision was made early in the process to carry out a comparative study. In an essay written during their undergraduate studies, the authors compared the curricula of the Nijmegen, Sligo, Malmö, and Lillehammer colleges (Hallstedt & Högström 1996). It was decided to take the comparison further, but in doing so Malmö University College was omitted, due to the fact that both authors worked (and work) there.

One of the most prominent reasons for comparing the colleges is that they are situated in rather different social, political and educational environments. This would make it possible to analyse educational-political connections as well as connections between the social policy system and social educational work. The central question is if the character of the social political and educational frameworks in a country has a decisive effect on the design of social educational work and curricula in social educational work education.
The difficulties of comparing cases have been discussed by researchers such as Stake (1994). Since cases per definition are embedded in their contexts, the contextual differences are the determinative factors for the phenomena that appear in each case. Comparative studies in which single variables are defined and compared with each other tend to be close to a quantitative survey, a methodology which is far from the ethnographic “thick descriptions” which we want to accomplish in this thesis. Stake proposes a research design close to the one that we have chosen in this thesis. He calls the design *collective case studies*. The reason for adopting this design is that the colleges chosen for the study are interesting as cases of curricular constructions in different contexts. Due to the fact that they are produced in different social-political and academic milieu, they cannot be directly compared to each other. What they have in common is that they educate students who are to work with similar problems and to find answers to similar questions. Since the aim is not to compare single units of variables, the comparison is not comparative in the strict sense of the word. Similarities and differences with references to the local context can be highlighted and discussed.

There are of course many other countries/colleges that could have been of interest for comparison. Obviously, the language factor would limit the number of potential objects of study. In spite of the language problem, it was decided to go on with the studies of the Nijmegen College. The authors do not speak Dutch, but have developed an understanding of spoken Dutch up to a point where the overall context in most instances has become clear. It has been possible to understand written Dutch to a satisfactory level.

Another factor of importance is the opportunity to meet colleagues from the three colleges in different circumstances; international cooperation, exchange programs for students and lecturers, and other types of collaboration. This is the case with a number of other colleges, with equal conditions for access. Considering all these factors, the decision was Nijmegen, Sligo, and Lillehammer.

### 4.4.2 Ethnography

Case studies are often placed in the field of ethnography, with its roots in anthropology, in particular the branch that studied non-European
cultures in the beginning of 20th century (Goetz & LeCompte 1984; Burgess 1984). Ethnographic studies of people in modern urban societies were introduced in the 1930s (cf. Whyte 1943/1993).

It has been discussed whether ethnography is something detached from other disciplines such as ethnology, anthropology, and qualitative research in general because of the unclear boundaries between them. But a significant feature of ethnography is that observations of participants are always used as data collection. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) and Hammersley (1990a) show that the following sequence typifies ethnographical research: social phenomena are central, the working up of unstructured data, investigating of a small number of cases (often only one), and analyses of data that express meanings and functions of social actions, often verbal activities.

Ethnographers want to make fair descriptions and interpretations of cultures. An often-used starting point of ethnographic analyses is “thick descriptions”, a term borrowed from Geertz’ classical work The Interpretations of Cultures (in Alvesson & Sköldberg 1994, pp. 151-156). Human cultures are, according to Geertz, coherent unities of semiotic signs which form a variety of symbols. Cultural symbols should, according to Geertz, be seen and “read” as a text that has multiple meanings. The first step in the ethnographic design is to produce “thick descriptions” using metaphors to make the descriptions “full of blood”. In a second step, the descriptions are used to arrive at a theoretical understanding of cultural phenomena via literature of interpretations of adjacent fields.

One direction in the field of ethnography is called critical ethnography. In critical ethnography, with its Marxist and emancipatory signature, societal structures and their influences on human beings are exposed (cf. Valli 1986; Willis 1986; Jordan & Yeomans 1995). Critical ethnography has quite often been used in research on schools (cf. Sharp and Green 1975; Beach 1997; Sola & Bennett 1985; Anyon 1980; Hammersley 1990b; Anderson 1989). Contemporary critical ethnographers are often influenced by post modernism (cf. Lather 1991 and Beach 1997).

Beach (ibid.) defines his direction of research in the following way:

Doing critical ethnography of education involves exploring education sites as sites which mediate social and cultural (re)production through
the incorporation of various forms of human involvement (such as resistance and accommodation) under particular social and historical-material, political conditions. (p. 64)

4.4.3 Collection of data

In the beginning of our fieldwork, we functioned as lecturers, each for a six-week period, in the Nijmegen College, in 1994 and 1998 respectively. This laid the foundation for the interest and later the study of the Nijmegen curriculum. Working as lecturers in the college, under fairly similar conditions to our Dutch colleagues, produced a fair understanding of the working of the programme. At the start of the fieldwork/lecturing period, we had a vague idea about what data to collect and what theories to use to be able to understand curricular activities. But in the course of the work with the thesis data collection, theoretical views have developed. The working procedures are in line with how ethnographers usually proceed with the process of collecting, describing, and interpreting the manifold impressions that are the result of being in partly unknown territory.

In Nijmegen, contacts were developed with a number of colleagues, in the administration as well as on the teaching staff. International cooperation with the colleges in Sligo and Lillehammer also developed and through our close contacts with the staff we had almost unlimited access to all potentially interesting educational elements; from texts (essays, written exams, placement reports) to lectures, small group discussions in lecture rooms and placement visits with lecturers.

The first interviews and observations in Nijmegen, explicitly made for this thesis, were conducted in 1998. One of the authors spent one week in 1999 in Nijmegen for further observations and interviews. In 2000 both authors spent ten days in Nijmegen collecting information through interviews and observations. On all the visits we took advantage of the help of administrative staff as well as the teaching staff in finding all the relevant documents, ranging from study guides to placement documents.

One of the authors visited the Sligo college in 1995 (one week) and 1996 (one week) for lecturing, and in 1998, 2000, and 2001 (one week for each of the visits) to collect information for the thesis. In 2000, both authors were in Sligo.
One of the authors visited the Lillehammer College in 1995 (one week), 1996 (one week), in 1998, 2000, and 2001 (one week in each of the visits) for collecting information for the thesis. In 1998 and in 2000 both authors were in Lillehammer.

4.4.4 The construction of the data

The curriculum is an extensive set of actions and texts bound together through an educational-organisational device. The curriculum is also an elusive object of study. Agents in the organisation are engaged in a dynamic process that can be the object of description only by bringing processes to a halt. The material for the thesis has been collected over a period of four years. No major changes in the written curricula took place in that period, but due to the dynamic nature of a curriculum in its entirety, it is of course not possible to state that they have remained unchanged over the four years.

The materials are of three kinds; written texts, interviews, and observations. The colleges could be seen as examples of different school cultures, yet with quite a lot of elements in common. What the authors have tried to accomplish through various procedures, – from “being there” and through lecturing, making acquaintances with students and colleagues, discussing matters of the day, to highly focussed interviews and document analysis – is to create a basis for understanding the curriculum in each one of the colleges.

The thesis is grounded on a variety of texts, in their turn based on field notes, interview transcripts, etc, – that is, other texts produced by the authors. These texts are produced on a selection of an infinite number of potential observations. Also, they are produced with the use of common “literary” conventions. There is no unproblematic reproduction of the “reality” in the colleges. Atkinson (1992) raises a number of issues on how to conceptualise the textual character of ethnographic work. He points to the tension between the complexity of social life and the limited modes of representation. The conclusion is that the field is produced, not discovered.

In this thesis it is not the social life or the culture per se that is in focus. Instead, the thesis seeks to examine the culture, social life and the official presentation in and outside the colleges in order to discern the discourse of social educational work as it is presented to students.
through the representations of clients, social educational workers (including the relation between them), and social educational work. All the same, the selection, the field notes and transcripts and the intermediary texts that form the thesis text, make it problematic. It is by nature a simplification of a complex “reality”.

The elusiveness and the many-sided nature of the objects of study make it impossible to arrive at something like a definitive description. Further, the ambition has not been to state what a particular curriculum of social pedagogy really is. Instead, the aim is to give a fair description of the fundamental elements of the curriculum’s concept of social pedagogy, and of how these concepts are created in the recontextualisation process. The parallel between this rather down-to-earth reasoning and the foundation of discourse analysis is obvious.

Criticism of positions of this kind sometimes stress that it will legitimise “anything”, and especially that it restricts empirical studies to the background, confining research to anaemic abstract discussions. To our minds, this is not at all the case. Empirical analysis is as important as ever and corroboration no less important.

Indirectly, Alvesson and Deetz (2000) object to this criticism when they point to the necessity of applying “old” research principles of the corroboration of analyses that are put forward. Readers need to be convinced that the analyses are reasonable and logical through the display of the empirical basis for the analytical process.

4.4.5 Written texts

The written texts that have been collected (1998–2001) are of different kinds because of the different academic traditions applied in producing texts in the three colleges. They are not only labelled differently, they are also produced to cover different areas, and they have different purposes. We use the following English designations together with the original language to describe the nature of the written material: National programmes, study programmes, syllabuses/course outlines.

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61 All the written material used in the thesis is listed in an appendix.
4.4.5.1 Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen in Nijmegen

a) “The National programme” in Nijmegen is *De creatieve professional. Opleidingskwalificaties Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen*. This document is produced by a common advisory board - *Landelijk opleidingsoverleg*. The representatives of the 20 institutes of social educational work in the Netherlands co-operate in this national board. The purpose if the board is to ensure that the different educational programmes are of similar content. Together they provide general guidelines for the educational programmes.

b) “Study programmes” are the local interpretation of the general guidelines. These are in Dutch called *studiegids*, which are produced by administrators at the college. There is one study programme for each year. They regulate content, time, and examination procedures. There is also a book list in the study programmes.

c) “Syllabi/course outlines” are produced by single lecturers/groups of lecturers. They are in Dutch called *Themaboek*. There is one *Themaboek* for each course (normally a ten-week long course, four courses each year). These are important documents for lecturers and students because they give guidelines for the learning process. There are cases to be solved, questions to be answered, there are detailed descriptions on how to make presentations, what books and “readers” to study, and so on. *Themaboek* can also in Dutch be called *stagenota* which is the field manual in English (this is the only document, used by us, that is partly translated into English). At the college in Nijmegen there are *readers*, that is, collections of articles that concern the subjects taught in each theme. The *readers* often contain questions to be solved by students.

d) We have also used other written documents, for example, lists of where students spend their practice years, handouts, examination questions, and other documents produced by lecturers.

4.4.5.2 Faculty of Health- and Social Studies (AHS), Lillehammer College

a) In Norway, the national programmes are called *Rammeplaner*, regulating the content, duration, academic standards, and other frame factors. They are decided by the Department of Church, Education and Research. These national programmes regulate all the
programmes in Social Pedagogy in Norway (vernepleierutdanning and barnevernspedagogutdanningen).

b) Study programmes are the local interpretations of the national frameworks. They are called fagplan in Norwegian. The local study programmes are products of teamwork among the staff. The College Board makes the formal decisions about the local study programme. Since they serve as guidelines for lecturers and students, they are written in a fairly detailed manner. The main purpose is to decide upon the contents of each course. There are timetables and booklists in the study programmes.

c) There are no formal syllabuses; the study programmes serve as the regulating document for the pedagogic practice. Each lecturer gives instructions, handouts, and other study material on a more detailed level during the course of the education.

d) Other written documents in our analysis are information brochures to students about various topics, e.g. information about the practice placements, examination, and the like. We also use a list of where students spend their practice periods.

4.4.5.3 Institute of Technology Sligo

a) Social Studies Modules 2001. This is the official study programme for Social Studies at the Institute of Technology Sligo, Dep. of Business & Humanities, Social Studies Unit. This document contains all the subjects that are taught during the three years of the Diploma Course in Social Studies, and the additional fourth year in the so-called Degree Course. This study programme is based on a programmatic review which was done to prepare for The Application to make Awards within a National Framework which was, as it is stated in the subtitle, Submitted to The Interim Review Group Appointed by The Minister for Education and Science in August 1999. Thus ITSligo has to be approved by the authorities at the national level.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{62} ITSligo was in 1999 selected for an evaluation by the Minister of Education and Science. All the programmes in the college were revised, including the Social Studies programme. The construction of the programme should be seen as a revision of the programme that had been in use since the early nineties. In a number of conferences, changes from the original programme were made concerning content and the balance between subjects. In visits to the college we
b) Textbooks, handouts, exam questions and assignments have been studied.

c) Written documents on practice have also been surveyed. These documents contain instructions for students in practice and a list of the different placements that are used.

4.4.6 Interviews

A number of interviews were accomplished in the three colleges.63

4.4.6.1 Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen in Nijmegen

In Nijmegen a total of 38 interviews were conducted from 1998–2000, distributed within the following categories:

\[
\text{Table 1. Nijmegen interviews} \\
\begin{array}{l|ccc|c}
\hline
\text{Category} & 1998 & 1999 & 2000 & \text{Total} \\
\hline
\text{Lecturers} & 4 & 5 & 10 & 19 \\
\text{Administrators} & 4 & 4 & 1 & 9 \\
\text{Students}^{64} & - & 3 & 7 & 10 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

4.4.6.2 Faculty of Health- and Social Studies (AHS), Lillehammer College

In Lillehammer a total of 23 interviews were conducted from 1998-2001, distributed within the following categories:

\[
\text{Table 2. Lillehammer interviews} \\
\begin{array}{l|ccc|c}
\hline
\text{Category} & 1998 & 1999 & 2000 & 2001 & \text{Total} \\
\hline
\text{Lecturers} & 3 & 3 & 6 & 1 & 12 \\
\text{Administrators} & 1 & 1 & 1 & 2 & 6 \\
\text{Students}^{65} & - & 2 & 2 & 1 & 5 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

have been able to discuss with lecturers and students different aspects of the programme. Lectures, tutorials, etc and the potential coherence with the syllabus texts are all parts of the analyses.

63 The interviewed persons are listed in an appendix.

64 Group interviews, except one.

65 Group interviews
4.4.6.3 Institute of Technology Sligo

In Sligo a total of 19 interviews were conducted from 1998–2000, distributed within the following categories:

*Table 3. Sligo interviews*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.7 Observations

A number of observations were carried out in the colleges.\(^6^\)

4.4.7.1 Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen in Nijmegen

In Nijmegen lectures, as well as PBL/TGL sessions were observed. The authors also had the opportunity to observe supervision sessions. In a couple of cases, the authors could follow lecturers on their visits to students on their placements. A number of placements were visited, in which students and practice supervisors took part.

*Table 4. Nijmegen observations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Placement visits</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures, seminars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.7.2 Faculty of Health- and Social Studies (AHS), Lillehammer College

In Lillehammer, a number of lectures were observed. In addition to that, seminars on practice and group discussions were observed. Placement sites were visited.

\(^6^\) Placements, type of lecture, and supervision categories are listed in an appendix.
Table 5. Lillehammer observations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Placement visits</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2(^{67})</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures, seminars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.7.3 Institute of Technology Sligo

In Sligo, a number of lectures were observed, some of which had a discussion format. The authors had the opportunity to accompany a lecturer on his regular visits to students on their practice placements.

Table 6. Sligo observations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Placement visits</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2+6(^{68})</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures, seminars</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.8 An appraisal of the material

What can be accomplished by this kind of study? It would not be possible to determine how many times and in what number of texts, etc, students were exposed to a construction of, for example, “the client”. To try to determine that might even have been a superfluous activity. Instead, the task was to try to establish the variations of constructions (of for example, “the client”) present in the curriculum through an analysis of the recontextualisation process. It was important not to overlook any significant construction. The decisions that were taken regarding the selection of materials were aimed at producing a well-founded interpretation.

Börjesson (2003) describes the oscillation in an analysis between a structural and an “ethnomethodological” level to be an essential ingredient in the development of a discourse. Although originating from dif-

\(^{67}\) One of the visits is also registered in the “supervision” line

\(^{68}\) 6 visits to placement are the same as those registered in the “supervision” line
ferent levels – study programme texts, lecture episodes, placement visits or lecture handouts - in this analysis all the field notes have been considered as being on the same level. With the aim of developing the curricula’s construction (of the client, the social educational worker and the social educational work organisation), the essential operation has been the creation of the constructions, not to state the relative weight of the particular piece of information.

4.4.8.1 Written texts

In the material from the Nijmegen College, some of the most frequently used texts are the *studieguids*. They contain the overall goals for the education as a whole, as well as the goals for the different themes. These goals are quoted in study plans, *themaboeken*, and they form the basis for the courses’ layout, reading instructions and assignments. Consequently there is a close link between written texts on different levels.

In the Sligo material, the same link between the official texts and the curriculum in action is present. The basis of this conclusion is a little different. The syllabuses for the various subjects in the Sligo college study programme are compiled on the basis of series of lectures. The lectures come first; the study programme gets its structure from them.

The material from Lillehammer College differs from that of the other two colleges. The form of the curriculum shows the importance of the central educational organisation. The foundation, the *rammeplan*, is decided by the central state education organisation, and the study programme is required to retain its structure and content.

Each in its own way, the three curricula could be seen as making available to the students all the elements of the material that are used in this thesis, in a direct or indirect way.

4.4.8.2 Interviews and observations

Beach (1997) discusses two contextually different interviews used in ethnographic research. There are pre-planned formal interviews and field interviews. In the data collection in this thesis, a number of formal interviews were conducted (see tables 1–3). In these interviews the conversation was guided by an interview guide and a tape recorder was used. There were also a number of field interviews, i.e. small talks and
discussions with lecturers, administrators, and students. The authors made an effort to talk about the educational programme in an informal way with students and staff on different occasions and environments, such as in college rooms, dining halls, in buses and trains, and various other places. That is what ethnographic research, and case studies in particular, is about – to grasp any chance to collect information in order to produce “thick descriptions” (Beach 1997). Field notes were recorded after conversations with agents involved in the educational programmes.

Kvale (1997) distinguishes between two different epistemological standpoints on conducting interviews. Two metaphors, the minor metaphor and the traveller metaphor, indicate how “reality” is captured by the interviewer. We adhere to the traveller metaphor; that the meaning of the world and how it comes to us is constructed by interviewer and interviewee together, – that is, even the so-called formal interviews are a joint search for how the world could be perceived.

According to Beach (1997), Atkinson has said something that is well in line with the traveller metaphor: “… ethnography is the textual reconstruction of reality …” (p. 53).

Field work

The staff contacted for interviews came from the main sections of the courses.

In Nijmegen, we interviewed lecturers whose main work were in the theoretical parts of the curriculum; lecturers involved in lecturing in theory and methods, staff involved mainly in the students’ practice placements, staff lecturing in the performing arts, and administrative staff. The observations were made in a variety of lectures; in seminars where students in practice in groups of two or three were engaged in regular conversations built on students’ experiences in their placements, and in placement visits with and without lecturers from the college. In most cases, notes were taken after the observation. In the majority of the visits to placements in connection with the lecturers’ regular visits to their students we conducted formal interviews.

In Sligo, lecturers who are involved in theoretical parts of the education also do placement visits. They were interviewed as well as placement organisers and lecturers in the theoretical subjects covering most
areas of the courses. Observations were made in a wide variety of lectures, covering different levels of education, as well as in a broad selection of the placements that the college uses.

In both Sligo and Nijmegen we were, in a number of cases, also able to study placement visits where all the three parties were present; the visiting lecturer, placement supervisor and student. By observing the layout of placement visits, we have been able to note what it is that lecturers visiting students on placement stress in this part of the training. This can be shown by the information the lecturer asks for from student and supervisor. In the placement visits we basically took part as “a silent observer”. In the conclusion of the visits, we had the opportunity to put questions to the three parties.

To what extent would the conversations between student, lecturer and supervisor have been different had we not been present? Even if it was our impressions, without exception, that the visits were very relaxed, it is a fact that the mere presence of an observer creates a different situation. The importance of this potentially biasing effect should not be overrated, considering that the purpose of the analysis of the collected information; that is, to study the presentation of social educational work, the construction of the client, the social educational worker and the relationship between them.

In Lillehammer, the bulk of the observations were done in lectures and seminars. In most cases, relatively large student groups were present. Generally the authors were just introduced at the outset and did not take part in any way. The main purpose of the observations was to develop an understanding of the colleges’ presentation of social educational work. The potential interference of our presence was probably not significant. In many cases, lectures were well prepared, and most seminars followed what seemed to be well-established routines.

The fact that we are two authors of the thesis and that we have spent many weeks “in the field” gave us many opportunities to discuss, compare, and evaluate our experiences. Sometimes we have observed the same set of events or interviewed the same persons together, but in most cases we observed and interviewed separately. There were many discussions on how to interpret and understand observations and interviews. On many occasions there were discussions about what theoretical framework to use to understand the data that was collected. According to Beach (1997) in the case of ethnographic research it is hardly
possible to separate data collection from the analysis of data, the two processes are intertwined with each other.

4.4.9 Analytic procedures

A two-step structure has been used in the analysis.

The first step is to arrange the empirical material for an initial presentation. Potter and Wetherell (1987) maintain that researchers begin to penetrate empirical material by reading the texts thoroughly, ultimately formulating categories in the material that seem to capture important aspects and themes. Although of provisional character, this forms a start for the analysis and also gives it a structure to facilitate an in-depth analysis.

The advantages of a simple structure are shown in two Swedish studies by Haldén and Mörkenstam (Bergström & Boréus 2000) in the discourse analytical tradition. In a study of the development of Samic identities, and likewise in a study of fundamental ideas of study programmes for the Swedish elementary schools in the forties, analysis was advanced by means of the structure: problem – causes of problems – solutions, which proved to be a fruitful way of organising the analyses.

In this thesis, the analysis of the empirical material collected in the Nijmegen College has been structured using the following categories that were found to be central after the first close reading of the field notes.

- Artistic skills
- Self-awareness
- The organisational context

The same categories were at the outset used to organize the empirical material collected in the colleges in Lillehammer, and Sligo. Some of the categories were replaced by categories that were more appropriate for the curricula of these colleges.

In chapter two, social pedagogy was given a provisional definition and characterised by the dual concepts discipline and emancipation. In the following chapters a number of concepts were outlined. These concepts, summarised in the objectives in the very beginning of part II of
the thesis, have been directional in the second step, the in-depth analysis of the empirical material.

In this part of the analysis, the material has been examined for the purpose of displaying the form (or the different forms) in which the main players and their relationships appear. The different forms or dimensions of the client, the social educational worker, and the observed relationship between them stem from the analysis of the material: on how the presentations of the players are phrased in the curricula; on how their relationships are shown in texts in different disciplines; in assignments given during placement practice – in all the different parts of the curricula.

An example: in the Sligo curriculum, the clients are often described in a global manner as people in need. This is analysed as a dependent position vis-à-vis the social educational worker. There are many examples of therapy-oriented content in the social educational worker’s repertoire, also analysed as showing the asymmetry of the relationship.

In the analysis, the authors have used the integrative approach that was introduced above. As an illustration of the relationship between social practice and discourse (or stated differently, in the Laclau/Mouffe variant, as an illustration of the working of a discourse) – take for instance “the client”. Of course there is no such thing as “the client” in a material sense. Yet it has material consequences. As it is a symbolic representation of a position in which people relate to other people according to a number of norms (contingent and thus subject to change), the symbolic, “linguistic property” of the relationship manifests itself in concrete actions, such as advice, orders, money, support and assistance, aspirations, expressions of needs and debates on norms.

The curricula’s constructions of “the client” have been systematically presented with the use of properties based on the empirical material; properties like dependent or independent, and socially determined.

Likewise, the constructions of the social educational worker and the relationships to the clients have been characterised by properties, some of which are symmetric and some asymmetric relationships.

Furthermore, the methods of instruction, – especially the framing of the communication between staff and students – are examined, and included in the discourse by showing a model of the relationship between client and social educational worker.
The analysis contains an attempt to construct patterns of the connections between the curricula’s constructions of clients, workers and their relations. We have tried to analyse the level of coherence in the relations based on the constructions. We have for example (in the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum) proposed that there is coherence between a prominent view of the client as an autonomous, active person on the one hand, and the service demand from the client as the starting point for social educational work – alongside contemporary views of professions – on the other. This configuration of the organisation of social educational work will in its turn shape the basic structure of the relationship between client and worker. This is an example of the connection between discourse and social action.

There are a number of matters that have to be decided upon, like the range of the discourse. The attitude taken in this thesis is a rather practical one. We tried out different postures regarding this matter as well as in other theoretically important issues, like the balance between the characterisation of discourse/parts of a discourse, etc, and the manifold varieties of the subject under research. A general view of discourse analysis is that phenomena could generate a number of descriptions and that the goal for the analysis is as much to show the diversity as the unity of definitions of concepts (Alvesson & Deetz 2000). But of course, without indisputable fundamentals of concepts, comparisons are hard to attain.
5  The Nijmegen curriculum

5.1  The Dutch welfare state

Social educational work and the social educational workers’ relation to the client have to be seen in context. The society in which social educational work is carried out forms the organisations in which it takes place.

In the Esping-Andersen (1990) survey referred to in the second chapter, the Netherlands is described as a conservative-corporative welfare state that is very close to the configuration of the social democratic welfare state regime.69 However, Cox (1993) says that the corporativism in the Netherlands is somewhat different from the economic corporativism that is prevalent in other countries. “The Netherlands corporatist interests parallel the religiously defined cleavages in society” (p. 206).

According to Cox (ibid.) the Dutch welfare state could be described as situated between Bismarck and Beveridge, that is to say the construction of the welfare state was influenced by both German and British welfare models. Initially, the development of the Dutch welfare state was slow. The Netherlands lagged behind most Western European countries. It was not until the 1960s that Dutch welfare programmes were on a par with other Western states’.

Other significant features of the Dutch welfare model are the stress on the family as the core actor in social welfare, and also on traditional beliefs about gender relationships. Churches and voluntary organisations play an important role in social welfare. This means that there are many variations in how social work, social educational work, and care are organised (Lorenz 1994).

69 In a comparative study between the U.S., Germany, and the Netherlands, the latter was seen as an example of a social democratic welfare regime (Goodin et al. 1999).
The Netherlands as a conservative-corporative welfare state may be understood against a background of the formation of the modern Dutch society. In the mid 19th century, The Netherlands was strongly influenced by liberal ideologies. Consequently the role of the central state was limited.

An interesting fact, especially in relation to sociological aspects of curricula and school systems, is that the introduction of the compulsory public primary school system became a political stumbling block. There were attempts to inaugurate a “neutral” system of schools, free from religious and political ideologies. However, three powerful religious and political fractions – the Reformed Calvinist movement, the Roman Catholics, and the Socialist movement – were soon to establish their own schools. Thus, the school issue became a trigger for the division of the Netherlands into subcultures. The existence and legitimisation of societal subcultures was institutionalised through a treaty between the state and the fractions. The treaty is known as the "Pacification" in 1917. The basic principle of the treaty is that of proportionality, i.e. that all minorities are to be represented in parliament and in major administrative bodies. This is an important brick in the construction of Dutch society, since divergent religious and philosophical beliefs were acknowledged and given constitutional rights.

The constitutional right of such differences of view gave rise to the pillarisation of Dutch society. Pillarisation is defined as: “… a set of closed, tightly interlocking organisations held together by a common cultural orientation” (Tops 2001, p. 45 [quoting Therborn], see also Lorenz 1994 for a discussion). Thus pillarisation means a classificatory principle that separates people with different cultural and religious beliefs into different systems, each with their own control mechanisms. Almost every aspect of social life followed the boundaries of these “pillars”. Pillarisation was an effective way to keep people apart. Dutch sociologists compared the system of pillarisation with an institutionalised form of “apartheid”, not based on race but on political and religious beliefs.

According to Tops, this is reflected in how the word “society” is expressed in the Dutch language as samenleving. There is not one easily identified society, there are several in which individuals are "living together”. To the absence of a universal notion of society another typi-
cal Dutch assumption can be added, i.e. the individual versus society. The role of the Dutch State during World War II caused many Dutchmen to repudiate the state. The state lost a lot of its authority – an authority that was not very strong from start. According to Tops (referring to the Dutch historian Roegholt) this was the start of an outspoken individualism. A strong personality became the hallmark of modern man.

Hofstede (1991) made comparisons between 50 nations on a number of variables. He found that the Netherlands scored high on the variable “individualism”. In comparison to the U.S., which in the test scored 91 out of 100 (INI points), the figure for the Netherlands was 80, Sweden 71, Ireland 70, Norway 69, and Guatemala 6 (the lowest of the individualism ratings).

A logical consequence of pillarisation is the weak influence of the state in comparison to its citizens. Instead there were corporate agreements between the state (represented by the two biggest parties, the Catholics and the Protestants), employers, and employees.

The pillarisation of Dutch society survived World War II. The strong boundaries between the pillars were even strengthened, not to be weakened until the 1960s. According to the welfare scientists Cox (1993) and Goodin et al (1999) pillarisation broke down in the 1960s. But, Dutch society still is very much constructed around the concept. Steering boards of nursing homes, treatment centres, and different care organisations are often made up of members of the different parties and religious associations. Also, the area of education is still influenced by the pillarisation of the society. There are, for example, colleges educating social educational workers that are called: “Gereformeerde Hogeschool Zwolle” and “Christelijke Hogeschool Ede”.

Another implication of pillarisation is the organisation of social services. Treatment centres, care institutions, and similar institutions are more often NGOs (Non Government Organisations) when compared to Sweden. These circumstances lead to a supplementary role of the Dutch state in relation to the NGOs. In Sweden, there is the opposite relationship; that is, the NGO’s are supplementary to the state.

70 Jeppsson Grassman (1998) found in a comparison between ten European countries that the Netherlands had the most frequent incidence of voluntary work. Concerning voluntary social work, the Netherlands is second after Great Britain.
As a consequence, there is not one nationally regulated way to deal with social problems. A variety is offered. When it comes to services aiming at assisting drug and alcohol addicts, for example, there is a long tradition of ambulant services on a voluntary basis.

Tops (2001) points to other differences between Swedish and Dutch welfare policies. First, compulsory care of alcohol and drug addicts is only possible through criminal law and not, as in Sweden, through criminal law and social law. Second, temperance is not a matter for Dutch governmental bodies. It is dealt with on a local level. Third, the issue of the Dutch liberal attitude concerning drugs – a topic that has troubled welfare workers in other European countries.71

5.1.1 A multicultural, hierarchical, and diversified society

The Netherlands is known for its ethnic minorities. 14–15 percent of the population has another ethnic origin than Dutch. But only 5 percent are called attention to when it comes to measures of integration implemented by the Dutch authorities. The remaining 95 percent of the population with a non-Dutch background are respected as integrated in society. The target group for actions, in Dutch called *allochtonen*, are people born (or at least one of the parents is born) in Turkey, Surinam, The Dutch Antilles, Aruba, former Yugoslavia, Africa, and Asia. A majority of *allochtonen* are living in the four big cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, den Haag, and Utrecht. In Amsterdam, for example, 50 percent of the age group 0-25 years belongs to an ethnic minority group (Fägerlind 2001).

Traditionally, women are in the labour force to a lesser extent compared to the Scandinavian countries.72 More than 90 percent of women

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71 The Netherlands, especially Amsterdam, became “the paradise of permissiveness” (Tops 2001, p. 73 quoting Roegholt 1973, p. 680). The alternative movements were in the sixties institutionalised, for example the “Provos” won a seat in the municipal election in 1966. The “Gnomes” (the Provo movement continued under another name) had five seats on the 1970 City Council (Tops 2001). These anarchistic movements were influenced by ideas about Homo Ludens (see 5.3.1.1) an alternative to Homo Faber (the working man). The alternative movements were comments on an emancipatory discourse advocating women’s liberation, sexual freedom, and the inclusion of marginalised groups.

72 According to statistics, 60 percent of Dutch women are in the labour market whereas in Denmark the figure is 78 percent and in Sweden 76 percent. In Greece and Italy, which have
stop working full-time after the birth of their first child (de Graaf & Ultee 1998). These figures are however rapidly changing.

The structure of the institutions for people in need is very hierarchical. There seems to be a marked distance between the management and the professionals on the “shop floor”. The sizes of the institutions are big compared to their counterparts in the Scandinavian countries.

5.2 The Nijmegen study programme

In this section we will give the reader an overview of the Nijmegen study programme, followed by a short introduction to the higher educational system in the Netherlands. We will also give some facts about the college.

Like all higher professional education (in Dutch: Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs – HBO) study programmes in the Netherlands the SPH (in Dutch Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlening) programme in Nijmegen comprises 4 years. The programme’s history is just over 40 years old. The programme was changed in 1995 into a generic one, constructed of the three strands: residential work, special needs youth work and “activiteitenbegeleiding”. The programme is (in English) called Social-Educational Care.

The first and the second years are structured in similar ways. The academic year of 42 weeks is divided into four parts. Every part comprises a theme such as “The identity of the social educational worker”, “The client as a customer”, etc. For each theme, which normally comprises seven weeks plus an examination week, there are “areas for exercises”, in which students are involved in, for example, “observation, reporting, give and take criticism”, “methods of communication”, and “assessments interviews”.

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the lowest figures of the EU countries, the employment of women stands at 44 percent and 46 percent (Välfärdsbulletinen 2002, p. 7).

According to Kramer and Brauns (1995) there is a general strive towards generic approaches in European social work programmes.

This strand is sometimes, when translated into English, called “Occupational therapy” and sometimes “Activity guidance”. Earlier booklets and stencils use the former designation, but it appears they changed to the latter name in later publications.
The main difference between the 1\textsuperscript{st} year and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} year is the way practice time is spent. In the first study year, there is a 5 week long full time practice. In the second study year, students instead spend an afternoon every week during 20 weeks at a placement.

The instruction models used in the first two years are of a specific kind, i.e. variations of problem based learning or task oriented learning.\textsuperscript{75}

The third year is a full practice year.

The fourth year is theoretical, with emphasis on social sciences and research methods. There is also a model aiming at students’ guiding other students (Studiegids 1999–2000).

\textit{Artistic subjects}

There is a group of subjects we want to highlight in this introduction, to be discussed extensively in the analytic part of the thesis. The creative subjects are an important part of the Nijemegen curriculum. They have for a long time shaped the public image of the school. The creative subjects are: drama, music, sports and play, arts, audiovisuals, and dance and movement. The creative subjects are taught throughout all four years. The creative subjects comprise 25 percent of the curriculum time.

The students study all six creative subjects in the course of the first year.

In the second year, the students choose two creative subjects out of the six. One of these is the student’s main subject (hoofdvak) and the other is a so-called bijvak, the complementary artistic subject.

In the third year, students should apply what has been learned. One of the subjects is then applied to clients (and/or staff) in the course of the practice.

In the fourth year, creative skills are taught in two ways: first, in the course of an element called Creative Activities (\textit{De onderwijsseenheid de Creative Activiteiten}) fourth year students give supervision to a sec-

\textsuperscript{75} All over the Netherlands HBO:s and secondary education in general have implemented this way of organising their education. Problem-based learning was some 20 years ago “developed” at the university in Maastricht (a university city in the south of the Netherlands), and this method of educating students seems to have enjoyed a revival (N: L/Ai 2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 20).
ond year student applying her creative skills to clients. Second, in a project-oriented way of working, the students give a quality improvement presentation on creative ways to work with clients at a placement.

5.2.1 The Nijmegen study programme in its context

In the Netherlands there is a distinct difference between universities and institutes of higher education. In spite of common legislation in place since 1993 covering both higher professional education (HBO) and university education (WO), differences between the two are more salient than for instance in Sweden and Norway.

Stratification of educational opportunity (Müller and Shavit 1998) is high in the Netherlands. Even at the age of twelve, Dutch pupils are either on a route to further education or to a vocational career. S/he has four different tracks to choose from:

- Pre-university education – VWO
- Higher general secondary education – HAVO
- Junior general secondary education and senior secondary vocational education – MAVO + MBO (VHBO)
- Junior pre-vocational education – LBO

(Based on de Graaf and Ultee 1998)

Institutes of higher education recruit students from VWO, HAVO and VHBO. A qualification from HBO gives a "Diploma Hoger Beroepsopleiding" (Kramer & Brauns 1995). Translated into English and common European standards, the diploma corresponds to a bachelor degree (Study in the Netherlands 1997/1998).

The institutes of higher professions are a relatively new kind of providers of education in the Netherlands. The number of HBO increased during mid 20th century. The total amount of institutes of higher education increased to 400 in the 1970s. A merging process was started by the government in 1983 (Higher education in the Netherlands 1989). Nowadays, there are 65 institutes of higher education (and 15 universities). It is possible to study the programme "Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen" at 20 of these institutes (De creatieve professional 1999).
Most students of the study programme aiming at social educational work in Nijmegen are recruited from HAVO or VHBO.

All HBO:s in the Netherlands have a common curricular structure. The first year is a preparatory course. More than 30 percent of the students do not continue their studies beyond the preparatory year (Kouwenaar & Stannard 1989). The third year is used for practical training of the profession outside the institute.

5.2.1.1 Formal steering of the educational programme
HBO:s in the Netherlands are regulated by a governmental body, the Ministry of Education (Kramer & Brauns 1995).

Representatives of the 20 Institutes of Social Pedagogy in the Netherlands are co-operating in a common advisory board – Landelijk opleidingsovelag. The purpose of this board is to assure that the different educational programmes are similar in their content. Together, they write general guidelines for educational programmes – *De creatieve professional. Opleidingskwalificaties Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverleners*. All the programmes do not have to be totally equal – there are certain degrees of freedom.

5.2.2 The college in Nijmegen

5.2.2.1 The student body
There are at present 484 full time SPH students at the institute in Nijmegen, which has an intake once a year. According to figures collected in 2003, there are 106 students first year students, 120 second year, 126 third, and 132 in the fourth year. The figures show a tendency that is noticeable all over Europe. Fewer young people are interested in welfare occupations.

There is an overwhelming majority of female students in the SPH study programme in Nijmegen. Again, according to data collected

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76 In the spring semester in 2000 there was an exception to this because of demands from the market. Because of a great loss of heath- and careworkers all over the Netherlands there was a spring semester intake as well.
from the college in March 2003, 12 percent of the student body are male students.

The students are relatively young and homogenous in age compared to similar programmes in Malmö, and Lillehammer (Norway). The average age of a final-year student in Nijmegen is 23 (fourth year students). Corresponding figures in Malmö were 27.5 and in Lillehammer 28 years (Hallstedt & Högström 1996).77

5.2.2.2 Faculty

A headmaster administers daily activities together with a quality assessor and co-ordinators for each of the different study years (these people will be called "the management team" below). A special unit comprising 3-4 employees administrate practical training outside the college.

Facts collected in March 2003 show that there are 78 lecturers, 35 male and 43 female.

5.3 Social pedagogy in the Nijmegen curriculum

This section will outline the programme in social pedagogy with the core elements artistic skills, self-awareness, and social pedagogy in the organisational context.78 In these elements of the programme the text

77 These differences are partly due to facts about variations between the study grants systems. In the Netherlands one is normally a “mature” student when older than 24 years. To cover the needs of education for cohorts over 24 years, there is an extensive system of part time studies available.

78 The material collected in Nijmegen was carefully examined. One section of the material that stood out was about artistic skills. It was being referred to in a vast number of curricular texts. Consequently the analysis of Artistic Skills formed the first part of the structure of the analysis. In the discourse of social pedagogy, the relationship between the social educational worker and the client is a central issue, that is, how the parties are presented and how the work is organised. In the Nijmegen curriculum the organisation of social educational work was outlined in a separate theme, and remarks on the development of a profession appeared in many different sections. This commentary formed the second part of the structure. The third part of the analysis structure, self-awareness, is present in many different places in the curriculum, as reflections on the study process and on experiences in the practice placement. For a discussion on the first structuring of materials in discourse analysis, see chapter 4.4.9.
will be structured: goals, followed by how the elements are taught and assessed in the theoretical studies, and in the practical training.

5.3.1 Artistic skills

The first of the core elements to be analysed is artistic skills. How is it represented in the curriculum?

When one visits the college in Nijmegen it is obvious that arts, music and drama are important. How can arts and social work/social pedagogy be combined? It is expressed in the objectives of the education in this way:

The student has developed a view of his/her own with regard to Social Educational Care, based on a humanistic view of society and man in a culture-critical perspective, within which play and creative forms of expression of individuals and groups are essential. The student is able to shape and substantiate this with in his/her own activities. (Field Manual. Period of practical training 1999–2000, p. 6)

Moreover, as an introduction to all the studiegids there is a five-point profile of the education in Nijmegen emphasising, alongside the other "trademarks", the importance of the arts:

- the profession is essential
- an active and self-responsible learning
- the importance of practice
- the professional application of the creative media
- a broad education


Note that in this quotation it says "professional application". It is underlined that the creative media must be utilised in a well-planned manner, by professionals. Consequently educators on all levels want to mediate that artistic proficiency is an important brick in the construction of the Nijmegen curriculum. One of the foundations of the curricula in the domain of higher professional education is the assessment of students’ knowledge. Thorough examinations of students’ proficiency, knowledge, and skills legitimate education. But, questions about how the artistic proficiencies are taught and assessed can be asked.
The six creative subjects are: music; arts; dance and movement; sports and play; drama; and audio-visuals. The following quotation shows the role of the creative media in the programme at Nijmegen:

The creative media create scope for investigation, learning and communication to reach new ideas, experiences, solutions, and development. She (the social educational worker, our addition) works in a way that she inspires, invites and challenges in order to lower the thresholds. (ibid., p. 8)

In the next section we will start with an account of the theoretical foundation of the artistic skills. Following that, we will give examples of how students are educated and assessed.

5.3.1.1 Homo Ludens

There is a lot of theoretical underpinning of the artistic/play activities put forward in the curriculum. When different activities are requested, for example in exercises aimed at planning for the treatment of clients, theoretical motivation is an important part of the task. Theories that are used generally come from ludic theory or from for example psychological theory, from psychoanalytical theory, and cognitive theory (Themaboek, De identiteit van SPH, pp. 47–50).

The most frequent expression in all the curricular texts is ludisch-agogisch handelen. This is translated in English as "ludic agogic acting", which means a "playful agogic approach" to social educational work (p. 6). Where does the expression come from – what is the origin?

The theoretical base of Ludic theory is found in the Dutch history professor Johan Huizinga’s work Homo Ludens: A study of the play element in culture in 1938/1955.

Using anthropological terms to investigate the meaning of play in society, Huizinga says that play is a major factor in all life and “… play is present everywhere as a well-defined quality of action which is different from ‘ordinary’ life” (p. 4). Play, as well as language, myths, and rituals, are fantasies about the outer world. Huizinga sees play as a social construction. Huizinga is concerned with varieties of social mani-

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79 In the Dutch dictionary neither the word “Ludisch” nor the word “agogisch” are to be found. There are the words “Ludiek” meaning “playful” and “agog” meaning “social worker”.

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festations of play ("higher" forms of play in contrast to more primitive, forms of play used by animals and infants, based on instincts) such as contests, exhibitions, dancing, music, plays, and masquerades.

There are three important elements in Huizinga’s definition of play. These are: a) it is a voluntary activity b) it is not "ordinary" or "real" life, but a "stepping out" of real life c) “it is "played out" within certain limits of time and place. Huizinga (1955) thus defines play:

Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside ‘ordinary’ life as being ‘not serious’, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained from it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules in an orderly manner. (p. 13)

Play is not merely a joyful activity, it has it own rules. According to Huizinga, play creates order. He even states that play ”is order” (p. 10).

There are obviously emancipating elements in the Ludic conception as it is formulated by Huizinga. He preaches liberation from the bondage of rationality that governs Homo Sapiens in modern society, the rationality of Homo Faber – Man the Worker. But, freedom that is experienced in play does not lack ordering elements. He thus advocates a new order of society.

We will now turn to look at how the concept of Homo Ludens is interpreted and implemented in the Nijmegen curriculum.

*Interpretation of Homo Ludens in curricular texts*

The idea of Homo Ludens, as it was formulated by Huizinga, is not explicitly expressed in the Nijmegen curricular texts, although much talked about by staff. There is a well-considered theoretical base underpinning creativity. How can this be combined with social pedagogy? A step in that direction is to understand the use of arts as a means for the development of people. A lecturer in arts who has been working at the college in Nijmegen for 22 years says the following when asked about the links between social pedagogy, subjects of an artistic kind, and the origins of the ideas of ludic agogic action:

I think this movement dates from after the Second World War. In the fifties, in Holland, we had movements in thinking about how to stimu-
late art to have a better world ... Herbert Read wrote a book "Education through art" and then in Holland there were experiments. We had this movement of free expressions ... and then in the fifties and sixties ... and in the fifties this school was founded and also the school of drama teachers also in that time... in 1956 or 1957 ... I think in the same time ... and they also had an ideology of course, so the thinking about how to influence through art, and of course in a big way making a better world that is not new ... (N:Li 5)

An example of the influences from Huizinga is found in one of the textbooks written by a lecturer at the college, which refers to Huizinga.

5.3.1.2 Two purposes of artistic skills

We have found the overall purposes of the artistic skills to be
- to furnish students/social educational workers with tools to use to relate to and communicate with a client
- to help to develop the students/social educational worker’s self-awareness

On the subject of dance and movement, the curricular text says that it is important for students to gain knowledge about their own repertoire of movements. The students have to know this because it is important to have an appropriate attitude when they meet their clients. To have an appropriate attitude and the courage to meet the client is stressed by one of the administrators. He says: “... they not only talk about it they just do it. Take the risk. That is the important part of the creative subjects, a development of courage” (N:Ai 2). What he says and what we in the following examples will see, is that the two purposes (to promote communication and to develop students’ personalities) are often present at the same time.

In pedagogical practice, play is reviewed in the study of ludic-pedagogical processes. Different aspects of play are consequently intro-
duced; play training, play stimulation and training to play, play therapy and play as a means in psychotherapy.\(^83\)

The integration of the subjects in the course of the second academic year has the following structure: one third of the lectures are only about "dance and movement", one third of the lectures are about "theory and methods", and one third is a combination of the two subjects. There are two lecturers present during first lecture, which they have planned together.

One of the purposes – to furnish the social educational worker with tools to relate to clients – can be seen in the following passage, which is an account of two observations.\(^84\) In the first lecture, drama is used to illustrate creative media and theory and methods, each during 1,5 hours. The first lecture is an example of integration between two subjects: "Dance and Movement" and "Theory and Methods" in the second year.

**Lecture 1 (N:O 11a):** The purpose of the lecture is to analyse different postures with the help of a theoretical model. The model Leary’s Rose\(^85\) is described in an article\(^86\) that the students are to have studied before the lecture. With the use of role-play, the students are asked to act out the relationship between the social educational worker and the client. The students are requested to use examples from their practice.\(^87\) The students perform role-plays in pairs or in groups of three. Seven different role-plays illustrate two different scenarios. The first one shows a very demanding social educational worker and a client who refuses to follow the instructions. At the end of the performance there is a recurrent situation where the social educational worker is very frustrated and leaving the client behind. The second scenario shows a friendly attitude on the part of the social educational worker, which leads to a co-operative client.

\(^83\) The studies in one section of the programme are aimed at adjusting these forms of play to the client group in focus: children with special problems [De identitet van SPH].

\(^84\) The observer had a non-participant role and was introduced to the students by one of the lecturers as “a colleague from Sweden doing some research about educational systems”.

\(^85\) The American author Thimothy Leary is the originator of the model. The construction of Leary’s Rose is a two-dimensional model: above – under, together – against.

\(^86\) Reader number 886, p. 26.

\(^87\) During the second academic year, the students spend one afternoon a week for 20 weeks at a practice placement in order to apply their creative skills with clients or members of staff, cf. section 5.3.2.5.
After each role-play, students are requested to reflect on what they have experienced in relation to the model (Leary’s Rose). Their different attitudes are discussed using the question: “Is this efficient social educational work?” (N:L 11a)

The Nijmegen curriculum has several significant features of what Bernstein calls an integrated code (weak classification between school subjects). One example is this lecture, which is the outcome of cooperation between two lecturers. There is the aim of giving space for creative subjects and creative/artistic activities in substantial parts of the curriculum. We will throughout this chapter about the Nijmegen curriculum turn back to the issue of the integrated code.

Lecture 2 (N:O 11b): A lecture in ”Dance and Movement” is led by the Dance and Movement lecturer. The aim of this lecture is to illustrate ”Power and Power Struggles” (Leary’s Rose is the theoretical foundation). Students are asked to act ”the master – slave attitude” without using words.

The students direct each other through the lecture hall giving non-verbal instructions. The one who is the leader strikes different attitudes in order to illustrate different leader styles. There is a discussion after each performance.

These two examples are fairly typical for pedagogical practice. In the lectures, the second purpose is apparent, viz. to furnish the social educational worker with tools for relating to clients.

In some of the exercises the students are made aware of different aspects of themselves and what impact their behaviour has on others. An example of how the second purpose is taught, viz. the development of the personality, is given in the ”practicumboek Spel en Sport. Basisschema 2000-2001”, p. 7. One of the goals is: the student should investigate her own style as a player” (structuur als speeler).

The exercise proposed in the theme book is: Students should a) be familiar with and plan different games b) operate the games with different rules and finally c) ask themselves ”What kind of player am I?”.

The importance of personality development is stressed by one of the administrators: ”… you know what it [the creative subject, our addition] does to you so you can also imagine what it does to your clients and I think that makes you a better social educational worker” (N: Ai
11). In other exercises students are taught how to use artistic skills in professional actions.

5.3.1.3 The use of artistic skills, as expressed by a lecturer

The artistic skills that are taught during the first two years are applied in a systematic way in the practice year. The students’ chances of applying their skills to their clients is that there is a practice placement positively inclined to letting students use the creative skills in social educational activities (Stagenota, p.15).88

The importance of the application of these artistic skills is shown through the intense follow up from the college. The lecturers in creative media (in Dutch hoofdvaakbegeleider that is, the lecturer of hoofdvak [the creative subject]) meet students in groups nine times during the year, six times in minor groups and three times with the whole group of approximately 20 students. The meetings take place at the college. The students are taught and supervised in how to use the creative media and about how to relate to clients. Gradually, the degree of difficulty is increased89 in how to apply the use of the creative media in the work with the clients (Field Manual 1999-2000, p. 10).

The use of artistic skills has, as we have understood it, two purposes. But, what does a lecturer think about the transfer of these skills to students? One way of looking at this is to consider a follow up meeting that is given by one of the arts teachers. Most often he meets the students in groups of three every third week. In his supervision talks with students he follows a stepwise model developed by Brinkman (a Dutch social psychologist), which he explains:

88 The student selects the placement herself using information from the placement desk at the college. There are four criteria for the placement to be approved by the placement co-ordinator of the college: 1) possibilities to work with clients; 2) possibilities for insights on issues on leadership and organisation; 3) the internal supervisor is a graduate of HABO (college) or a similar college education dedicated to a broad concept of social work, and 4) the possibilities to apply creative media in the relationship to clients. The students are well informed of these regulations. It is very rare that a placement is turned down by the co-ordinator (N:Ai 8).

89 An example of this is that in the beginning of the practice year the student is requested to develop his/her ability to find situations when it is possible to apply artistic skills. When the student has found her role at the placement and when different situations and client relationships are established, a more methodical course of action is appropriate.
... first it is about motivation, and motivation has two sides; the student’s - what is your motivation to work with these groups? and the motivation for the people they work with – what is their motivation to be in the place where they are?… yeah you might say the elderly have no decision to make, the government or … they place him there, but you can think about motivation, it has two sides. (N:Li 20)

Comments that can be made on this are that there can be different starting points in relational work, typical for social educational work. It is likely that one of the starting points is the client and his/her needs. It is equally possible to imagine that the starting point is the social educational worker herself. A third possibility is that the relationship between the two is the fundamental principle. From the quotation above, it is possible that the preference of students to work with the client group is the starting point, whereas the client’s motivation comes second. We will in later sections of the thesis return to this issue.

Another question is how artistic skills are put in action. According to the interviewee the next step is to (still referring to Brinkman): “… analyse the initial situation, "what do you find there?", "what sort of people?", "what are the goals to be achieved?". The lecturer (N:Li 20) gives an example of how students may use arts as a diagnostic means for a client with concentration problems. He stresses:

What does the student think when he talks about concentration? Is he talking about holding a paintbrush, and there is the paint that he can use to bring the paint to the paper – what do you mean by concentration? Because there are all kinds of concentration. And use of art methods and art activities to … check if you can see if it is true what they say or what the paper says, because it is paper. So use art as a diagnostic tool!90 (N:Li 20)

The lecturer emphasises that the use of art is not an end, it is not the goal:

90 In the text in the syllabus Beeldend Vormen arts as a diagnostic tool is used in another sense, the social educational worker is here the first one to be analysed, the clients come second. The students are analysed on their learning style, the way of working, and how different materials appeal to the student. It is implied that if the student is learning in a certain way, s/he finds pleasure in working with certain materials, and the client will be more prone to appreciate it too.
... the goal is not the product but the social togetherness. When I decide to work with clay with you and we are making figures, you make a figure, I make a figure, then it is not the product but the time we spend together, we can talk, we can talk about how you feel ... (N:Li 20)

5.3.1.4 Examples of how artistic skills are used by students in practice

In the very beginning of the thesis we raised questions about the combination of artistic skills and social educational work. Are the tools useful for the students when encountering clients in the work field?

Let us start with a successful result by a student from SPH Nijmegen in a Swedish work situation. The student was occupied with severely disabled people in a day centre. Of course, she had difficulties in the beginning due to language problems. Another obstacle was that the staff members at the day centre were not familiar with the use of artistic skills in social educational work. Because of this, she had to work very independently, supervised through mail communication with her lecturer in creative subjects at the college in Nijmegen. In any case, the student implemented new ways of working with clients. The following quotations are selected from the written report she delivered after her 10 months long practice:

In the first months I observed a lot, much more than I would ever have done on a practice in Holland. For me this was a positive experience. I did not understand the language, but I learned to give more attention to the way people express themselves with their body and face. I noticed that this can be important, especially in the communication with handicapped people, sometimes they say the opposite that their face or body is expressing. (p. 3)

In the report the student explains her understanding of the use of Beeldend Vormen as artistic skills:

91 In fact the lecturer was the one referred to in the previous section (N:Li 20).
92 Still, nine years later she reports that her implementation of artistic methods in daily activities are used by staff (personal communication in July 2003).
The thought behind Bild and Form is not that the people have to be very creative, but that you do activities with different target groups to reach certain aims. These aims can be very small, or big as well for individuals or for the whole group. Bild and form, drama, dance, sports, audio visual training, and music are used as communication methods. We are using the Ludic theory in our education. These subjects can very well be used to reach certain aims in activities or therapies. It is a way of reaching the aims in a 'playing' way instead of using talking methods. (p. 2)

The student gives some examples of her aims with the artistic skills: “My aims with the ”sömnadsgrupp”\textsuperscript{94} and the ”vävgrupp”\textsuperscript{95} were to use Bild and Form to stimulate better cooperation and communication”. At the start she worked individually with each client in the groups. Later she expanded the activities to comprise the whole group. The kinds of activities she was able to realize with her clients were: working with single clients they were “making a tree” and “painting themselves the way they think they are”. In small groups they “glue the leaves they found outside on a piece of paper in the day centre” and “snoezelen”\textsuperscript{96}. With the whole group she “Went to Lund to visit a Bild and Form exhibition” and “Drawing a street”.

In the report she gives her explanations of her way of working with the clients:

I gave them a lot of structure in the beginning, so that they still felt secure. We call this ‘safe-activities’. I gave them examples or told them, in a structured way, what they could do. Later on, I tried to change this more and more and I let them work more and more with their own fantasy. Then, my aim was not to tell them before what I was planning to do, I took their structure away. I did this on purpose, because I think that the daily life of a handicapped person is very structured and that it is good for them to have spontaneous activities as well. This worked really well, it appealed to their curiosity. (p. 5)

\textsuperscript{94} Knitting group
\textsuperscript{95} Weaving group
\textsuperscript{96} “Snoezelen” – a Dutch word that expresses the training of your senses in varieties of ways. In the 1990s vast numbers of Snoezelen centres were established in Sweden. They are mainly used for people with severe handicap with communication problems.
The example shows that the use of artistic skills can be a way to start a relationship with clients. It is not only a matter of using certain skills in an active way; it is as well a matter of deciphering non-verbal signs to measure clients’ needs.

There is an emancipatory potential inherent in the use of artistic skills. Gradually, with a little help from the student, the clients found themselves proficient enough to work more independently.

The example referred to above is a very successful one that is possible to follow step by step in the student’s written report. In order to find out how artistic skills are put into action in relation to clients, we visited a number of placements. We also interviewed students about their placement experience when we met at the college during their final year. Let us give some examples of how artistic skills with big and small aims are utilized by students.

A student was placed in a project for homeless people (N:O 1 and N:Si 17). Social educational work in a setting like that is not a very well defined task. There are no standards to stick to. You have to approach the clients very carefully because if they feel that they are forced to enter a relationship with social workers, they might leave. Simply talking to homeless people is one way of initiating a relationship. Another way is to do something together. The student’s ambition was to set up a musical together with the guests at the premises. That was his way of legitimating his presence in the project, as well as to find a way to emancipate clients: an example of alternative ways of relating to clients as well as the potential possibilities inherent in artistic skills.

Another student who was placed in an institution for young persons with learning problems, says:

I had some problems in the beginning in finding out how to use creativity, but my arts teacher taught me how to use visual arts in the clients homes, for instance to help them refurnish their rooms. I think they feel much better if they live in a mellow environment. (N:O 6 and N:Si 27)

At first sight, this example of using artistic skills may seem a bit far-fetched. But naturally it is of importance for our well being how our milieu is organised. It was also found to be a way to start the conversa-
tion and co-operation between the student and the young people at the institution. The student’s knowledge about *Beeldend Vormen* helped her out in this case.

A third student made the following reflections about using artistic skills in his daily work with people with mental problems:

Yeah, I could use music for relaxation with the people and for a medium to get in contact with them and to get more to know about them. Maybe the second step would be to ask them if they would like themselves … if we could for example in a methodical way in the music activities go deeper in our contact … (N:Si 17)

This student uses music as a means to communicate with the clients. He had higher ambitions, but as he added in a later part of the interview, due to lack of support from the staff at the placement he could not use music to reach higher goals.

These examples are fairly typical. Students have to find a way to apply their creative skills when they approach clients. Sometimes they need support from lecturers at the college or from members of staff at the placement.

We will turn to another example in which the student shows considerable dexterity in her use of artistic skills. It is an example of fine tuning. A visit to the "Pompekliniek", a national forensic institution for 120 males, also showed obstacles in reaching the purpose of training artistic skills (N:O 3 and N:Si 26). The student’s training took place at a department in which six hardened criminals were placed. The prisoners were allowed to stay two at a time in a carefully supervised area with the latest technical equipment for surveillance. The prisoners were isolated in separate rooms for 20 hours a day; no member of staff and of course no students from the college were ever allowed to stay alone together with a client. The student told us about her experiences in relating to clients in the start of the practice year (at the time of our interview she had been there eight months):

It was difficult because I didn’t know exactly what I had to do and it was hard for me because I am a girl and I am only twenty years old and the men are … yeah some of them are twenty-six so it is not that much older than me. And they are men and I am a girl, so there were a lot of reactions from the men and so on in the beginning. I didn’t know how to deal with them: should I say something to stop them
staring at me or what should I do? Right at the beginning I talked with my colleague and said that a man is staring at me. I didn’t know what to do. What should, what can I do and so on. During the months I found my own way in. (N:Si 26)

Obviously she found a way to cope even if she felt very uneasy at the start. She continues: “Ah … I also correct people when I see behaviour that I don’t like and I know is not good for them so I talked to them and said no I don’t think that is right. That’s what I did”. We asked in what way she is able to use her artistic skills (her main subject is Drama) in a specific way in relation to the clients:

That is hard because … the easiest way to use drama is in the activities with the guys. But they can’t go from the unit, and I am not allowed to be alone in their room, so the activities with the men were not an object. So I have to figure out what to do … I had to find another way of using drama, and one example of drama is also looking. When you are sitting there and you have men there and there and you don’t want to disturb them, so that was my main problem in the beginning. I don’t have to sit here. I am also going to sit over there and that is also drama and the way you look. So you don’t say that you are angry you just go and sit. So I used drama in those ways. (N:Si 26)

The supervisor at the placement (present all the time while the conversation was going on) gives an example on how the student can relate to the client with the help of other creative means (Spel en sport): “Yeah we got a patient here who only wants to win and he wants only to play with guys that are athletes and then the student and I would go with them and play badminton. (N:i 26). The student fills in: “And I don’t want to win, it is me. Because I had fun in the game so I was smiling and laughing and going silly and he was just woooo …”. The supervisor again: “And then the guy is learning because he has to react at what the student shows and react normally. That’s difficult, but there you can use drama”.

Reflections associated to these examples are that students do succeed in applying artistic skills even if they sometimes have to do it in a very modest way. The example about the young girl among rapists and murderers is at first sight a hopeless business but she, presumably partly
because of her personal strength, does succeed to use situations that make it possible for her to communicate and relate to clients.

5.3.1.5 Assessment

When the students are assessed during the third year practice, they are assessed by the supervisor and also by the lecturer in creative media (hoofdvaakbegeleider) – two assessments that are fundamental for the final assessment of students. In this section we are concerned with the assessment of the creative subject.

The formal procedures are stated in the Field Manual. At regular intervals the students send written assignments (no recommendation on how many) to their lecturer in creative media. In these assignments the students are obliged to give documentation on their learning process, in a so-called logbook. Seven criteria lay the foundation for the assessments of the reports. The student should: 1) investigate the possibilities of using the creative media; 2) have performed a number of (not specified) “ludic” activities with clients; 3) integrate theoretical knowledge and the creative media in her/his actions; 4) be able to, after a thorough investigation of clients’ needs, formulate aims and implement activities; 5) describe and give a systematic account of experiences during the practice; 6) understand the field for application of her/his creative medium; 7) develop “a playful agogic phrasing” (Field Manual 1999–2000, p. 12).

In the interview, the arts lecturer says that sometimes students have problems in applying their creative subject at the practice placement (N:Li 20). This is because students find the client group difficult to work with or that organisational factors are obstacles. But according to him it is a matter of imagination. It is always possible to use play in everyday activities. You can use play during mealtimes or when doing the washing up. What he assesses is if the student can use arts in social educational acting. Proficiency in using arts comes second.

5.3.1.6 Assessment as confessions

What are the implications of the form of the assessment used in the creative subjects? As we have seen the student reports on her learning process continuously during the practice year and is assessed in a two
step system, first through a self-assessment, after which she is assessed by the supervisor.

In this way the learning process is formalised and is given a certain depth. To write down experiences and to reflect on them is a means of strengthening the students’ ability to use reflection as a tool at work. But it could also be viewed as an example of the curriculum’s tendency to discipline the students. The very detailed study plans design the students’ work on the themes in the first years even down to hours and minutes. The assignments are likewise thoroughly planned. In addition to that, the reflections that the students are obliged to engage in also have a quality of discipline to them. The process in the study groups, and the logbook’s records of the individual development are examples of that.

If these methods and attitudes are incorporated, a model for subtle influence is a potential result. This has a bearing on what Foucault (1977) called *confession*. Confession is a potent means in the exercise of power. It disciplines the subject and it does so very effectively partly due to the fact that it has a tone of “general reflections” to it, and also that power is not overtly being exercised.

The quality of discipline in these examples from the curriculum can be detected in an analysis of students’ reactions. In some of the interviews we made with lecturers – many of them in conjunction with auscultation – a rather recurrent theme was “the lazy students”, who refuse to do as they have been told. We have heard lecturers criticise students for their refusal to follow the details of the programme, and also for the lack of depth in their work with the assignments.

One way of detecting efforts to discipline is simply to look for obvious methods. Another way is to work backwards from signs of resistance. Resistance refers mainly to the students’ reactions to the workload. We have not come across refusals to reflect on experiences in work practice. It is possible to see that as a consequence of removing external discipline (exams, grades) and substituting them with discipline in the minds of the students.

97 For example, in a theme on methods of social pedagogy, the following is stipulated: reading 6 hours, assignment 9 hours; notes in the logbook, ½ hour (Themaboek 1.1. De identiteit van SPH, pp. 46 and 49).
As far as the students are concerned, the connection between discipline and emancipation can be seen in the following way. The tight program has made the students exhibit resistance in ways that are very hard for the disciplining functions in the college to master (“lack of depth”, for example). They have learnt how to resist the open character of power.

5.3.1.7 Artistic skills – concluding remarks

The main goals for the artistic skills subject were seen to be 1) to help develop the personality and 2) to learn new ways of relating to and communicating with a client. The skills that are taught are of many different kinds and possible to use in many situations. Students are encouraged to visualise many different clients with a variety of needs as well as the usefulness of knowing how to use creativity in front of staff members.

Artistic skills can thus be used for many different purposes in social educational work. It can also serve as a way to investigate the individual personality. It can be a tool in group development work. Drama techniques can help shed light on relationships in the group. Music, dance and sport activities can change the atmosphere in the group. Artistic skills can ease the process where words are not sufficient.

As we have understood the curriculum so far, the main thought is to educate strong students through the development of artistic skills, learnt through the artistic subjects – a learning process that is launched with the help of theoretical studies, as well as with application in lectures and at practice placements. The instructional models that help students to learn artistic skills are used through the whole educational programme. There are many situations in which students are required to act in front of each other, in front of teachers, and in front of clients and prospective fellow professionals. It is not about learning facts; it is more about learning how to behave. The importance of learning facts about different target groups and scientific concepts is subordinate to the importance of action.

Artistic skills are an important element of the recontextualised social pedagogy in the Nijmegen curriculum. According to Bernstein (1996), the pedagogic discourse is usually, for analytic reasons, divided into two separate discourses: the regulative and the instructional. The former
is about behaviour, conduct and moral values, whereas the latter is about facts, theories and concepts. In other words the discourses regulate “soft” and “hard” knowledge.

With reference to the paragraph above, we conclude that the regulative discourse in the Nijmegen curriculum is of importance. Bernstein (ibid.) advocates that the pedagogic discourse in fact only consists of one discourse; the regulative discourse is always superior, whereas the instructional discourse is always embedded into the regulative. As we interpret the Nijmegen curriculum, the core element artistic skills is a distinct example of this.

The philosophy of the Nijmegen curriculum to foster an attitude of symmetrical relationships with clients, combined with artistic skills, is in line with the tradition of client emancipation. Emancipation can be seen as a process of expanding one’s self-knowledge and one’s understanding of important relationships. Adding new devices to traditionally speech-based methods increases the case for emancipation. This line of reasoning assumes that enhancement of information about yourself is a positive thing. But, we have seen that communication can also be used to impose discipline. When students/social educational workers or clients talk about experiences in creative contexts, self-discipline might appear as a tool for exerting influence.

At the same time it forms part of the knowledge base, which is one of the prerequisites for an occupation to be respected as a profession. In addition to that, the comprehensive knowledge of artistic skills and the multitude of situations students are taught to master make it an abstract knowledge that is possible to transfer to other domains – an important element of professional knowledge.

There is a tension built into the curriculum in this respect. To the emancipatory quality of the artistic skills must be added an organisational framework, in order to meet the requirements of a profession.98

Let us look at the expansion of self-knowledge brought about by the use of artistic skills as a case for integration in society.

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98 Sahlin (1996) writes on the essence of using a project method in social work that it contains incompatible goals and methods. On one hand it presupposes a rationalistic, predetermined sequence of happenings. These happenings should be calculated in advance and put in the frame of a planned evaluation. On the other hand the project method is often used to try out new methods or to test changes of old ways of conduct, i.e. to proceed in a rather non-directive fashion.
5.3.1.8 Social pedagogy and integration

One objective of the creative subjects is to add to the student’s knowledge of her personality, which could strengthen her readiness to act before clients, and in the end to help develop the clients’ self-understanding. It could raise the level of the work with clients, and in this context it is well worth investigating the impact of artistic skills on the relationship between social educational worker and client.

The social educational worker’s mission could be expressed as working for integration. Habermas (1987) describes two kinds of integration that are related to the two aspects of society: system integration into the system⁹⁹ and social integration into the lifeworld.¹⁰⁰ The social educational worker, as she is described in the Nijmegen curriculum, is a professional that has a footing in both fields. To be professional, from one point of view, means working with the construction and administration of elaborated, social/psychological programs for people in need.

Another way of defining “professional” is to stress communication skills. And, to extend one’s repertoire in using artistic skills contributes to communication. One advantage is that artistic skills can help start a relationship, another that an artistic method in itself is a channel for communication separated from the more work-related relationships. In this manner artistic skills could shorten the distance between client and social educational worker and promote the creation of a symmetrical relation.

The way the artistic skills are put into practice as a communication device has also prompted us to investigate the connection between the use of artistic skills and the promotion of clients’ self-awareness.

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⁹⁹ The political system and the economy with the steering media – respectively power and money.

¹⁰⁰ The lifeworld has a constitutive function for communicative actions (Habermas 1987). Habermas means that we are in the language when we make use of the background knowledge of the lifeworld. This background knowledge enables us to understand the context for communicative actions and it also conveys to us the preconceptions we need to be able to act in the situation.
5.3.2 Self-awareness

The second of the core elements to be analysed is self-awareness. How is it represented in the curriculum?

The idea of the enhancement of self-awareness is that the social educational worker herself is an instrument for bringing about change in the client. Consequently it is important for a social educational worker to understand her way of relating to others, to know how she is perceived by others, to know how she reacts and how she feels in different situations. What does the curriculum say about the investigation of the student’s self?

5.3.2.1 Self-awareness expressed as a goal

The importance of self-awareness is formulated in criterion 19 of the "competence list"¹⁰¹ (Studiegids. Hoofdfase Voltijd. 2e jaar, 1999–2000): “To critically reflect on one’s actions, attitude, and motivation as a professional in a theoretical and normative framework” (p. 15).

Personal qualities are important in many situations and of course necessary in relationships of all kinds, especially when working with people in need. The question: What is the most important knowledge that you want to give the students in course of their education? was answered by a member of the management team ¹⁰² “the most important thing for them is to learn about themselves and their relationship to the client … the development of your own personality is very important.”

The quotation exemplifies the importance of self-awareness.

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¹⁰¹ A national association for programmes in social pedagogy in the Netherlands has produced a list of skills, the competence list, for social educational workers. This listing of skills could be seen as a national steering device for the twenty study programmes in the Netherlands and consequently also for Hogeschool Nijmegen. The competence list contains 23 items and is divided into three segments; 1–9 are about the relationship between client and social educational worker, 10–18 about the organisation, and 19–23 about the profession. The competence list is presented in the Studiegids for all three theory years. In fact, every single theoretical theme has as its starting point the specific items of the list that are especially important for the theme. Significant items from the competence list that are emphasised in curriculum texts will be referred to in the analysis.

¹⁰² N: Ai 13
5.3.2.2 The representation of the client and the social educational worker as commensurable entities

A fundamental rationale in the Nijmegen curriculum is that learning processes work two ways. In order to convey to clients the importance of accepting responsibility for their own life, you must begin by looking at your own development, to gain an insight into how your experiences have created your own life style and attitudes. To this end, students are introduced to a number of exercises where the aim is to look deeply into their own personal background as far as class origin, family structure, ethnic origin and experiences with friends are concerned. This analysis is examined from the starting point of a personality inventory. The social educational worker should then use this awareness in the relationship with the client.

The Nijmegen curriculum promotes two different ways of studying clients. One is to study clients from the point of view that each client is unique, with specific combinations of life histories and socialisation experiences. An example of this is one of the introductory cases where two young Moroccan boys are described. They are taken to an institution for observation, due to difficulties in the relationship with their family. In the background information the boys are presented with a clear emphasis on their unusual ethnicity (Thema 1.1 Identiteit van SPH, p. 18).

The other way of studying clients is when students investigate and reflect on their own personal experiences as a basis for understanding the clients. In one of the exercises (in De identiteit van SPH), students are to compare the experiences of their own family life with that of a girl client along the following lines: “connected – disconnected”, “harmonious – disharmonious”, “open – closed” (p. 11, 13).

In the Nijmegen curriculum the client and the social educational worker are often looked upon as fundamentally commensurable. One of the most apparent examples occurs in the presentation of the “compe-

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103 One of the members of the management team expressed this: “I see students, they learn a lot of drama, there are students who learn a lot from supervision because each student has his own history, has his own strong points and his own weak points” (N: Ai 2).

104 Another theoretical means for developing the understanding of clients through self-reflection is psychoanalytical developmental psychology (Themaboek 1.1 De identiteut van SPH; Beeldend Vormen. Reader, 2000–2001, p. 13).
“sentence model” (a well-known standard pattern of work with children in the Netherlands). It is introduced in the curriculum in a number of contexts, and the foundation for work according to the model is that “problems, anti-social behaviour and psychopathology are not viewed as deviant phenomena; instead they are examined in the context of normal development” (Hulpverlenen in een context. Year 1, theme 4. Reader, p. 32). It illustrates the idea that there are no fundamental differences between a person who happens to be a client and a social educational worker.

An underlying assumption in the Nijmegen curriculum is that experiences of family life are universal, from which follows that there is a common ground for understanding the process that for some people leads to becoming a client for a social education worker.

Clients and the social educational worker approach one another through common reference systems. They are really not separated at all, just people. Students are encouraged to develop this understanding by looking at their own culture, its fundamental values and norms.

In assignments that describe situations that clients face, problems are quite general, as in the story of a boy named Piet, who has been moved to another department because of re-organisation. The difficulties for Piet to adjust to his recent work mates and tasks are of a common kind. It could happen to any employee, the mentally handicapped are not different in that respect (Stage Thema 3. Themaboek, 1999–2000, pp. 13–17). The same examples that are used above may also be discussed in terms of how the client is looked upon from the point of view of the social educational worker. The fact that people from different cultural and/or social backgrounds are the subjects of investigation may be interpreted that they are non-commensurable entities, they are not like us.

Or, slightly differently: there is nothing exceptional in comparing cultures per se; we might very well understand other cultures’ special features. It might be very difficult, though, to fully understand how it is to be discriminated against on the basis of one’s ethnic origin. From that perspective, the curricular texts on cultural differences should be interpreted differently.

The commensurability of clients and social educational workers may be viewed as likeness in a “structural” sense. Family background always has an effect on people. Cultural norms and values have an impact, irrespective of the culture in focus. The analytical concepts are
applicable to clients as well as social educational workers. In that sense, the Nijmegen curriculum describes clients and social educational workers as commensurable.

5.3.2.3 The representation of the client and the social educational worker as structurally determined

Criterion 14 of the "competence list" states as a general goal in the (Studiegids. Hoofdfase Voltijd. 2e jaar, 1999–2000) that it is important:

… to investigate the environment of target groups and to analyse the societal factors that cause problems in their life conditions, and also to address the responsible official authorities. (p. 14)

The study of society contains broad descriptions of changes in labour market, economy, and politics in Dutch society, and how such changes tend to produce modifications, variations, and sometimes transformations of value systems, religious life, and life styles. Students are asked to reflect on connections between these societal changes and tendencies in modern society like aggression, alienation, and criminality (Themaboek 2.4. Zorg en maatschappij; Themaboek 1.4 Hulpverlenen in een context: team/organisatie een maatschappij).

Students are to reflect on the interdependence between norms, values and behavioural patterns in society. One such objective is to elaborate on the understanding of norms in The Netherlands today (Ibid.). By questioning the fundamental values, students gain an understanding of how social problems reflect significant tendencies in society.

Students should for example reflect on values based on work; is it a necessary obligation? If so – why? Why do politicians in general want to raise the labour rate in society? Is it necessary to go to great lengths to ensure people with learning disabilities get a job? The multicultural aspect of Dutch society is underlined in the texts on these matters (Ibid.).

In a group assignment, the object of study is a student, Marije who is in doubt about her study plans. Marije’s family background is sketched, a theme of neglect is outlined (both parents work fulltime). Students are asked to reflect on the impact of the socio-economic environment on personal development.
These are examples of elements in the curriculum that share a common theme; the *structural determination* of life conditions for people in general. Of all different factors that form our lives, constitutional as well as environmental, society’s structural factors are the most elaborated and discussed in the curriculum.

This is the case for both client and social educational worker. That means that they can share concepts, theories, and modes of inquiry into the background of their present day life conditions.

What is different, though, for clients and social educational workers is that clients are people who lead a difficult life. They face such problems in their ordinary lives that they are in need of help to live independently. Here is one example from the introductory paragraphs in the Themaboek (1999–2000) of the first theoretical theme, De identiteit van SPH.105

The social educational worker will encounter individual clients and groups of clients with problems of many different kinds. What they have in common is that they are people that experience problems or are in danger meeting problems in their living conditions. (p. 3)

One way to use the knowledge of society that is conveyed through themes of sociology and psychology and similar subjects is to formulate ideas of connections between all the levels of life in society. Personality and behaviour are seen to be contingent on structural factors like social class and ethnic origin.

An aspect of the power/knowledge complex in Foucault’s writings (1980a) is this quite strong tendency to search for sociological factors to explain the difficulties that people meet. The classification of people in groups can in this way be extended also to environments and cultural elements. Class, culture, socialisation qualities and other similar concepts are often used as causal factors behind the social ills of society. One effect of that is the attribution of environmental properties to people, and to diminish the importance of their personal traits.

Another connection that is built is between knowledge of societal factors and social educational work. Students learn the importance of understanding the client’s network and how life conditions of clients

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105 Another example is found in Field Manual. Period of practical training 1999–2000, p. 1
have an impact on the social educational work (Hulpverlenen in een context. Themaboek 1. 4, p. 22).

To answer the question "What effect have your own experiences had on your view of play in social educational work?" students are urged to reconstruct their upbringing and to characterise it in terms of warmth and dominance, and to appraise it as an environment for play. Other aspects of socialisation experiences are about the role of music, and about sport activities in one’s up-bringing.

Many of the lectures are thus centred on the student and her background. Class as a concept is widely used, also in rather peripheral matters like the tone of class in a name (De cliënt en ik, p. 8). Deeper matters of the student’s background are treated in other lectures.

Awareness of oneself and how one has developed in life, and to be aware of one’s capacities of using creative means should form part of the relationship with clients. One could say that self-awareness is a resource to be used in professional work with clients.

This is a comprehensive model of self-investigation, on a cultural as well as a personal level. The object of interest is at first the student/the social educational worker and the objective to make her a stronger personality, to enhance her readiness to interpret feelings from within and reactions from the environment. This could be used in the encounters with clients, and support processes towards a deeper understanding between them. In this way the self-aware social educational worker returns rationality from the scientific/cultural sections of society back into the lifeworld (Habermas 1987). The basis for social integration is widened.

106 Themaboeken Thema 1.1 Identiteit van SPH; Thema 2 De client en ik; Thema 4 Hulpverlenen in een context.
109 One that is about the family, where students should characterise their families through a comparison with propositions like “Self-control was highly valued”, “The women were strong” and “The children were encouraged to talk about family problems and to express their views on them” (De cliënt en ik, p. 9, 41-42.).
110 The rationalisation of the lifeworld is a process of great importance for free and open discussions. The progress of science has had a great impact on the quality of the exchange of thoughts. The risk is, though, that the ongoing rationalisation of thought takes place only in so called expert cultures (Habermas 1987). In that case lifeworld-based discussions would suffer
As is the case with the artistic skills, the emphasis that the curriculum puts on self-awareness in the student has the dual objective of increasing the information and strength of the client as well. The open attitude toward others serves this end. How it will affect the client depends on how it is used in practice and for what purposes. Theoretically, we could conclude here that there are two distinctly different approaches; to calculate how to make the client adhere to whatever norms or life styles that are in focus, or to engage in a candid relation with another human being in the search for change. Exchanges of in-depth information might very well be used to control people. Disciplinary as well as emancipatory ends could utilise the same material.

5.3.2.4 The assessment of self-awareness – a theoretical critical review

The Nijmegen curriculum combines on one hand abstract sessions on personality, up-bringing, culture and other societal factors, and on the other, more concrete exercises where social educational situations are in focus. The assumption that values and background of the social educational worker have an effect on the client relationship is fundamental and many exercises are designed to shed light on that.

The students themselves produce material for this assessment, in their logbook, and they process the material too.

Assessment is potentially a means of exercising of power. Power appears in an unlimited number of forms. Among the more subtle ones are influences on people’s identities. In the article, “Disciplining Bodies: On the Continuity of Power Relations in Pedagogy”, Gore (1998) presents findings of a study aimed at testing the relevance of using Foucauldian “techniques of power” in prisons, analysing contemporary pedagogical settings. The research was carried out in highly different pedagogical environments; in high school physical education classes, in

from not getting enough material for development. Later, Habermas has modified this position so that he sees the reflective communicative actions as being transformed into discourses (Eriksen & Weigård 2000). Actors in the juridical discourse, the political discourse, etc engage themselves in institutionalised opinion formation and through the dissemination of the content of these discourses, the lifeworld is fed back and the potential for rationalisation of the life-world is still there.
a feminist reading group, in a first-year teacher education cohort, and in a women’s discussion group. As Gore (1998) states it:

Put simply, I was asking the question: ‘Are the mechanisms of schooling like the mechanisms of prisons, in terms of the micro-practices of power Foucault identified’? (p. 234)

All the mechanisms – surveillance, normalization, exclusion, classification, distribution, individualization, totalization, and regulation – that were “tested” proved fruitful in all four environments. This was the case, to Gore’s (1998) surprise, in spite of the disparity of the milieus that were studied.

… the broad techniques used in the exercise of power relations were found in the radical and mainstream, and the institutionalized and non-institutionalized sites. Hence, my speculative view that the institutionalization of pedagogy within schools and universities constrain radical agendas might not be supported by the study, as a generalized claim. (p. 245)

And she concludes

Instead, it seems that pedagogy, as a modernist enterprise, has some continuous features across quite different locations. (p. 245)

A finding in the study well worth noting is that across all the sites the techniques of regulation and surveillance were less utilised than the more subtle and “invisible” techniques, for example normalization, classification, totalization, and individualization. This is in harmony with how Foucault (1980a) describes the development of power, where it is penetrating our inner minds, and takes on the form of self-discipline. This self-discipline concerns a vast quantity of aspects of the subject; sexuality, how to be a parent, what to strive for in life, etc. In this form, power is hard to detect, from the inside as well as from outside a person.

An example of a secluded and indirect use of power is the combination of individualization and totalization, a strategy to be found not least in pedagogical contexts. A reference is made here both to the individual as a single person and as a member of a group. The subject is
responsible for acceptable conduct both as an individual and as a group member.

In a similar manner the Nijmegen students are challenged to delve into their own personal background. The fact that the documentation of these exercises is assessed makes them a powerful tool for disciplining students. Further, the inner qualities of the students are put to a test when they are compared to a professional profile based on ten items:

- To look at the other’s life-world through the eyes of the other
- To try to understand what the other’s actions express
- To want to look in depth into the other’s life experiences
- To feel confident in working with other people, keeping a critical attitude
- To share your views and experiences with others
- To accept other people
- To keep your integrity intact, not loosing your spontaneity
- To be responsible
- To show a caring attitude
- To be critical and reflective (De cliënt en ik, pp. 66–68)

This is an example of the frequent building up of a connection between personality on one hand and the professional on the other. The professional is the model, the correlate according to which you should judge yourself.

Reflection as a method is an important part of the social educational worker’s repertoire. Reflection is one of the methods the social educational worker should use to understand her own way of functioning together with colleagues and clients. Through reflection, she can assist other people’s development. Many exercises in the teaching of Theory and Methods are about preparing and readying oneself for reflection.¹¹¹

The reflective attitude is developed in exercises like role-play and discussions on contemporary issues as a skill to learn and eventually to master. To look at other people and to give them feedback is seen as

one side of the coin, to receive information about yourself as the other. The headings of the five sub-themes in the lectures in Theory and Methods in theme 2 (De cliënt en ik) give a good picture of the attitude that the syllabus conveys:

- To look at your own culture
- To look at other cultures
- To look at yourself with pleasure
- To look critically at others
- Look what I can do!
- I dare take a stand!
- This is I in the world! (p. 2)

The challenging, almost promotional form of language, especially in the last three items, clearly conveys a model for the students. This is the way to behave as a student (and as a social educational worker). It is comparable with Gore’s findings of invisible techniques of dominance.

Fendler (1998) discusses the relationship between the subject and the social in modern society. The subject’s desires are shaped through the discourses in the society. The discrepancy between the subject and the social disappears through the use of the new techniques for control. Self-discipline is modelled alongside the socially desirable. The socially desirable is transferred through the socialisation channels, for example the school system, including the new techniques for securing that they are observed in society. Fendler (1998) mentions methods like portfolio systems and special tests measuring motivational “skills” and the like. Methods of this kind often come in “emancipatory disguise”, which makes critique a difficult matter. Take for instance the shift from direct observation as the correctional means, to the employment of self-discipline, that is, the removal of control from the outside to the inside that has been shown in many examples in the preceding sections. The transparency of power is reduced, and probably the resistance too. The use of the structure of one of the confession techniques, the group therapy session, could serve as a means of escaping the confession itself.

In a reflection on this phenomenon of modern culture, Ziehe (1986) suggests that people learn to adjust to the form of group sessions, and, maybe unconsciously, present themselves in the form that will be received positively in the group.
Habermas (1996) emphasises the importance of the social interplay between two people when he shows the relational property of the inner life. A subject doesn’t have wishes or feelings in the same way as she has observable properties like a certain height or eye colour. She has wishes or feelings in the sense that she can express them to an audience in such a way that they are understood to come from the subject’s inner world.

Self-awareness in the light of this line of analysis is perhaps not just a means of arriving at useful insights into the inner self of clients and the social educational worker. It might as well be viewed as an instrument for exerting control. The student/social educational worker has been trained to use reflection as a tool. How she acts in the social educational relation is partly related to how she uses her experience of self-reflection. Self-awareness is thus schooled with the use of many different devices. An important one, the supervision talks between the supervisor in the college and the practice student, will now be reviewed.

5.3.2.5 Supervision as discipline during practice periods

The reflective attitude is salient in the practice year. The students spend a full academic year at a practice placement. The “hub” of the organisation of the practice year is the student herself, and supervision is used as a means towards personal development. During the practice year this is phrased in different ways. A core activity is supervision (supervisie), led by a lecturer from the college. Six areas are covered: the personality of the student in relation to professional standards; method in her work; to work in a ”Ludic way”; to work in a team; issues of organisation and leadership; issues concerning the person, social sciences, and social pedagogy (Stagenota. Jaarstage 1999–2000).

The following is an account of a supervision meeting between two students and a supervisor (N:O 32).

One of the students starts to talk about ”anxiety” (angst). She feels very controlled especially by one of the staff members at the placement. This feeling affects her relationship to the clients (people with learning difficulties). The supervisor encourages her to go deeper into the issue of anxiety. The student says in the interview that was done after the observation: “I am a person who is a little bit afraid of people, I don’t trust them; it is very hard to ask things and do things with
them.” The conversation circles around the theme ”anxiety” for a while. The other student fills in now and then in order to support the first student’s feelings. The supervisor says that he knows the feeling, right now he is working in a stressful situation since there is an observer in the room.

Next (after 20 minutes discussion of the theme ”anxiety”), the other student wants to talk about her feeling about ”boundaries”. She says that she has problems with clients’ sexual feelings (people with learning disabilities). She develops her feelings: “Sometimes that is very difficult because you say ”this is OK … but not this”, they come close, very close. They can’t understand what your feelings are about them, … so they like you and it is very difficult to make clear to them …. ” The discussion of this theme, between the three participants, continues for ten minutes.

From the observer’s point of view this was a meeting permeated by authentic communication. The students seemed to be very relaxed, intimate, and open minded when talking to the supervisor. One of the students says in the follow up interview: “… it is very easy to talk about it here as we’ve known the supervisor for almost two years now. The other student is a very good friend of mine and it is easy to talk when you know the people. Some things are very personal or difficult to talk about …”

The supervisor was also interviewed some hours after the meeting with students. He was asked if students find it difficult to talk about feelings as such as anxiety and boundary setting. He was also asked about how he makes them talk about these issues. He says (N:Li 21):

... in the beginning they usually say ‘oh it is okay, everything is fine’ like one of the students did, but then if you give them time then they say something that doesn’t seem so important in the first instance - then you maybe noticed I continued to ask and ask and then you see that very important theme … yes I push a little and asked about their experience – what did you feel in you body – so that is my way of helping them to think about. (N:Li 21)
For the observer it was obvious that most parts of the conversation are about the student herself.\textsuperscript{112} This is confirmed by the supervisor:

\ldots well what we talked, really talked about is what does it mean to be yourself \ldots For me the most important is...that students know themselves \ldots The second thing that is important is \ldots they study many models and methods that exist for helping their clients and that is very important, but most important is that they forget all the models and that they develop their own models or that they can work without a special model so just \ldots starting from the client.

Students and supervisor (N:O 32) all agreed on the following focus: First comes the development of the student, second the relation between the student and the client, and third the client and his/her needs.

The supervisor stresses that the supervision model he and all his colleagues use stipulates this focus (first the student then \ldots). All supervisors are taught to follow guidelines in how to supervise students. He himself has been a supervisor for 30 years and had always had the same structure in his meetings.

The most important goal for supervision is \ldots to be able to reflect (the student, our addition). I think that is the first step in supervision, the attitude to change aspects of professional behaviour\textsuperscript{113}\textsuperscript{113} (N:Li 9).

There are national standards in the Netherlands that cover all supervision aiming at supporting students in practice. The theoretical foundations for the supervision model are described in articles.\textsuperscript{113} The supervisor denies any big differences between the way students are supervised in Nijmegen compared to other colleges in the Netherlands:

No, there is no difference. I think it depends on the quality of the supervisor \ldots it is used in the whole country. We have a supervision organisation, we have described \textquote{what is supervision?} and \textquote{how can you give supervision?} and all the supervisors are organised and we

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{112} The way this supervision session was executed (contents as well as form) was very similar to another supervision talk we had the opportunity to visit (N:O 29). The difference between this and the first one is that before the meeting the students had delivered what they call \textquote{reflection notes} to each other and the supervisor. These notes formed the foundation of the discussions. During the meeting the students took notes on their reflections, which were to be given to the other party before the next meeting.
\textsuperscript{113} Haan \& Kessel (1993) and Kessel \& Haan (1993)
\end{footnotesize}
The focus of the supervision as part of student development is made explicit by the assessment. The supervisor assesses students’ performance on four criteria. 1) Students’ abilities to gain experience from practice; 2) the ability to scrutinise, observe, and reflect on the experiences; 3) the ability to discuss experiences in relation to relevant theoretical knowledge; 4) the ability to act on the basis of the newly gained conceptual framework.

The issue of the assessment of students’ performances in the practice is seen as a delicate matter since the assessor marks personality. Friendliness, attitudes, courage, readiness, and the like are all personality traits that are difficult to measure and to find explicit criteria on.\(^{114}\) The assessments of students’ proficiencies are examples of the promotion of strong students who are able to work with clients and other professionals in a number of situations. The regulative discourse (Bernstein 1990) dominates.

Considering again the five-point profile of the programme (section 5.3.1), it is said that the profession is essential. One way of profiling social educational workers in a market with competing social professions is to act consistently. There is an all-pervading theme from the curriculum’s point of view to show “the whole world” that here is a group of professional social educational workers that has a distinct identity, hopes to be seen as self-reliant and made of “the right stuff”. This is considered important and thus the assessment procedures can be seen as a way to discipline the students into a professional identity that demarcates them from other professional social workers.

The two students interviewed in connection with the supervision session say (N:Si 34): “The most important thing is what we are reflect-

\(^{114}\) The policy is that the supervisor is the one who makes the final decision. The supervisor has normally three meetings with the student together with the “internal supervisor” (a professional social educational worker) at the placement. The internal supervisor has to have a qualification from at least a college education “aiming at people-changing or people-sustaining activities”, i.e. he or she has the professional skills to decide whether a student is ‘good enough’. But, when in doubt, the supervisor from the college plays the decisive role; she has the power to decide whether the student fails.
ing on. We have to be active during the meetings and write good reflection notes and we have to be able to discuss our problems”. Another student when asked \(^{115}\) how it is possible to get good results and what qualities that are assessed, answered:

Now, I think my opinion is when I am at the end of the year, I think I have to show that I can do certain things on my own, that I can be independent at certain situations. I think that is very important. You make learning targets for yourself and I think it is also very important that you can show at the end of the year that you have reached your goals I think that is also very important. That is, it is very difficult.

One of the supervisors (N:O 8) says that the reasons for failing students can be: “… that it is too heavy for them … they have no authority with the youngsters in the beginning – the first month – it is okay and then after two or three months the youngsters start to laugh at them …”. He gives an example of a student who failed at a placement after several attempts to improve:

He is not able to take responsibility and that is very important. He knew that he would be judged on this point and he failed. During supervision meetings he took this responsibility for his own process, but not on the placement. But even during supervision I had to say: ‘I am not asking you, you have to come up with your problems!’

One important factor of why students fail is dependent on how they behave with the clients.

5.3.2.6 Processed learning

The documents (studiegids, readers) refer to a theoretical model, ”Processed learning”, \(^{116}\) that is used to explain the way students learn (for example in Field Manual. Period of practical training 1999–2000). The student should develop a “well considered behaviour” through learning on two levels: micro and meso. The former refers to the student herself,

\(^{115}\) This interview was done at a students’ placement (N:O 9), “Behandelingscentrum Neebosch”, which is an institution for 90 children and youth up to the age of 18. The Neebosch is a part of a chain of treatment centres in the region of Gelderland.

\(^{116}\) This is a translation from the Dutch procesmatig leren. (Stagenota. Jaarstage 1999–2000, p. 14)
the client and the team, the latter refers to the (administrative) staff, the department and the organisation. The student should start at the micro level and gradually move into the meso level.

It is worthwhile to refer to the roots of processed learning. The theoretical foundations were developed by David Kolb:117 *Experiential learning. Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. His model is developed out of similar ideas of learning processes advocated by Lewin, Dewey, and Piaget (pp. 21–23). Kolb’s model has some significant perspectives on learning. These are: learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes; learning is a continuous process grounded in experience; the process of learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world; learning is an holistic process of adaptation to the world; learning involves transactions between the person and the environment; and learning is the process of creating knowledge (ibid. pp. 26–38).

Kolb defines learning as: “Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (ibid., p. 38). Kolb gives a description of the experiential ”learning cycle”, where the starting point is the *concrete experience*. The second phase of the learning process is *reflective observation*. Concrete experiences are observed from different perspectives, i.e. the first insights are processed and compared to cognitive structures adapted earlier in the process. The third phase is called *abstract conceptualisation*, which leads to a deeper understanding of the concrete experiences. The fourth and the last phase in the circle is *active experimentation*. In this phase of learning, the understanding is used to make decisions and to solve problems. The action taken in the learning process will give new concrete experiences that lead to reflective observations. The process is dialectic as well as cyclic, connecting the outer world to the inner mental structures.

Kolb’s model is used to give structure to the planning of students’ learning processes, especially during the practice year.

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117 Kolb (1984) also contributed to an understanding of different learning styles. With the help of the dimensions concrete – abstract, active – reflective named to four different kinds of learning; “accommodator”, “divergent”, “converger”, and “assimilator”. He finds in one of his investigations that social workers belong to the “divergent” learning style. This learning style is distinguished by concrete and reflective orientation. Engineering on the other hand is distinguished by abstract and active orientation. (ibid., pp. 88–89)
5.3.2.7 Classification and framing

The scope of our investigation is the curriculum, i.e. all pedagogic practice that takes place in a certain space and time. The curriculum is for Bernstein (1996) the transformation of societal discourses. The outcome of the transformation processes is the curriculum, the recontextualisation of outer discourses. In these processes a new discourse is created, which Bernstein calls the pedagogic discourse (but as he says: it is rather a principle for appropriating discourses into a new context).

So far, we have discussed two of the three core elements that we found to be crucial in the curricular construction. The core elements are not separate entities; they can be seen as complementary. As we understand the curriculum, there is coalescence between artistic skills and self-awareness. In Bernstein’s word usage, the classification between the core elements is weak.

We have shown that students are taught techniques to relate to clients through six artistic subjects. The curriculum promotes these proficiencies as useful in professional social educational work. We have also shown that students do not only acquire knowledge about how to relate to and communicate with clients; they also learn that they themselves are important. The way students are taught artistic skills through the creative subjects promotes self-awareness. There are plenty of situations in which fellow students and teachers assess their weaknesses and strengths. There are lessons where students have to step forward in front of each other. In short there are not many loopholes you can use to avoid being seen.

Referring to the organisation of the teaching, there is one model that permeates the entire programme. The goals of the Nijmegen curriculum are that students learn facts about psychological, sociological, psychosociological, legislative, and other aspects that are influencing clients’ lives. In the Nijmegen curriculum, facts are taught through problem based learning – that is to say, the material is not taught organised in a “singular” way (school subjects with their own clear-cut contents and

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118 Every spring semester there is a special event – Ludic week – all fourth year students have exhibitions, concerts and performances for family members, and professional social educational workers (N:O 28).
identity). It works the other way around: the starting point is a “problem”, a case.

The underlying assumption of PBL is that students acquire knowledge through their own inquiries. But, even more important is to attain the skills of co-operation, how to organise the material, and how to sequence the learning. The organisation of learning in this way is, according to Bernstein, an example of weak framing, as if students are in a powerful position vis-à-vis the teacher.

But according to Bernstein, this is deceptive. Power is still in the hands of the transmitter of knowledge. This is because the principle of classifications that maintains power is always a barrier to genuine communication. That is to say, the forces that create and maintain the category “teacher” are very powerful. Even if the teacher and the students are communicating on equal basis (weak framing) there is always a classificatory principle that keeps them apart and gives the power to the superior party.

An example of a more obvious unequal distribution of power between teachers and students is the organisation of the practice year. Students have few possibilities to influence pace, criteria and in what order knowledge is gained. Students are supposed to fulfil a highly structured programme with detailed prescriptions of what to observe and how to report implementation of agencies. The actors from college, together with the professionals from the institutions, control how students are supposed to acquire knowledge, an example of principles of strong classification and framing.

5.3.2.8 Self-awareness – concluding remarks

As has been shown in many sections of the Nijmegen curriculum the emergence of a strong social educational worker is a pertinent goal. An important part of that strength is achieved through the development of self-awareness. Self-awareness is fostered through different curricular arrangements. One is the teaching of sociological aspects of the society where the underlying assumption is that society creates personality, which is used in reflections of the students’ own upbringing, family life and class origin. Another one is the different methods for investigating students’ conduct in relations to clients and staff in the practice placements. The reflections on the connection between social background,
life conditions and actual behaviour are a recurrent feature in the curriculum.

The more the student/social educational worker is aware of herself the better the prospects for a fruitful relation to the client. This relation is presented in different forms. What could be seen as the most common representation is that of the client and the social educational worker as commensurable entities.\textsuperscript{119}

In the light of the discipline – emancipation distinction – how can self-awareness and self-reflection in the Nijmegen curriculum be understood? The curriculum’s concentration on self-reflection in theoretical pedagogical situations as well as in practical ones (adhering to the Kolbsian processed learning principles) displays a goal of fostering a communication-oriented social educational worker. The students are trained to use open communication in analysing themselves both as personalities and as acting in relation to others. All the same, the assessment, with its strong emphasis on personal reflection, contains a potential for invading this open communication making it a tool for altering people and thus changing the communication device to a strategic one.

5.3.3 The social educational worker and the client in the organisation

In this section we will start with a presentation of the curriculum’s intentions concerning the occupations and functions of social educational workers. We will go on to present and critically reflect on how the curriculum defines the relationship between the social educational worker and the client in the organisational context. How is the client described in the curriculum? What aspects of the organisational context are discussed? What is the balance between organisational and client demands? What impact will it have on the core of social educational work with reference to emancipation and discipline?

\textsuperscript{119} The presentation of the relation ranges from only structurally alike, i.e. that they could be analysed with the same theoretical tools, to fundamentally alike, only having different roles as client and social educational worker.
5.3.3.1 Functions of the social educational worker

What are the functions of social educational workers, what are they supposed to achieve as graduates in the work field? According to the study plan, there is a variety of occupations available for the graduates.

- Activity guidance/activity therapist
- Co-ordinator/day care centres for the elderly
- Supervisor/supervisor of groups/head of groups
- Team leader of daily activities
- Manager for child care centres
- Leader of play- and sport activities
- Pedagogical co-worker in youth care
- ‘Artificial parent’ in a children’s home (gezinshuisouder)
- Co-worker in schools
- Scholings- vormingswerker\textsuperscript{120}
- Co-worker in preventive care
- Social educational worker/care worker in supportive agencies
- Care worker in institutions for drug addicts/supervisor of lodgers
- Rehabilitation of ex criminals
- Co-worker in bewegingsagogie\textsuperscript{121}
- Socio therapist \hspace{1em} (Stagenota. Jaarstage 1999–2000, p. 3)

The chart shows a broad work field in which the social educational worker acts on three levels:

- professional work with clients
- professional work on the organisational level: to work as a colleague, as a co-worker, and as an employee
- professional work on a societal level: to be up to date on specialist literature, follow the development of society, follow the development of the professional field, and influence the development of the profession. \hspace{1em} (Stagenota. Jaarstage 1999–2000, p. 4)

\textsuperscript{120} ‘A worker in socio-cultural/sociological training/education’ (e-mail correspondence with a lecturer of the Nijmegen college in 2002-11-25).

\textsuperscript{121} ‘A theory/method that tries to influence/change human behaviour by interventions of the position and movements/gestures/exercises of the human body. It is a method that can be used in itself or in combination with counselling or other means of psychological therapy’. (e-mail correspondence with a lecturer of the Nijmegen college in 2002-11-25).
5.3.3.2 Representations of the clients

On one hand clients are seen as a very disparate group. That is stated from the beginning. If clients are to be categorized, a variety of methods can be used. Here are some examples.

One is through the use of diagnostic categories in Psychiatry (for example ADHD, autism), or in family therapy (harmonic, disharmonic family; open, closed family). Specific groups that are presented are: children with problems, youth, people with learning problems, with psychiatric problems, and the elderly. Also people with drug problems make up a category.\textsuperscript{122}

Students are obliged to study diagnostic systems in psychoanalysis and neuropsychiatry. The aim is for students to learn how to formulate the diagnoses in behavioural terms.\textsuperscript{123}

A consistent theme throughout the written documents is that the clients are described indirectly. Methodical work, working conditions, students’ personal growth and the like, dominate, that is to say the client and their circumstances are present in an implicit way. Sometimes clients’ networks are the issues of investigation. The planning of the work with the clients is then directed at the network, not the client himself. An element in a system replaces the individual client.

Who is the client then? There is no straightforward answer. There are a number of categories that are the objects of study. In that sense one could say that clients are presented through theoretically based properties and thus made objects. On the other hand clients are also presented as individuals. Clients are vividly described through stories from newspapers and magazines. Clients are seen as individuals and not merely as representatives of different categories.

The Nijmegen curriculum also presents the client and the social educational worker as fundamentally commensurable human beings, that they are of the same kind. That creates a very different view compared


\textsuperscript{123} Hulpverlenen in een context. Subtheme 4: The social educational process. Themaboek 1.4 1999/2000.
to the use of categories. Students meet both kinds of client constructions.

A likewise dual perspective in the construction of the client occurs if he is dependent or independent. There are texts where clients are introduced as "having difficulties in leading their life”. A contrary impression is transmitted through the request for help that presupposes an independent client.\textsuperscript{124}

The notion of commensurability gives an impression of an independent and strong client, equal to the social educational worker. On the level of rhetoric one prefers to see the client as "empowered": an idealistic view of the client as an independent and autonomous person who at least has shared influences with the social educational worker on issues that concern her/his life. But there is also the harsh reality. People that are subjects of care cannot always speak for themselves. There are institutions that are established in order to control people with deviant behaviour.

Practice placements that are used by the college are very often residential care institutions (see table 7) with features that are close to the total institution (Goffman 1991). The structure of the institutions that are used to train students are reflected in assignments that students are obliged to carry out during the practice year.

The client is seen as subordinate in relation to the emphasis on organisational matters. Students are supposed to gain "knowledge and insight" about five items:
- the complexity of the institution
- the consultative bodies functioning within the institution
- the meaning of the organisation and the social care objects
- her/his own place in the organisation
- a description about in what way it is possible to influence the organisation. (Field Manual 1999–2000 p. 18)

To answer these questions, the students produce an "institutional report", comprising 10–12 pages. The example shows that the students are investigating the organisation extensively when it comes to profes-

\textsuperscript{124} Request for help will be outlined comprehensively in section 5.3.3.4
sional items. The client is in this assignment mentioned as "a social care object".

The students write reports on “the admissions procedures for clients” (assignment 1, ibid., p. 18). The written instructions describe the client as a subordinate person in a strict hierarchical institution.

The student gathers information on the formal criteria used for admission and investigates to what extent they are used in practice … has to read admission reports and hold talks with staff concerned and observes an actual admission, if necessary … investigates to what extent the actual admission is in accordance with the objective of the institution. (p. 18)

The last point “the discharge” (ibid., p. 19) strengthens the notion of the dependent client. In this assignment the student

… gathers information on the criteria of formal discharge of the clients (both in a positive and a negative sense) and investigates to what extent these are executed in practice … Moreover, the student investigates to what extent the discharge is in accordance with the objective of the institution.

Compared with the previously presented representations about the symmetric relation between the social educational worker and the client these examples show a rather asymmetric relationship. In the way the discharge procedures are to be carried out as well as the mere word usage defines the client as a subordinate entity in the care system.

5.3.3.3 The social educational worker in the organisation

It goes without saying that social educational work consists of relationships with clients, methodical work and organisational matters. But, a substantial part of the presentation of social educational work is about the organisation.

One indicator of this is how it is presented in the introductory two week long course before the first semester’s five week long placement. The stress on social educational work and related items is explicit in the example from ”Themaboek 3”. Eighteen general aims are introduced (Stage Thema 3. Themaboek. 1999–2000, p. 3). The items are as follows:
- knowledge about different settings where social educational work takes place
- knowledge about what the professionals do
- knowledge about distinguishing features of the target groups
- insights into different functions of the professionals of the institution
- insights into the differences in leadership and guidance
- knowledge about the four different leadership styles
- knowledge about task oriented and person oriented leadership
- knowledge about five different ways of guidance
- insights into the different functions of a team, what influence each member has on team decisions
- knowledge about team work
- knowledge about what distinguishes a good team member
- knowledge about the seven steps to a high quality decision
- knowledge about multi-disciplinary team work
- knowledge about the importance of clients’ privacy, and to know about three different aspects of privacy
- knowledge about the contents of the ‘personal file’
- insights into the coherence between intimacy and familiarity
- knowledge about confidentiality and professional secrecy
- knowledge about the limits of becoming too intimate

The main part of these aims is about organisational dimensions of social educational work. The students are supposed to learn in what setting clients are found and what the professional workers do. The students should know about the difference between supervision models and leadership styles, how team members co-operate in particular in multi-disciplinary teams, and how decisions are executed.

The structure of organisations, leadership, conflicts and the handling of conflicts, organisational culture and group dynamics are aspects of organisational life that are necessary for social educational workers to master, according to the study programme.

The study of clients is minimized in this context. Instead, the issues are the organisational culture, resistance to changes and how to penetrate resistance, issues that concern only the professionals, not the clie-

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125 In one syllabus the students are asked to investigate the professional social educational workers in a cultural perspective. How can the agencies of the professionals be studied as rituals? (Beelden Vormen 2000–2001, p. 75).

156
The emphasis on organisational matters can also be seen in other sections.\textsuperscript{126}

The list of practical placements gives a picture of the different kinds of organisations where social educational work is carried out.\textsuperscript{127} The left column shows the classification of the work field, as it is expressed in for example the Field Manual. The right column shows the distribution of student placements.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Distribution of placements}
\begin{tabular}{lcc}
\hline
\textbf{Category} & \textbf{N} & \textbf{\%} \\
\hline
A. Ambulant settings; domestic aid, youth counselling, activation and prevention, etc & 9 & 5 \\
B. Semi-residential settings; day centres for the elderly, psychiatric day care, Boddaert centres, day care (medical) for children, day centres for the mentally retarded, etc & 40 & 23 \\
C. Residential settings; children’s homes, orphanages, boarding schools for youth with problems, residences for the mentally retarded, residences for the mentally ill, residences for the physically ill, general hospitals, nursing homes, refugee camps, shelters for battered women, etc & 110 & 62 \\
Miscellaneous & 16 & 10 \\
\textbf{Total} & \textbf{175} & \textbf{100} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{126} See the nine items of reflection on practice that students use in the first year’s practice. Among the issues are different styles of leadership and on professional guidance of staff at the placement (Stage. Thema 3. Themaboek 1999, p.5). Moreover, when clients are in focus they are often studied from an organisational perspective. Many themes focus on matters of organisation such as in preparatory theoretical studies before practice. An example of this is the textbooks that are used in the preparation for the practice of the first year: ‘Orientation in Social Educational Work’, ‘Residential Work’, and ‘Basic Material for Education and Work Areas’. Furthermore, there are articles in the Reader to support students’ learning. The articles are three chapters taken from two different textbooks. The articles are named ‘Co-operation; the Meeting’ and, ‘How to Handle Clients’ Files’. (Stage. Thema 3. Themaboek 1999).

\textsuperscript{127} The compilation is made out of the classification used in the Field Manual (1999–2000, p.3) to show examples on where placement is possible and intended by the curriculum.
Most students practice in residential settings. These institutions normally serve a big group of clients with a variety of needs. They also employ a vast number of different professional groups.

“Ambulant settings” means that the clients are met in their own homes, agencies, in the streets, culture centres, and the like. A minority of students are working with refugees or with women in shelters.

The identity as a social educational worker is marked as a central idea:

With the starting-point of the occupational identity as a social educational worker the student should profile herself and create a position in the work organisation on the foundation of a well-integrated set of skills. (De hulpverlener opereert vanuit een team. Themaboek, p.1)

A central issue for the students is to learn how to work in a self-reliant way and to show responsibility and to be able to speak for themselves in a professional way. The professional work carried out by a social educational worker in an organisation should be based on the ability to use one’s competence.

Good social educational work from an organisational perspective is described as follows:

- to be able to work in an organisation
- to profile oneself in the organisation
- to be an asset to the organisation’s structure
- to construct a fitting model for being in charge of and for guiding colleagues and professionals of different kinds
- to contribute to the development of an institution’s methods
- to present an adequate approach in the interaction with clients, colleagues and representatives from other institutions and authorities
- to be active in the pursuit of one’s own career and to be able to take advantage of the options for development in the organisation in order to enhance one’s competence.

(Based on De hulpverlener opereert vanuit een team, p. 4, 7, 9, 12, 16, 19, 21)

The list of goals starts with a very modest one, “to be able to work in an organisation”, goes on moderately with the social educational worker profiling herself in the organisation and presents a mixture of goals for
the benefit of the organisation and, not least, the social educational worker as a person in the course of her career. The importance of this is underlined in another quotation from the study plan:

To contribute to the profile and authority in society of the occupation of social educational worker, and to take part in the political discourse of central issues of care and welfare, and of the function, identity, and authority of the social educational worker. (Studiegids. Hoofdfase Voltijd. 2e jaar 1999–2000, p. 16)

Relationships with other professionals, and also with volunteers, are stressed. Status is an important issue. Competition with other professionals is a recurrent item in the curricular texts. The most important means of raising status is to display professional behaviour. Professional behaviour is to act consciously and in a well-planned manner, to lead and counsel staff of lower ranks, and to work on the same level with other professionals. It is to show responsibility and to be prepared to report before administrative authorities (Zorg en maatschappij. Themaboek 2.4). In these discussions about competition with other professionals, the well-being of the client is relegated to the background.

5.3.3.4 Symmetric relations, professional identity, and the request for help

In sum the social educational worker as she is encouraged to develop through the Nijmegen curriculum has two salient features; proficient in using artistic skills, and in possession of a well-developed self-awareness. These features have been identified as the most significant parts of a professional identity, which is a central goal for the programme. In addition to that, the curriculum puts a relatively strong emphasis on the organisational context of social educational work. The curricular texts express that status as a professional social worker is essential for the development of the occupation. In order to gain reputation as a professional in the social educational work area the curriculum shows the necessity of building a strong body of already-recognized skills and knowledge – courses based on "traditional” subjects like psychology and sociology – but goes further in providing the “original” skills and knowledge such as self-awareness and artistic skills.
Presumably the Nijmegen graduate is a social education worker with a strong identity, who has a well-defined place in the work field. Professionals that have advanced on the route to professionalisation have established boundaries between theirs and other professional groups - that is one of the prerequisites for recognition as a profession. The boundaries between occupational groups in the work field are created and maintained through principles of classification in the Bernsteinian sense. One factor behind the classification is education. The curriculum is a strong means of upholding occupational boundaries. There are as usual two sides of the coin: status promotes the identity of the worker and makes her more reliable with fellow workers and with clients. But boundaries also create a distance between people.

What then is the relation between the creative skills, self-awareness and the relationship with the clients?

There is a constantly repeated phrase in the documents: the clients should initiate care through a request for help, expressed by the client her/himself. But the way this is done is not elaborated on. In general, to be able to formulate a request for help, you have to be rather strong. It is difficult to interpret the syllabi on this issue. It is implicit that either clients should present the requests, or that social workers must be prepared to join clients in formulating requests. The former presupposes a view of the client as a strong person, the latter that she is in need of support (Themaboek 2.1. De cliënt als klant).

When the request for help is put in a central position, it is as though “the blurred relation” between client and social educational worker becomes more distinct. Their meeting is not merely a “playful situation” or a “cosy talk” between two comrades. Weak framing of the relationship between the worker and the client is contrary to a professional relationship. The client’s request for help gives the meeting a professional basis because it helps the social educational worker to keep a proper distance to the client, as well as ensuring a scientific and well-planned approach.

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128 For example in Stagenota. Jaarstage 1999–2000, p. 10, under the heading “Professional qualifications and competence” section A: “Help and service delivering on the basis of the needs of the clients’ it is said:”… Independently as well as together with the client … be able to formulate and re-formulate the help question …”. Another example is found under the heading “Social educational care, an education with a profile of its own”: “A help question can be verbalised through the use of sensitive, playful, and a creative approach”. (ibid., p. 17)
Further, the client’s request for help constructs a situation where the space for professional action widens. It is not merely a matter of adhering to bureaucratic rules or legally structured work. On the contrary, this initiation of work resembles one of the original professions, the lawyer, who takes on a task from a client as a mutual agreement between two persons.¹²⁹

Is the client really on the same level as the social educational worker? The use of the client’s request for help, can be seen as a tool for creating symmetry or as a way to disguise an asymmetrical relationship. What are the implications of symmetrical or asymmetrical relations between the social educational worker and the client for the professional identity?

In connection with the promotion of self-awareness, there is a tendency to characterise the client as commensurable to the social educational worker. In other sections we can find a categorised client. The commensurable clients constitute a problem, the categorised clients don’t. The professional identity of the social educational worker presupposes a clear boundary between the social educational worker and the client. The notion of symmetry between them as well as the assumption that the client and the worker are of the same origin does not correspond very well with a professional identity.

¹²⁹ The principle of advocacy, a widespread procedure, eminently comparable with this way of working.
6 The Lillehammer Curriculum

6.1 The Norwegian welfare state

The development of the Norwegian welfare state is different compared to the Dutch. The expansion of the welfare state can be outlined briefly as follows.

From 1860 until 1920 industrialisation was well established, but Norway was still a peasant society. From 1880 and onwards there was a slow build-up of the public sector, even if it took a long time for the implementation of universal assistance.

Norway was very early to launch legislation to protect children. The world’s first Children and Young Persons Act was implemented as early as 1896. During a period of 15 years, 1890–1905, 36 orphanages were established. Care of children at risk was soon seen as an important field because it was discovered that in the wake of industrialisation, child labour was common (Gjertsen 2003).

Another early social political event was the first welfare insurance, introduced for the manual workers. Accident insurance was implemented in 1894 in line with the ideas introduced by Bismarck in Germany (Rønning & Solheim 1999).

Norway was in an economic crisis in the interwar period; there were problems concerning food supply, living conditions, and a decrease of population. Lack of basic needs of the population became a political issue. Social political measures were implemented to distribute resources. The political debate about allocation of resources made class distinctions visible. The working class party struggled for universal assistance concerning medical care, the care of the elderly and children.

After the Second World War Norway became a welfare state lead by social democrats. Urbanisation, stronger public service, increased number of women in the work force, more uniform living conditions, and socialisation of children and youth through public institutions were
characteristics of the Norwegian welfare state. Taken together, the circumstances are the reason Esping-Andersen’s (1990) placed Norway in a cluster of welfare states that are called the *social democratic* welfare regime.

Post war Norway is characterised by a growing welfare state. Universalism holds that welfare comprises everybody without prior means testing, and attempts to keep everyone employed (to reduce the need for sickness benefits, the so called work line). It has a strong emphasis on the public sector.

Norway was known as a country with a very low unemployment rate compared to other European countries. Another difference between Norway and other developed western states is the centralised wage talks, still the model used for such negotiations. Norway is, after a referendum a non-EU state. The referendum changed the political balance. There was a shift towards more individual solutions compared to the earlier more collectivistic emphasis (Langeland et al. 1999).

Norway went trough a very strong economic growth because of the discovery of oil deposits in the 1970s. According to Hatland et al. (1994) Norway had the highest increase of gross national product in Europe in the period 1985–1990.

During the 1990s there have been several cutbacks in the public sector due to economic problems, mainly the inflation created by rapid economic growth (Wærness 1998). In comparison to the other Scandinavian countries, Norway has been somewhat late in building up provision of children’s day care. Social care services for the elderly also lagged behind the development in Sweden and Denmark. Wærness describes the social political situation in Norway as very contradictory. Norway is steadily richer but social services are drained. This is because social services are decentralised. There are 435 municipalities in Norway, communities that do not have access to macro-economic resources. The state’s resources are unevenly distributed. Wærness says that there are 435 quite different welfare municipalities rather than one welfare state. Wærness denotes the contemporary Norwegian welfare state as a "welfare mix". The decentralization of power and responsi-

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130 Langeland et al. (1999) report that 1983–1984 there was a striking increase of unemployment.
bilities to regions (19 counties) and municipalities together with an increase of market principles gives a very scattered field of welfare provisions. Local governments all over the country are now responsible for all kind of social care services. There has been an increasing interest in private projects.

Social services are the biggest providers of employment for women. The women work force was somewhat smaller in number compared to other Scandinavian countries. This is because historically the social security system encouraged single mothers to continue their traditional role as full-time mothers. Social policy has gradually changed: now the combination of labour and motherhood is encouraged. 75 percent of married women with pre-school children are employed in the 1990s.

In the mind of the Norwegian people, care, services, and education are duties that are supposed to be paid for by public tax money. Vabø and Brodhurst (2001), for example, report that 80 percent of the Norwegian population considered that the care of the elderly should be a public responsibility. In fact most of the services are paid for by public money. Only 5 percent of the cost of services comes from fees. From 1964 families are not expected to finance the care of elderly parents. But the care of the elderly is in many cases carried out as informal care by families. In practice, family care of the elderly is a substantial supplement to public services. These duties are mostly carried out by women.

Gjertsen (2003) says that Norway has gone through several shifts in the balance between individualistic and collectivistic solutions for Norwegian citizens over the last decades. Urbanisation processes and an ongoing shift from family orientation to public orientation have proceeded. Liberal ideas became more important in the 1980s. The “three quarters society” is since then a common way to characterise Norway. The political struggle is about how to finance life for the remaining quarter.

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131 Some of the counties are very small; two counties have a population of less than 100,000 people. The average size is 200,000. Consequently, the 435 municipalities are very small. Half of them have a population of less than 5,000, only ten of them more than 50,000 residents (Vabø and Brodhurst 2001).
Rønning and Solheim (1998) outline the development of the welfare state after the Second World War as follows: society through the government welfare policies has had an attitude characterised by duality towards groups of people in need. They are controlled and cared for. This duality is still prevalent. But, in the beginning of the post war period, the emphasis was on helping people. In the 1960s there were strong beliefs that the welfare state was able to reduce social problems. In the 1980s there was a shift to more controlling activities. According to Rønning and Solheim the welfare state has since 1990s turned into the “welfare society”. There is not one central place from which everything emanates; the field is now very scattered with private enterprises, NGO:s, peoples’ self help, and so on.

*The principle of normalisation*

The guiding principle of Norwegian social political undertakings has since the 1960s been *the principle of normalisation*. Normalisation is a political as well as a social political concept. It is encompassing, meaning that it contradicts specialisation and differentiation of the administration and the development of knowledge about humans’ right to a “normal” life. The idea of normalisation has consequences for the view of people and society. It also has implications of how to understand and solve social political problems (Gjertsen 2003; Askheim 1998).

The aim of the principle of normalisation is to secure for people with special needs access to “normal” living conditions, quality of life and all services society provides. The principle presupposes a very active social policy in a vast number of fields. The principle of normalisation has often been called the Scandinavian theory of normalisation (instigator Bengt Nirje, a Swede).132

Another concept, integration, is linked to normalisation. Integration (physical, functional, and social) is often seen as the means to achieve the higher aims of normalisation. In the last three decades there have been far-reaching measures taken towards de-institutionalization. Peo-

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132 There is also the American version of normalisation called social role valorisation by the American professor Wolf Wolfensberger. This theory has another emphasis; it deals with the value that is ascribed to all groups of people of society. For example people with learning problems are valued low whereas people with an academic degree are valued high. The Scandinavian theory is concerned with frameworks, living conditions, and issues about segregation/integration, the American tradition with cultural conceptions.
ple with learning disabilities, with psychiatric problems, and all people who earlier were accommodated in residential institutions are now living in smaller residential homes in close relationship to the normal society, or on their own. The last decade of the 20th Century has seen much debate as to whether this integration has any positive effects for the individuals (see e.g. Tøssebro 1997).

During the last decade there has been more emphasis, at the expense of the principle of normalisation, on questions about quality of life and empowerment (Askheim 1998). The principle of normalisation has been criticised for its low value when it comes to practical implications. However, the political value of using the concept is good (Hatland et al. 1994).

The welfare state has been criticised for its paternalistic attitude towards its citizens. Sometimes the welfare state produces more problems than it solves. Deprived groups of people in society are the losers in the welfare society (see for example Monsen 1998). Similar criticism is reported by Rønning and Solheim (1998) who claim that the paternalistic state is more and more obvious. The “work line” became a big issue as a new social service act was launched in 1991. The work line, with its underlying notion that everyone should be part of the work force, is a mix between labour-market policy and policies about social services. “If you don’t work, you don’t eat” is the moral message behind the policies. The state is acting as though that it does not trust its citizens to make correct choices. Citizens must therefore be steered and disciplined. Rønning and Solheim report differences that are found between Denmark and Sweden. In a survey that investigated parents’ influence in the school systems differences in parental participation is explained by how the citizens are met by the welfare state. In Denmark the inhabitants are called “citizens”, in Sweden they are seen as “clients”. The authors of this thesis claim that since Sweden and Norway are very similar there are reasons to believe that the same is true for Norway.

Rønning and Solheim (1998) state that since 1994 there has been a shift in the political rhetoric. The user (service user) is placed in a central position. There is in the aims of governmental welfare programs the ambition of assigning the client/user a responsible position when welfare provisions are decided and executed. Rønning and Soheim give examples from Stortingsmelding (parliament issue) no. 35 1994-1995 and the government’s long-range programs. They call it the “Prometheus
principle”, the transfer of power from the gods to the people. Bendixen (in Rønning & Solheim 1998) has studied the linguistic usage the last 20 years and thus found a shift from conflict/clash of interests to cooperation and common interests between the service providers and the users.

After this short introduction to the societal context of the Lillehammer curriculum we will turn into an overview of the most important parts of the study programmes at the Lillehammer College.

6.2 The Lillehammer study programmes

To start, we need to define the curricula to be analysed. As stated earlier in the thesis “social pedagogy” is difficult to define as a single profession, which in its turn affects the recontextualisation process. Social pedagogy has to be seen in its context, it has to be defined in relationship to adjacent professional groups as well as in relationship to similar curricula aiming at the provision of welfare.

The term social pedagogy is not a term that is frequently used in Norway, but the two groups of Norwegian professional welfare workers vernepleier and barnevernspedagog on one hand and the Dutch sociaalpedagog on the other are comparable for the purpose of this thesis. As in the Netherlands, the Norwegian “social pedagogues” are educated at institutes of higher education.

We will in the following presentation use the English translations “welfare nursing” for the Norwegian vernepleie and “child welfare” for the Norwegian barnevern. These are the official translations (see for example www.hil.no, 2002-05-14). There are other translations as well, for example vernepleie is translated “social education” in Iversen (1997). In other documents such as for example the web site www.fobsv.no (2002-05-08) the term social education is used for vernepleie and barnevern whereas the term social educator is – in the same document – now and then replaced by “social pedagogue”. The different use of words mirrors the debate about professional aspirations, academic discussions about contents of curriculum, and international standardisation.

There are overlaps between the two Norwegian social educational workers; the child welfare workers and the welfare nurses. The over-
lapping is a part of a more far-reaching discussion about professional demarcations on one hand and the breaking up of demarcations between professional groups on the other hand. The three professional groups - social workers, child welfare workers, and welfare nurses - are organised in a common worker’s unit (FO – Fellesorganisasjonen for barnevernpedagoger, sosionomer og vernepleiere).

Parallel themes amongst recontextualisers in the field of higher education are the issues about generalist versus specialist education. There was a debate among educationalists in Norway in the middle of 1990s about the term social pedagogy and the different study programmes. Some advocated a fusion between the two programmes welfare nursing and child welfare work under one umbrella term “social pedagogy”. The intention was to construct two “social professional training programmes in Norway”. The two study programmes that are referred to are social work and the fusion of child welfare work and welfare nursing - that is, a more generalist approach:

- Social workers focusing case work and counselling
- Social educators focusing socio-educational work with different client groups (Iversen 1997, p. 14)

There were far-reaching plans of a fusion on a national level, but the Ministry of Education and Research rejected the proposal from the National Council in 1997 (ibid.).

6.2.1 Main elements of the curriculum

The education is three years long. An academic year is 40 weeks. Vekttall is the Norwegian way to measure academic credits. A normal workload is 10 vekttall per semester (equivalent to 30 ECTS credits). The two study programmes welfare nursing (wn) and child welfare (cw) must contain the following subjects:

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133 European Credit Transfer System = the European standards for defining the weight of courses which makes it possible to compare curricula between nations.
Table 8. Subject areas stipulated by the national curriculum. (Rammeplan cw and Rammeplan wn)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Core subject areas</th>
<th>Vektall</th>
<th>Vektall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wn+cw</td>
<td>Social and Legal Sciences</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn</td>
<td>Legislation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cw</td>
<td>Legislation</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn</td>
<td>Psychology and Pedagogy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cw</td>
<td>Psychology and Health</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cw</td>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wn</td>
<td>Environmental work, habilitation and rehabiliation</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cw</td>
<td>Social Educational Work with children and Youth</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shared subjects for the two programmes should, according to the national frameworks “rammeplaner”, be the following which mainly are delivered during the first year:
- Theory of Science, Methods of Social Sciences, and Ethics (5 vektall)
- Social Sciences – Health- and Social Policy; Political Science; Communications; Co-operation; and Conflict Solution (5 vektall)
- Sociology and Social Anthropology (4 vektall)
- Legal Rights, Legal Methodology, and Administration (3 vektall)
- Group Work, Organisations, and Networks (3 vektall)

In the second year the curriculum is divided into two study programmes with the exception of a common course in the last semester.
Box 2. Second year. Wn and cw programmes. (Fagplan wn and Fagplan cw)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes in the wn-programme</th>
<th>Themes in the cw-programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideologies in social care and professional roles</td>
<td>Reflection, ethics, and professional roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental work, nursing, and care</td>
<td>Child welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Theoretical and methodological foundations of social educational work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habilitation, coping, and welfare</td>
<td>Social educational work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creative methods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the third year the difference between the welfare nurses’ and the child welfare workers’ study programme is displayed as follows:

Box 3. Third year. Wn and cw programmes. (Fagplan wn and Fagplan cw)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes in the wn-programme</th>
<th>Themes in the cw-programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habilitation, coping, and welfare (continuing from second year)</td>
<td>Social pedagogy (specialisation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>Practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint courses (the two programmes)</td>
<td>Joint courses (the two programmes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis</td>
<td>Thesis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.1 Curriculum code

A question that can be asked is how the contents of the curriculum are put together or separated; that is, what is the curriculum code of the Lillehammer curriculum?

The content is organised as *singulars* during the first year whereas in the second and third year school subjects are organised as *regions* (cf. section 3.2.1). Thus, the classification of school subjects is strong during the first year. The curriculum code is of the collection type. In the course of the students’ education, classification becomes weaker since school subjects are organised as themes – an integrated curriculum code.
6.2.2 The Lillehammer study programmes in their context

There are four universities and 26 state university colleges in Norway. Welfare nurses, child welfare workers, and social workers are educated at the state university colleges. It is possible to study these programmes at 17 colleges in Norway.\textsuperscript{134}

All three programmes are taught at four of the colleges in Norway. Some colleges provide either a combination of welfare nursing/social work or child welfare/social work. The welfare nurse programme is taught at twelve colleges, four of these colleges offer only the welfare nurse programme, not the other two programmes.\textsuperscript{135}

The social work study programme is the oldest of the three. The first Norwegian social workers were educated in 1920 (Kramer and Brauns 1995). The welfare nursing and the child welfare programmes are in their present designs fairly new. The curricula examined in this thesis are based on framework agreements made in 1991 (re-worked in 1999).

Before the 1990s, the welfare nursing study programme was often given as in-service training in connection to the big institutions for the mentally retarded. As early as 1961, the welfare nursing programme was a three-year course, which was given national standards in 1963 (Rammeplan wn).

The professional and academic position of child welfare nurses is similar but with some differences in the time line. Because of the child protection legislation in 1953, there was a growing need for professional child-care workers. In the early 1950s there were shorter child-care courses, extended to two-year courses in 1963. The professional title \textit{barnevernspedagog} was used for the first time in 1968. In 1982 the first national curriculum was implemented on the basis of the general frameworks. The course has been three years long since then (Rammeplan cw).

\textsuperscript{134} In 1994 the number of state colleges was decreased from about 100 to 26 colleges (Iversen 1997)

\textsuperscript{135} www.braintrack.com, 2002-05-08
6.2.3 The college in Lillehammer

6.2.3.1 The student body

The yearly intake for the three programmes is roughly 230 students, and since the programmes are three years long the student body of full time students is slightly less than 700. Since Lillehammer College runs all three programmes (social work, welfare nursing, and child welfare workers) it is one of the larger schools of welfare work in Norway.

In contrast to the student body of the college in Nijmegen, the full time students of Lillehammer College are older. In an investigation (Hallstedt and Högström 1996) it was found that in 1996 the average age in Lillehammer was 26 years.

In the same study, 96 percent of the students answered ”yes” to the question whether they had work experiences comprising one year or more before they started the education in Lillehammer.136 It was also found that 23 percent were male students. According to Kramer and Brauns (1995), the gender distribution is 70/30 in schools of social work in Norway. Their definition of schools of social work covers only the social work programmes. Iversen (1997) investigated the gender distribution of the three programmes in Lillehammer, the distribution was found to be 80/20.

The general entrance requirement is a certificate from the three-year upper secondary school.

6.2.3.2 Faculty

The academic qualification of faculty members is high. There are six different levels, distributed as follows: six professors; nine first level associate professors; two assistant professors; two second level associate professors; nine senior lecturers; and fourteen lecturers (Ministry of Education and Research and Personal Communication 2002-05-22).

As in other colleges of higher education of social work, the professional background of the teaching staff is a mixture between social sci-

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136 Not a very surprising result, as the older they are the greater the probability of previous work experience. Moreover, work experience was one of the prerequisites in earlier regulations.
entists, academic social workers and active social work professionals (Kramer & Brauns 1995).

6.2.3.3 The recontextualising fields

Another question is the issue of how the recontextualising field can be described. What is the distribution between the official and the pedagogic recontextualising fields?

The contents, duration, academic standards, and other frame factors are decided by the national body Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet (Department of Church-, Education and Research). There are different regulations, rammeplaner for the three programmes. There are two different bodies regulating the curricula. Welfare nursing belongs to Health Sciences, while child welfare and social workers belong to Social Sciences, which results in some significant differences for the study plans on the national as well as on the local level.

The framework on the national level – rammeplaner – determines the contents of the local syllabus – fagplaner. There is a certain discretion for the local college, but that discretion was reduced in the latest version according to one of the administrators at Lillehammer College (L:Li 8). The local syllabus is a product of teamwork between the college staff with the rammeplaner as a starting point. The College Board makes the formal decision about the local syllabus. The welfare nurse syllabus has to assign 15 vekttall (the total amount is 60 vekttall), according to the rammeplan, to health sciences. These different regulations have implications for the further integration between the programmes.

The curriculum is centrally controlled. There is a strong ORF (official recontextualising field) but there is also a strong PRF (pedagogic recontextualising field). The PRF consists of local interpreters of discourses, that is to say, well-educated staff members at the Lillehammer College, authors of text-books, producers of research reports, and debaters in scientific journals. They are powerful actors in the PRF that influence the ORF.
6.3 Social pedagogy in the Lillehammer curriculum

We found that the construction of the Nijmegen curriculum revolved around the core elements *artistic skills*, *self-awareness*, and *social pedagogy in the organisational context*. We introduced these elements in chapter 5 to serve as a structuring principle of the texts.

In our analysis of the Lillehammer curriculum we will first look at its goals, followed by how the elements are taught and assessed in the theoretical studies and in the practical training. The representation of social pedagogy in Lillehammer will be outlined with reference to the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum.

6.3.1 Analytic approach to learning

We will now investigate the Lillehammer curriculum’s construction of the social educational worker starting with artistic skills.\(^\text{137}\)

The amount of time dedicated to artistic subjects, according to the curriculum, is 5 vektall, 10 weeks of full time studies (Rammeplan cw, p. 41).

The aims of the study of creative subjects (*aktivitetsfag*) are *first* to give the student the possibility to achieve “creative thinking” through the experience of and the acquaintance with artistic skills. Examples of artistic skills are, according to the general framework, drama, movement and other artistic expressions. Alongside these compulsory subjects there are other optional choices such as music, arts/handicrafts, and open-air activities. The purpose of acquiring these skills is the facilitation of methodical working with clients.

The *second* purpose of the artistic subjects is to make the students conscious of their own resources: “The aim of the creative subjects is to teach the students to use them in social educational work as well as to develop insights about themselves” (Rammeplan cw, p. 39).

\(^\text{137}\) In the following sections there will be a number of references to texts such as general frameworks (rammeplaner), local study plans (fagplan), syllabi, information brochures, guidelines to students and supervisors of various kinds. They are written in Norwegian and translated by the authors of the thesis.
The *third* purpose is to attain creative skills suitable for milieu therapy (*miljøarbeid*). The students are to use creative means for planning and implementation of activities for children and youth.

The creative subjects are a mix between the development of personal skills and the development of how to use methods that are appropriate in co-operation with the clients.\(^{138}\)

We found two purposes of artistic skills in the Nijmegen curriculum: a) to furnish the social educational worker with tools to use to relate to and communicate with a client and b) to help to develop the social educational worker’s personality. If we look at the aims of the creative subjects of the Lillehammer curriculum, we find that there are similarities. The three purposes that are formulated in the Lillehammer framework are also two-sided: the development of personality and a tool for communication.

But, one conclusion is that the Lillehammer curriculum is very modest when it comes to how students are equipped through artistic subjects. Instead social educational workers have to be able to *analyse* social problems. The analytic attitude is manifested in the following words:

> In the education the understanding of the user and his/her circumstances should be emphasised … The students should train their skills to interpret circumstances and look upon themselves as participants in this process. (Rammeplan cw, p.18; Rammeplan wn, p. 18)

The students should use themselves as the starting point - worded as “to look upon themselves” – a way of expressing that the social educational worker is a tool in the relational process with clients. This is a theme that is recognised in the social pedagogical tradition and strongly articulated in the Lillehammer as well as in the *Nijmegen* curriculum.

The analytic skills that the curriculum wants to produce in students are expressed in the following way in the local study programme: “Good analytic knowledge and skills are crucial elements in the competence of welfare workers” (Fagplan wn, p. 6; Fagplan cw, p. 7).

\(^{138}\) The use of creativity in social educational work is one of the distinguishing features of social pedagogy proposed in an overview by two Swedish authors (Eriksson & Markström 2000).
6.3.1.1 Examples of the training of analytic skills

Knowledge about society, bureaucratic organisations, and relationships between human beings in society are important parts of the curriculum. This is taught in sociology. One of the lecturers has provided us with a typical plan of his series of lectures. It starts with introductory lectures about sociology and what conceptions people in general have about deviance. The lecturers in sociology have decided to emphasise “interactionism”, which they have found to be the most suitable tool for welfare workers. After a series of lectures, the students are asked to work up the contents of the lectures from a theoretical viewpoint.

Another example is from lectures that take place in the end of the first year. The students are to solve cases that are typical for social educational work. The written guidance that is provided to the students emphasises the use of analytic skills. The theoretical knowledge that is mentioned is ethics, philosophy, and qualitative research methods. The students are encouraged to use their own life experiences and their professional experience of social work practice. Important is to reflect on ethical issues in a rational way. In Vaags (n.d.) there is a model to guide students’ reflections and discussions when they solve the cases.

To use “your own life experiences” as a point of reference is a prevalent theme in the Nijmegen curriculum. In the examples we refer to in

139 Interviews with lecturers of sociology (L:Li 3 and 5).
140 “The last time we gave them a task, they were encouraged to observe how people in Lillehammer behave in ordinary life. They were obliged to use sociological concepts for understanding what they saw. What rules do people follow when they interact? What are the limits of appropriate behaviour? These kinds of issues are important for them to observe. For instance, they went to a mini market and asked about the quality of the merchandise on the shelves. Then they found out that this not a normal behaviour in that context” (L:Li 10).
141 A so called linjeseminar that is common for the three programmes (welfare nursing, child welfare, and social work).
142It is said in the introductory guidelines: “The theme of this seminar is to equip students with particular skills to find (good) initiatives in relationship to the concrete problems of social work through the use of critical reflection. A condition … is that you have gained theoretical knowledge … ethics are central here. But this is not enough. Adjacent to this you have to train your skills to discover the relationship between theories within the different subjects and practical implementations. We are not interested in the theories because of an intrinsic interest but because of the professional use of the theories. Theoretical knowledge has thus a practical aim” (Vaags n.d., p. 3).
the Lillehammer curriculum, it seems that there are strong similarities. One difference though is the strongly emphasised analytic approach of the Lillehammer curriculum.

6.3.2 The self-aware social educational worker

Self-awareness is strongly emphasised in the Nijmegen curriculum. The curriculum aims at fostering a strong social educational worker. How are these issues taken care of in the Lillehammer curriculum?

It is stated in the curriculum (Rammeplan wn, p. 29; Rammeplan cw, p. 29) that the education should facilitate students’ “personal development”. The issue of personal development is worded in a very general way. For example in a course “Theory of science, methods of social science, and ethics” it is said that: “The student should train skills to be able to interpret situations and look upon him/herself as a participant in the process” (Rammeplan wn, p.18; Rammeplan cw, p. 18)

Another example is: “Further should the core subject give contributions to the development of students’ self insights” (Rammeplan cw, p. 18). The core subject referred to is Psychology and Health – 11 vekttall.

One example of how the curriculum prepares students to be self-aware is found in a two-week long theme in the second year (Information about assignments of “Social pedagogical developmental work”. Barnevernspedagogutdanningen second year, week 12 and 13). The theme is a preparation for the third year’s practice.143

The second assignment is carried out individually. The students are obliged two write a two pages long report that will serve as a starting point for the learning contract that is used during the practice in the third semester. The students are encouraged to reflect on different issues.144

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143 The work during the two weeks of study is organised as follows. In the work groups the students use a text book “Environmental work” (Halvorsen, T.), a video recording and the internet when answering questions about the historical origins and the present configurations of the institutions for children and youth in Norway; and issues about the legal frameworks.

144 If you picture yourself as a future child welfare worker, what are your personal strengths?; What are the main issues you should focus on during your study period, especially during the practise period, concerning your competence as a social educational worker?; How do you
The third assignment during the two study weeks is a reflection session in the work groups. One is encouraged to speak about themselves in front of the group members for 20 minutes. The foundation of the speech is the issues referred to above. How self-awareness is trained in order to use relational skills in front of the clients is the focus of this example. It is as well a good example of how theoretical studies are bridged to the practical part of the education in the third year, an issue that will be analysed in section 6.3.6.

Self-reflection is an important ingredient in becoming a professional child welfare worker. The students are requested to report their reflections in a log-book, a device that is used also during the practice period.

6.3.2.1 The training of self-awareness through confessions

In the examples referred to above students are encouraged to display their inner selves; it has a flavour of confession to it. They are to look into themselves and be open to criticism. These reflections are used in different ways. In pedagogic practice there is a teacher to whom the students can communicate their reflections. The lecturers at the college, as well as the supervisors at the placements, have access to the students’ inner thoughts with the help of these self-reflections. According to Foucault (1978), the agency of domination – the one who validates – belongs to the one who listens (or read the assignments), but truth is produced by the reflecting student.

If one had to confess, this was not merely because the person to whom one confessed had the power to forgive, console, and direct, but because the work of producing the truth was obliged to pass through this relationship if it was to be scientifically validated. The truth … was constituted in two stages: present but incomplete, blind to itself, in the one who spoke, it could only reach completion in the one who assimilated and recorded it. (p. 66)

communicate with others? What do you value in your partner with whom you communicate? What is the most important to be a good communicator?; How do you value yourself as a professional social educational worker? How do you feel when you have to make speech in front of a big group?; How do you react when you are involved in conflicts? What are your strengths and weaknesses as a conflict solver? How do you think about what you have to change? As in the case with the first theme there is a text-book serving as a reference point (Skau, G.M. “Good professionals are developing”).

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Consequently, the truth about how a student thinks about herself (how she pictures herself as a professional worker, how she thinks she reacts in conflict solving, how she pictures herself communicating with clients) is not the “real” truth, until the lecturer has validated her thoughts.

In the example of the reflection sessions there are also the fellow students. Each student has to make a speech in front of the others for 20 minutes. Foucault says that “avowals” (1978 p. 58) are symbolic for the development of how Western man relates to the production of truth and how we are made “subjects”. The aim of the procedure is for the person to become a moral subject with the will to become an individual that is accountable (Permer and Permer 2002). It is important for the students to show fellow students, lecturers, and supervisors at practice placements that they are accountable when it comes to their future work with clients. They have to make the receivers of the reflections look upon them as people with sufficient moral standards.

6.3.2.2 Assessment of students’ knowledge

Students are assessed in two different ways; continuously in every sub-theme in which they have to produce papers individually and/or in minor work groups and in the final examination that terminates each study year. Normally the final examinations take place during a two-day period in course of the spring semester.145

The students are to answer questions about sociology, organisational and cultural issues,146 and about the following themes:147 the historical and societal background of the legal framework regulating persons with functional impairments; behavioural analyses and cognitive psycho-

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145 One exception is in the third year of the welfare nursing course: this final examination is in the autumn.
146 Three questions about theories of sociology; an evaluation about clients’ opinions about given services at a social services office; about quantitative research methods; about how to use qualitative research methods in professional social educational work; deviant psychology; cultural conceptions about deviant behaviour; sociological explanations about labelling theory, power, and social deviancy; the Norwegian welfare state, the closing of the hierarchical institutions and its implications, and clients’ rights; empowerment, legal aspects, and the organisation of social work. The students may choose 3 out of 5 questions to be answered. Some questions on two pages and some on four pages (Information to students about final examinations 2000-05-24, pp. 1–31).
147 Three of the five questions are to be reported on two pages.
logical theory; societal perspectives on functional impairments; diagnostic systems, pedagogy; upbringing; sociological conceptions about the core family; and relationships to families in need of care for their children.

Comments that can be made on the questions are that they mirror the joint knowledge base that is delivered to the students of the two study programmes. The common subjects that form this base are: sociology, psychology and research methods.\textsuperscript{148}

Final examinations in the second and the third years have a similar structure, but different contents. There are two differences between the first year exam on one hand and the second and third year exams on the other. The second and third year students complete these final exams\textsuperscript{149} in their homes and there is an individual oral examination in addition. The written answers to the questions (13–15 pages) are to be discussed between the student and an external examiner (censor).

The examination consists of questions about: normalisation; empowerment; habilitation and the principles behind habilitation and ethical considerations in professional work with parents of children with functional impairments.

For third year students, there are cases\textsuperscript{150} with follow-up questions that are to be answered with the help of relevant textbooks and material that is learnt during the study year.

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\textsuperscript{148} According to two students that were interviewed (L:Si 13), 40 percent of the students failed in the exam. The number is according to them not normal: it used to be 8-12 percent. The reason why so many failed this time, if the students’ guesses are correct, is because they were the first cohort of the new study programme and therefore the lecturers took the chance to increase the degree of difficulty. This is an example of the increasing level of academicalisation that penetrates higher education in efforts to become more university-like. According to the students, substantial numbers of students pass the second examination sitting. The figures and the students’ explanation were confirmed by one of the lecturers in an interview.

\textsuperscript{149} For example, there is a story comprising two full pages that is selected from one of the evening papers about Eton College in Great Britain. The two issues to be discussed by the students are: a) describe the central professional issues that are central in the story, and b) discuss these issues with the help of relevant text books.

\textsuperscript{150} One case that is discussed is about a woman who lives in a group home because of functional impairments. Her quality of life is, as assessed by one of the environmental workers, inadequate. But, the measures that are proposed by the social educational worker cannot be implemented because of poor economy. The other case is about a very young good-looking woman with slight learning problems living together with a boyfriend. The woman functions very well.
There are four different questions\textsuperscript{151} concerning the two cases that students should discuss, using 15 pages.

There is as well a case about a mother and her daughter. The daughter, seven years old, has problems in school and the mother has difficulties in the upbringing of her daughter. The social services were informed about the situation and something has to be done. The daughter, with her mother’s permission, is moved to an institution. Four questions are to be answered by the students.\textsuperscript{152}

Summary: There is an increasing emphasis on analytic skills as well as an increasing level of difficulty between the study years. The first year is more instrumental, the form is different compared to the more self-governed essay writings of the second and third years. The complementary oral examinations strengthen the notion of analytic skills as required knowledge of students.

6.3.2.3 The pedagogic discourse

In the analysis of the \textit{Nijmegen} curriculum, we concluded that the regulative discourse is prominent. It is more important to teach the students how to act rather than to give them instructions and facts about societal structures. The \textit{Nijmegen} students are first and foremost assessed on their strength – with the help of artistic skills – to find an appropriate way to communicate with the clients.

The character of the pedagogic discourse in the Lillehammer curriculum is different. The Lillehammer students are taught primarily to gain knowledge about society. They are taught to be reflective and analytic in relation to the clients’ possibilities and space in contemporary soci-

\textsuperscript{151} The first case: a) psychological explanations about her feelings about isolation; b) a plan for habilitation; c) how to appeal against legal decisions; d) debate the issue in relationship to empowerment. The second case: a) evaluate the situation and discuss what should be done; b) what ethical dilemmas are identified and how can these be solved; c) how can the concept of empowerment be used; d) legal aspects of the case.

\textsuperscript{152} a) what should the investigation contain; b) what conclusions may the institution suggest; c) what actions should be taken with the family; d) legal aspects.
ety. The analytic approach to learning emphasises students’ learning of social facts, figures, theories, and legal frameworks. Using Bernstein’s method of argument (cf. section 3.3), the instructional discourse can be said to have a prominent position.

Second, the students’ acquisition of academic knowledge is accompanied by the encouragement of students’ self-awareness and strength, which can be seen as a manifestation of the regulative discourse.

Thus the design of the curriculum may at first seem to carry a salient instructional discourse and a very modest regulative discourse. But if Bernstein’s reasoning about the superiority of the regulative discourse is respected as a “truth”, it can be argued that the selection of textbooks, content, themes and issues – that are made by curricular recontextualisers on all levels – have not happened by chance (cf. Popkewitz 1998). The students are taught to see the world from the perspectives decided upon by recontextualisers on all levels, either in a conscious or unconscious manner. There are always arrays of options. How the different elements of the curriculum are put together into a pedagogic discourse is always a way to state how things “are”. Codes about moral conduct and social order are always embedded in pedagogic discourses. The recontextualisation process and outcome is one of the powerful devices of symbolic control.

In the case of the Lillehammer curriculum, this means that the regulative discourse mediates the centrally-controlled (national boards) value-ridden propositions on how to relate to people in the Norwegian society. But, these centrally controlled discourses about the welfare state have also in the end been mixed and moulded with other discourses such as for example the aspirations of lecturers, administrators, and text-book authors about how social pedagogy should be understood within the pedagogic discourse as it appears in the Lillehammer curriculum.

6.3.3 The social educational worker and the client in the organisation

The Lillehammer curriculum stresses the connection between theory and practice. The national framework asserts that there should be a cer-
tain amount of practice in the curriculum. Each college may decide what core subject(s) they find appropriate to give as practice studies.  

Knowledge about the relationship between the social educational worker and the client in the organisational context is accomplished in a variety of ways: lecturers use examples from social work practice; assignments are formulated to stimulate the students’ imagination about what it is like to work with clients and fellow workers; and professional social workers and clients are invited to give speeches to the students. In short, clients and the organisational contexts are made vivid in the course of theoretical studies.

We have concluded that when it comes to the theoretical parts of the curriculum that it is of a collection code type with a transition into an integrated code in the second year. Considering the way the practice requirements are woven into the theoretical section, the curriculum can be signified as in line with an integrated code, that is, weak classification between the elements.

The most manifest elements of the curriculum when it comes to the integration of theory and practice are, not very surprisingly, the practice requirements of the education. It is during these periods that the students are confronted with clients and fellow professionals face to face.

In this section we will first look for answers to the questions about how the construction of the social educational worker is portrayed in an organisational context.

6.3.3.1 The first year practice – observation of what professionals do

The first practice is undertaken as a part of the theoretical course: “Cognitive handicap and intrinsic values”, a course that is based on a previous one, which is a mixture of sociology, psychology, and social anthropology: “Human beings, actions, and mutual actions – 6,25 vekttall”, and “Theoretical perspectives on child and youth – 2 vekttall”.

The practice is integrated in the study programme; the balance and mutual advantage between theory and practice is considered. In the

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153 The amount of practice “vekttall” is different in the two programmes: "wn” – 20 (16 in direct contact with clients) and "cw” – 14 (10 in direct contact with clients).
case of this first practice it has been decided to integrate students’ practice experiences with the mentioned course.

The aims of the practice are first to give the students insights in the professional roles of the social educational worker and second that the students should acquire knowledge about the clients and their needs. The students are not supposed to intervene in clients’ lives; they should – through observations and interviews with members of staff – be introduced to professional demands.

Students visit the allotted placement in small groups; the students present group reports their findings both orally and in writing. According to the assignments, central roles are played by the student action taken by the professionals at the work sites and the organisation of the work sites.

In sum: The analytic approach of the curriculum is reflected in the assignments. The curriculum’s construction of the social educational worker is that professional demands are emphasised.

6.3.3.2 The second and third year practice

The second and third year practice periods are parts of theoretical courses such as: “Environmental work, nursing and care – 8

154 We found in interviews and informal talks with staff at the college that there is explicit awareness about the issue. An example on this is the discussion among staff in 1998. Basic data and proposals for changes were put together in a memorandum by two lecturers (Rønning & Fauske 1998). Another example of the consciousness about the importance of professional training in practice is that all lecturers irrespective of rank are obliged to meet the students for supervision talks at their practical placements during the second and third year.

155 According to the “Information about the organisation of first year practice” (Informasjon om opplegg for 1 års praksis [an undated set of information]) the students: A. (individually) 1. reflect on their aspirations; 2. describe the practice placement; 3. describe a situation that is relevant for a professional at the work site; 4. reflect on the situation a) with the help of some of the sociological concepts that was coined by Goffman; b) reflect on the use of power in relationship to the observed situation; and B. (in groups) 1. give a general presentation of what type of sphere of activities the group has been investigating; 2. give a summary of what the group have discussed i) in what way aspirations have changed, ii) similarities and differences between group members’ experiences, iii) central themes for personal competencies during the further education, and iv) central themes and issues that are important for further learning.
Students are prepared theoretically before the second year’s practice. The opening of the theme is about contextual factors that influence the relationship between the social educational worker and the clients. The next section of the theme is about the individual in micro perspective. In this practice period the students apply their theoretical knowledge and train their skills in building a relationship to the clients.

After a series of lectures (L:O 7) about environmental work, rehabilitation, individual planning of clients’ treatment, health, illnesses, medication and other topics related to somatic care, the students do an assignment. The instructions are: a) chose a client at the work site (the client has to give a written approval); b) analyse the client’s problems, using both theoretical knowledge and experience; c) this analysis ought to lead to aims, interventions and evaluation. It is stressed that the resources of the clients (not only what s/he can’t do) and the use of multidisciplinary solutions are important (Individuell plan, Arbeidskrav 2 år vernepleie, 2000-11-29).

The aims of the course are, according to the local study plan (Fagplan wn, p. 18): “The students should develop an understanding that environmental work … has to be built on the users’ needs/problems and wishes, and the care has to be given in co-operation with the user”.

The practice aims at: “… gaining knowledge and skills about how environmental work can be used to stimulate and educate the individual user and how to arrange the environment in order to promote coping, comfort, and quality of life for the users” (Fagplan wn, p. 23).

Another important part of the preparation for the professional work is the importance of looking at the client’s life from different perspectives. The students are encouraged to look upon Marte (the name of the client who is one of the characters in a video) from her perspective, “to step inside” her and try to grasp her feelings of being a client (second year child welfare programme (Information about assignments on “Social pedagogical developmental work”. Barnevernts pedagogutdanningen second year, week 12 and 13).

An overview of practical placements used by the college show that 42 of the 52 students are placed in care and health institutions organised by the municipalities. The other 10 students are in hospitals or care homes (Prakispaltasser, kull 2000–2003, 2001-11-13).

The outcome of students’ solution of the assignment can be summarised as follows (Individual plan for Per. Produced by second year welfare workers. Group 5, 2000-11-23): A) A presentation of Per’s social situation. A man in his eighties, a former engineer, widower, contact with his daughter, a very active life in previous days, enjoys reading newspapers and look-
We saw that the assignment given during the first year’s practice emphasised organisational matters. This is not the case in this second year assignment; focus has moved from the organisational and professional matters to the client in the context.

There is an eleven-point list of concrete guidance to the students. The first issue is about the importance of the student’s ability to use communication and co-operation in order to give the clients possibilities to participate in an active way. The three following issues are about identifying needs, planning, and to evaluate measures taken and interventions made. At this stage it is important to weigh up and take a position on ethical, legal, and professional issues. The two following issues are about the importance of the context that influences clients’ lives and the careful documentation of clients’ needs. Further it is stated that the students should be able to reflect on theoretical perspectives and different methods used at the placement. The student should also reflect on her own attitudes and the effects of these on the clients.

In the third year practice, the focus is explicitly moved from the individual to the frame factors that restrict the possibilities in the clients’ lives. It is stressed that co-operation between the welfare nurse and the client is crucial. Reflections on ethics and professional stand-points are encouraged; the students are requested to think carefully about what they do because there are in fact a lot of different possibilities to choose between.

Students are taught to take appropriate action that is beneficial for clients. Students are encouraged to integrate previously acquired knowledge. Central in this theme is that the students are able to explore

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other peoples’ situation and to reflect on their own and other people’s view of man and society (Fagplan cw p. 20).

*Summing* up the contents of the three practice periods, it can be said that the stress on organisational and professional matters in the first year is changed into investigations of functional impairments in their context in the second year. In the third year “everything” is important but the social educational worker herself is an important mediator finding a proper balance between frame factors, ethical considerations, and a professional attitude on one hand, and the clients’ rights and manoeuvrability on the other.

*The distribution of placements*

The distribution of placements in the third year can be summarised in the following tables:

*Table 9. Distribution of placements, third year welfare nursing (Praksisutplassering, kull 1999–2000, 3:e år vernepleie).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Communities, group homes (residentialss)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Community centres (functional impairments)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Day centres, activity/habilitation centres</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Treatment centres for drug addicts, (youth and adults) and treatment centres for learning disabilities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Miscellaneous (hospitals – psychiatric care, schools, centre for early intervention)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the students in the welfare nurse programme practice in residential homes for people with learning problems (group 1). The construction of small group homes with 4–6 places has become the most dominant solutions for meeting the Scandinavian principle of normalisation. Not too many people with learning disabilities nowadays receive care in the formerly big hierarchical hospital-like institutions. Those who cannot live together with other clients, or those who are too difficult to handle in open care forms, are cared for in psychiatric hospitals or in similar institutions (group 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Institutions for youth and orphanages (residential)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Community services for child welfare</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Schools</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Treatment centres for drug addicts and collectives (youth and adults)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Miscellaneous (community centres, voluntary organisations, crisis centres)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One quarter of the child welfare workers practice in welfare offices (group 2). Among other tasks, they train in investigating family relationships, making decisions about when children or youths are to be taken into care or not. Some of the students practice in institutions for compulsory treatment (group 1).

6.3.3.3 Assessment of students’ practice

How students are assessed is an important element in the construction of the social educational worker. What core characteristics of the social educational worker are mediated through the assessment procedures?

There is a well-planned follow up system for students during their practice periods. The normal procedures are outlined in a brochure called “Information about practice and rules about supervision” (Høgskolen i Lillehammer 1998-09-21).

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162 The foundation of the practice is the learning contract – a contract that is signed by the student and the supervisor at the placement. The formal agreement between the two parties contains: a) the student’s aims of learning; b) how these aims are to be fulfilled; c) a plan for the period when it comes to realising the aims; d) an overview of the work hours; e) time planning for supervision. The learning contract has to be delivered to the lecturer at the college who is the contact between the college and the placement. Students are required to do assignments during the practice periods. The assignments have to be approved by the lecturer from the college.
Supervision of the students is a well-developed activity. The college gives training for professionals on a regular basis. The certificate can be used for admission to further education in the area of professional supervision.

The normal procedure is a visit to the placement by a lecturer once in the middle of the practice period. The issues discussed in a three-party meeting are: a) The learning contract b) The student’s ability to give structure to the period c) The student’s benefit of his/her own functioning at the placement d) The supervisor’s view of the student’s abilities e) The relationship between the supervisor and the student f) The contents of the “supervision hour” g) A plan for the remaining time at the placement.

The last meeting between the supervisor and the student is the evaluation meeting. There is an agenda, which serves as the foundation for evaluation.

Summary: The curriculum’s construction of the social educational worker varies in the parts of the education that emphasize organisational matters. First, the social educational worker is central in the organisational context. The professional duties, how to fit in the organisation, and how to relate to fellow professionals are accentuated. The curriculum pictures a defensive attitude, an attitude that is characterised as retrospective in Guzzetta’s sense (1984). The established professional standards and organisational structures are taken for granted. The mission for the social work curriculum is to socialise the students into previously-outlined structures.

Second, the curriculum is changed into a prospective attitude (ibid.). That is, the students are taught to hold a critical view vis-à-vis society, the professional demands and organisations. The students are taught to look upon the clients from their point of view. With the help of ethics

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163 The supervision of the students during practice was evaluated in the year of 2000 (Aubert & Kollstad 2000).

164 The main point in this evaluation comprises: a) what functions the student has had during the practice; b) an assessment of how these were executed by the student; c) advice to the student about how he/she should act in the future to be a good professional worker; d) an assessment in terms of pass or fail. The last point is advisory; the lecturer of the college makes the final decision.
and analytic knowledge, the students are to discern clients’ needs and find the best way to approach the client. The prospective attitude is favoured by the construction of the curriculum. The practice parts are embedded in theoretical themes, that is, theory comes first and the encounters with the organisation, fellow professionals, and the clients come second.

6.3.3.4 To establish a relationship with clients through co-operation

The structure of this section is to portray the curriculum’s intentions concerning the roles, competence and functions of social educational workers, as it is expressed as goals in curricular texts.

There is one central question: what are the main characteristics in terms of framing, classification and symmetry/asymmetry of the relationship between the client and the social educational worker?

Professional roles

It is said about the professional role of the social educational worker¹⁶⁵ that s/he has to guide the service user to the different options that are there for him. The mode of expression indicates that the service user has a range of possibilities to choose from. The clients should be offered participation in social fellowship. There are certain general rights that are legally protected through the Health Act, which in its turn is constructed in a discourse about human, civil, and constitutional rights. People should not starve, be abused, become lawless, renounced from general political elections and other rights that are connected to citizenship. Additionally, there are special rights; the frameworks are supposed to facilitate the access for the disabled to societal rights and fellowship.

¹⁶⁵ “The contributions of the welfare nurse aim at the promotion of the possibilities for the user to participate in a way that general and special rights are safeguarded. Professional measures are based on respect of the individual’s integrity, intimacy, and commitment in relationship to the user. An essential aim for the welfare worker is to promote increased quality of life for the user. Central approaches in order to reach this aim are the realisation of good living conditions, to promote societal participation, to focus on equality, and requests from the individual user” (Rammeplan wn, pp. 25–26).
The social educational worker, that goes especially for the welfare nurses, should encounter the user very carefully. S/he has to work for a proper balance between the user’s private sphere and the service technologies that the welfare nurse possesses. Social educational work should not be too instrumental. There has to be affection connected to actions.

Human rights are expressed as: “quality of life”, “good living conditions”, “participation”, and “equality”. In section 6.1 we discussed the welfare discourses that were produced by the welfare state in post-war Norway. There was a shift from general and all encompassing principles of normalisation into more client centred discourses. “Quality of life” is not to be decided by the state; it is more about personal interpretations made by each citizen. If quality of life is the psychological dimension of citizenship, good living conditions are related to material standards.

There is another way in which the curriculum articulates the role of the social educational worker. The meaning of "upbringing in a wider sense" is both an indicator that measures are not fixed to a certain age group or predetermined work method – that is open for negotiation. The target groups are first children and youth, and second grown ups with for example alcohol/drug problems and/or parents that can’t cope with parenthood. It is stipulated that there are societal frameworks, rules, and norms that people are supposed to relate to in one way or another. The social educational worker educates the “deviants”; they have to be taught how to fit into society.

There is a difference between the two directions in how living standards are expressed. “Good living conditions” (welfare nurses) is changed into “optimal living conditions” (child welfare workers). It seems as though “optimal” has no upper limit. “Good living conditions” rather indicates minimal standards.

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166 "The essence of the educational programme of child welfare is upbringing and education in a societal context. The professional role of the child welfare worker aims at the arrangement of optimal living conditions through care giving and upbringing in a wider sense, and treatment on special occasions" (Rammeplan cw, p. 26).
The competence of the social educational worker

The competence of the worker is presented differently. One of the presentations is worded in the following way: “… the attention is on the frame factors as well as the conditions of the user” (Rammeplan wn, p. 26).

The meaning of ”frame factors” is expressed as:

… how societal structures and processes are influencing clients’ life situation and how changes of these structures and processes may improve their lives. An understanding should be developed of the roles of the welfare nurse in societal changes. (ibid., p. 34)

In the same paragraph it is stated that the students should gain knowledge about the administrative bodies and the political system. It is also important to understand what interests and values that lie behind political decisions. In addition to the general frame factors it is also important that the students gain knowledge about the legislation and the rules regulating their profession. It is of special interest to know about legal aspects concerning the target groups.

The functions of the social educational workers were discussed with one of the lecturers at the college. She said that:

Welfare nurses have responsibilities to a great extent. I think that is due to the Norwegian system, we have the right to decide ourselves. Welfare nurses are following goal directed models, which make them used to stick to a system that is ruled by laws. There is a big discussion about the use of power and what the law says about this. (L:Li 7)

Social educational workers as well as all welfare workers are what Lipsky (1980) calls street-level-bureaucrats, a label that fits all public service workers “… who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who has a substantial discretion in the execution of their work …” (p. 3). Public service agencies, where a significant number of employees fall into the group street-level-bureaucrats are in a similar fashion called street-level-bureaucracies. The work sites that are suitable for the social professions are typical of this.

There are many inherent dilemmas and contradictions here. The lecturer that was interviewed highlighted one of them: what the legal frameworks do to the clients when it comes to the exercise of power.
The mediator of power is the social educational worker (in this case she is referring to the welfare nurses); she has to balance between the bureaucratic rules and the clients’ needs. Bureaucratic rules are stable – that is one of their advantages as well as their disadvantages – but clients’ needs are certainly not stable. Social workers have to adapt to actions that are suitable for every new situation that the clients face. Since bureaucratic rules are stable, they do not change in line with clients’ needs; social workers sometimes have to find their own way of working – actions that may be contrary to the legal frameworks but necessary because they are beneficiary in that particular situation. This phenomenon that every welfare worker will come across is what Lipsky (1980) and others (for example see Handler 1992) call discretion referring to the choice that is present in every tricky situation.

Discretion, the worker’s self determination, makes her responsible to the authorities. She has to respond to the demands put on her in her daily duty as a social worker. Banks (2002) discusses a certain kind of social work responsibility called accountability which is a crucial element in social work practice. The term accountability encompasses the reliability and the trustworthiness that the service user and the public have to be able to ascribe to the practice of social work. The social worker has so to speak to be accountable on two fronts, in relationship to the community and to the clients. The discretion that is ascribed to the social educational worker means execution of power, an issue that has to be dealt with the education of social educational workers.

Power is mostly conceived as destructive and malicious, but Foucault (1985) introduced the productive and positive aspects of power. The social educational workers’ use of discretion in their actions vis-à-vis the clients is one way in which power is used in a productive way. The discretion of the social educational worker causes her to “take the law in one’s own hands” which often is contradictory to bureaucratic rules and regulations. The social educational worker is operating in a network of power relationships (ibid.). Discretion is about the delicate balance between the social educational worker’s use of power, bureaucratic rules, and lastly the counter force that is shown by the client. The power that the clients use is not to be underestimated. It is more or less a truism that social educational work is the positive power relationship between the two parties. One cannot help a client who constantly resists the (positive) execution of power. Likewise the social educational
worker’s discretion is an act of resistance to power that is executed by the organisation.

Another presentation of the competence of the social educational worker is that she also is supposed to work with individual changes and adjustments to societal norms. It is worded: “… expand their sense of coherence” which indicates that the child welfare worker is supposed to work “inside and out”, changing the way the youth perceives his/her possibilities to be a part of society. But, the inner changes have to be triggered by the use of outer incentives (“… put forward measures that increase the possibilities …”). An example of the delicate matter of the use of power.

Co-operation between the social educational worker and the client is emphasised. For example in one course: “Communications, co-operation, and conflict solution” it is stipulated that: “The professionals should co-operate with the users and focus on their rights and needs”. From this follows that communicative skills are important for the welfare workers (Rammeplan wn, p. 21; Rammeplan cw, p. 21). Another example is: “… reflecting professionals that are qualified to accomplish environmental work, habilitation, and rehabilitation together with people that are in need of services” (Rammeplan wn, 1999, p. 29).

Even if co-operation is emphasised in the curricular texts, students are taught to get involved in their clients’ lives using methods that are interventional. Sometimes clients are objects of coercive measures, that is, the social educational workers are not only occupied with care and upbringing on a voluntary basis but also without approval from the client. These circumstances are declared as: “… if optimal care of the child cannot be achieved through co-operation, considerations of the safety of the child has to be superior to the respect of co-operation and self-determination …” (Rammeplan cw, 1999, p. 27).

167 “… to put forward measures that increase the possibilities of child and youth to expand their sense of coherence … A competent professional acting presupposes valid knowledge about physical, psychical, and social development of children and youth, family relationships and knowledge about the interaction between personal, social, economical, political, and cultural circumstances “ (Rammeplan cw, p. 27).
This means that the social educational worker “… has to take the role as a caregiver as well as a controller. In some cases this will be followed by role dilemmas …” (ibid., p. 28).

Interventions that students are taught are in most texts described in a general way as for example “preventive work”, “environmental work”, and “crisis and crisis treatment” (ibid., p. 36).

When it comes to specific methods there is “behavioural training/therapy”168 Elsewhere, interventions are mentioned as one issue among many.169 For example, “Central themes can be/…/children and youth with behavioural deviances …” (Rammeplan cw, p. 36).

Summary

So far we have presented the social educational worker as though s/he belongs only to one category. There are similarities in how the social educational worker is constructed; the social educational worker is consistently spoken of as a self-aware and analytic professional.

It is obvious that there are different conceptions about the construction of the social educational worker in the curricular text. The social educational worker is presented as multi-faceted. That is not very strange because social educational work can be executed in a variety of ways.

168 One of the sub-themes is called “Training skills of behaviour” – 6 vektall (Rammeplan wn, p. 40): The students are obliged to learn to analyse the abilities of the clients in order to estimate the possibilities of development, in co-operation with the users … The students should be able to evaluate professional aims and work methods in order to develop skills and behaviour in relationship to personal freedom, integrity, and general life situation of the user. The students should be able to evaluate the situations of the users that show behaviours that are dangerous for themselves and their surroundings. The students should be able to use different work methods to help the users to change their behaviour. The legal framework for the use of coercion should be known.

169 There is another example of systematic elements in the study programme for welfare nurses. There is a course “Environmental work, nursing and care” – 8 vektall (this course is only given to welfare nurses not the child welfare workers) which has a subtitle “Environmental work for persons with health problems and in need of care” in which students: “… should gain knowledge and skills to be able to identify, value and put individual measures in action …” (Fagplan wn, p. 18). In course of actions taken after thorough planning, the students should take legal aspects on ethics and clients’ rights into consideration.
There are differences when it comes to how the relationship with the clients is presented in the texts. Co-operation with the client is emphasised but in two different ways.

There is one co-operative approach that we will call the intermediary, who has to find a proper balance between societal restrictions, demands, and possibilities on one hand and the clients’ needs on the other.

We have given the name the educator to another co-operative approach: the worker who follows the client side by side, correcting and adjusting and helping the client in a subtle way into society.

There is a more salient and distinct distance between the intermediary (the welfare nurse) and the client. One speaks of service, support, and guidance. If this is compared to the relationship that signifies the educator (the child welfare worker) and the client, there seems to be a closer relationship between the two parties.

6.3.3.5 Representations of the clients

The two different constructions of the social educational worker presented lead us to questions about the curriculum’s construction of the client.

The clients that child welfare work is designed for are in the general frameworks described in open terms. The target groups are “… children, youth and families with social problems”. There is stress on preventive measures. All children, youth, and families may be objects of actions taken by social welfare workers (Rammeplan cw, p. 28).

When it comes to the target groups that are suitable for welfare nursing, the target groups are described in a categorised manner. The curriculum describes them to be in a vulnerable position due to biological, physical, or other “deviances”, inherited or caused by life processes such as illnesses connected to age (for example dementia). There are as well other factors, such as bad living conditions, that result in “client hood” but that is not the basic cause of the situation of the welfare nurses’ clients.

In the introductory sentence describing the target group, the following is noteworthy:
The target groups are persons with functional impairments that are subjects for the habilitating competence of the welfare nurses, the pedagogical approach and support to cope with daily life that is significant of the professional acting by welfare nurses. (Rameplan wn, p. 27)

The sentence says that there is a categorised group, exemplified by its biggest group – those with functional impairment: that is, people with learning problems. But it seems as though the welfare nurse’s competence comes first and the needs of the clients second. The clients are so to speak constructed in line with the workers’ competence. The construction of clients is even more obvious a few lines below in the paragraph that speaks of the clients in the following way: “… but the competence of the welfare nurse gives an important contribution to work with other groups of users as well” (ibid., p. 27).

This can be looked upon in the way Payne (1997) does. He pays attention to the nature of social work from a social constructivist view. He says in short that the effort to find a final definition of what social work is a “dead end”; social work is what social workers do! A provocative statement, but he may be right in so far as there are many attempts to find a proper definition of social work that covers its core contents. So far these efforts have been useless. The consequence of the statement “social work is what social workers do” is the construction of the clients as well. There are no clients if there are no professional social workers to define social work practice. Finally there has to be clients that are subjects of the practice of social work. This reasoning is in line with the thoughts of Foucault (1973) who said that the “madman” as such does not exist; he has to be constructed through discourses. The intimate relationship between power and knowledge creates new groups of clients as long as scientific findings continue to define emergent deviances.

The students are prepared for work with people that by the governmental authorities, workers unions, recontextualisers at the national and the local level, and other powerful members of society are defined as clients.

In the analyses of the Nijmegen curriculum it was proposed that the categorised client fits well into the professional identity of the social educational worker. A profession needs scientifically based concepts to
be accepted; behind the categorisation of a client lies scientific findings. In this respect there are similarities between the Lillehammer and the Nijmegen curricula.

There are different target groups. Clients that are supposed to fit in the professional field of welfare nursing are supposedly in another position vis-à-vis the caregiver, compared to the work field of child welfare, because most clients in the field of welfare nursing are in need of extensive care.

The different target groups are displayed in one of the assignments that are discussed by the students: students from all three programmes (child welfare, welfare nursing, and social work) are to analyse cases. Their mission is to use a theoretical tool-box when they discuss professional dilemmas. There are nine cases collected in a booklet. Three cases are to be discussed by the welfare nurse students, three by the child welfare students, and finally two by the social workers (Vaags n.d., pp. 9–12).

The clients that are related to the work field of welfare nursing are presented as if they are in a subordinate position. They are more predestined for judgement, and control from the workers. It can be concluded that on the dimension of dependence – independence there is a dependent conception of the client, typically chosen for the welfare nurses. The client is talked about as a person that is weak and positioned in a subordinate relationship to the social educational worker.

An example of presentations of a dependent client: a) a slightly mentally retarded young woman is observed by the welfare nurses employed to give care in a group home. The young woman is found to be drinking too much alcohol. She is also suspected to have “dangerous acquaintances” with men (case no 1, ibid. p. 9); b) The behaviour of a slightly retarded young man is discussed among staff because of his habit of dressing in a dirty and untidy way, as well as refusing to shave (case no 4, ibid., p. 10); b) There is a mature couple (age 27 and 29) living together under very good conditions. They have a tidy home, friends, and well functioning social life. They want an advice because they want to have a child together. There is one hindrance though, they are both slightly mentally retarded (case 8, ibid., p. 12). (The authors of the cases made extensive descriptions of contextual factors, which are omitted in this text).
What these three cases have in common is that they picture people with learning difficulties. Their needs are very modest; they could almost be like anyone else, except that they have problems in coping with finances, long term planning, and the like. That is the difficult part of these cases. If the persons described had been severely handicapped these kinds of issues would not have been on the agenda. They are interesting as ethical dilemmas because they are “almost” like us.

It is interesting to note that the persons in two of the cases (1 and 2) object to the powerful influence of the social educational workers. They are aware of their subordinate position. They show resistance, which according to Foucault (1985) is the unavoidable response to the execution of power. The students are encouraged to discuss how to cope with these situations, considering principles of client steering, self-determination, and empowerment.

Contrary to that, there are concepts of an independent and empowered client\textsuperscript{170} that are related to the field of child welfare.

As in the case of the Nijmegen curriculum, there are examples in the Lillehammer curriculum of structural determination of life conditions. Students are encouraged to reflect on how value systems and norms have an effect on our lives. In the subject “Sociology and social anthropology”

Students should develop consciousness about their own cultural values in order to understand other people’s cultural values, norms, and experiences. They should understand the difference between a cultural relativistic and an ethnocentric view. (Rammeplan wn, p. 34; Rammeplan cw, p. 34)

The students have to understand how their own conceptions about society and different life patterns shape the different ways people construct reality.

\textsuperscript{170} There is a woman, 25 years, who has a drinking problem. She gave birth to a child three years ago that was taken into custody by the authorities because of her problems. Now she wants advice because she is pregnant. The client is met with respect. There is a discussion between her and the child welfare worker about the problems related to her drinking habits and child rearing. There is the concept of an independent and strong client in a position in which she is able to master her life (case 3, ibid., p. 9).
It is stressed that: “The aims are that the students develop consciousness about their own attitudes and prejudices, in particular about gender, social class, and ethnicity” (Fagplan wn, p. 8).

Clients as well as social educational workers are structurally determined; client-hood can occur in different social classes and/or ethnic background.

One of the joint courses for the social educational workers “Communication, co-operation, and conflict solution” has the following description of the contents of the course. It is important to “… recognise the relationship between the language use of the user and the professional language use” (Rammeplan wn, p. 21; Rammeplan cw, p. 21). It is stated here that users and welfare workers use different languages.

To gain a professional language on the route to becoming a professional is promoted during the course. There is a “social work language use” that is part of the discourse that distinguishes social workers from for example doctors, lawyers, and engineers. The language use helps the social workers to communicate with each other but makes the communication with other professional groups difficult. But, that one can live with. What is more problematic is when the professional language is used to oppress or mark the difference between the social workers and people in need. These circumstances are “the other side” of professionalisation that is questioned by for example Skau (2001).

Other differences between the caregiver and the clients are based on culture:

Because of increasing immigration ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism will be a part of our societal development. The implications for the welfare workers are that they have to relate to patients/clients with other values and norms. (ibid., p. 21)

Let us turn back to the cases that are supposed to be solved by students in order to find out how the clients are placed on the dimension commensurability – non-commensurability.

Not very surprisingly, the clients in the cases171 to be discussed by the welfare nurses are described as non-commensurable to the profes-

171 Vaags (n.d., pp. 9–12)
sionals (cf. the three cases [no 1, 4 and 8] that are referred to under the heading “dependent and independent clients”). We concluded that on the dimension dependence–independence the clients that are related to the field of welfare nursing are conceived as dependent. They are in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the social educational worker. We also found that that was not the case concerning the clients that are described in the field of child welfare.

The welfare nurses’ clients are conceived as non-commensurable whereas the child welfare workers’ clients are found to be commensurable.¹⁷²

Summary

To sum up, there is strong classification between the welfare nurse and the client; it comes with the asymmetric relationship between them. Framing is strong as well. The term “client steering” does not mean that the client is controlling the pace, sequencing, and communication; power is still in the hands of the welfare nurse. Client steering can be categorised as soft execution of power. The clients’ needs have to be considered but it does mean that the client defines the problem.

Let us turn to the relationship between the child welfare worker and the client. The worker’s mission is to adjust and educate children and youth so that they fit into society. The nature of the relationship is different compared to the relationship between the welfare nurse and the clients; there is a more symmetric relationship between the two parties, not very surprisingly because the clients are different, the causes of client-hood are directly due to circumstances of social inequity.

Classification is rather weak between the child welfare worker and the client. So is framing.

¹⁷² For example a) Case no. 3 about the lady who has a drinking problem; in the story she is living in the same neighbourhood as the child welfare worker telling the story. The storyteller wants to indicate that there is an ethical dimension inherent in the case because she is not that very different. b) Case no. 9 is about a “normal” family visiting a restaurant. The parents are dancing together. The children disturb them and finally they are not patient with one of the children. It could happen to everyone (hopefully not the physical abuses though). There is an obvious theme; a quite “normal” family situation is pictured.
6.3.3.6 Power and resistance

In the previous section, the curriculum’s representation of the clients as well as the relationships between the social educational workers and the clients were outlined as they are expressed in written texts. This section, which is based on a report of observations of three lectures, starts with a comprehensive account of the lectures which can be seen as a response to the question: what are the main characteristics in terms of framing, classification, symmetry/asymmetry of the relationship between a lecturer and his students? There are presumably parallel processes; i.e. how students are treated by lecturers could very well lay the foundation for how the students relate to clients in their future work.

This observation can also be discussed in terms of pedagogic discourse. What is the balance between the regulative and the instructional discourse?

There is a series of lectures in a course called “Ideologies and professional roles”. Three theories lay the foundation for the course contents. The theories reflect different ways of looking at the client. There is the “Scandinavian theory of normalisation” which is founded on a statistical concept of what is normal and abnormal. The general idea is that all citizens should have the same rights. No one should be denied a life that is “normal”. The Scandinavian theory of normalisation is well in line with the all-encompassing welfare ideology. The theory, with its underpinning ideas of “normality”, can of course be debated. This was observed in the classroom.173 An example of this is the following dialogue between the lecturer and a student. The student gives a very common misinterpretation of the theory, saying: “... that everyone should be moulded in the same form ...” a statement that is rebuked and “corrected” by the lecturer who says: “... the theory tells us that everyone has the right to be treated equally ...”

The second theory that lay the foundation for the lectures is the “Theory of VSR” (Social Role Valorization).174 This theory has another starting point since its emphasis is on the cultural concepts of normal-

173 (L:O 8) The students have been discussing different items produced by the lecturer (Arbeidsopgaver – skandinavisk normaliseringstradisjon [2001-11-12]); now there is a follow up discussion.
174 From the American scientist Wolf Wolfensberger.
ity. According to Wolfensberger’s theory, there is in every relationship classificatory dichotomous concepts with low or high values. The theory says that individuals and groups of people that are seen as abnormal or deviant have a lower value in society. Because of the low value they are ascribed they do not have access to adequate living conditions. It is part of human nature to set a value on others. The role of the social worker is to work for that people of low value are more valued by the environment.

The lecturer (holding a critical attitude towards the theory) gives the students the main concepts of the theory as well as the common criticism against it. The first issue is about who is to decide what groups are to be valued lower and the second question of ultimate importance for welfare workers; how to deal with questions on how to give the low value groups a higher value.

There are five questions that should be discussed in relationship to the theory. The questions are formulated in a similarly provocative way (as in the case with the Scandinavian theory of normalisation) with references to articles published in newspapers. In the follow up discussion, it is obvious that the students do not agree with the theory’s message that it is important to steer people into “normal behaviour”. In one of the textbooks there is a very provoking example about cosmetic operations on a boy with Down’s syndrome. The students object heavily to this because of its unethical considerations.

The third theory, “Empowerment”, is introduced. The empowerment perspective in social work gained success, according to the lecturer, in national steering principles in Norway. Empowerment as a way to increase clients’ influence over their own lives has had a radical impact on ideas about clients’ possibilities to rule their own lives. Client steering, self-determination, and full participation are the ultimate goals. The implications of transferring power from the social educational

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175 Arbeidsopgaver – VSR, 2001-11-12.
176 The lecturer is the author of the textbook that is used in the course. He tells me that this example that is found in one of Wolfensberger’s books is too provoking; the example distracts attention from the essence of the theory. The lecturer will omit that example in the next edition of his textbook (L:Li 8).
worker to the client were discussed in the classroom with the help of questions produced by the lecturer.  

From the observer’s point of view, it is interesting to discuss the interplay between power and resistance that took place in the lecture hall. Some of the students did not want to understand the lecturer’s explanation about the pros and cons, especially with regard to two of the theories, the Scandinavian theory of normalisation and the VSR theory. There were several “counter attacks” during the three days of lecturing (in all 15 hours).

- They were not listening. A couple of students showed openly that they were not interested; for example two students were playing noughts and crossing.
- A substantial number of students left the lecture hall before the lectures were finished (day 1; full group [49 students in the morning 20 in the afternoon, day 2; 25 students present, day 3; 40 students in the morning; about 35 in the afternoon)  

- They objected to the proposal of how many work groups they were supposed to choose.
- They did not read the text-books in advance (compulsory according to the study plan). A single student answered “yes” to the lecturer’s question about this when the first lecture was opened.
- They deliberately misunderstood the lecturer’s examples that were meant to illustrate the theories.
- One student rebuked the lecturer on his word usage when the lecturer used the word “mongolism” that is a derogatory designation for Down’s syndrome.

In all fairness, the behaviour of the lecturer in the lecture hall should be described. Resistance does not appear in a vacuum, resistance is prevalent where there is power. There are three examples of behaviour that can be understood as disciplining technologies:

- The lecturer used the pointer to address students.

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177 Arbeidsopgaver-Empowerment 2001-11-12
178 The absence of students seems to be a general problem. In another lecture that was observed by us (L-O 3) there ought to be 65 students present. There were five in the start, after an hour there were eleven students.
- He pointed out that one of the students had a “popular” understanding of the theory of normalisation.
- He did not seem to listen very carefully to what the students were trying to say.

Foucault opposes the view that power is executed in a rational way: “power comes from below” (1978, p. 94). Power is elusive, always present: “… produced from one moment to the next … Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (1978, p. 93).

It can be asked, who was the most powerful party in the class-room: the lecturer or the students? We suggest it was a dead heat.

Foucault (1991) introduced the concept governmentality, a “liberal” way to steer. The notion of governmentality captures this modern, decentralised, and difficult to get hold of kind of power. Power is volatile and hard to identify. A first possible interpretation of the students’ reactions, one of many and in line with Foucault, is that the students themselves did not want to be imputed with the ideas of normalisation. They felt that they themselves were being moulded to think in terms of normalisation, ideas that are implemented by the government through social political measures. The students were strongly advocating their future clients, people with learning disabilities in the first place, a group of people that are on the very bottom of the ladder in the minds of many people (that is what the VSR theory is about).

In the introduction, we reported a conversation between the lecturer and a student. The student gave an incorrect answer that was corrected by the lecturer (in quite a severe way, claiming that she held a popular understanding of the concept). This is an example of individualisation. The lecturer made it clear that this was not a correct answer. The student was punished in order to point out the norm. Obviously she (and other students) was hurt, and this was repaid with resistance.

What happened in the classroom can also be understood with references to the concept symbolic control (Bernstein 1996): the invisible ruler of consciousness. The lecturer tried to implement the “correct” ways of thinking that is produced by the Norwegian state and manifested in the curriculum. The welfare discourse that is the current dis-
discussion of how to relate to clients was not immediately to the students’ taste.

The contents of the lectures are based on facts and theories; the instructional discourse that lies behind the official social educational work discourse. The lecturer is one of the recontextualisers: he has written one of the text-books that are used by students; he has, together with other colleagues, planned the content and form of the lectures; and he is the transmitter of knowledge. He is what Bernstein (1990) calls one of the “shapers”, that is one of the creators of symbolic forms as an agent of higher education. He is also a representative of the “reproducers” – an agent of the schooling system. In the example, the regulative discourse is too transparent. That is why the students protest.

The lecturer had a well planned structure for the series of lectures. He had planned the sequencing, pace, and how the message was meant to be transferred to the students, which is an example of a fairly strong degree of framing. But since the students had opinions about various elements of the lectures (the cases he had selected as illustrations, the size of the work groups, their presence, their refusal to understand, lack of preparation in advance) there was a move from strong framing to a weaker, the lecturer lost some of his control.179

The classification between the lecturer and the students is strong. In the beginning of this section we proposed that there are parallel processes at work. That is, if classification is strong between lecturers and the students in the pedagogic practice, the students are taught to relate to the clients in the same manner once they graduate (this case is about welfare nurses/intermediaries). We can not relate the curricular activities in Lillehammer in their entirety; we are only able to speculate from the empirical material we came across. But, the example shows the parallel processes that are in progress between lecturer – student and social educational worker – client. The curricular texts express an asymmetric

179 With these comments we don’t mean that the lectures were of a low quality; rather the counter attacks from the students’ made the discussions very vivid and gave rise to critical questions about crucial issues of normalisation, empowerment, and cultural representations. The content and form of the lectures was discussed afterwards with the lecturer. He said that the progress of the lectures was quite typical and he was fairly satisfied. But, he was somewhat worried about the reactionary opinions that some of the students expressed. Right wing opinions in Norway had, according to the lecturer, a strong footing in students’ minds (L:Li 8).
relationship between the social education worker (welfare nurses) and the client – a posture that is recognised in the observation of the lectures referred to.

The lecturer was forced to loosen his control, which equalizes the framing aspects of the relationship. There is a parallel theme in the notion of client steering and empowerment.
7 The Sligo curriculum

In this chapter the Social Studies curriculum of the institute of Technology Sligo will be presented and analysed. As a reference point for the analysis Irish social policy will be reviewed.

7.1 Welfare policies in the Republic of Ireland

The survey of welfare state models in chapter 2 showed that welfare policies in Ireland would not fit easily into the Esping-Andersen (1990) classification system. On one hand, Ireland has certain features of the conservative-corporatist welfare state. At the same time on one of the central criteria in the Esping-Andersen classification system – de-commodification – Ireland scored low.\(^\text{180}\) The conclusion was drawn that Ireland belongs to the category of liberal welfare states.

Lorenz (1994) classifies Ireland as belonging to the Latin welfare model (see section 2.1.2.1), where Greece, Spain, Italy, and Portugal can also be found.

Many writers on the issue of Irish social policy in the context of comparative social policy stress what they consider the great complexity of the Irish example. Irish history of the 20\(^{th}\) century has had an impact on virtually all sections of its society. Whereas material interests of the social classes have been the basis for political action in most European states, nationalism has overshadowed class interest in Ireland. The two main political parties represented different sides in the civil war and that fact has had a great impact on politics. Catholic and nationalist ideologies presented Ireland as a classless society with a population of culturally homogenous identity (McLaughlin 2001). Politics, including welfare politics, was naturally very much influenced by this.

The uniqueness of Irish social policy consists of features like the low impact of class interest on social policy, that the differences in status

\(^\text{180} \)That is a low grade of de-commodification.
have been maintained, likewise the weak position of women and the extensive influence that the Catholic Church has had over the years. Although the Catholic Church in principle holds with the idea of a minimal state social policy, in practice state expenditure is positively accomplished as long as it does not interfere with fundamental ideas, viz. the activities of subsidiary organisations and the family as the cornerstone of people’s welfare (McLaughlin 2001). The particular balance between interests is unique and not easily sketched in quantitative measures (O'Donnell 1999).

As was discussed in chapter 2, many countries have in the last decade experienced recessions as well as periods of recovery. Ireland has had a rapid economic growth, characterised with the popular slogan the Celtic Tiger, with marked impact on the welfare of the Irish people in general (Kiely et al. 1999). The Celtic Tiger has not been running for more than 10 years. Before the days of the Tiger, Ireland was experiencing an economy at the bottom of the ladder of Western Europe. One notable impact of the economic rise is the return of immigrants. In 1997 44,000 people returned to Ireland, to be compared to the emigration peak in the late 1950s, with app. 42,000 emigrants each year, equalling 70 percent of the generation (Fitzgerald 1999).

As far as social policy is concerned, the expansion due to the rise in national wealth has of course had a large impact, but according to many analyses (Kiely et al. 1999; McLaughlin 2001) the real “watershed” came as early as 1973 when Ireland joined the EU. Welfare provisions and legislation were changed. Many obstacles for women's rights in society were taken away. From the time of EU membership the construction of social policy has also undergone a substantial change. The ad hoc character of social policy has been replaced by a more comprehensive approach (O'Donnell 1999).

7.1.1 Features of Irish Social Policy

In this section some of the distinctive features of Irish social policy will be in focus.

_The Social Partnership Model_

In Ireland, the Social Partnership Model is a special way of developing social policy. In a system of “national social partnership” the main ac-
tors in society have been negotiating a national model for the advancement of Ireland in terms of economy and welfare. Starting in 1987 with representatives of employers, trade unions, and the farming community, representation has expanded also to include community and voluntary organisations. Together they form what is called "the four pillars of national social partnership" (Kiely et al. 1999, p. 8). Programmes for the advancement of economy and welfare, as well as for the development of democracy, have been negotiated in a series of meetings on a national level. A basis for the different proposals is the joint actions of state, community organisations and voluntary organisations to address social and economic problems like poverty and unemployment. The national agreements that are negotiated include objectives, but also directions for implementation and monitoring of programmes. An extraordinary quality of this system is that the propositions that emanate from the national agreements aim at and also reach the local community. Thus, development projects are present on all levels of society. As Rush (1999) characterises the Social Partnership Model, Ireland has developed from

... residual state centralism 1958–87 towards conservative corporatism 1987–93, and further from 1993 to participative local and national social partnership or, more critically, 'convivial corporatism'. (p. 173)

This so-called neo-corporatist approach to economic and social problem-solving continued to characterise politics in Ireland and in the year 2000, the negotiated agreement was extended to take measures against inequality and social exclusion (McLaughlin 2001).

Women’s labour and family politics

The many reforms that have been introduced in the economic and social policy spheres in the last decade have had widespread support. There is one aspect of reform, though, that has created a division in society and that is the situation for women and indirectly for family life. The Catholic Church was strongly opposed to anything that in their view could challenge the traditional family. Old and new laws put restrictions on women's right to work. For example there was an employment bar for married women in certain areas as late as 1973 (Kiely et al. 1999).
Taxation rates and lack of childcare were powerful obstacles to women joining the work force.

In the 1980s the reform process changed the situation radically for women as far as labour was concerned. This was considered a fundamental change in politics, since it was in stark opposition to traditional Irish values with the husband as the sole breadwinner (McLaughlin 2001).

Analyses show the necessity for reform from an economic point of view, and a conforming with EU requirements as the fundamental questions, while the political content and above all the growing strength of the feminist movement were also important. “Battles” were fought with the Catholic Church, that would see its influence gradually diminish, and the campaigns on the issues of divorce, contraceptives and abortion created a split in Irish society. Sex scandals that have been attached to Catholic priests have also had an impact on the position of the church in society.

Unemployment

From 1980, unemployment rates began to rise rapidly after having been comparatively low due to emigration. Unemployment has been a major economic and social problem in Ireland.

The economic rise in the 1990s elevated employment figures considerably. Two thirds went to expanding businesses but only one third resulted in a reduction of the unemployment figures (Fitzgerald 1999). The conclusion is that the problem of unemployment prevails in spite of the economic boom. It has been a notable fact that in most countries jobs lost in recession do not come back proportionally in a subsequent period of growth. In Ireland too, relatively large numbers of people are constantly unemployed. Not only does this constitute a problem for the unemployed individual: there is a well-documented association between parental unemployment on one hand and early school leaving and unemployment among young people on the other.
7.2 ITSligo, the Social Studies Programme

7.2.1 The Institute of Technology Sligo in its context

A review of higher education in Ireland

The educational system in Ireland has been changed in many aspects in the 20th century. Religion has played a major role in the development of the Irish educational system throughout the country's short history as an independent state. In the last decades, though, the impact of religion has decreased. The breakthrough of the modernisation process has been dated to 1965, when the *Investment in education* report was published (Clancy 1999). The report initiated the view of education as a means to promoting “modern” values as well as capacities in line with the needs of an industrialised society. The educational sector expanded on all levels, including tertiary education. The number of full-time students has risen from 21,000 in 1965 to 116,000 in 1999/2000. More than 50 percent of school leavers proceed to third level education. The numbers are largest in the western counties, such as Galway, Sligo, and Leitrim (Tovey & Share 2003).

The student population is, compared to the average in the OECD countries, very young. Students older than 26 comprise 2 percent of Irish students, 20 percent in the OECD countries. Female students form the majority in all the sections of third level education. There is a strong relationship between class origin and participation in third-level education. Students from the more well to do sections of society are more likely to go to third-level education. They are also more likely to go to the universities rather than to the Institutes of Technology.

The third-level education sector in Ireland is described as a binary system with a rather wide gap between the seven universities (with 67,000 students in 1999/2000) on one side and the thirteen Institutes of Technology (with 46,000 students in 1999/2000) and seven teacher training colleges (with 2,300181 students in 1999/2000) on the other (Tovey & Share 2003). The funding of universities, especially for research activities, by far favours the universities. One measure to elevate

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181 Students in private colleges are included in this figure.
the academic level in the institutes of technology is the introduction of degree courses. This will open up further education opportunities for the graduates.

Formal steering of the educational programme

The Institute of Technology Sligo is governed by the Regional Technical Colleges Act 1992 and 1994 (Application to make awards within a National Framework. Institute of Technology Sligo 1999). The act states that the colleges should provide vocational, technical and educational training “with particular reference to the region” (ibid., p. 27).

There is no national curriculum for the different study programmes, but they are to be approved of by the Department of Education. Each year the College Board is obliged to submit its planning for the following two years.

The institutes of technology have, in contrast to the universities, been administered directly by the Department of Education. The introduction of the institutes in the 1970s was a means to broaden the third level sector and to attract secondary level graduates to go on to higher education. The administration of the institutes is planned to be transferred to the Higher Education Authority, a measure that has been characterised as widening the autonomy of the institutes (Clancy 1999).

The balance of disciplines when it comes to number of students is: Business Studies; 37 percent, Humanities; 13 percent, Computing; 7 percent, Engineering; 23 percent and Science; 19 percent. Humanities is expected to exceed its current proportion (ibid.).

7.2.2 The Social Studies unit of the Institute of Technology Sligo

The History of the Social Studies Unit

The history of the Social Studies Unit of ITSligo goes back to 1979 when the first syllabus was written for two categories of students; one for residential child care workers, and one for prison officers. The syllabus contained psychology (app. 1/3 of the time), social work and as-

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182 Until the mid-1990s the title was Regional Technical College.
associated subjects, sociology, law, and a number of artistic subjects (Sligo Regional Technical College. National Diploma in Child Care. 1979). The syllabus was revised in 1987, and the programme was turned into a full-time based two year-long course leading to a National Certificate in Applied Social Studies in Social Care. In 1991 an add-on course of one year was introduced, leading to a National Diploma in Applied Social Studies in Social Care. In 1995 the college applied for a degree course, an extension if the diploma level studies, which made it open for students to continue studies on the university level.

Faculty

In the year 2000 the faculty consisted of the Head of Department, the Programme Director, the Placement Coordinator, and nine lecturers. The qualifications of staff were in the year 2000: three PhDs, six with a Master, two BAs (including special diplomas in Counselling) and one Medical doctor. The regular staff is five women and seven men. Four lecturers were employed on a part time basis.

There is a visiting lecturers program with the goal to add competence to the regular staff, esp. concerning current experience of the social care and social work fields and with research in the fields.

The students

In the year 2000 60 students per year were accepted to the Diploma courses, and 35 to the Degree course. Hallstedt and Högström (1996) found the average age for students to be 22. 95 percent of the students were women. Applicants come from all over Ireland, even if the bulk of the students are from Co. Sligo and neighbouring counties.

Admission requirements

About 75–80 percent of the students are accepted through their grades from secondary school. In 2003, students needed 360 points, which is quite a high figure for institute of technology courses (S:Li 17).183

There has also been an expansion of “non-standard” applicants with qualifying courses outside the general school system (5–10 percent). Another 10–15 percent are accepted through interviews (Progr. review 1999; S:Li 17).

183 University courses usually range from 400–600 points.
A review of the programme

In the year 2000, the programme was divided into three compulsory stages, and after their completion students graduated with a qualification called the National Diploma in Applied Social Studies.

A majority of the students apply for a fourth year, the Degree course, which allows further studies at university level. After completing the fourth year, students are awarded a Bachelor of Arts Degree. The courses of the three stages (=year 1–3) and the degree course (year 4) are presented in the following tables.

Table 11. Overview of the study programme, year 1–3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR 1</th>
<th>YEAR 2</th>
<th>YEAR 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied social care 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative activities 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory psychology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory sociology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health studies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer applications 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L = Lectures  G = group hours
Table 12. Overview of the study programme, year 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject group</th>
<th>First half year</th>
<th>Second half year</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A</td>
<td>Social studies thesis</td>
<td></td>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B Special topics</td>
<td>Community studies or Youth studies</td>
<td>Disability studies or Advanced childcare</td>
<td></td>
<td>Each course: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C Policy studies</td>
<td>Introductory European social policy</td>
<td>Comparative European social policy</td>
<td>(students choose ‘either row’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D Sociology</td>
<td>Sociology of crime and deviance</td>
<td>Equality studies</td>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group E Psychology</td>
<td>Object relationships</td>
<td>Analytical skills</td>
<td>(students choose ‘either row’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group F Management</td>
<td>Management for the non-profit sector</td>
<td></td>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Practice

In years 1–3 there is a practice placement period in each stage. In the first year the placement period is 6 weeks long (30 hrs per week). The placement is chosen in what is called “a well supported environment that offers a limited challenge” (ITSligo: Student/supervisor manual 1998, p. 3). Typical placements in this period are pre-schools and day centres for people with learning problems.

In the second year the placement period is 10 weeks long (30 hrs per week). Placements should match student needs and abilities with decisions decided on the basis of an evaluation of the stage 1 placement.
Typical placements in this period are community development settings and youth service settings (ITSligo: Student/supervisor manual 1998).

In the third year the placement period is 12 weeks long (35 hrs per week). Placements are chosen to match students’ long term career plans, and frequent choices are residential or community child care; work in services for juvenile offenders, learning disability or in child psychiatry (ITSligo: Student/supervisor manual 1998).

The placement is prepared in a number of ways. It is discussed in the theoretical studies in Applied Social Care, students are obliged to do a preparatory visit to the placement, and the placement is described and systematised in the documents Supervisor Manual and the Placement Handbook. Students are equipped with a portfolio with assignments to be fulfilled during the placement period.

7.3 Social pedagogy in the Sligo curriculum

We found that the construction of the Nijmegen curriculum revolved around the core elements artistic skills, self-awareness, and social pedagogy in the organisational context. We introduced these elements in chapter 5 to serve as a structuring principle of the texts. The presentation of social pedagogy in Sligo will be outlined with reference to the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum.

What space is given to artistic skills and self-awareness in the Sligo curriculum? What are the similarities and differences between the two curricula in this respect? What other characteristic elements can be found in the Sligo curriculum? How is the organisational context for social educational work presented? These are the questions that will structure the review of the Sligo curriculum and form the basis for the concluding analysis of its representation of social educational work.

7.3.1 Artistic skills in the Sligo curriculum

In the Sligo curriculum, artistic subjects are present in the first and second years of the study programme. In the syllabus for Creative Activities the role of creativity is seen as multifaceted. It has a connection with self-development/self-awareness, and for the understanding of the development of others. It is also presented as a tool in social educa-
tional work; for the analysis of clients, for team building, and for recreational purposes in institutions, that is with similar goals as in the Nijmegen curriculum.

To meet the various tasks, students must learn to master different techniques and they must also learn to plan and master the organisational aspects of the use of creative methods in social educational work.184

The presentation of different forms of creative activities is connected mainly to the psychology-oriented subjects. Therapy and group dynamics are often referred to. Students should master the use of methods and also the theoretical ground of the application.185

In the actual pedagogical practice, some of the subtlest goals seem to be toned down in Sligo, particularly the therapy-oriented ones. What are stressed in the practical pedagogical situations are goals for reflection on the self. In an interview, a drama teacher says:

First years it is workshop activities. When I came here first, three years ago, I had lots of ambitions in terms of doing theory with them. And basically it just didn’t work. People couldn’t just do with the theory of it. So, I was doing workshops and I was doing theory half and half, but it just wasn’t working, because people weren’t able to understand the complexity of the theory so then I decided just simply to focus on the applied nature of drama and then to sneak in the theory in the backdoor. (S:Li 18)

He continues to describe the way he teaches drama and how he connects it to social educational work situations and to the use of drama as both a means to meet people and to look into your self.

- What kind of theory would it be?
- Right. Theory of basically group development, participation and exploring … creativity in the sense that it wouldn't have to be of professional standard, but it's about feeling comfortable in a creative space

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184 “planning, implementing and evaluating a creative workshop/activity with a specified group” (Syllabus Social Studies, p. 32).
185 Students should learn “key concepts in art and drama therapy” (Syllabus Social Studies, p. 32), and get an introduction to play and music therapy as well. Further, students should “understand the therapeutic applications of creative activity”, and "be aware of group dynamics in performance" (p. 32).
and to be giving in that dynamic, to be sharing and to be involved in the exchange, and to understand – in common terms body language – and I suppose disagreement and conflict and help you actually to manage that. So work through a whole series of things like that and mainly through games and role plays and image work, you saw a bit of that yesterday, but I would move on then to kind of very specific topics like bullying, disability, racism, stereotyping, that kind of thing. And I would set up a whole drama workshop for the students around those issues. And in a sense then those activities can be transported in the sense of crafts for their issue-related work, and the hope was that they would experience the workshop themselves and somehow then be able to you know in their career as they go along to carry those skills forward and apply to their own work experience, that they can bring the exercises to different contexts as a kind of flexibility … and I suppose the bottom line for me getting people to be reasonably comfortable with each other, reasonably relaxed, to take risks, to trust each other, but I suppose also to laugh, you heard a bit of it yesterday. (S:Li 18)

His view on the use of drama is that it could be seen as a potential tool for reaching the same level of relaxation and trust in other people as the student experiences in fruitful sessions in the drama lessons, which he expresses in the next few sentences:

… and I suppose that’s the key to me, that students can drop those kind of social barriers that they would possess. They feel more comfortable with each other and trusting in the space and they can very good through bonding develop that as well. (S:Li 18)

The connection to the self-awareness approach in the curriculum is present in the quotations above. The pedagogical practice, including the social environment and the relationships between students are used as material for actual teaching. How to promote trust and confidence is learnt together with the fellow students (S:O 18).

Model situations like bullying and stereotyping are taken into the sessions. What we see here is a step-by-step educational program of encouraging students to incorporate dramatic “tools” for their own well-being and self-awareness as well as for use in future work situations. There is potential for rationalisation of communication (Habermas 1984) in these skills. It is quite paradoxical that the lack of theory might
place the students, not in a state of ignorance, but rather in an unbiased situation with the opportunity to directly experience communication in groups.

We can also notice the positive tone in the lecturer’s description of his classes. He really wants students to feel comfortable and relaxed in groups and to inspire them to make their future clients to feel the same. The relaxed person is “the bottom-line” for him, even if it seems to be the model person that is the goal for the classes, and not for example skills in using drama for revealing and criticising parts of your own self or the selves of others. In the structure of the drama classes there is not any position or state like “the true inner self” or “the person behind the mask” that should be reached. There is not any strife for “a quasi-transparent form of knowledge” (Olssen 1999, p. 128), so despised in the Foucauldian tradition.

Assessment

The most important part of the assessment of the artistic subjects is in both years (year 1 and 2) an essay that places the artistic methods in their social educational context. The students plan and try out a piece of work based on artistic methods and commented on with the use of theory. That places the artistic subjects on the level with other subjects in the syllabus.

- So, how are these students examined, I mean …
- Examined? In a number of ways. First ways their overall contribution to workshop and they would be awarded 20 percent of the marks for that. They would be asked to create a journal or a log which monitors their progress through classes and they have recorded exercises and that would be 20 percent and then they write a final essay and that would have the remainder, 60 percent. And in second year they would be assessed by their attendance and contribution by their workshop performance as workshop leaders and also then by a final piece of documentation which would be I suppose a written up two hour workshop that they would do with a notional client group. (S:Li 18)

The assessment procedures are of different kinds and they build up to make the students prepare themselves for professional use of drama in social educational work situations.
7.3.1.1 Artistic skills: a comparison between the Sligo and Nijmegen curricula

Both curricula share the ambition to promote the use of artistic skills in social educational work and to integrate artistic skills with other sections in the curriculum.

Although they share many goals for the study of artistic subjects there is a difference between the curricula. Artistic subjects are much more emphasised in Nijmegen, both in quantity as well as how they are motivated in the curriculum as a whole.

Artistic skills is a cornerstone in the Nijmegen curriculum and take up app. 25 percent of the teaching hours. In Sligo the figure is 15 percent. There is a multifaceted connection between the different themes and artistic methods in the Nijmegen curriculum, including assignments and arts teachers’ visits in the practice year. The integration between artistic skills and other elements is much more elaborated in Nijmegen than in Sligo.

In the assessment procedures one can notice a resemblance and that concerns self-monitoring, a salient feature in Nijmegen. The Nijmegen “log-book” has its counterpart in Sligo.

The theoretical foundation of artistic skills is a recurring aspect of the Nijmegen curriculum. In Sligo, the artistic subjects are motivated theoretically as well, but a comparison with Nijmegen shows that the curricula emphasise different frameworks. In the Nijmegen curriculum, the fundamental theoretical references are to philosophies of creativity, whereas in Sligo artistic skills are presented theoretically with reference to the therapeutic process. The links between especially psychology and creativity is salient in the Sligo syllabus texts.

7.3.2 Self-awareness/therapy-orientation

Self-awareness was analysed as one of the three cornerstones of the Nijmegen curriculum. The essence of the Nijmegen curriculum’s approach to self-awareness is partly a study of the impact of the social background on the student, partly close self-monitoring and group reflections on the student’s conduct and experiences in the placement. The underlying assumption is that a social educational worker’s relationships to clients are made productive the more she can use her self-
awareness to understand clients. This was found to contain an emancipatory as well as a disciplinary quality (cf. section 5.3.2.8).

There are many passages in the Sligo curriculum that resemble the Nijmegen conception of self-awareness. It is named as an important part of the social educational worker’s knowledge base in the syllabus for one of the quantitatively biggest subjects, Applied Social Care. The syllabus cites the importance of self-awareness in connection with “personal and professional development” (Syllabus Social Studies, p. 4), and, in connection with work, that the student should “appreciate the importance of personal process work for effective practice” (ibid., p. 51).

In the syllabus for Placement it is displayed in one of the goal items; “have reflected on their strengths and weaknesses” (ibid., p. 25).

As can be noted here, the direct use of self-awareness in a professional context is much in focus (“personal and professional development”, “personal process work for effective practice”).

A similar goal is expressed with the concept “self-development”. One of the lecturers answers the question of what students should have learnt after the whole programme:

Yes I mean they would pick up lots of information. As related to subjects, so they should have a very good theoretical foundation, an understanding of human beings. They should know a lot of the … they should be skilled enough to work successfully in various care settings. So they pick up a lot of skills. They’d also have personally developed, in fact very much so and become a bit more mature, and in those three areas they would have a lot of knowledge, a lot of skills and development, personal development so that would make them very employable. (S:Li 1)

In this quotation the lecturer mentions “to understand human beings”, which has a broader meaning than self-awareness. He then uses a concept that has an apparent connection to self-awareness, and that is self-development. The same attitude can be detected in the expression in the quote from the Social Studies syllabus in the very first lines of this section, “personal process work”. “Develop” and “process” are expressions that describe a continuous construction of knowledge of oneself. In the last sections of the quote, the lecturer makes a reflection that resembles the attitude described above that concerns the professional use of self-
development/self-awareness. This attitude is very much like the attitude in the Nijmegen curriculum.

A reflection here is that self-development and maturity are related in a general way. There is no theoretically derived correlation. It has the property of a common trajectory from youth to adulthood. Neither has it a reference to significant methods. If these qualities are taken further and located in the social educational work area, they point to an open kind of search for aspects of the person and to an open professional relationship.

But there are other distinctions between the two curricula in the area of self-awareness. Self-awareness or self-development is an important goal in the Sligo curriculum, but the Sligo syllabus shows a somewhat distinctive emphasis, when it comes to the use of this particular knowledge. The therapeutic base for understanding oneself and relationships to other people, and in particular the relationships to clients is an important factor in the Sligo curriculum. This therapy-orientation will be outlined in section 7.3.2.2.

There is an affinity between self-awareness and a frequent theme in the Sligo curriculum, viz. Relational skills (sometimes called Interpersonal skills). In the different psychology modules, self-awareness is not mentioned very often – instead relational skills are much referred to. It is also present in Applied Social Care, where it is stated that the student should “develop interpersonal skills appropriate to the delivery of social care services” (ibid., p. 4), and in Communication that should provide students with communication skills and competence in interpersonal relationships. This is approached both from a theoretical and a practical angle. Students are to identify important aspects of the communication process, but also to master different modes of communication. One important framework is the relationship between social educational worker and the client (“have knowledge and competence in the fundamentals of a helping relationship in care work” [ibid., p. 35]).

In Psychology, relational skills as a goal is presented in connection with different theoretical aspects. (Psychology as a subject comes under different headings, Introductory Psychology, in the first year, Abnormal Psychology in the second, Counselling Psychology in the third, and in the fourth year as Object Relationships, Analytic Skills, and Social Psychology [the last two are optional]). The goal of the Analytic Skills course is to build a skilled counsellor who can master techniques theo-
retically as well as in a practical sense. This involves analysis, as well as a synthetic approach and relational skills. Together with theoretical knowledge, relational skills is a cornerstone in the professional identity that can be found in some of the goals, such as in this quote: “be able to apply the theoretical understandings put forward by Object Relationships theorists to situations involving the management and care of people” (ibid., p. 108).

This quotation could be seen as describing the structure to be built on by both analysis and application, an application that derives its form from theoretically acquired concepts in different theories of psychology. Many of the sections of counselling come from therapy-oriented theory, as can be seen in the goals of Analytic Skills, to be analysed in section 7.3.3.

Assessment

Self-awareness is assessed in different ways in the different subjects. The general structure that is used throughout most subjects is partly by “continuous assessment”, meaning attendance and various assignments, partly by “exam”, written tests in the last weeks of the college year. In the continuous assessment part, self-awareness can be the content of an assignment. In the exams, self-awareness is assessed in an indirect manner with the use of exam questions on subject matters of relevance, such as methods of reflection and fruitful concepts in Communication and Counselling Psychology (Exam questions).

Applied Social Care, in a joint organisation with Placement, is partly assessed by means of the Placement Workbook. In the Placement Workbook, students have two main assignments, the Portfolio and the Placement project. The Portfolio has four sections. Section four is:

Drawing on your personal journal, comment on your own strengths and weaknesses in relationship to professional social care work. Giving examples, discuss where your own attitudes, abilities, and skills were useful in completing placement tasks. Identify also areas that you need to develop/modify in the future. (Student/supervisor manual, p. 26)

The self-monitoring request in this quote can also be found in another section of the placement assignments. In year 3’s Placement Project in
which an intervention should be carried out and described, the student
is expected to:

  Challenge yourself constructively on your:
  • use of Social Care skills
  • feelings/emotions
  • professional relationships (ibid., p. 32)

In the same paragraph, the student is instructed to ask the supervisor for
feedback on the
  • ability to identify the client’s needs
  • ability to empathise with the client and understand their perspec-
    tive
  • ability to match techniques to suit the client’s level of develop-
    ment
  • ability to work within the Agency ethos and inclusion of place-
    ment staff in their work (ibid., p. 32)

With the inclusion of the client’s feedback on the intervention, the stu-
dent should bring this evaluation into the report. Apart from being one
of the components of the placement assessment, it is 40 percent of the
assessment in Applied Social Care.

In the list above, we can find rather global demands, such as “social
care skills”, “professional relationships”, and “ability to work within the
Agency ethos”. For all three of them it is hard to arrive at a clear-cut
definition of the content. Still they share a normalisation property. The
normalisation effect has more and more been produced by a shift from
direct, outside surveillance to a new form, the inner discipline. This is a
discourse-based discipline, in which the force entering relationships
takes the form of ethics-based models of behaviour (Foucault 1985).

And, in the syllabus there are other, rather intricate demands: to con-
structively challenge one’s emotions, and “ability to empathise with the
client”. The open character of the demands and the referral to inner as-
psects of the student make them potent means for disciplining the stu-
dent.
7.3.2.1 Self-awareness: a comparison between the Sligo and Nijmegen curricula

To mature and to develop as a person appear from curriculum texts to be important qualities for the student and the social educational worker. The resemblance with the Nijmegen curriculum is clear. In Sligo it is formulated as “personal development” and as “personal process work”.

It is stressed that personal development is important for making practice effective. Personal development will also be presented as a goal in combination with professional development. Combining the two stresses personal development as a means for professional work. The message for the students is to learn to use self-awareness in their relationships to clients. The personal and the professional are not separated. The personal can be regarded as an asset to the professional work. There is a distinction here between the two curricula. In the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum it was put forward that at the centre is the aim for the programme to create a strong person, a strong social educational worker. Goals and means are often formulated irrespective of the relationship between worker and client.

In the analysis of the Sligo curriculum we have referred to what the programme calls Relational or Interpersonal Skills as belonging to the area of self-awareness. They are about how to relate to people and how to use whatever knowledge available, including self-awareness, in the relationship. This is to rationalise communication. That doesn’t say anything about if the rationalisation is for the sake of improving the relationship by emphasising communication for reaching understanding (Habermas 1987). It might as well be an improvement of a means for controlling the client. When the curriculum text expresses: “develop interpersonal skills appropriate to the delivery of social care services” or “be able to apply the theoretical understandings put forward by Object Relations theorists to situations involving the management and care of people” it is assuming an asymmetrical relationship between social educational worker and client. It pictures a relationship between one who is in need and the other who has the means to fulfil the need in her hands.

At the same time there is a distinction between the expressions used in the goals texts. To develop appropriate interpersonal skills could simply mean to be active in the task of improving the communication, productive to both parties. With the more technical knowledge of, in
this case, a psychodynamic theory, there is an apparent distance between the two. It is near the demarcation line to therapy.186

Let us go on to consider the Sligo curriculum’s phrasing of these matters. One quote is to “work on the personal process”. The word personal would contain one’s actions, reactions and self-image. The word process would mean something that is enhanced, but also something that is in motion. To work on the personal process would then require a person on the alert, ready to perceive, analyse and react to stimuli in her environment. Furthermore, she is to “reflect on strengths and weaknesses”. The student (as well as the social educational worker) is encouraged to reflect on herself in order to improve skills, but at the same time another message is delivered. There is always a space for getting better, and strengths and weaknesses could refer to attitudes as well as skills. What could be achieved by this use of an instrument of power (the curriculum) is rationalised communication and thus a more efficient relationship. On the other hand, the student/social educational worker could be trapped in the ever-present demand for self-reflection. This is another example of how control is moved into the person herself (Foucault 1985).

The same function was discussed in the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum, especially with reference to the frequent use of assessment through self-reflection in the so-called log-books and in the small group seminars based on students’ introduction of placement experiences. Although this could have a quality of intruding into the area of very personal matters, it can at the same time be characterised as a very potent skill in establishing a relationship in a “help-giving process”; an example of the dual effects of power, productivity and control (Foucault 1980; Flyvbjerg 1991).

The self-monitoring assignments function as controlling devices. That is the relational aspect of power in this context. The potential control property of self-monitoring, when it has come into use, and as such an expression of power could be analysed as an act of oppression. But, with reference to Foucault (1980)187 one might propose that there is no

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186 See section 7.3.3 for further analysis.
187 Foucault (1980) discusses the causal factors of the many investigations of sexuality and he concludes that at the roots is the will to know, as much as the will to control the population.
“structural will” to control the students. It might as well be seen as a will to expand knowledge in a broad sense; of the educational sequences from within the students, how personalities develop, and of the educational device, the log-book, itself.

7.3.2.2 Therapy-orientation

In many of the psychology courses the teaching centres on therapy; on the theoretical background, and on key concepts and on technical matters of therapy in use. One of the goals in the second year course in Abnormal psychology is to “be able to participate in the decision making process and therapeutic remedies related to abnormal psychological conditions” (Social Studies Syllabus, p. 39). One of the items in the content of the course is “treatment processes and therapies” (ibid., p. 39). Other examples on the level of syllabus goals can be found in Counselling Psychology, a third year course, where among the objectives one finds “an understanding of the qualities and skills necessary to be an effective counsellor”, “a thorough knowledge of the main theories of counselling”, and “practical experience in the use of a range of basic counselling techniques” (ibid., p. 62). In the content of the course there are “analysis of the benefits and limitations of each therapeutic approach” and “experiential work based on the use and benefits/limitations of some of the basic techniques from each approach” (ibid., p. 62).

On the actual teaching level the content is in line with the syllabus.

The third year I think comes together very well. I cover five to six major theories of counselling and that improves them very clearly in their applications. It’s kind of a twin program as there’s a skill side of it even though you can’t do that in such a big group … (S:Li 1)

In another interview one theme was the question of how to utilise the theoretical concepts from, in this case psychology, in the actual work or on the practice placement.

- I mean counter transference would be a useful concept, wouldn’t it?
- Very useful, you know in sense of recognising their own dilemmas, but I mean you must remember you see that there is a relentless focus on getting a degree, getting it done so how much of the information, it depends on the classroom situation, you know, but whether it makes
any difference to them in their li ... in their work. I think it probably
does, you know. How much I am not sure. (S:Li 12)

Students’ experiences at the placements could occasionally be used as
material in the theoretical lectures and tutorials:

… on clients I would have seen or on my students’ relationships with
the clients or the students own relationships with the clients or the
students’ own difficulties, you know. You know, for example, some-
times, sometimes out of placement visits I might point out to the stu-
dent how they mightn’t be handling things well, in other words
straight down to it, if they project their own needs, if they are respond-
ing to their own anxieties or their own difficulties, well than the de-
mands of the situation, you know. So you try and point out to them
that their way of responding is in response to their own anxiety rather
than the need of the child or the person that they are talking to. So it
kind of relies, yes, you know … So sometimes I would use that to il-
lustrate a point in psychological models. But it is mostly spontane-
ously recalled. (S:Li 12)

This excerpt shows on the surface level how placement experiences can
illuminate the theory lectures. But it has another quality as well. Since
the origin of the analysis of the placement experience is with a student
and that the concepts that are used are put in a realistic context, it also
shows this particular lecturer’s attitude to how students should use their
knowledge at work.

In the fourth year quite a few applicable matters are introduced in
the theoretical courses. In the Analytic skill course there are among the
objectives “appreciate the inherent psychological difficulties in estab-
lishing a therapeutic relationship with another”, “know that the factors
both facilitating and obstructing this relationship need to be fully un-
derstood if one is to work successfully with people in need of interven-
tion”, “be able to suggest and analyse the difficulties that might prevent
somebody benefiting from therapeutic intervention” (Social Studies
Syllabus, p. 113). The content of the course centres on relevant con-
cepts in this field, such as transference, countertransference, acting out,
the negative therapeutic relationship, insight, and resistance (ibid., p.
113).
There is no way of testing them in practice, though, since the two semesters of the fourth year are dedicated to theory only. Of course that does not mean that this particular theoretical content is there merely for the sake of adjusting to academic-educational demands. The importance of in-depth knowledge of psychological themes is underlined by the lecturer in another passage of the interview.

Much much better, you know, because what we have introduced is kind of therapeutic, so I spend a lot of time with them on concepts of resistance and acting out and transference and all that. That is much better. --- They like it. They find the theory difficult, very difficult … but I like to make it difficult. If they think it is difficult that means they have to work at it. But the applied side, the therapeutic side of it, they, they, they enjoy and appreciate that, because they constantly see, some of them anyway. They don't say ‘what use is this?’ That is not really the question that has to be asked, you know, there is two things, they have to develop some degree of awareness, intellectual awareness and personal awareness and so on and then they have to look at their application. How do we actually achieve that? I mean many a things are set out aspiration, but I think it is very difficult and in some cases the results do not match the best students you know, but that is a dilemma that everybody has. (S:Li 12)

When we look at what is done in the college rooms and in the placements there is some distance between the syllabus texts and the pedagogical practice. This can be understood as a discourse-based procedure. In the syllabus texts the writing is about the fundamentals of, for example, psychotherapeutic practice. Students are not to work as therapists, but they can very well gain from knowledge about people in therapeutic situations. In therapy-like situations (for example in situations characterised by strong emotions, and with the use of psychoanalytical concepts) episodes of transference and counter-transference are likely to occur. One way of learning that is to study the fundamentals of psychotherapy. When it comes to practical social educational work situations, the core of psychotherapy is not in focus. Still, principles from the psychotherapeutic domain can be fruitful in striving to understand what is happening between social educational worker and client. If we consider the profit from the rationalisation of communication, concepts of whatever kind or form will be an asset to understanding. Meta-communication of how concepts are used would then diminish
counterproductive influence of the systematic use of formal concepts on the relationship. The therapeutic relationship should be viewed as a distinctly different category than a relationship with the aim of communication for reaching understanding (Habermas 1984). A provisional idea is that concepts that relate to processes in relationships are not “arresting the dialogue” according to Falzon (1998). Falzon writes that a fundamental drawback of modern social and psychological theory is the concept of the free and consistent subject. He considers anything that fixates the potential for open dialogue to be an obstacle for freedom. Concepts that are assigned to present people in “arrested” forms are counterproductive to reaching freedom.

Yet another way to interpret the room for therapy in the curriculum is to look at it as a renowned area of knowledge of human nature. A well-founded and comprehensive body of knowledge in this area has theoretical-practical advantages as well as advantages of image, including self-image. If the student believes herself to be reasonably skilful in the area it will add positively to her self-image.188

7.3.3 The social educational worker and the client in the organisation

In the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum it was suggested that the placements for the students would show the focus in the curriculum as far as the workplaces and functions of social educational workers are concerned.

Further it was suggested that the characterisation of, respectively, the client, the social educational worker and their relationship is central for the analysis of the curriculum’s understanding of social pedagogy.

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188 In an analysis of a totally different environment and a distinctly dissimilar school system – the American elite private schools – Goodson et al. (1997) arrive at the conclusion that it is what the content represents, not what it contains as such that matters. In the American elite schools a cornerstone in the curriculum is what is described as “the best of Western Civilization” or “the quintessence of what it means to be civilized” (p. 165). Goodson et al find the motive for this particular content to be that the pupils who come from these very high levels of society should feel that – yes, that's where they come from.
7.3.3.1 Functions of the social educational worker

In this section we will present and discuss sections of the curriculum that show how social educational work is presented in its organisational form. The conclusion in the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum was that it presented a complicated relationship between client and social educational worker, oscillating between the encounters of two equals and the social educational worker as a medium for social educational work with categories of people.

How is the work with clients introduced in the Sligo curriculum? To begin with we will pose the question: is the organisation of the social educational work the starting point or to what degree is it initiated by a person’s request for help or his expressed needs? We have found it fruitful to pose this kind of question about the material, and alongside Guzzetta (1984), see whether the programme could be characterised as prospective or retrospective. The retrospective type of programme is characterised by its roots in the methods of social work. The aim is to teach students and train them in methods that have proven successful in dealing with people in need. What this attitude yields is a solid ground for the pursuit of social work. What is not there is the potential ways of acting that are not yet developed. It may be seen as a conservative attitude to social work.

The prospective attitude is open to several ways of conducting social work, also to the not yet invented. What it lacks is the major advantage of the retrospective attitude, viz. the stability of well-known procedures.

The “attitude” of the curriculum serves as a framework for the examination of how the relationship between clients and workers are described, and also how the two parties are presented.

The characterisation of the programme to be presented now is based on a range of elements. One of the key aspects is the area where the theoretical meets the practical, that is in the structure and the handling of the practice. The relationship between theory and practice works both ways. The students’ experiences at the placements could be used in the theoretical sections of the education. They could form the starting point for discussions on theoretical matters in the different subjects. The practice could also be used to adjust or direct the theory-based lectures and to make the connection theory – practice tighter.
There are a number of components of the placements that each have an impact on the presentation of social pedagogy. The selection of placements will display the curriculum’s actual account of the field of social educational work. Other important matters are the introduction of students on the placements and the actual work that they are to do; how should the placement work be reported and assessed? Assignments in different theoretical subjects to be fulfilled in the placements, and the presence, or absence, of placement experiences in the teaching of theoretical subjects will suggest a picture of the connection between theory and practice.

**The organisation of the practice**

The placements that were used in the year 2000 were distributed thus:

*Table 13. The distribution of practice placements*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People with learning problems</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-school, elementary school</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical handicap</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychiatry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travellers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with families</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s refuge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 63 100 63 100 62 100

233
There is a change in character of the placements as students advance in the course and get more acquainted with social educational work. In year one, the emphasis is on adjusting to working with people in close relationships. In years two and three, the more demanding social educational work is introduced. This is part of the intention that the curriculum has with the practice, viz. to let students mature each at her own pace (S:Li 5).

In the tables we see that work with children and youth are the dominating areas for students in practice. There is reason to believe that that is a reflection of the labour market for social educational workers. People with learning problems constitute another category that social educational workers are employed to work with.

Placements are thoroughly planned in the subject Applied Social Care. In the year 2001, the placement preparation module in Applied Social Care had the learning outcomes listed below. Students were to:

- be thoroughly prepared for their placements in the youth/children sector, the learning disability sector and the ethnic minority placement sector.
- be knowledgeable about policy and service provision in relationship to the above sectors through reading agency profiles, reports and attending lectures
- have gained greater insight into the lives of the people they will work with through reading personal stories and meeting people using the services outlined above
- be able to describe at least one service provided for people needing support through case studies, agency visits and visiting speakers
- be able to practice some basic skills necessary for relating to the people you will meet in your placement settings through role play, guest workshops, personal reflection and discussion

(Applied Social Care, course overview handout 2001)

This series of lectures (10 in all) is given in the autumn semester, that is 3–5 months prior to the beginning of the placement.

The assessment is partly a final examination (50 percent) and continuous assessment (50 percent), where the most important item is a
We can note a few things here. First, the client groups are central in the planning. Students are required to look for information collected with reference to groups of people, to “the sectors” of agencies or facilities for different client groups.

Further, the first two objectives are about the organisation of the provisions for people. The third objective is about the people referred to belonging to the sectors. The fifth objective concerns the way to relate to people in the client groups. Students are to prepare themselves for encountering clients.

The starting point for the students’ learning about social educational work through practice is the organisation. Private agency and governmental service provisions are studied in order to prepare for being able to deliver the services in the actual practical situations. Students should also study the experiences of the client groups in focus, but expressions like “Knowledge of the response of government to the needs of this group” and “A case study of approaches taken to work with this group” show a retrospective attitude in the characterisation scheme of programmes in social work, as formulated by Guzzetta (1984).

The planning of the placement in the college is described in the “Student/Supervisor Manual”. Students receive visits from lecturers in their placements; once in the first and second years, twice in the third year. In addition to the conversations with lecturers and a one-day seminar after the practice period, it is up to the individual lecturer and the students themselves to use the experiences they have had in the placement, or to direct parts of their lecturing to the practice.

Of course the tasks that students are assigned vary with the placements. Still, a general structure can be conceived of through the different written assignments that the students are obliged to send to the college.

In the first year’s practice the concentration is on observing social care practice. Students develop their reflective practice, a term that is to be understood as relating theory and practice. In the compulsory written

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189 In the end of the third year there is a two day-long seminar designated to matters concerning the placement.
assignment, references are made to ethics, psychology, sociology, and therapeutic approaches (Student/Supervisor Manual 1999/2000).

In the second year, the assignment is a case study from the student’s practice with the aim of developing the student’s case management skills. Clients’ needs are at the centre of the assignment. References are made to the core subjects of the programme.

In the third year the assignment is a report of an intervention that is designed and carried out by the student. A key point in the report is the linking of theoretical knowledge to the practice situation of the intervention. This is described in detail:

The initial part of placement (Block 1) will be used to:
- establish a relationship with a client
- explore with them what focus the intervention would take
- identify objectives to be achieved and
- design the intervention to allow the client’s objective to be fulfilled

During the second part of the placement (Block 2) the intervention will be implemented. It will be necessary to:
- make a re-evaluation of the developed plan
- make certain that the intervention is still appropriate to the client’s situation
- make the necessary changes to the plan or develop a new one
- carry out the intervention
- assess each session on its completion
- at the end of the 5 sessions, write up the complete piece of work
- evaluate the total intervention

(Student/Supervisor Manual 1999/2000, p.31)

The assignment is introduced with relationship-building with the client as the object of the intervention. It seems quite clear that the establishment of the relationship with the client is a means, a part of the package that will build up to the intervention. The relationship as such is not the priority.
In chapter 2 there is a review of one position in the discourse of social pedagogy where the posture taken is to place the relationship in the very centre. The relationship between client and social educational worker is seen as both a means and an end; in short that social educational work is relationship-building. Seen from this angle, the Sligo placement assignment conveys a somewhat different approach. It is also tempting to see the Sligo approach as near the disciplining side of the discipline – emancipation continuum. But the second item of the intervention package (exploring with them [the clients] what focus the intervention would take) discloses a more open attitude.

This second item also balances the organisational bias in the structure of the assignment, placement aims and the placement preparation module.

In the description of the practice, the element of theory-practice relationships is pertinent. The coupling of theory and practice can also be found in students’ assignments to be fulfilled during practice for different theoretical subjects. In Communications, for example, an assignment would be like this:

I would always give them a piece of work to do, in fact two pieces of work to do within their placement, which to my mind attempted to link the theory and the practical application of the theory. So I asked them to choose one or two areas; assertiveness or their listening and helping skills and I asked them to write up some theory on that and then to pick out a particular skill area that they feel not that confident in and, you know, use opportunities to develop that particular skill and to write about their learning. So I tried to make a direct link within their placement from their theoretical work. (S:Li 10)

This particular assignment, probably one that has been handed out a number of times, seems to centre on the student’s abilities. Clients and relationships must naturally come into the assignment, but the emphasis on students dominates.

There is a dual tendency in the curriculum. On one hand, students are obliged to discuss the theory-practice link in assignments attached to the placement, on the other hand theoretical subjects are taught rather isolated from direct referrals to practice situations.

In our observations in theory lectures, the referrals to the practice have been scarce. The link comes to the fore in allusions to constructed
cases, like in the above-mentioned psychology lecture where the concept transference was discussed.

The students are assessed (pass/fail) on the basis of a 12 item assessment form with the main aspects being initiative, ability to relate with clients, and ability to relate with staff. Especially mentioned is also the student’s ability to link theory and practice, and to “locate his or her own work in a wider theoretical or practical context”\(^\text{190}\).

In summary, the practice element of the education in Sligo has a very elaborate structure. The ambition to build links between theory and practice is high. It is very much present within the practice organisation. An obvious example is that students are assessed partly on their ability to link the two. The links between “ordinary” theory subjects and practice aren’t that obvious. The fact that many of the lecturers also do the visits to students at the placements is of course an important factor in making it easier to reflect on the practice in theory lectures. If lecturers find it useful, practice is used in teaching, but it is by no means compulsory. Basically the lecturers’ visits to the placements (S:O 4–7) are to encourage the students in their practical work. Another objective is to estimate the appropriateness of the placement. They are judged on different criteria; if the placement can provide a good learning environment, and if the level of challenge is satisfactory. Lecturers sometimes consider students’ relationships to clients, mostly on a general level. Relationships and methodical aspects are thus basically processed through assignments. Using Bernsteinian (1971) terminology, there is a rather strong classification between theory and practice.

Referring to the attitude dimension in the classification of educational programmes of social work by Guzzetta (1984), the Sligo curriculum would lean to the prospective side. In Sligo the theoretical part of the programme is less exposed to influences from the existing social work.\(^\text{191}\) This analysis is based on the classification between theory and practice. The subject matter taught in theory subjects is of a general type of knowledge, a knowledge that has to be adjusted to the situation in the potential social educational worker – client contacts.

\(^{190}\) Student placement assessment form, Institute of Technology Sligo (n.d. p. 4).

\(^{191}\) The programme was revised and changed 1999–2000. A number of professionals from the field were invited to express their ideas for the new programme. In interviews, staff have emphasised the small number of people from outside the college that took part in this process.
This gives the curriculum’s attitude an open character, and not very predetermined by a set program for interventions or the like. When the design of the placement is taken into consideration, the picture is different. The organisation of the placement institution is the starting-point for the student’s development, which points to a more retrospective attitude. There are prospective as well as retrospective attitudes in the curriculum.

7.3.3.2 The representation of clients

We will here present a number of ways in which the recipients of social educational work, the clients, are described in different sections of the programme and in the curriculum as a whole.

In combination with general studies of attitudes in society, the syllabus’s goal for students to be able to “understand the influence of personal and societal attitudes on the quality of life of social care service-users” (Applied Social Care. Social Studies Syllabus, p. 26) shows an attitude of encouraging students to work for people in need, here called service-users, a concept that could be seen to cover many different kinds of people. Another way to understand the term service-user is to see it as the actual minimal common condition, viz. to use a service.

**Need** is a key word when the syllabus describes the recipient of social educational work. It is a recurrent way of phrasing what social educational work is about in the Sligo version: to transfer help to people in need.192

One of the client groups that is specially mentioned is people with learning disabilities. They are described as having special needs that should be considered. That goes for “older people and young people in care” (Applied Social Care. Social Studies Syllabus, p. 28) as well. Is this a truism, that people with certain characteristics have special needs? Maybe, but seen from another angle, another truism, that every human being has her own very special needs, might change the picture a bit. The interpretation of this section of the syllabus would then stress

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192 Mulinari (1997) reflects on the difference between needs and rights. Needs put the person in a passive position, especially when the lack of capacity or the situation itself blocks the fulfilment of the need. She is then dependent on help from another person, agency, etc and consequently put in a subordinate position. In contrast to that, rights enable the person to take action herself, places her on the same level as the provider of the service (as opposed to help).
the tendency to form a special category for people referred to as clients. Moreover, the student is on another level than the client. The potential relationship between the two is an asymmetrical one.

There are other conceptions of the client, in conflict with the categorised, dependent person in need of support. In interviews, lecturers stress that they refrain from using the word client; not to label people and not to create dependency (S:Li 2).

Clients are thus often presented in the syllabus as members of groups, such as drug abusers and Travellers, but also in connection with acts that have produced difficulties for them as victims of domestic violence and child abuse. The attitude here appears to be that a drug abuser is a drug abuser and a Traveller a Traveller, with needs that can be traced, background that can be traced (Applied Social Care. Social Studies Syllabus).

7.3.3.3 The representation of the social educational worker

Planning for the contacts with client groups is present for example in lectures on artistic subjects. Students should learn to plan and master the organisational aspects of the use of artistic skills in social educational work.\(^{193}\)

One aspect of the representation of the social educational worker that the curriculum constructs – on the goal level as well as on the practical pedagogical level – has to do with the general subject-based knowledge that students can equip themselves with. The organisation of the education in subjects means that to some extent the subjects set the standards for the content. Not all of it is directly focused on social educational work. Students attain a broad knowledge of material that might raise the level of their comprehension of modern life in a broad sense. One such area is sociology. In sociology, on the goals level and on the practical pedagogical level, culture in a wide meaning comes into the curriculum through many openings.

Sociology has a direction mainly on giving the students relevant knowledge of a number of aspects of Irish society.

\(^{193}\) planning, implementing and evaluating a creative workshop/activity with a specified group (Syllabus Social Studies, p. 32)
In the introductory course in the first year, students are taught elementary sociological concepts and models. The main content is connected to the study of social change and the study of inequality. The concepts that are introduced are: society, culture, socialisation and social interaction, norms, conformity, deviance, social stratification, social institutions, social change. “Culture and identity” has the following themes: socialisation, personal and social identities, media and communication (Sociology. Social Studies Syllabus, p. 16).

“Social inequality and social change” contains these themes: stratification systems: ethnicity, gender, age, poverty and class world-wide, population and urbanisation, environment and risk society, and major theories of stratification and social inequality.

The studies of contemporary Irish society from a sociological perspective continues in the second year, to our understanding promoting analytical skills in students as well as expanding general knowledge of society. Two themes are introduced. One is “crime and punishment in Ireland”, a subject area to be reintroduced in the fourth year. The other theme centres on the concept of community in Ireland. It is studied in the context of social change. Community is a very central concept in Irish society (as well as in the UK).\textsuperscript{194}

Community studies from a sociological perspective will probably utilise categories of people as a basic instrument to sort facts and findings.

The whole program in sociology in the fourth year is dedicated to sociology of crime. In the study of crime, certain aspects dominate the studies. General knowledge of crime, justice and the penal system comprise one part, theories on criminality another. On the basis of these studies students are to improve their ability to analyse the causes and effects of criminality in society, as can be seen in this quote from the syllabus content:

\textsuperscript{194} Community as in Community studies, and as in Youth and Community Work, a widely used term for social educational work in England. Community work will be a characteristic occupation for many graduates, which means that they will work in community centres with very versatile activities, such as women’s groups, leisure activities, cultural activities, and health promotion.
analysis of incidence of white-collar crime, drug crime, and sexual crimes in Ireland

social responses to crime: control, security, prevention, victim support and structured intervention programmes

social consequences of crime for victims, suspects, offenders, members of communities in coping with fear, social exclusion, stigma, etc. (Sociology. Social Studies Syllabus, p. 104)

7.3.3.4 The relationship between client and social educational worker

The relationship to the recipient is mentioned in interviews as one of the most important qualities that students should develop during their years in the college. In the syllabus texts, the relationship between social educational worker and client is described in different forms. One stresses “the importance of the therapeutic relationship” (Syllabus Applied Social Care, p. 4), an often used expression. Another one concerns special characteristics of the relationship in special environments, such as when awareness of and the management of aggression with clients is put forward as an important aspect.

In the practice, many of the assignments that students have to submit to the college are, as we have seen reports on relationships with clients. These reports contain rather specified events: interventions that the student has carried out. Of course, this must be done after the relationship has been established. Our point here is that the actual intervention is what counts. The, if you wish, technical side of the relationship is underlined.

With the use of concepts from Bernstein (1990) applied to a segment of the curriculum – the practice – we will look at the recontextualisation of the situation in a placement. The situation in the placement – that is, the primary context and the instructional and regulative discourses that together form the pedagogical discourse – is applied in the recontextualising process. The structure of the placement that the Sligo curriculum has chosen approximates the structure of the experiment and also the conventional form of evaluation; something is done to somebody. It contains presumptions, actions, reactions and outcome. This is the layout in the third year’s placement assignment. This is how the student (as a social educational worker) imposes meaning on her presence in the placement. The student subject does not create the meaning in the
placement situation. On the contrary, meaning creates the subject/the student/the social educational worker in that situation.

The layout of the assignment together with applicable concepts and aspects of the meaning of the practise placement, structures the student’s experiences.

In an outline of voice in Bernstein’s pedagogy, Diaz (2001) expresses the connection between structure and experience:

Through the development of the notion of voice, Bernstein questions the supposed unity of the subject with an independent and individual consciousness. For Bernstein, the conditions for experience are not experience itself but the limits that locate or position individual experiences in fields of meaning and practices. (p. 87)

The subject becomes the voice for meanings in a field. In the practice situation, the recontextualised social educational work is an enterprise with one salient property, viz. the active social educational worker, who engages in relationships with clients, relationships that are structured so that they can be the objects of planned action. This action can be laid out in advance, scrutinised, and reflected upon afterwards. Using the centre-periphery metaphor, the establishment and continuous build-up of the relationship constitutes the background/periphery for the centre, the intervention. Within the organisational form of the particular placement, the college’s contribution to the relationship between client and social educational worker are theoretical subjects with methodical advice, reflections, and “facts”/representations of the clients derived from diverse conceptual frameworks.

The structure of the practice and the meanings that are created alongside of that are also emphasised through the written assignment. It gives the content – the intervention – a certain kind of significance as compared to other means of communication. Noted above was the diverse, and thus rather general and non-integrated objective of the lecturers’ placement visits.

7.3.4 Educational theory remarks

The link between theory and practice is obvious. Academic demands set the limit for the content, which further has effect on how the educational elements are combined.
This line of reasoning is on one hand showing a bit of distance between theory and practice. It could be analysed differently if the emphasis is on how you learn things that you might prosper from in your working life. In debates on this question, one position is that important knowledge is traditionally developed within traditional academic subjects. The employment of that position in a college like ITSligo is to centre the education on traditional subjects.

The programme is presented in themes, although the traditional university subjects can easily be identified. The programme is thus fundamentally subject-based. Naturally, there are a few examples of lecturers who work together in some areas, but the classification between subjects is strong (Bernstein 1996). There is one exception to this, and that concerns practice and theory. Almost every lecturer takes part in the practical parts of the programme. Students are visited on their placements (spread all over Ireland) by lecturers, and students’ experiences in the placements may be used in theoretical lectures.

There have been debates on the revisions of the programme. Motives for strengthening one subject more than others are presented with a reference to what is good for the profession and for the college. In theory, new themes might have been introduced, if the need had been felt to add an important element to the programme. But, in these cases the positions taken are based on traditional social and behavioural science subjects. In effect, the programme should be characterised as a collection code programme (Bernstein 1996). The “idea” behind the collection code type programme in Sligo that appears is this. Students educate themselves through developing their abilities to analyse examples of relevant situations. This knowledge can be found in condensed form in a number of concepts (for example culture, acting out, transference). Integration seems above all to be meant to take place in the student’s private reflections, although an incentive to the integration of knowledge can be found in assignments in practice, some of which have the form of the carrying out of and reporting on an intervention. The intervention has a form that according to Falzon (1998) arrests the dialogue by imposing a before and after, which have to be fixed organisations. It also makes the relationship explicitly asymmetrical. At the same time, the intervention has the potential of being productive, although the asymmetric structure can create acts of counter-power. An eclectic atti-
tude to forms of therapy (which seems to be the case in Sligo) should
diminish the negative effects of “arresting” concepts.

For those who are in favour of a more genuinely theme-based layout
practical educational politics may interfere.\textsuperscript{195} In an interview one of the
lecturers describes this very candidly:

- But I mean it is a degree course - the fourth year - where there is no
  placement ... is that correct?
- We wouldn’t have gotten the permission for a degree, you see, with
  a placement. (S:Li 12)

\textsuperscript{195} This is a recurrent theme in many texts by Goodson; see for example Goodson, Anstead and
Mangan (1998); Goodson (1994); Goodson and Marsh (1996); and Goodson (1997)
8 The recontextualisation of social pedagogy

A curriculum is a result of the recontextualising process. A curriculum is thus an outcome of negotiations, interpretations, and transformations of discourses. The transformative processes are constantly ongoing, since the curriculum is an object for external and internal pressures for change. There are at times flows of innovative academic demands; recontextualisers have to take into consideration changing professional demarcations between occupational groups, as well as adapt to influences from purchasers. The recontextualisation process can be summarized as a competition between discourses, fighting for space in the curriculum.

The outcome of the recontextualisation will be outlined from two perspectives, with reference to educational and social pedagogical properties.

The educational properties of recontextualisation will be discussed with the help of the following questions:
- How can the recontextualising field be described? What is the distribution between ORF/PRF?
- What is the curriculum code; integrated, collective?
- What are the classification and framing aspects of the relationships between school subjects; students and lecturers; the college and the work field; and different categories of lecturers?
- What is the balance between the regulative and instructional discourse?
- How can the impact on the recontextualisation of aspects of professionalisation and academicalisation be described?

The social pedagogical properties of the recontextualisation will be analysed with the help of the following questions:
- What is the curriculum’s construction of the client in terms of categorisation, personal and social background, gender, and on the dimension dependence–independence?

- What are the main characteristics, in terms of framing, classification, symmetry/asymmetry, and gender aspects of the relationship between the client and the social educational worker as it is depicted in study programmes, assignments, texts, and other parts of the curriculum?

- What are the core characteristics of the social educational worker?

- What is the curriculum’s approach to social educational work, compared to a definition based on the contemporary discussion of social pedagogy?

The structure that has been used for answering these questions is based on the exploration of the contemporary discourse of social pedagogy (section 2.4). The provisional definition of social pedagogy, the result of the exploration, has three components.

A. To meet the client on the client’s level

This is about the presentation/construction of the client and about the relationship between client and worker. Who are the clients? How does the curriculum take into account the impact of the client’s background, social, psychological, and cultural factors, on his current position? What makes a person a client?

Another matter relates to the distance between client and worker that the curriculum may or may not create in the recontextualisation process. Madsen (1995) puts a strong emphasis on the importance of relating to the frailty of the client. This has to do with the possibility that the actual client often is in a position where he is in need of a large amount of care and support.

B. A pedagogic goal for the relationship

Pedagogy is about activities that influence: a person or organisation attempts to have an effect on another person. In social pedagogy the goal setting is connected to the development of the relationship between client and worker. A goal open for reflection and change, a goal that is not fixed and that is decided on in the relationship – could be equated with a symmetrical relationship.
C. Pedagogical reflections

These reflections are about three matters

- the social educational worker’s behaviour in the relationship with the client
- the quality of the relationship
- ethical aspects of the relationship

8.1 Nijmegen

8.1.1 Educational properties of the recontextualisation

The recontextualisation field

There is a strong PRF with a substantial influence on the Nijmegen curriculum. An important part of the PRF is the joint advisory board for all 20 educational programmes in social educational work in the Netherlands. The Nijmegen curriculum has to adapt to standards, timetables and qualifications that are set by the national advisory board. The formulations in documents such as the “Studiegids” at the Nijmegen College about aims and social educational workers’ competences are transcribed from the publications formulated by the national board. The Nijmegen curriculum is thus controlled by a body which college representatives themselves partly influence.

The impact of processes of professionalisation/academicalisation

An important factor in the processes of professionalisation is the question of autonomy. None of the occupational groups that are active in the field of welfare in the Western states can be characterised as independent of governmental influences. The social professions can be characterised as “heteronomous”, working for the welfare state – and as a consequence the curricula are objects of governmental regulations.

However, the Nijmegen curriculum is relatively free from governmental influence. The recontextualisation is decentralised to the PRF. The students are not taught primarily to become civil servants, rather to work in non-governmental organisations.
Closely related to processes of professionalisation are the processes of academicalisation. In the case of the Nijmegen curriculum the degree of academicalisation is relatively low, which may lead to control over the curriculum by other discourses. Discourses that have a footing in the curriculum are discourses of vocationalism and marketisation.

An example of the former is that the work field has a central position in the construction of the curriculum. First, the representatives of social educational practice influence the content and form of the curriculum through a number of meetings between supervisors from the college and the supervisors at the placements. Second, there are meetings between college administrators and representatives from practice; meetings that aim at future changes of the curriculum. That is to say, the framing between representatives of the school and the collaborators from the professional field is weak.

The study programme is marketed\footnote{One of the successful results of this marketing is the number of German students in part time and full time courses at the Nijmegen College.} with eye-catching and richly coloured brochures. Another example of the marketisation discourse is the language that is used; for example one of the themes is called “the client as a customer”; the use of the term \textit{request for help} which suggests bargaining.\footnote{For a discussion on the impact of discourses of marketisation in the university see Fairclough (1995).}

The creative subjects are the main thread in the curriculum. Sometimes, creative activities are well integrated in other methodical subjects; sometimes there is a looser coupling. The creative subjects form the knowledge base (for a discussion cf. section 2.3.1.2) in the curriculum. The knowledge base has no immediate connection to traditional academic disciplines – something that can be found in other social work/social educational work curricula. In the Nijmegen curriculum there are other theoretical foundations. Assumptions about Homo Ludens as they were presented by Huizinga (1955) are “under the surface” even if the philosophical and epistemological roots are not explicitly communicated to the students. The core of the knowledge base can be characterised as relation-building through the use of artistic skills. The capability of being communicative is an important skill that has to
be used by social pedagogues in promoting “self-directed learning processes” (cf. Lorenz 1994).

The knowledge base can also be presented in a curriculum as the personal qualities that a skilled social educational worker needs in her/his relationship to clients and in relationship to other professional groups. This is essential in a curriculum that aims to foster students to work in close relationship to clients. Qualities such as to be strong, self-aware, and communicative are examples of qualities that the Nijmegen curriculum aims to develop.

The student is encouraged to use a comprehensive model of self-investigation. It is aimed at making a stronger person, able to interpret feelings from within and reactions from the environment. This skill is to be used in encounters with clients as well as in relation to fellow workers.

The curriculum code

The curriculum is characterised by an integrated code (weak classification). There is an ambition to unite the different school subjects and there is a thoroughly planned organisation to unite the theoretical and practice parts of the curriculum.

The boundary between the different groups of teachers can be categorised as well as boundaries between lecturers and students.

Framing has to do with the control of communication and how classified objects influence each other. Framing is dependent on classification inasmuch the power that upholds classification is always superior.

The college staff is not hierarchically organised in a traditional academic sense. There are very few (two in the year 2000) of the 78 staff members that hold a PhD exam. But there is an informal hierarchy of lecturers. The lecturers in creative subjects form a big and influential group, approximately one third of the staff. They are seen as the bearers of the profile of the curriculum – creative arts in education – that gives the curriculum a 40 year-old tradition. It is only in the last decade that social pedagogical discourses were integrated in the curriculum. Many of the lecturers have worked at the college for 20–30 years and are thus still bearers of old discourses that sometimes are contradictory to decisions taken by advisory boards.
From the integration of subjects and with the PBL instructional model, it follows that lecturers from different disciplines co-operate to a large extent. The internal framing is weak.

There are other relationships to be considered, such as the relationship between the college and the surrounding world; the external classification. The classification and framing between the curriculum and the institutions where students will work as graduates is strong.\textsuperscript{198} There are sharp boundaries between the two different groups of staff – the supervisors and the lecturers in the creative subjects (strong classification) – that give each teacher a distinct identity. The relationship between the two college teachers on one hand and the placement supervisor on the other is clear as well. The college teachers decide whether students pass or fail. The internal and the external classification and framing is strong. This is a vital indicator of the importance and central position of the practice year. The curriculum’s regulations and organisation of supervision, follow-up systems and assessment are heavy control instruments of the students’ learning processes in the practice year. The strong identities of the supervisor and the lecturer in creative subjects have a considerable impact on the students.

The PBL model is generally advocated by many educationalists because it supposedly promotes students’ control over how to learn, an example of weak framing. The space for students’ reflections is however limited. Framing is strong between lecturers and students. In guidelines, theme books, and in all the material provided for students the pace, contents, and sequences are regulated in a very detailed manner. Students are consistently taught to use their creativity and their self-awareness, which speaks for freedom of action. But we find the students at the same time strongly controlled. There are two different discourses competing.

\textsuperscript{198} There are two different kinds of teachers employed by the college; the supervisor (supervise) and the teacher of creative subjects (hoofdvakbegleider). There is also a placement supervisor, a member of staff at the institution where social educational work is carried out, who guides the student at the placement. Students’ learning is regulated in documents that are produced by the college. The supervisor follows the students’ personal growth in the course of the practice year whereas the teacher of creative subjects follows the students’ progresses in using artistic skills.
The balance between the regulative and instructional discourse

An important product of recontextualisation is the pedagogic discourse – which, according to Bernstein, is a secondary discourse.\(^\text{199}\) When the external (primary) discourses are moved from their original site and brought together in a special relationship in a curricular construction, language is transformed. Consequently as social pedagogy has been an object for interpretation and moulded into a curriculum, it can take many different forms. The pedagogic discourse is what the curriculum mediates to the students. The balance between the regulative discourse and the instructional discourse can be displayed differently in curricula. A legible and recognisable pedagogic discourse that is possible to realise in practice has a big impact on the construction of the student on the path to becoming a social educational worker.

The Nijmegen recontextualisation of social pedagogy is, as we have understood it, quite uniform. There is general agreement that artistic skills in combination with social educational work methods are important devices. The theoretical and the practical parts of the curriculum display a coherent aspiration to foster self-aware social educational workers. Theory and practice are not different categories. They constitute a consistent pedagogic discourse. The curriculum fosters the self-aware student to be the starting-point for a bearing relationship to the clients. The regulative discourse is salient in the Nijmegen curriculum. The instructional discourse is quite subordinated.

8.1.2 Social pedagogical properties of the recontextualisation

To meet the client on the client’s level

The Nijmegen curriculum’s emphasis on the artistic skills creates a solid foundation for approaching the client. This is not to say that to come closer to the client will always be the same as to be on the client’s

\(^{199}\) The pedagogic discourse is the device for the circulation of other discourses. The two discourses that are the objects for circulation and appropriation by the pedagogic discourse are the regulative discourses and the instructional discourse. The regulative discourse is always the superior (Bernstein 1990).
level. In fact, there are dissimilar tendencies in different sections of the curriculum. Much has to do with the “requirements” of an occupation that intends to be recognised as a profession. At times, these requirements form the artistic skills to meet these demands at the expense of their emancipatory qualities.

Contrary to that, it should be stated that in the curriculum the different assignments on the student’s own background, culturally, socially, and on the private family level – are constructed so that they generate the sense of commensurability that has been proposed above. The assignments do not have any quality of being produced just to make the students capable to administer methods. In the assignments, and in many of the themes in the first and second years, basically sociological and psychological factors are used to teach students how to understand life trajectories in a general sense. The parallel examination of students and clients reduces the distance between worker and client. The often used categorisations and diagnostic definitions work contrary to that goal, however. The categorised person is caught in the lower position.

Gender aspects are absent. There is no particular theme in the theoretical part of the study programme that covers gender aspects. Women and men who appear in examples in theoretical texts and assignments are presented in rather traditional guises and are not the objects of analysis from a gender-political position.

In the provisional definition of social pedagogy it is put forward that the client in many cases is frail, in a desperate state, and in need of help of assessing the problems and their circumstances, and to come to sound conclusions on what to do. The aforementioned notion of the client’s request for help creates a conception that at the same time alleviates the relationship and builds a barrier between the frail client and the strong worker. The strong client who demands help is on the level with the worker. The frail client must be helped to formulate the help-question.

A pedagogic goal for the relationship

Comprehensive pedagogic methods are not often described but the necessity to formulate goals and procedures is often underlined, not least in connection with artistic methods.

In the Nijmegen curriculum, relational work together with creative activities is central. The use of artistic methods in therapy, as an alter-
native form of communication, and in various “people processing” activities has a firm foundation in the Netherlands. The curriculum has its roots in the “Mikojel”\textsuperscript{200} tradition that in its turn is an offshoot of the creative therapy movement in the Netherlands. Other influences on the curriculum are the two French directions of social work (social work in a wide sense) *animation socio-educative* and *animation socio-culturelle*. But, the discourses about aesthetic forms in medical, social, and therapeutic care have been replaced by other scientifically based working models such as for example psycho-social work. The Nijmegen curriculum – as we have understood it – is in a period of change where artistic methods have to give room for psychology- and sociology-oriented methods.

Organisational matters are emphasised in many sections. Students are instructed to study the organisations’ functions, culture, and methods. Organisations function in principle as bureaucratic entities and in agreement with Habermas (1987), organisations deal with clients as objects. He describes the organisational approach:

\begin{quote}
The situation to be regulated is embedded in the context of a life history and of a concrete form of life; it has to be subjected to violent abstraction, not merely because it has to be subsumed under the law, but so that it can be dealt with administratively. (pp. 362–363)
\end{quote}

This is at variance with a communicatively organised relationship, and not in line with methods negotiated by client and worker.

An important aspect of the curriculum in Nijmegen is that the practice period is very long. Even if students visit the college every three weeks, they are inside an organisation’s culture for 10 months. There is reason to believe that the organisations have a huge impact on how students understand the needs of clients and what methods to use. In this way, when the student is on the placement her position vis-à-vis the supervisor and other professionals resembles the master-apprentice relationship.

\textsuperscript{200} The name “Mikojel” is from the initial letters in MIdeloo-KOpse.hof and JELburg (two cities and the building in which the programme was run in Nijemegen), the three educational programmes formed together the Micojel academy in 1984 (http://www.gironet.nl/home/ljk97/history.htm)
In the practice section of the curriculum the students themselves will be influenced by the activities they undertake and, in the end, clients of institutions will be subjected to parts of the curriculum content and postures that the students have been fostered to take on. It is of course not the case that the mere existence of a curriculum means that students will adhere to it. Students will react to the curriculum as individuals, group members, from ideological and professional motives, for personal reasons. They might also act as a group, as individuals, in coalition with clients and clients’ organisations, in opposition to or in co-operation with college officials, as spokesmen of clients.

Pedagogical reflections

In all the three colleges, and in particular in Nijmegen, students are obliged to study and reflect on their process of learning, both in the theoretical and practical parts of the courses. These reflections can be characterised differently. In line with Habermas (1984, 1987), it is an example of knowledge of the inner processes of the person, a way to gain interesting information about the person. It is aimed to make her/him a stronger person, able to interpret feelings from within and reactions from the environment. This skill should be used in encounters with clients, and the self-aware social educational worker feeds back rationality from the scientific/cultural sections of society back into her own and the client’s lifeworld.

But, this seemingly non-controversial value-free enhancement of constructive knowledge is in sections of the curriculum combined with studies of organisations, and consequently opens to the nature of organisational work discussed above. There are in the Nijmegen curriculum goals that concern how to be aware of clients’ resistance to changes and how to penetrate that, which is to make the client an object for reflections with the purpose to impose change in him.

To write about your learning process and present that to lecturers is to engage in confessions. This is a potent means for disciplining people, in addition to other methods like individualisation, and classification (Foucault 1985). The disciplined student’s parallel is the disciplined client.

If we look into the effects of the college’s employment of the tools we have reviewed, we would probably find interesting aspects of student processes. Nevertheless, from the Foucauldian position these
would be acts of power. The dialectics of the whole student body and the individual student as well would be shown. This practice has a definite bearing on governmentality (Foucault 1991). Students are “looked after” for their well-being, yet subjected to power. There is a parallel between this practice and the college’s collective influence on the students. There is a high probability that the methods and techniques that students have been subjected to will be the ones that they employ in their practice as professionals.

8.2 Lillehammer

8.2.1 Educational properties of recontextualisation

*The recontextualisation field*

The Lillehammer curriculum is centrally controlled through the educational governmental bodies and social legal provisions in the ORF, restrictions that caused limitations for the attempts to unite the different study programmes. But the PRF has a substantial influence on the ORF; staff members are to a significant extent scholars who produce research reports and text-books that influence the decision-makers in the ORF.

*The impact of processes of professionalisation/academicalisation*

The result of establishing a centralised curriculum is that the dependency on the state is substantial. But on the other hand, the curriculum is characterised by a high degree of academic freedom, which speaks for autonomy from governmental influences. The high degree of academicalisation has an impact on students; they are not to unthinkingly run errands for the state, even if the welfare nurses are fostered to become civil servants. The child welfare workers and the welfare nurses each have a long history and they are well-respected occupations in Norway. Thus, they gain autonomy through their powerful workers’ union. The

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201 The purpose of the fusion was to create one curriculum in social pedagogy out of two (see section 6.2).
impact of the workers’ union is significant when it comes to the discourses of professionalisation on the curriculum.

As well as this there is the influence on the curriculum a more personal kind; not everything that are elements in the construction of a curriculum are effects of governmental and legal decisions. The curriculum was from the very start constructed by a group of five or six male academics educated at the radical Social Pedagogical Alternative at Oslo University, that is a specific strong radical, male, and an academic discourse with its roots in the 1970s. Even if the curriculum is centrally controlled there is open space for recontextualisers to add material to the final construction of the curriculum.

The students are taught to analyse social problems. There are substantial parts of the curriculum about social policy, sociology, law, ethics, and research methods that serve as starting-points for reflections on clients’ life situations. Lillehammer students (unlike the Sligo and the Nijmegen students) are taught social pedagogy explicitly. The subjects referred to constitute the knowledge base in the curriculum.

This is well in line with how Hämäläinen (2003) portrays the knowledge base and the theoretical foundations of social pedagogy; sociology, social policy and ethics. The curriculum promotes “pedagogic questioning” (which according to Hämäläinen [ibid.] distinguishes social pedagogy from other social professions), that is to analyse and to reflect on social conditions that hinder or promote well-being.

The curriculum code

The curriculum is a mix between a collection code and an integrated code. There are traditional school subjects that stand out as “singulars” but there is also an ambition to integrate the different subjects. The curriculum becomes thematic in the course of the education, in particular

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202 L:Li 11
203 The Lillehammer College wants to present itself historically as a part of an educational tradition that evolved in Scandinavian universities: “Roskilde (in Denmark, our addition) was known as ‘the red university’, and the same could then be said, with some justification, of Hedmark/Oppland Regional College” (www.hil.no 2002-05-07, p. 7). On another website the College portrays itself: “Lillehammer College has a clear academic profile, with long traditions as an avant-guard institution” (www.hil.no 2002-05-14, p. 3).
204 There is a theme called social pedagocial work with children and youth, which occupies a substantial part of the curriculum (25 out of 60 vektall).
when the work field is introduced. The theoretical and the practice parts of the curriculum are linked to each other through theoretical studies that serve as starting-points for reflection on social educational work.

Members of staff at the college are hierarchically organised. There are six levels of researchers/lecturers, thus strongly classified, but framing is weak; there are flows of communication between the different members of the faculty.

There is a general agreement on the importance of the balance between theory and practice. The classification between the theoretical and practice parts is weak. But, theory comes first and the practice second (analytic approach). The connection between the college and the work field is quite intense even if the intensity and quality is not to be compared to the model used in Nijmegen. The follow-up system of the students in practice is not as in the case of Nijmegen concentrated to specialised lecturers (lecturer of the creative subjects and the supervisors). Visits to placements are distributed between all staff members, which make the faculty less classified.

The balance between the regulative and instructional discourse

In the analysis of the Nijmegen curriculum, we concluded that the regulative discourse is prominent. It is more important to teach the students behaviour than to give them instructions and knowledge about societal structures. The Nijmegen students are first and foremost assessed if they are strong enough to – with the help of artistic skills – find an appropriate way to communicate with the clients.

The Lillehammer curriculum does not immediately display the balance between the regulative and the instructional discourse. On one hand the instructional discourse is prominent. The students are to learn facts, legal frameworks, and theories that according to the recontextualisers are useful in further education or in the work field. It is (unlike the Nijmegen curriculum) quite easy to localise the knowledge base.

The regulative discourse encourages the students to be aware of their own place in the system as societal workers. Second, they are trained to see themselves as devices in the relational process with clients. In the first place, welfare nurses are trained to become civil servants, as are child welfare workers too, but not to the same extent. Two different kinds of co-operative attitudes are displayed; the intermediary and the
The regulative discourse is thus displayed somewhat differently in the two study programmes. In the case of the intermediary, the students are taught to take all options into consideration, societal as well as the clients’ resources, before taking action. The educator is trained to navigate the clients into society on an equal basis.

Repeatedly, we have argued that the outcome of the recontextualisation process is one of the powerful devices of symbolic control. In the case of the Lillehammer curriculum, the regulative discourse is partly a result of centrally controlled value-ridden propositions on how to relate to people in the Norwegian society. The pedagogic discourse as it is displayed in the curriculum is a mix between centrally controlled discourses about the welfare state and other opinions such as for example the aspirations of lecturers, administrators, and text-book authors about how social pedagogy should be understood.

8.2.2 Social pedagogical properties of the recontextualisation

*To meet the client on the client’s level*

The Lillehammer curriculum’s concentration on *co-operation* starts with relationship-building efforts to bring about changes in clients’ possibilities to take part in society. Social educational workers function as educators of societal norms as well as intermediaries of the supply of services available from institutions. There is a more accentuated symmetrical relationship between the child welfare worker and the client compared to the more significantly asymmetrical relationship between the welfare nurse and the client, even if the device *client-steering* is introduced to stabilise the relationship on a more equal level. There are but a few minor aspects of gender in the presentation of the client and in the relationship between client and worker.

There is no clear-cut attitude on intersubjectivity and on communication in reaching understanding. There is a stress in the curriculum on the students’ analytic skills as the starting-point for the relationship to the clients. This has a bearing on analysis from an outsider’s position; students are taught that profound knowledge about society, as well as systematically well-developed working methods, are crucial in guiding and supporting the clients.
With regard to the other two, the Lillehammer curriculum shares the view of people as being *structurally determined* by their place in society. The client is in some sections presented as dependent, in other sections as independent.

The curriculum displays a complex pattern of the relationship between know-how and the lifeworld. It is clear that in the Lillehammer version of social educational work – especially with reference to the welfare nurses – scientifically-derived information should enter the lifeworld of the clients. The social educational worker’s function as an intermediary challenges her/him to use potent means to encourage the client to look after her/himself. The dilemma is that actions that should promote the clients’ self-reliance very well could be analysed within the concept *communication towards reaching success*, that is that clients are instructed to use the information in a predetermined way. Consequently, there is no simple relationship between know-how and the lifeworld of the client in the “spirit” of the Lillehammer curriculum (Habermas 1984).

*A pedagogic goal for the relationship*

In the Lillehammer curriculum it is explicitly stated that social educational work is not solely about relationship-building; interventions are necessary. The legal framework supports interventions, for example when it comes to measures necessary to protect children and youth from situations of risk. Social educational workers take part in this kind of assessment procedure. In fact, a substantial part of the curriculum is dedicated to knowledge about methods that aim at interventions in the clients’ living conditions or in their behaviour.

Environmental work, with its foundation in the environmental therapy movement in Great Britain in the 1960s and behaviour therapy, are two different examples of scientifically based methods that are utilised in Lillehammer. These intervention models cover a substantial part of the curriculum. Environmental work places the individual in a wider context, starting with environmental factors, whilst in behaviour therapy the individual has to adjust to environmental factors.

According to Askheim and Andersen (2001), the introduction of behaviour therapy was an important factor in the professionalisation of welfare nurses. The process started in the 1970s, and behaviour therapy
still has a solid position in the education of welfare nurses as well as in the work field.

It is described as a great dilemma for the welfare nurses to find the proper balance between societal restrictions and clients’ needs. The welfare nurse is expected to simultaneously follow an organisational/societal framework and function as an agent of change in the clients’ environment, of which the organisational framework is one of the most important elements. The client’s position could easily be overlooked by the organisation’s stance.

Client-steering, characteristic of contemporary changes in the social care system in Norway and a means for client involvement in the care, still relies heavily on the initiatives of the welfare nurse. Client-steering is all the same a potential factor in balancing the strong organisational emphasis that is put forward in the curriculum.

Organisations work to reach their goals. Clients present their goals to organisations. The concept of client-steering indicates that the clients’ goals are in the superior position. On the other hand, human service organisations have an innate purpose in caring for potential clients. Consequently, it is in their interest to make clients’ goals come close to the organisations’. Organisations develop their work through scientific-based information about people that they serve. The connection between scientific rationality and power is a prominent element in Foucault’s writings. It is a cornerstone in the productivity of modern forms of power; power that needs to be presented in a mode that comprises the free individual.

This paradox, the ruling of the free through their own freedom, comes from the close connection between power and knowledge.

Conceptions of the nature of the governed objects, be it the nation, society, population, health, education or economy, present themselves on the foundation of a web of political rationality and scientific knowledge.

The power/knowledge system is thus based on and rooted in a specific form of rationality, which on one hand, through a variety of governing tools will allow reality to be object of calculations, programmes and interventions, whilst on the other hand opening the space for other conditions of a less predictable nature, presented as adjustable ‘discourses of freedom’ and ‘freedom ideologies’. (Hultqvist and Petersson 1995, p. 29; our translation)
The space where the so-called discourses of freedom and ideologies of freedom operate is open to power that aims to control people, as well as opposing forces; to escape from outer control.

Human service organisations that are engaged with clients in determining goals for their work will probably have a fair prospect of seeing their ideas influence joint decisions. The client-steering device may on the other hand at least encourage awareness of the effects of power.

Pedagogical reflections

Students are introduced to a number of assignments with the aim of developing their ability for self-reflection; there is for example the construction of a learning contract that contains a broad area of communication aspects; another assignment is on self-reflection in order to prepare for the practice period (see section 6.3.3). In the assignments, students are obliged to describe all the positive and negative factors in their prediction and evaluation of their performance during the practice period.

Further, in Lillehammer one of the basic theories in the study programme is symbolic interactionism; for example, the required textbook in sociology (Solheim & Øvrelid 2001) written by two lecturers on the staff is based on that theory. One of the fundamentals of Symbolic Interactionism is the emphasis on relational matters, which should make the students aware in a theoretical way of aspects of client-worker communication.

A matter that should be thoroughly analysed is the concerns of the frail client. Workers are taught to approach the client carefully and to be aware of the difficult position he is in and to work for a good balance between the user’s private sphere and that of the organisation.

The weight that the curriculum puts on analytic skills is another important factor in promoting students’ capacities in this area.

Ethics is a recurring item in the curriculum. The place for ethical aspects in the relationship and on the social educational worker’s performance is rather big compared to the other two colleges.

Reflections on the processes that are likely to occur between client and worker are worked through with the basic idea that students/ workers are important actors in influencing clients when they conceptualise
their reality. Gender, class, and ethnicity are significant factors to be considered.

The students have to understand how their own conceptions about society and different life patterns shape people’s different ways of constructing reality.

8.3 Sligo

8.3.1 Educational properties of recontextualisation

_The recontextualisation field_

In Sligo the recontextualisation process is different from the processes in Nijmegen and Lillehammer. The history of the Social Studies unit (see section 7.2.2) displays a rather mixed influence between the PRF and the ORF. Many different discourses have been involved in the development of the curriculum, but the academic discourse has dominated, most clearly reflected in the development of the fourth year/the degree course.

As far as the authors have understood the development of the curriculum, it is to a large extent the product of the staff that has been employed at the unit from its inception. Consequently, the structure and the content of the programme – that is, the Sligo recontextualisation of social care/social pedagogy – has been very much a function of the actual persons involved; people of different backgrounds, few of them from the actual field of social care/social pedagogy. Consequently, the influences from the PRF have as well contributed to the development of the curriculum, but most influences are from the ORF.

_The impact of processes of professionalisation/academicalisation_

The curriculum is young. Academic discourses have influenced the curriculum, which is an indicator of relative autonomy. The college is dependent on the state as far as the requirements for keeping and developing its status are concerned; also for gaining permission to offer college degree courses. The college is obliged to submit its planning each year for the following two years to the Department of Education.
The programme is evaluated on a regular basis. Social care workers in Ireland have not yet gained the reputation of a profession. Social care workers as well as the educational programmes have so far operated in the shadow of social workers’ organisations and curricula. The introduction of the social care workers journal is one signifier of professionalisation.

The knowledge base in the curriculum is built around different strongly classified subjects. Psychology and related subjects are the core of the curriculum. The link between especially psychology and creativity is salient in the Sligo syllabus texts. Creative activities serve several purposes. As in Nijmegen, it is related to self-development and self-awareness. It also serves as a means for the understanding of the clients and for relationship building. A creative work style is one distinguishing feature of the knowledge base of social pedagogy according to Hämäläinen (2003).

The curriculum code

The curriculum is characterised by a collection code (strong classification) that originates in the spirit of the higher education discourse. The different subjects in the study programme are taught separately from one another, quite often with the help of external lecturers. The collection code gives multiplicity to the curriculum. There are plenty of influences from different subjects and areas of knowledge that together form the social pedagogical discourse. It is up to recontextualisers to find a workable balance between the different areas of knowledge.

There are some exceptions though from the collection code; there are ambitions of integrating the creative subjects with other subjects, especially with psychology.

Framing between lecturers and students is rather strong, due to the tight structure of a collection code curriculum. Students meet elaborate and fixed schemes of studies of the different subjects. Especially during the practice period, students are controlled indirectly through regulations in documents written by representatives from the college. Room for student influence on the content of the course is not very big.

When it comes to the process of integration of the theoretical and practical parts, framing aspects concerning relationships between staff is weak. All staff members are part of the follow-up system of students’ practice.
As far as its organisation is concerned, the social care field has up till now been very weak. Its influence on the development on the curriculum has been very limited. Further, contacts between placement and college are mainly about matters of what type of student that would match a specific placement, not so much about information and opinions on the content of the programme. Contacts between placements and college are also difficult due to the fact that placements are spread all over Ireland.

The balance between the regulative and instructional discourse

The domination of the regulative discourse is not total - which it never is; it can only be described as more or less dominant at the expense of the instructional discourse.

The regulative discourse is mainly visible through the curriculum's emphasis on students’ self-awareness. In exam questions students are encouraged to reflect on their selves in relation to the clients. The relationship between the “personal” and the “professional” is stressed in several curricular texts. An example of this is the links between psychology on one hand and the creative activities and applied social studies/the practice periods on the other. The message to students is that they themselves are the starting-point in the relationship with the client. This method of relating to the clients is mediated first by the lecturer in the creative subject. He puts forward a message to students; the importance of being relaxed in course of the lectures. He thus encourages a certain mode of behaviour that is desirable in social educational work. If he is successful in doing this, students can also use this relaxed approach in encountering clients in their professional activities; that is the way parallel processes work.

Even if instructions and facts about different topics are very much emphasised, it is constantly said that students’ maturity is encouraged; an important side effect of the promoted skills in the creative subject and in psychology. The so called “glue” – sometimes not easily detected – between the academic subjects are skills that are present in a well-developed and strong social educational worker.

But, there are other parallel processes in progress. Students are quite intensely controlled through assignments, practice regulations, and follow-up systems. If these influences are stronger, the relationship built
upon relaxation between worker and client might be overshadowed by the control elements in social educational work.

As in the case with the Nijmegen curriculum, the mode of the pedagogic discourse changes as soon as the organisational context of social educational work comes into focus. In the theoretical parts the regulative discourse mediates meanings to the students that are different from the practical parts. In the theoretical studies the students are taught to be relaxed, communicative, and to hold a dynamic attitude towards the client and her/his life situation. In the practical parts the regulative discourse mediates meanings that encourage a retrospective attitude - that is, to investigate how social educational work is carried out (cf. section 7.3.3.1). It is obvious that different regulative discourses compete in the different parts of the curriculum.

8.3.2 Social pedagogical properties of recontextualisation

To meet the client on the client’s level

When intersubjectivity is stressed in the Sligo curriculum most clearly it is in the form of the therapeutic relationship; students should for instance consider themselves as objects for the clients’ transference processes, they should analyse the foundation for “acting out episodes”, etc. This characteristic of the Sligo curriculum is consistent with its emphasis on intervention. Asymmetry also fits very well into the general qualities of a profession. Associated to this professional attitude is as well the use of communication as a means in the relationship with clients. This success-oriented communication should make it easier to reach the goals of the relationship; it should not be seen as constituting the main part of the relationship.

Artistic skills are used as a means to relate to clients. Students are taught to use psychology systematically in analysing situations and to use artistic skills to communicate and relate to the clients. The relationship with clients is based on care giving.

The Sligo curriculum paints a picture of social educational relationships where it is quite openly stated what the relationship is about: to deliver/receive help. The curriculum clearly states that the client is dependent. Clients are characterised mainly through psychologically de-
rived properties. Different societal factors are also used. References to gender are scarce.

A pedagogic goal for the relationship

The social educational worker educated in Sligo should carefully study the goals that are set up by the agencies they work for. Goals for the relationships with clients are treated strictly from the organisation’s point of view. In the curriculum the asymmetric relationship to clients is fundamental. In the placements, students should study and be familiar with the organisations’ service provisions. Through the course’s eclectic attitude to different forms of therapy, they are also educated to relate to actual forms of therapy and other relationships. Students’ assignments are generally designed to make them attentive to situations when clients do not easily fit into the decided program laid out for them by the organisation. Ethical, as well as sociological and psychological considerations are part of the pedagogical work with the clients.

The increasing complexity of the pedagogical work with clients is mirrored in the strategy for the placement periods. Students go from merely to familiarise themselves with the specific target groups to taking part in more demanding client relationships and programs. The goal of this part of the course is an intervention that is to be described in detail.

The overall aim for the worker in the relationship to and work with the client is to prepare herself in various ways, including becoming familiar with the properties of the chief client groups, in order to be useful to the organisation.

Pedagogical reflections

The reflections that students are trained to master are primarily connected to the work process. Knowledge of therapies and proficiency in group dynamics should be used in the analysis of the work process. When clients fail to reach a goal from the intervention’s point of view, and when relationship-building is difficult, workers should be able to analyse the situation with the help of psychological/therapeutic concepts. Ethical considerations are also called for.

It is an important goal that students should be able to differentiate between their own and the clients’ needs in the relationship. This is
taught in assignments (experiential work) and theoretical sessions on therapeutic techniques.

Basically, the quality of the relationship between client and worker should be analysed from the perspective of the interventions or the general goal for the relationship, supposedly arrived at in the organisation. Communication is directed towards success (in the Habermasian sense). Communication as a way to reach consensus on important matters are hardly proposed, although the design of interventions sometimes include discussions with the client.

8.4 The recontextualisation in Nijmegen, Lillehammer, and Sligo, educational and social pedagogical properties

In this section the aim is to investigate the connection between the particulars of the recontextualisation process in each of the colleges and the provisional definition of social pedagogy. This section starts with a summary of the educational and the social pedagogical properties of the recontextualisation processes (section 8.3).

In the Nijmegen curriculum one of the characteristic properties of the recontextualisation – the striving to establish a profession – is not based on academic strength. The association with the nation-wide social educational organisation (strong PRF), the curriculum’s base in the so-called competence list, and the strong emphasis on the artistic skills construct their version of professional social pedagogy.

The curriculum code is integrated, that is the classification between school subjects and between the different lecturers is weak. Boundaries are not very distinct. On the other hand, there is strong classification between the different professionals involved in the practice. The students are very much controlled in what they should read as well as how to structure the learning process; that is strong framing.
**Box 4.** Educational and social pedagogical properties of the recontextualisation process in Nijmegen, Lillehammer, and Sligo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nijmegen</th>
<th>Lillehammer</th>
<th>Sligo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORF/PRF</strong></td>
<td>PRF dominates.</td>
<td>Mainly ORF / strong PRF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professionalisation/academicisation</strong></td>
<td>Non-traditional knowledge base/artistic methods. Encouraged to strongly present her/him in the organisation</td>
<td>High degree of academicalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong emphasis on scientifically derived methods</td>
<td>Strong union tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curriculum code</strong></td>
<td>Integrated code, weak classification. Weak classification and framing between lecturers. Strong framing lecturers – students. Strong classification and framing between lecturers involved in the practice year</td>
<td>Collection code → Integrated code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strong classification and weak framing between lecturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rather strong framing lecturers – students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rather weak classification between the college and the work field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pedagogic discourse</strong></td>
<td>Regulative discourse very dominating</td>
<td>The instructional discourse plays an important part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On the client’s level</strong></td>
<td>Artistic skills, commensurable client, but diagnoses/categorisations and frail, subordinate clients</td>
<td>Child welfare worker and client symmetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welfare nurse and client asymmetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Structurally determined clients, analysed as objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pedagogic goal</strong></td>
<td>Emphasis on social educational worker and the organisation. Proficiency in using artistic skills</td>
<td>Strong emphasis on interventions. Organisational influence balanced by the client-steering institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pedagogic reflections</strong></td>
<td>Reflection competence and calculated reflections</td>
<td>Pedagogic reflections and ethics are emphasised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The regulative discourse dominates the instructional discourse expressed in the curriculum’s emphasis on producing strong, self-aware students.

When these properties are compared to the provisional definition of social pedagogy we can note that:

- Basically the students are taught to see the clients as being on the same level as them. From the profession’s angle the commensurable client/worker qualities are not very compatible. The distance between them must be more distinct. The often categorised client is more on the level with the requirements of a profession. The strong framing between lecturers and students encourages the students to integrate distance. Framing is strengthened by the powerful regulative discourse with its distinct emphasis on the self-aware, strong social educational worker.

- There is a strong emphasis on goal-directed work. It is often present in pedagogic instructions and it creates goal-direction as a general structure for social educational work, which shows the presence of the strong regulative discourse. Pedagogic goals emanate from the organisation’s demands and from the needs of the career-directed social educational worker. Clients are toned down in this context.

- The non-traditional knowledge base and the stress on artistic methods promote self-reflection as a strong asset in the social educational worker. The integrated code is displayed in the repeated use of artistic methods. It is taught in a number of ways; in theory and through applications in the practice. Reflection skills are put in use in relationships to clients, sometimes in a calculated fashion, an example of strong classification and framing between social educational worker and clients.

In the Lillehammer curriculum there is a strong ORF, an evident coupling to the state. All the same, there is a considerable impact from the highly educated staff. State control of the curriculum creates an impression that civil servants are being educated. The knowledge base is salient, mediated through university-based subjects. Workers in the field have a long tradition; the classification between occupational groups is still strong, even if tendencies of amalgamation begin to appear. Sci-
ence-based methods are taught in the quite strongly classified curriculum. Classification is weakened when practice is introduced. The hierarchical organisation of lecturers does not prevent intense co-operation and communication between staff. Framing between lecturers and students is strong. The content and learning processes are decided by college members. There are many meeting points between the college and the work-field. The message behind the regulative discourse is that they should start with themselves when they act as civil servants with their clients.

When these properties are compared to the provisional definition of social pedagogy we can note that:

- The curriculum emphasises co-operation with the clients; relationships between clients and child welfare workers are symmetric, with welfare nurses asymmetric. The ORF influence is evident in welfare nurses, with a civil servant approach. Child welfare workers are educated to be on a more equal level with the clients. Structurally determined clients and a prominent analytic focus create a distance client-worker. There is a parallel to the strongly framed relationship between lecturers and students.

- Science-based methods and interventions are important elements in the curriculum, cornerstones in the route to a profession. An effect of the civil servant approach is the relatively strong impact of organisations on the development of pedagogic goals. Client-steering reduces the gap between client and worker.

- The distinct distance between client and worker is balanced by a substantial emphasis on ethics, another cornerstone for a profession. The curriculum is highly academic. The integrated code is shown through the link between theory and practice. Reflections are taught from a theoretical angle. The weak classification and framing between college and the work field, the academic orientation on ethics, and the theory-based schooling on reflections make the organisations’ impact on the relationship between client and worker significant.

The Sligo College is under the influence of a strong ORF. The curriculum is monitored on a regular basis and revisions must be approved of by state organisations, but in its details the PRF influences are obvious.
There is a growing academic orientation, but the aspiration to become a profession is in its initial stage. The academicalisation rather has to do with the status of the course.

The academic structure of the curriculum gives a collection code. From this follows that lecturers are classified. Framing is somewhat reduced when it comes to the organisation of the practice. Teachers from different subjects visit students on placement. Students are controlled through assignments and regulations.

Instructions are based on an academic-oriented curriculum, but the regulative discourse is present in two different shapes: one is that self-aware workers are promoted, the other puts forward the organisations’ (the placements) picture of social educational work.

When these properties are compared to the provisional definition of social pedagogy we can note that:

- The academic orientation, indirectly prescribed by the strong ORF, and the collection code create the analytic approach where clients are analysed from without, using concepts from psychology and sociology. The relationship client-worker is clearly asymmetric, for example in the therapeutic model put forward in the curriculum. Social educational workers are arranged in a hierarchical system with well-defined boundaries between levels; here it is displayed in the care-giver and the recipient of care. This structure reflects the rather strong framing lecturer – students.

- Professionalisation tendencies are scarcely present. Students are taught to learn the goals of, in particular, placement organisations. When the students are in the placements a substantial number of interventions are planned, carried out, and reflected on. This may have a tendency to make the construction of goals more organisation-oriented.

- There is a clear distinction between client and worker, and the basis for reflections is to analyse the relationship from the outside, mainly with the use of concepts from therapy. Ethics is taught from an academic angle and introduced in the placement assignments. In the different parts of the curriculum about self-awareness, the underlying rule (the regulative discourse) is for students to personally mature through looking into themselves.
8.5 The welfare state and the recontextualisation of social pedagogy

The societal context in which the curriculum is situated is one aspect that influences the configuration of the curriculum.

According to Bernstein (1990) *symbolic control* is the relay for conditions of power into a discourse. Our minds are shaped through structures that are already present, such as rules, norms, and the normalising processes of society. Symbolic control effects human thoughts in an invisible way. Knowledge and control are, according to Bernstein, more or less regulated and monitored by the state. There are agents that are important for the transmission of symbolic control: the *shapers* at universities and research centres as well as the *reproducers* in the school system.

The curriculum is an important device for the advancement of symbolic control. The intention of the welfare state is reflected in the curricula, through its agents. The curricula that have been analysed are situated in three different social political environments.

In this final section the recontextualisation of social pedagogy will be outlined with references to the welfare state in which it is constructed.

8.5.1 The Nijmegen curriculum in the Dutch welfare state

The Dutch social political environment is characterised as situated between the conservative-corporatist and the social democratic welfare state. With reference to the two welfare models, Dutch society is family-centred. The Nijmegen curriculum pays much attention to the nuclear family. To focus on the dynamics of families is within the psychosocial tradition of social work, the most common approach in the Western world.

The Dutchman is said to favour individualism. So does the curriculum. The students are fostered to put the emphasis on themselves. They should enter a face to face relationship with the client with that as the point of reference.

There is no conception of the state as a single unit. The state is “pillarised” through its strongly classified associations. The religious and
political pillars have had strong influences on important social institutions. Pillarisation and the fact that the Netherlands is a multi cultural society are reflected in the curriculum in as much as the students are fostered in a spirit that “everything is possible”. There is a spirit of “go for it”. The students are taught through a variety of artistic means to be self-aware. They have to make their own way in a diversified labour market.

Dutch society is contradictory; on one hand freedom is valued but on the other hand social institutions are strongly classified. The institutions in which the students practice are in most cases very big and hierarchically organised. Once you are a team member in the hierarchical structure you are strongly controlled. This is reflected in the curriculum’s concept of the clients as dependent and in a subordinate position when they are portrayed in the organisational context. This contradiction of a society promoting freedom and at the same time having strongly hierarchically organised institutions is present also in the curriculum. The curriculum promotes creativity but the students are subjected to quite strong control through detailed manuals and guidelines.

Strong classification between the social institutions is also the case when it comes to the Dutch educational system. The pupils’ future academic career is marked out as early as at the age of eleven. There is a big difference between the HBO:s (to which the Nijmegen curriculum belongs) and the university courses.

Dutch society is characterised by traditional gender roles. Men are the bread winners and women are busy with the housekeeping. However the rapid change towards equality between the sexes has had effects on the curriculum in that new educational programmes are planned to meet the needs of child-care services.

The organisation of and the mental image of Dutch society is partly reflected in the curriculum. We will propose that the Nijmegen curriculum is possible in the Netherlands but it is not likely that it should find legitimacy in for example Norway.
8.5.2 The Lillehammer curriculum in the Norwegian welfare state

Norway is a typical example of the social democratic welfare state. There is an emphasis on universalism and on public services as the providers of welfare. The work line is promoted as the device for the well-being of the citizens and of the state.

The principle of normalisation is the leading ideology behind the social services mediated by the state. The principle of normalisation as an aspect of symbolic control has a firm foothold in legislation that regulates social services. This principle permeates the national curricula as well as the Lillehammer curriculum. Students are trained to be repairers as well as executors in Norwegian society.

From the principle of normalisation it follows that social educational workers should work for the integration of people into society. The principle of integration had implications for the way institutions working with people were structured. Large institutions were closed and replaced by small scale homes for people with disabilities, the psychiatrically ill, and the elderly. From the principles of normalisation and integration it also follows that the ability or space given to clients to influence these services should be emphasised. As we have characterised the framing aspects between the social educational worker and the clients, we have found two attitudes, two different ways of relating to clients (the intermediary and the educator). The intermediaries are fostered to become civil servants working for the state, taking the clients’ needs and recourses into consideration. But from our analyses of the curriculum, the intermediaries do not promote their clients’ influence; that is, framing is quite strong. The educators have another more symmetric relationship to the client.

Another principle that is mediated by the state is empowerment. The notion of empowerment was introduced because the state was criticised for being too paternalistic. Empowerment became a popular concept on account of liberal ideas about the market, individualism and free choice. The curriculum consistently promotes ideas of normalisation, empowerment, and client steering. The curriculum stresses the social educational workers’ co-operative attitude, which is in line with how Norwegian society usually conceives itself. Norway is portrayed as if all citizens have common interests.
As in the case of the Nijmegen curriculum, the family is displayed as a unit for analysis. The family is important also in the social democratic welfare state, even if its role is less emphasised.

As a result of the social democratic tradition, Norwegian society is traditionally less classified than the Dutch. There are smaller gaps between occupational groups and different workers at work sites. Women are employed to a large extent. There are efforts made to integrate professional groups working in the welfare system. One example is the common workers’ union that comprises the social workers, the welfare nurses, and the child welfare workers. This fusion has had an effect on the construction of the curriculum, even if the recontextualisers in the PRF had wished to take the integration even further. The national curriculum encompasses the education of several occupational groups in the Norwegian welfare system.

The Norwegian state is mediating dichotomy. The state is the caregiver, but also the controller. A similar duality is found in the curriculum when it comes to social educational workers’ relationship to their clients. The relationship is characterised by symmetry as well as asymmetry.

The Lillehammer curriculum reflects the social political intentions that are mediated by governmental bodies. The universal, encompassing, and normalising ideologies held by the Norwegian state are displayed in the curriculum. Bernstein (1971) describes the processes of transmission of power and control as circular; the curriculum reflects societal conditions and the social educational workers are influencing society.

8.5.3 The Sligo curriculum in the Irish welfare state

The most striking characteristic of Irish society is the rapid economic change during the last decade, which has had an impact on the standard of living of Irish citizens. Traditionally, Ireland was one of the poorest countries in the EU. The population is very young. The women workforce is small. The Irish people are said to be very nationalistic because of their violent history of oppression from Great Britain. The Catholic Church has had a very strong influence on the Irish people. The Irish society is basically monocultural even if the need of imported labour force has increased in the last decade.
Ireland was in the Esping-Andersen survey (1990) classified as a liberal welfare state. In another classificatory system developed by Abrahamsson (in Munday 1996), Ireland belongs to the Latin welfare model. What these typologies have in common is that the family is the basic unit. Universalism is very modest; that is, the citizens have to prove that they are poor before financial aid is provided by the state. Primarily, the low-income working class is an object for support. There is a feeling of subordination of these citizens in the description of their relationship to the state, using welfare typologies.

In our analysis of the curriculum, we found that the students are taught to develop a caring relationship to their clients. This is a different position vis-à-vis the client when one compares it to the Lillehammer curriculum’s emphasis on empowerment or the symmetric relationship that is displayed in the Nijmegen curriculum. The relationship between the Irish social educational worker and the client is of a more asymmetric kind. Someone is in need of assistance.

Irish society has as well strong features of the conservative-corporatist welfare state. Traditionally, the model is characterised by alliances between the state and the employers, but the Irish corporatism is more complex. The state, employers, workers’ unions, voluntary organisations, and the Catholic Church are the leading actors in Irish society. Together, they have drawn the lines of current social policy. The social political model is called neo-corporatist.

The model has brought about strongly classified organisations, which have similarities to the “pillarisation” of the Dutch society. There is one difference though; the partnership system is upheld by cooperation on a regional basis. Many of the organisations have become work sites for the Irish social educational workers. The central role of the organisations is displayed in the curriculum. The students are fostered to investigate the organisation’s praxis. They study how social educational workers perform their tasks; organisational possibilities and restrictions are taken into consideration. The students are taught to adjust to the organisation’s way of relating to clients. The students should be prepared to work in organisations that can take many forms - on different societal levels, and the organisations may have many different missions.

Strong organisations are helpful in the process of professionalisation. But the partnership model that is the foundation of the organisa-
tions’ position is quite young; it was launched in 1987. The present configuration of the curriculum is almost contemporary with the partnership model. The organisations for child care and the organisations for treatment of offenders are two organisations that are the foundations of the present curriculum.

The profession of social care worker is not yet fully developed because it is very young in Ireland. The curriculum is useful in the process of professionalisation. As we understand the curriculum, a long term process of forming the profession has started. One starting-point that is salient is the academicalisation of the curriculum. Theoretical schooling is strongly emphasised to students.

8.6 Final reflections

We have devoted a substantial part of the thesis to discourse analysis. The curricula can be presented in many different ways. Having sifted through all the different material, for quite some time, we have arrived at three descriptions of three curricula. This is how social pedagogy is represented in Nijmegen, Sligo, and in Lillehammer. The representation of social pedagogy is an important factor to understand how social educational workers will carry out their tasks in the work field. It leads us to reflect on variations in the colleges’ representations of social pedagogy, and to reflect on the causes of the variations.

The Sligo and Lillehammer curricula share an academic approach. It is a basic element in the colleges’ strategy to keep and elevate their status on a national level. Nijmegen, on the other hand, has chosen another strategy, to develop their unique accent on the creative subjects. The Lillehammer and Nijmegen colleges speak about themselves as offering very competitive programmes in the field of social pedagogy. Lillehammer must show a university image, whereas the Nijmegen College find themselves competing with many other similar colleges, on a somewhat lower level, all over the Netherlands.

The Sligo College has a more modest way of presenting themselves. Sligo and Lillehammer can prosper from their position as important institutions in their regions. They supply regions with an educated labour force, and they supply the younger population with possibilities for higher education.
The attempts to reach the status as a profession take different routes. In Lillehammer there is an academic stance, reliable methods (behaviour therapy), and to develop their programme as the education for work with people with learning problems. In Nijmegen they emphasise the creative methods in order to form something special, their way of building a professional profile. The Sligo College has taken their first step on the academic route. They are an important player in a national endeavour to elevate the professional status of social care workers.

What about these tendencies in the light of the tradition of social pedagogy? The therapy-orientation to be found in Sligo as well as in Lillehammer is at variance with the core of social pedagogy with its cornerstone, the symmetric relation between worker and client. Nijmegen, on the other hand, is closer to equality in the relations.

Imagine there was no practice in the curricula! What about social pedagogy and the curricula then? For sure Nijmegen would be more explicitly promoting close and equal relations client – worker. In the practice the organisational stance is prominent, the retrospective attitude and the direction to fulfil the agency’s demands dominant. The practice period in Nijmegen is very long, and that makes the apprenticeship of students in practice clear. Nijmegen students are inclined to adhere to organisation demands. In Sligo the practice periods are shorter, but quite detached from the college influence, which might make the agencies’ impact significant. In Lillehammer also with shorter periods the practice is integrated in a theoretical course framework, and that may reduce the agencies’ influences.

An incisive conclusion of this is that an education, predominantly emancipatory in the theory elements very well may turn into a training promoting discipline, more so if the students are out of reach for the college.

There is very little about gender aspects in all the curricula. The material in the thesis was produced in the mid-1990s, but it is all the same surprising that the gender discussion has had so little impact on the programmes. A seemingly natural explanation is the gender distribution in the staffs, where men comprise app. the same proportion as the women. In the student population women are in a clear majority, well in line with the fact that most social educational work is carried out by women.
In Lillehammer and in Nijmegen men as a group are much more active than their female colleagues in the curriculum decision-making process. In Sligo it is probably the same but the picture is not that clear. So, a female work is being recontextualised primarily by men. The analysis of the curricula have put forward that measures to promote the professionalisation are important in the recontextualisation process, maybe to be considered as a male attitude. The same line of reasoning could be applied on the academicalisation aspects of the recontextualisation process.

The discourse that is produced, primarily in the study programmes, is very much concentrated on elements of an occupation that can be shown to be original and distinctly different from other occupations in the same field.

The special circumstances (people, educational-organisational background, material options) in the colleges around the period of the formation of the curricula have had a notable impact on them. That goes for all three colleges.

In Sligo the programme originally emanated from courses for staff in child care residential and prison officers. People active in the build up of those programmes seem to have had a great influence, basically through the emphasis on key subjects.

In Norway, the pedagogical avant-garde of Oslo University found a means to spread the message in the Lillehammer College. We have been told that the Olympic Winter Games that took place in 1994 in Lillehammer played a role in the development of the college. The premises that were used as the Olympic Games information centre were taken over by the college, and the very design of the building with a big theatre hall in the centre had a decisive impact on the layout of courses, i.e. lectures in big groups were from the start an important element.

In Nijmegen, the SPH education comes out of the former CMV programme, a programme with a more undecided professional target area, as a general cultural integration enterprise. Many of the staff came from the CMV programme, with its significant emphasis on creative subjects. The SPH was introduced as a more articulate direction, but all the same it was built with a definite will to put creativity in the centre.
The texts that have been examined in this thesis vary from college to college. They vary in coherence and also in what is emphasised, but they are all of them genuine examples of a will to find good solutions for social educational work with people in need. Nevertheless, it has been possible to distinguish connections between the three examples of recontextualisation of social pedagogy, i.e. the three curricula, and a variety of frame factors. One could say that the ideas have as their outcome the representations of clients, workers, client-worker relations, and the organisational framework. These representations have been outlined based on ideas developed in an environment with some significant aspects.

Important features of the social policy in the respective country are part of this environment and their influences on the representations have been shown. The impact of demands from academic/professional organisations have also been detected, as well as the impact from regional educational policies.

Ideas come from people, and we believe that the some of the strong personalities in the colleges have had a huge influence on the recontextualisation of social pedagogy. Or, analysed differently, these key personalities have voiced the most important discourses in the right moment of time.
Summary

Introduction

The professional occupation known as social pedagogy can take many forms and is practised in numerous contexts. What all social pedagogical activities have in common is that there is someone who seeks to influence another person to do something. It is about pedagogical intervention – or, expressed in milder terms, influential processes. Action taken by social educational workers can have liberation as its goal, but can also be characterized by open or concealed forms of discipline. In common with other social and care-giving professions, social pedagogy is practised mostly by women.

The social, economic and political developments in European countries during the twentieth century have much in common with each other. However, it is possible to differentiate several types of welfare states that have emerged. For example, whether it is the state government, the market economy or civil society that has the primary responsibility for welfare is one distinguishing characteristic. Often it is the case that a carefully weighed mix of these three spheres is found to carry this responsibility, so that as many people as possible have their welfare needs satisfied. There are other ways of categorising welfare states, but this thesis uses the model presented by Esping-Andersen (1990). According to this model, there are three welfare-capitalist types of regimes: liberal, conservative–corporative and the Scandinavian welfare model.

Social pedagogy is one of several professions that has emerged concurrently with the building of the welfare state. One cannot speak of social educational workers without also discussing another professional group – social workers. These groups overlap each other both in terms of the work that is carried out and the way in which their content is defined theoretically. Social pedagogy has its own history, which is somewhat distinct from the origin of social work. Social pedagogy has its beginnings in Germany where philosopher Paul Natorp is credited
with laying its theoretical foundations. Social work, on the other hand, has its roots in Britain and the United States of America. Social educational work as it is practised today is more and more influenced by the traditions of Anglo-Saxon social work, and also by pedagogical theory.

Social educational work, like all professions in the social sphere, has begun a process of professionalisation. The struggle for recognition as a profession has caused these professional groups to seek to identify their theory, their particular work methods and their systems of ethics. The state and respective higher education systems play important roles in this process of closure.

Even if social pedagogy can mean many things, it is possible to identify a theoretical definition of the profession. The definition, which is brought forward by the authors of this thesis and used in the analysis of the texts, is three-fold:

- that the client is met as an equal and the perspective of the other is taken
- that critical discussion is held on the client’s life conditions in relation to contemporary society, from which a constructive pedagogical goal should be formulated with reference to the actual client’s resources and potential for action.
- that in professional practise the social educational worker reflects on her behaviour, is aware of the quality of the current relationship and acts in accordance with ethical principles.

**Aim**

A central concept for understanding the aim is *recontextualisation*. This concept is used here in the same way as the English educational sociologist Basil Bernstein (1990) has defined it. He holds that a course of education (curriculum), in all its constituent parts – including all the activities that take place in connection with the course – is the result of a process of transformation. Leading discourses in society on welfare (for example, political discussions on the distribution of resources), professions and social pedagogy are taken up in the course of study. When such exterior discourses are mixed with pedagogical discourses – that is to say, changed into pedagogy within an educational framework – an ideological transformation of the discourses takes place. Their original content is rephrased in new language through the transforma-
tion. As Bernstein expresses this, it is as though such discourses are extracted from their natural context and transformed into somewhat abstract discourses within the walls of the school. This transformation is necessary for them to be appropriate for use in an educational context, which is governed by its own rules. Academic and other requirements of an educational–political nature, as well as the individual teacher’s own understanding, all add their signatures to how the world outside is mediated to the student. A course of education, with its syllabuses, timetables and pedagogical activities, is not a fixed route for the student to navigate: it is constantly being influenced and changed.

Recontextualisation is something that is continually taking place on different levels. It can happen on a central government level (in the so-called official recontextualisation field, ORF), or it can take place at universities themselves with their influential associations (in the so-called pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF). Teachers and educational authorities are active participants in the process when they continually transform discourses that have their base in local planning or in pedagogical practise. In addition to this, all conversations held between teachers and students, all literature read by students – all this is part of recontextualisation.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to describe, analyse and compare the recontextualisation of social pedagogy in three different curricula: in Sociaal Pedagogische Hulpverlenen in Hogeschool Arnhem en Nijmegen, in Applied Social Studies in the Institute of Technology Sligo, Ireland, and in Barnevernpedagogutdanningen and Bernepleieutdanningen at Hogskolen in Lillehammer. These curricula represent different academic orientations and are located in different social-political contexts. The connection between curriculum and environment is central in the analysis.

First, this is about the educational properties of the recontextualisation. Second, it is about how social pedagogy is presented, compared to contemporary views on social pedagogy. Third, it concerns the connection between educational and social pedagogical properties.
Theoretical starting point

The theory that the analysis rests upon is above all the concepts introduced by Bernstein and described above. It is further presented in Chapter 3. Another concept attributed to Bernstein is code theory, which includes a pair of concepts, classification and framing. Both these concepts are used to describe how various elements in a course of study are differentiated from one another, as well as in describing their interaction. Where there are, for example, clear boundaries between school subjects, classification is strong and the course of study is held together by a collection code. If, on the other hand, there are only vague borders between subjects, the code holding them together is defined as an integration code. In a parallel way, framing can also be strong or weak. Where there is strong framing between teacher and student, the relationship is characterized by a low level of student influence over the pace of learning, or the order in which elements of the course are presented. Consequently, framing is weak when the student’s influence over the processes of education increases. Classification and framing have a particular relationship to each other, where classification subordinates framing. There are strong forces at work in differentiating things (or people) from each other. The power that decides the strength of the classification is greater than the control functions that support the framing in the relationship. According to Bernstein, both the concepts of classification and framing can be used in all situations where two people meet. The relationship between the social educational worker and a client can be characterized with the help of these concepts.

Bernstein uses the concept pedagogic discourse, which actually is not a discourse in the usual sense, but instead a rule which adjusts the balance between the regulative and the instructional discourses, both of which are constituent parts of the pedagogic discourse. The regulative discourse is that which indicates how the student should behave in society and how he/she should conduct him/herself in meeting a potential client. The regulative discourse always dominates the instructional discourse, which is about facts and instructions.

This theory-based chapter discusses Bernstein’s structure of theories in relation to Michel Foucault, whose work was a source of inspiration in Bernstein’s later texts.
Part II of the thesis introduces the questions that will later be used in the analysis of the data. These questions have their origin in the discussion of theory in the first part of the thesis. The questions are:

- How can the recontextualising field be described? What is the distribution between ORF/PRF?
- What is the curriculum code; integrated, collective?
- What are the classification and framing aspects of the relationships between school subjects, students and lecturers, the college and the work field and different categories of lecturers?
- What is the balance between the regulative and instructional discourse?
- How can the impact on the recontextualisation of aspects of professionalisation and academicalisation be described?
- What is the curriculum’s construction of the client in terms of categorisation, personal and societal background, gender, and on the dimension dependence – independence?
- What are the main characteristics, in terms of framing, classification, symmetry/asymmetry, and gender aspects of the relationship between the client and the social educational worker as it is depicted in programmes of study, assignments, texts and other parts of the curriculum?
- What are the core characteristics of the social educational worker?
- What is the approach of the curricula to social educational work, compared to a definition based on the contemporary discussion of social pedagogy?

Method and material

Three programmes in social pedagogy were investigated. The authors have visited the respective schools a number of times for data collection. Both authors have spent a period of six weeks each at the school located in Nijmegen in The Netherlands, where they taught. The programmes are treated as cases. When working with case studies, it is important to collect as broad a spectrum of material as possible. The collected material consists of texts: syllabuses, study guides, timetables, different types of instructions to students, assessment information, summaries of practice placements, as well as interviews with teachers,
administrators and students, and observations of lectures and follow-up discussions of practice periods have been analysed with the help of a discourse-analytical approach.

In the chapter on method (Chapter 4), different ways of defining the concept discourse, as well as the most often-used designs within the tradition of discourse-analytical research, are defined. The authors use the integrative approach, which has been suggested by Winther Jorgensen and Phillips (2000).

The analysis of the empirical material has been carried out through a gradual reading and through analysis. Firstly, the texts that describe one of the educational programmes – the one offered in Nijmegen – have been discussed. The material was placed into the three categories that were understood to represent the most dominant features: artistic skills, self-awareness and the organisational context. Then the texts from the other two programmes (Lillehammer and Sligo) were read, and the categories derived from the analysis of the curriculum at Nijmegen were used as a means of giving structure to the material. Where the programmes differed from one another, other important categories were to a certain extent discovered in the latter two. The questions formulated in Part II, as well as the provisional definition which concludes Chapter 2, have determined the conduct of the analysis in the second stage. In this part of the analytical work, the material has been read to find how the texts present social pedagogy in relation to the client: that is to say, how both actors and the relationship between them is constructed.

Results

With regard to the course offered in Nijmegen, it can be said that the process of professionalisation is not taking place in a traditionally academic way. Nijmegen’s version of professionalisation is that as students master creative techniques in the social educational field, they are endowed with a particular professional identity in the work force. The national association of representatives for the 20 different social educational courses in The Netherlands constitutes a strong pedagogical re-contextualising field. The educational code is integrated where there is the ambition of linking together the different subjects in problem-based learning. There is strong framing between teachers and students – that is to say, the influence and control of the students over their education
is only modest. There is a clear regulative discourse, which encourages students to develop a strong degree of self-awareness.

When these educational qualities are compared with the provisional definition of social pedagogy, it can be said that students are encouraged to learn that clients and social educational workers are on the same level: that they are commensurable – a relationship that collides with a professional view that would rather see clients as belonging to another category altogether. The pedagogical discourse conveys strong control over the students during the course (strong framing), which probably results in the students establishing similar relationships in their professional activities with their clients. The goals of social education work are expressed strongly, which is particularly noticeable in the practice period requirement of the course. As a result of the integrated education code, the students learn the skill of reflection in different stages of the course.

The course offered in Lillehammer is strongly centrally controlled – that is to say, the official recontextualising field has strong influence. But many highly qualified teachers and researchers are active at the school, which means that the pedagogical recontextualising field is at least as important. The control exercised by the state over the course gives an impression that civil servants are being nurtured. This is especially true of the branch of studies called welfare nursing. The knowledge base being transferred is easy to identify. Child welfare nurses and welfare nurses have a strong identity and are well established in the work force. There is a clear distinction between the two groups, but the classification has diminished in later years through a common trade union. In the course of study, which is held together by a classification code – which converts to an integration code in those aspects in which the profession is introduced – the students are taught scientifically proven social pedagogical methods. There is strong framing between teachers and students. The regulative discourse prescribes that students as prospective social education workers should establish themselves as the starting point in their relationships with their clients.

When these educational qualities are compared with the provisional definition of social pedagogy, it can be said that the course teaches that the social education worker cooperates with the client. This cooperation should occur in two ways: on a symmetrical basis with respect to child
welfare workers, and in a somewhat more asymmetrical basis with the welfare nurses. The fact that students learn to analyse society and structurally determined clients means that a distance is created between social education worker and client. The fact that students are educated to be civil servants means that those organisations and institutions that are given as examples have a relatively strong influence on the social pedagogical goals. During the course, a number of sections talk of client steering, which decreases the divide between the social education worker and the client. Another way of decreasing the gap between the social education worker and the client is in the study of ethics, which is another cornerstone in the process of professionalisation. The course of studies is academic, which means that the students learn to reflect from a theoretical point of view.

The course of study fits in well with the description of the Norwegian welfare state. Norway is a typical example of the social democratic welfare model, which has as its foundation that all citizens – without consideration of class – are to be guaranteed a minimum standard of living. The principle of normalisation conveyed by the state – which speaks for the integration of marginalised people – has a foothold in the course of study. The Norwegian welfare state, like other modern welfare states, can be criticized for duality in that it both supports and controls its citizens. This view is expressed in the syllabus, in that the students learn to establish both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships with their clients.

The course of study in Sligo is regulated by the official recontextualising field but with strong influence from the pedagogical recontextualising field with regard to the course content. The course is currently undergoing strong academic development with the ambition of increasing its status, but the tendency towards professionalisation is still weak. The academic character of the course is that it is borne by the classification code. Both subjects and teaching staff are separated from one another – with the exception that the classification code amongst staff is weaker in the organization of the follow-up on the practise periods. Control over the students’ learning processes is very strict, indicating strong framing.

When these educational qualities are compared with the provisional definition of social pedagogy, what is most evident is the strong aca-
demic influence and the influence of the central control over the course. Students learn to analyse the clients and their relationship with the clients from the perspective of academic subjects such as psychology and sociology – that is to say, from the “outside”. The client is in an asymmetrical relationship with the social education worker, which reflects the hierarchical organizational structures that social education workers practise in. Clients are seen as recipients of help, which also has its parallel in the strongly framed students. Goal oriented, students learn social pedagogic work in accordance with the conditions prevailing at their practice placement where they learn intervention techniques. There is strong classification with regard to theory and practice: organisation dominates. There is an expressed difference between students and clients, which gives the basis for reflection a therapeutic nature. Ethics is taught in a theoretical way and trained during practice periods. The regulative discourse encourages students to mature through self-reflection.

The Irish welfare model falls above all into the category of liberal welfare states. The way in which the course projects the helping relationship between social education worker and client is in line with the liberal model, or as it is also called, the “rest model”. The client is also described as subordinate, giving an asymmetrical relationship. Ireland also has strong features of the conservative-corporative model, in which partnerships between regional authorities and organisations are important. The classification between the different institutions is strong, like the pillarization found in Dutch society – but here on a regional basis. The central role played by organisations in Irish society is reflected in the course of studies.
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15. Student group B (2 students: Marleen Stenweg, Irene Janssen), November 1999
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29. Student and practice teacher (Unit for unemployed people, Arnhem), March 2000
30. Student and practice supervisor (Institution for audively impaired children, de Wyleberg), March 2000
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32. Two students after observation of supervision talk, March 2000
33. Jan van Rosmalen, lecturer, March 2000
34. Two students, April 1998

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10. Supervision. Ben Collignon and two students (Swedish). May 1997
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30. Two students and placement supervisor at de Waarden, November 1999  
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3. Eleanor O’Mahoney-Ryan (senior lecturer, Applied Social Science), 24/4 1998
4. Rosaleen Rushe (senior lecturer, Psychology), 23/4 1998
5. Margaret Gilmore (practice administrator), 22/4 1998
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9. Rosaleen Rushe (senior lecturer, Psychology), 27/5 1999
10. Majella Mulkeen (lecturer, Communications, Applied Social Science), 28/5 1999
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12. John Gaffney (lecturer, Psychology), 28/5 1999
13. Mary Clarke (senior lecturer, Sociology), 29/5 1999
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17. Perry Share (Head of dep., senior lecturer, Sociology), 26/10 2001
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5. Martina Reilly, 1st year student, in placement at St Dympna’s Special School, Ballina; School for children with learning disability, 4/4 2000
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