

THE FORMATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM AS A SOCIAL FIELD IN
ICELAND AND THE SOCIAL STRATEGIES OF EDUCATIONISTS,
1966-1991

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Curriculum and Instruction)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
1991

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been the most rewarding experience to study at the University of Wisconsin, Madison for the last four-plus years. The Department of Curriculum and Instruction and other departments that have I attended classes in fulfilled my dreams of engaging in serious thinking and much reading. Most of all I thank my advisor Thomas S. Popkewitz who continues to surprise me with his intellectual sharpness and genuine friendship. His thought-provoking classes and popular potluck-parties, in conjunction with the "Original Wednesday Group" seminars, have created a very special atmosphere. I thank Elizabeth Ellsworth whose classes dealing with identity formation, representation, and anti-racist pedagogies were not only intellectually rewarding experiences but important personal-political education. She also "adopted" me and helped me to finish my preliminary examination when Tom was in Sweden on a leave. I thank John Fiske of Communication Arts who has been a great supporter of my project. It was in his seminar in the spring 1989 that I got sufficiently exposed to Pierre Bourdieu's work to understand its potential. I thank Herbert Kliebard and David Schaafsma for reading my thesis and provide encouragement. Finally I thank Richard Lachmann of Sociology for advising me through some of the initial stages of thinking about my research.

Lots of thanks go to friends and colleagues at the U.W. and elsewhere. David Shutkin, Sigurjon Myrdal, and Hannu Simola for endless hours of conversations about this work. Olafur J. Proppe for especially thorough reading of my thesis and for attending my oral examination while he was a visiting scholar in Madison. In fact, he served as an extra member on my committee. Thorsteinn Gunnarsson who commented on all drafts and provided me with documents from Iceland. Ingvar Sigurgeirsson who read most of the thesis, Hrolfur Kjartansson, Hannes Olafsson, Thorvaldur Orn Arnason, and Arnfridur A. Jonsdottir for finding information for me, and the librarians at the College of Education, Reykjavik whose professionalism and friendship is greatly appreciated. Bjarni Danielsson for introducing me to Tom. Marie Brennan, Ahmad Sultan, Bill Gray, Mimi Orner, Jennifer Gore, Jim Ladwig, Jay Cradle, Jim Kusch, and other members of the Original Wednesday Group. Dennis Hill of the Memorial Library and Susan Sheldon for advice on the use of the English language. Joyce Kemper, Jean von Allmen and others on the staff in Teacher Education Building and Educational

Sciences Building. Eirikur Hilmarsson and Adalheidur Hedinsdottir who were my Madison "parents" until they left for Iceland in 1989. Maria Sophusdottir in Madison and Reykjavik. All other friends in Madison who are from 30-40 countries. Margret Skaftadottir and Haukur Matthiasson in Atlanta. Steep and Brew and Victor Allen for the wonderful coffees of the world. My mother, my grandmother who turned 100-years-old last January, family and friends in Iceland for emotional support throughout these years and to whom I sought strength every summer between 1987 and 1990. My family, American Scandinavian Foundation, and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction for financial support.

This dissertation is dedicated to Lanásjodur islenskra namsmanna (the Icelandic Study Loan Fund) that every one who uses it has a love-hate relationship with. But if Lanásjodurinn were not, people who are not born into the elite would be unable to acquire university education, in particular overseas. This is why the elite wants to hurt it. May my work (future strategies!) always defend it.

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ABSTRACT

THE FORMATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM AS A SOCIAL FIELD IN ICELAND AND THE SOCIAL STRATEGIES OF EDUCATIONISTS, 1966-1991

Ingolfur A. Johannesson

Under the supervision of Professor Thomas S. Popkewitz at the University of
Wisconsin-Madison

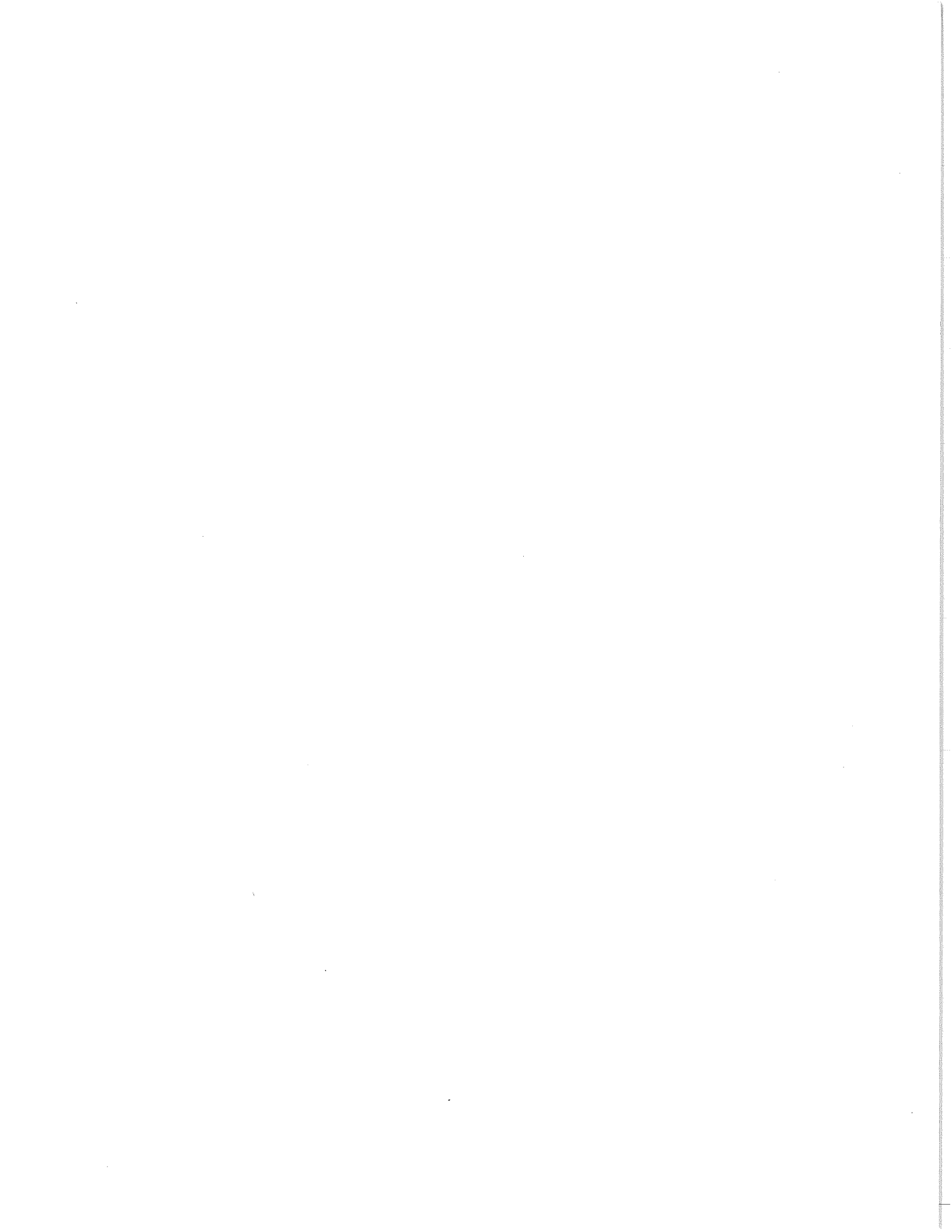
This study concerns a reform in elementary education in Iceland, beginning in the late 1960s. The reform has been presented as one of the key links in a chain of projects toward modernizing Iceland, and the educationists who were involved in the reform (reformers) typically argue for the reform on this basis. This view encompasses a belief in historical progress as well as a belief that scientific knowledge about democratic, child-centered, often social-progressive concerns can lead to a more just society. The thesis examines how a discussion based on human capital theories, developmental cognitivism, and child-centered perspectives collided with other educational discourses and practices in a "historical conjuncture," unique to the place and time (Iceland, 1966-1991).

To account for the involvement of individuals (reformers) in the reform conjuncture of ideas and practices, a conceptual framework attributed to the French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu was adopted. This framework directs attention to individuals and their assumptions as parts of a relationally constructed social field which enables an objectification of individuals' involvement, viewing them as epistemic individuals who employ the discursive themes of the reform as social strategies to gain symbolic capital in social and political struggles. This framework suggests that people's simultaneous conscious and unconscious employment of social strategies towards gaining or maintaining status has contributed to the formation of the field of educational reform.

The argument is about social change within the conjuncture: the story of how the reform discourse has "expanded" and assumed legitimacy over time, the social strategies of reformers to gain symbolic capital, and the changing patterns of relations within the field of educational reform in the last 25 years. This study focuses on the relationship between what goes without saying in the discourse on education in Iceland -- that is, the professionalization of progress and educational expertise. Thus the thesis challenges the perspective that the reform is ultimately as progressive as some proponents like to think and certainly not subversive as traditionalist and neo-conservative critics state.

APPROVED BY

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Thomas Steinkjer". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the printed text "APPROVED BY".



Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Why Study Reform and Reformers?

This is a study of a government-sponsored reform in elementary education (grades 1-10) in Iceland in the last quarter of a century. The reform has been presented as one of the key links in a chain of projects toward modernizing Iceland, and the educationists who were involved in the reform (the reformers) typically argued for the reform on this basis. This view encompasses a belief in historical progress as well as a belief that scientific knowledge and better education can lead to a more just society. Previous interpretations and studies of the reform have not challenged these beliefs and have too narrowly focused on explaining why the reform's implementation varied from original plans and policies.

The study examines the impact that the reform beliefs in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society had on educators and the field of education in Iceland. By "impact" I mean that after two decades of engagement in the reform, the reformers and their beliefs have taken up increasing room in Iceland's social space. In the late 1960s it was almost impossible to talk about developmental psychology or other scientific educational theory in Iceland because few individuals had in-depth knowledge of such theories. However, today -- despite fierce political debates about certain elements of the reform -- many of the reform's "inventions," discursive beliefs as well as practices, seem to be taken for granted in discussions on education in Iceland. Furthermore, a few hundred people now have jobs resulting from the expansion of the higher layers in the educational system (policy making, curriculum development, teacher education, district offices of education, and so forth).

This dissertation documents the complex relationships of objective conditions and conceptual changes with each other and how reformers "chose" sense-making strategies to understand and bring about these changes. To situate the study of the reformers' beliefs as strategies, I examine how a discussion based on human capital theories, developmental cognitivism, and child-centered perspectives collided with other educational discourses and practices at this historical time (Iceland, 1966-1991). I call

this a historical conjuncture, unique to the place and time.

The argument concerns social change within the conjuncture: the story of how the reform discourse has "expanded" and assumed legitimacy over time, the social strategies of reformers to gain symbolic capital, and the changing patterns of legitimation of educational ideas and practices. This study focuses in particular on the relationship between what goes without saying in the discourse on education in Iceland and the potential build-up of experts in educational matters. Expertization of education may indeed have unfortunate consequences and different from what is intended by reformers. For instance, ideas that appear to promote democratic and child-centered education may be linked with scientist¹⁾ ideas and have the consequences of increasing the power of experts or that of the state.

The involvement of individuals in a reform movement tends to become so total that they lose sight of the taken-for-granted assumptions. To account for the involvement of individuals (reformers) in the reform conjuncture, I have adopted a conceptual framework attributed to the French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu and is explained in detail in chapter 2.1. This framework directs attention to individuals and their assumptions as parts of a relationally constructed social field. This enables an objectification of individuals' involvement and relations, viewing them as epistemic individuals who employ the reform beliefs -- discursive themes and practices -- as social strategies to gain symbolic capital in social and political struggles. This framework suggests that people's simultaneous conscious and unconscious employment of social strategies towards gaining or maintaining status has contributed to the formation of the field of educational reform.

The thesis takes up threads that Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, see also Thorsteinn Gunnarsson and Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1990) began to weave in his year-old dissertation from Ohio University, Athens and continues to challenge the perspective that the reform is ultimately as progressive as some proponents like to think and certainly not as subversive as traditionalist and neo-conservative critics state. Moreover, this thesis goes onward to demystify the notion of professionalism by examining the insertion of this notion into the educational discourse in Iceland in the mid-1980s (see also Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1989a). These "agendas" are placed within the mosaic of the changing patterns of legitimation and what counts as capital in the field of reform.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DISSERTATION

In the remainder of chapter 1, there is a brief description of the conceptual bases of the reform in elementary education and the history of the projects that the Department of Educational Research and Development proposed. A review of previous interpretations of the reform follows.

Chapter 2 explains the conceptual frameworks employed in this study, including the concept of historical conjuncture and Bourdieu's set of key concepts -- social field, capital (cultural, educational, social, symbolic), legitimating principle, social strategy, habitus, trajectory, and epistemic individuals. I discuss how I use Bourdieu's framework by comparing it with related notions in radical social theory, and I phrase the specific questions that will be asked of the reform conjuncture along the lines that the conceptual frameworks suggest. The second part of chapter 2 describes the data that is used -- including information about the authors of many secondary sources -- and the specific problems that I encountered in interpreting the data.

Chapter 3 consists of a genealogical discussion of cultural assumptions and pedagogical traditions in Iceland as well as general background information about the country's public education system. I borrow the notion of genealogy from Michel Foucault to consider the web of pedagogical traditions in Iceland. The chapter includes a brief description of the educational institutions that have been involved in the reform.

Chapter 4 identifies and describes the reform's discursive themes in the different sites where the reform discourse was put forward.

Chapter 5 summarizes the reform themes and places them in context in the historical conjuncture of educational discourses and practices in Iceland. The chapter focuses on the ways in which the reform themes are legitimized and delegitimized in discursive conflicts and struggles with pre-reform traditions and other values that have an impact in the field of reform. The chapter identifies three spectrums of legitimating principles.

Chapter 6 documents the social networkings among the individual people working in various reform institutions and discusses the relationship between different principles of legitimation and different institutions.

Chapter 7 interprets discursive themes and social networkings as social strategies of educationists. The chapter also discusses debates on educational issues in the 1980s (social studies, teacher professionalism) and how these debates affected the formation of

the social field of educationists and educational reform.

Chapter 8 explores the major conclusions and implications of the thesis. The chapter also includes reflections concerning the suitability of the conceptual frameworks for studies of reform and change.

Finally, after endnotes and references, there are five appendices: supporting tables; background information about Icelandic history, culture, and politics for readers not familiar with Icelandic society; abbreviations; a list of the individuals analyzed; and an overview over courses of study at the College of Education (Kennarahaskoli Islands).

NOTE ON REFERENCES AND ICELANDIC LETTERS

Following Icelandic tradition, Icelandic individuals are referred to by first and last names in citations, for example: (Hordur Larusson 1985). Alphabetically they are ranked by first name in the bibliography, as library usage acknowledges (exclusively in Iceland, overseas at least where libraries such as the University of Wisconsin Libraries, Madison have experts who understand our tradition of naming). When it is clear who is referred to, such as inside a single paragraph or a section, individuals are referred to, according to a proper convention, by first name only (in a similar way as individuals of other nationalities are commonly referred to by last name only). However, Wolfgang Edelstein, whose writings appear internationally and whose name is a German family name, is referred to here as Edelstein in the text and Edelstein, Wolfgang in the bibliography

The Icelandic letters "þ" and "ð" are written as th and d throughout the thesis, due to word-processing limitations. The comma over Icelandic broad vowels is omitted, leaving "a" and "á" and several other pairs of vowels undiscriminated; moreover, "o," "ó," and "ö" are undiscriminated triplets here. The Icelandic letter "æ" is available in my computer so it is printed. It is pronounced as the English letter "i." Letters from Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and French are used when available.

1.2 Educational Reform and the Department of Educational Research and Development

Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing throughout the 1970s, a governmental agency in Iceland launched reform programs to modernize elementary education (grades 1-10) in the country. This governmental agency, the Department of Educational Research and Development (DERD), was first established in 1966 as a unit within the Ministry of Culture and Education with an initiative from the Minister of Culture and Education and with advisory help from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).²⁾ The Minister, who also was the Minister of Commerce for more than a decade, Gylfi Th. Gislason, an economist and a member of the centrist Social Democratic Party, believed it was crucial for the nation to modernize its schools so it would keep up with the rest of the (Western) world. Icelanders, Gylfi argued, had experienced more rapid changes in the 20th century than any other European nation: the process of the industrial revolutions that started in the 18th century did not start in Iceland until the beginning of the 20th century. Gylfi also believed that a tiny nation such as Icelanders (at that time Icelanders were fewer than 200 thousand people) would have a particularly difficult time to maintain its culture if to continue to follow technological changes and to keep higher living standards than most other nations in the world (Gylfi Th. Gislason 1966, 241). The educationist reformers typically argued along these lines, considering the reform in elementary education to be a major project of modernization (e.g., Edelstein 1971, 1975, 1988a).

BRIEF HISTORY OF DERD AND THE REFORM

From the beginning, DERD functioned as a relatively independent agency within the Ministry of Culture and Education; most of the time (except for 1970-74) it was not even housed with other departments. DERD hired a few specialists, including Andri Isaksson who was DERD's first director until he was in 1973 appointed to the post of Professor of education in the University of Iceland, Wolfgang Edelstein, a researcher at the Max Planck Research Institute in West Berlin, and Johann S. Hannesson (1919-1983), the Rector of the country's only rural gymnasium (Menntaskolinn a Laugarvatni). Johann

taught at Cornell University during the 1950s.

Parallel to the work of DERD, and in part done by the same persons, new school legislation was prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Education and Althingi, the Icelandic Parliament. The new legislation, of which legislation about elementary education was a part, was passed through the Parliament in the spring of 1974 (Log um skolakerfi 1974, Log um grunnskola 1974). The new elementary education legislation is child-centered and more detailed than the legislation it replaced (Log um skolakerfi og fræðsluskyldu 1946, Log um fræðslu barna 1946, Log um gagnfræðanam 1946). Other important education laws passed in the early 1970s were the act concerning the College of Education (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1971) and an act paving the way to establish an experimental comprehensive secondary school in Reykjavik (Log um heimild til að stofna fjölbrautaskola 1973).

Committees were appointed by DERD to make recommendations about how to bring about reform in various school subjects and subject areas. Most of these committees finished their work in the beginning of the 1970s. The committees suggested profound changes in curriculum planning. The suggestions were based on post-World War II development in curriculum theory and psychology on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. In brief, school materials were now to be based on "scientific" curriculum theory. Teaching in schools should change from merely single-textbook, discipline-based instruction to teaching and learning approaches that focus upon the relations between the child, the curriculum, and the society. Perspectives borrowed from the (Ralph W.) Tyler rationale (Tyler 1949) brought into consideration the view that an academic discipline should not be the only source for curriculum decisions. In 1971 DERD sent four staff members to Sweden to take a course with Benjamin S. Bloom in his taxonomy (**Endurskodun namsefnis a grunnskolestigi** 1979, 5). The Bloom taxonomy (Bloom 1956; Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia 1964) -- later also Hilda Taba's theories (Taba 1962, Taba et al. 1971) in the case of the social studies -- was used to support the view that receiving knowledge is more complex than memorizing (by referring to the so-called higher level thinking in the hierarchical division of goals) and that education is more than the teaching of knowledge (by referring to the division between knowledge, skills, and values). The developmental psychology of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg was also called upon to play an integral role in the DERD curricula. Finally,

many theories were employed to argue for an interactive pedagogy and process-oriented curricula, such as those of Jerome S. Bruner.

DERD began major curriculum-planning and textbook-writing projects in the early 1970s. Syllabi were prepared and released for most subjects in 1976-7 (**Adalnamskra grunnskola 1976-7**) except mathematics and biology. Large curriculum projects, such as physics and chemistry, social studies, Icelandic language and literature, and mathematics, were planned and textbooks and other materials produced. All these projects were based on some kind of taxonomies, and behavioral objectives were frequently used in the beginning. Later though, according to one of DERD's documents, a rigid compliance with Bloom's taxonomy was abandoned (**Endurskodun namsefnis a grunnskolestigi 1979**, 9).

First to be launched was the physics and chemistry curriculum project and textbook series, but other subjects followed the path. Most projects were based on integration: social studies sought to integrate history, geography, "home studies" (atthagafræði), and civics, the "hard" sciences curriculum (edlis- og efnafræði) combined physics and chemistry, and biology integrated the study of animals, plants, human physiology, and ecology. All projects were more or less problem or process oriented in contrast with the traditional discipline-based subjects matters. The main traditional teaching tools in Icelandic schools, the chalk and the chalkboard, were now expected to be assisted by transparencies, overhead projectors, films, and motion picture projectors on a regular basis. Booklets and other additional materials were to supplement the single textbook. Equipment for doing experiments -- previously uncommon in Icelandic schools -- was required (see Thorvaldur Orn Arnason 1987, 3-4). The new materials were accompanied by teachers guides, often very detailed and full of objectives and extra activities ("teacher-proof"). The textbooks and other materials were supposedly pre-published and trial-taught, but, in reality, most textbooks never went through this process (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1990-91).

Teams were established to prepare the syllabi and write the textbooks for most subjects. Each of these teams typically included scholars from the various disciplines (biology, geography, history, Icelandic literature and grammar, mathematics, and so forth), curriculum specialists and educational theorists (indeed most of them trained in psychology), and, in the beginning, quite a few classroom teachers. The hiring of

classroom teachers was most part due to the lack of people who had any expertise or experience in curriculum matters (Edelstein 1975, 22-3; 1987a, 7-8), but the assumption was also made that this composition of writers would secure a fruitful practice of both writing the textbooks and implementing these new curricula. In the early days of the reform, Edelstein even referred to the project as a "grassroot experiment" (Edelstein 1975, 23). Inspectors, or project directors (ch.3.2) supervised this work in accordance with the subject areas committee's reports (Andri Isaksson 1987, 60).

THE SOCIAL STUDIES PROJECT AND OTHER DERD PROJECTS

The social studies curriculum project (sometimes abbreviated as SSCP) is an example of how a curriculum project was prepared and carried out. Edelstein was the head of a special group that met at least once a year from 1974-1984 to discuss the ideology of the project, outline the curriculum, and work on drafts of the various texts and materials. The Icelandic social studies project draws heavily upon Taba's spiral of key concepts; it is to a considerable extent an adapted and changed version of the controversial American curriculum project **Man: A Course of Study** (MACOS), prepared by Bruner and others (Educational Development Center ... 1968-76); but it also draws upon other sources (see Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, ch.4, in particular 120-68). In brief, the social studies project consisted of

a network of **key concepts**, which aspire to the status of didactic reconstructions of social science for schools. The basic pedagogical tenets are embodied in three main curricular decisions:

- a) a spiral design of the key concept structure (Bruner 1966, Taba 1962, Taba et al. 1971) based on, or rather geared to
- b) modal stages of cognitive, social cognitive and socio-moral development (Piaget 1956, Inhelder and Piaget 1958, Kohlberg 1969, Kohlberg and Mayer 1972, Selman 1976) to be served by
- c) appropriate teaching strategies -- active, exploratory, inquiry-oriented and cooperative (Bruner 1966, Dewey [1956/1902, Kohlberg and Mayer 1972)

(Edelstein and Gudny Helgadóttir 1981, 12 -- see Appendix 1 to the References for the above references).

A curriculum theorist that social studies reformers were starting to draw upon and is not mentioned in the quotation was Lawrence Stenhouse (e.g., 1975; cited in Edelstein 1987a, 21).

The social studies project probably has the strongest connections to developmental psychology of all DERD projects, due to the special interest the social studies people had in the curriculum theories of Bruner and Taba as well as in Kohlberg's theories about stages in moral development of humans and Robert Selman's research on socio-moral development of children and adolescents. Most other projects relied more on the Bloom taxonomy. Also, the social studies curriculum project drew from several curricular sources (see above).

Many other projects, such as the Christian studies and the new biology curriculum, differ from the path Edelstein and his colleagues took in that regard. The new Christian studies materials are based upon Norwegian textbooks that have been translated and adapted (Alfsen and Bakken 1973; Bakken, Jørgensen et al. n.d.). The biology team, headed by Reynir Bjarnason (1938-1978) who held a Master's degree in agricultural science from Moscow and a degree in science education from Harvard, adapted a science curriculum developed in the University of Colorado, Boulder (referred to as BSCS). Texts from BSCS were translated for grades 8-10, notably the "blue version" (Biological Sciences Curriculum Study and Welch 1973). Materials for grades 5-7 were written by Icelandic authors (see Hrolfur Kjartansson 1982a, 20-21). Experiments and "hands-on" experiences are emphasized in the new biology as well as in the physics and chemistry curriculum.

The plan for the implementation of the new curricula was based on a model adopted from civil engineering system analysis (Critical Path Method) which structures step-by-step the process of implementation (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 79, 288; Edelstein 1975, 16). This includes the drafting of textbooks and other materials, rewriting the drafts, pre-publishing, trial-teaching, and finally publishing in a "permanent" version. Social studies inspector Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (n.d., 9; written ca. 1980) describes the steps in the work of the SSCP: First, original ideas were formed by the team. Second, these ideas were "tested in class by authors of the material in collaboration with two or three teachers." Third, experimental material was compiled, published and tested at least twice in Reykjavik and elsewhere. Finally, "[t]he experimental material [was] revised in the light of the experience gained and issued as a permanent publication (intended to last up to 10 years)." Other projects, such as the natural sciences curricula (physics and chemistry, biology), don't differ substantially in

regard to this process (see *Skýrsla starfshops um endurskodun namsefnis i nattufræði ...* 1989, 3). This process was exhausting and after a while, steps such as step two or step three were bypassed or, at least in the case of many ideas of the social studies project, these ideas still remain in step one. (For more detailed information concerning implementation: the social studies project, Edelstein and Gudny Helgadóttir 1981; the biology curriculum, Hrólfur Kjartansson 1982a,b.)

As the actual use of reform textbooks and materials in classrooms is concerned, social studies are now taught in grades 1-5 and in grade 8, history and geography are taught in grades 6-7 with new textbooks which are somewhat inquiry oriented, but grades 9-10 remain discipline based with rather traditionally written textbooks. Other reform projects than the social studies have even been implemented to a greater extent through textbook use (see, e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1988a, Hrólfur Kjartansson 1982b). More than 80% of eighth and ninth graders had the new biology materials in the school year 1980-81, according to a DERD survey (Hrólfur Kjartansson 1982b). However, according to Ingvar Sigurgeirsson's field observations in classrooms in the late 1980s, the use of discovery methods that many of these projects, including the social studies and the natural sciences, are founded upon "have not fixed roots" in classrooms (1988a, 13).

Another aspect of implementation is the impact that curriculum theories introduced through the reform have had on textbook writing outside DERD. In his doctoral dissertation, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) examined the newest frontiers in textbook writing in the social studies subject area. He argues that Professor Gunnar Karlsson in his recent history textbooks for elementary schools (Gunnar Karlsson 1985-6, 1988) has integrated features of the reform's textbook writing (modern society's interests in that citizens understand certain political concepts, the child's capability to understand these concepts, inquiry questions) with the Icelandic story-telling tradition (see a discussion about Gunnars work in ch.3.1). It is out of the scope of this dissertation's interest and conceptualization to examine the "amount" of the ideas of Tyler, Bloom, Piaget, Bruner, Taba, Kohlberg, Stenhouse, and other theorists in textbooks and schools, but Thorsteinn's observations of various textbooks indicate that the Tylerian structure of considering different sources for curricular decisions and Brunerian inquiry approaches have immigrated to stay, at least in textbook writing.

THE END OF DERD

In the beginning of the year 1985, textbook writing was formally moved from DERD to the National Center of Educational Materials (NCEM) which was founded in 1979 by combining the State Textbook Publishing House (STPH) and the National Educational Film Library (NEFL). The transition lasted a number of years since most authors hired by DERD continued to be on a contract with the Ministry of Culture and Education.

The move of the textbook-writing responsibility was a part of a larger organizational change. In the beginning of 1985, the conservative Minister of Culture and Education, Ragnhildur Helgadóttir, changed the organization of the Ministry. These changes included changing DERD into the Department of School Development (DSD) (see **Skolathroun** 1988). In 1989 when the Ministry of Culture and Education moved into a newly acquired building, DSD was housed with its other branches. Finally, in the spring of 1990, DSD was combined with the Department of Elementary Education (DEE) under the leadership Hrólfur Kjartansson, DSD's former head.

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE REFORM

The changes in elementary education that were proposed in the 1970s were a major event in Iceland's educational history, but other important changes in schooling took place simultaneously, such as the establishment of the comprehensive secondary school system in rural and coastal parts of Iceland during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In a cautious judgement at the end of the eighth decade, DERD staff member Hrólfur Kjartansson (1980, 1) said that "in general, changes in schools during the last decade can be viewed as more rapid development than before," yet these changes are neither revolutionary nor every change a result of DERD's programs.

The DERD discourse, however, was the loudest component of the restructuring of the Icelandic educational discourse in this period. Fierce debates about certain aspects of the reform in elementary education subjected DERD and the group of people who worked at planning the curricula to attacks from neo-conservative critics to which reformers had to respond to defend the reform and themselves. Frequent allegation was that the reform was tainted by a socialist agenda (chs.5.2,7.2; see also Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, e.g., 269-70, 329). All in all, the reform originated by DERD lends itself to be in the focus of a study of education in Iceland during the last quarter century.

In the remainder of this chapter, I review what reformers have said about the reform's implementation. Then I present Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's (1990) critique of the reform and his summary of debates centered around the social studies curriculum project. Finally I sketch the way in which my interpretation differs from those of other interpreters of the reform.

REFORMERS INTERPRETING THE REFORM

There seems to be a general consensus among reformers that innovations in Icelandic education have proceeded slowly. While the issue of whether changes actually have happened fast or slowly is not the task of this thesis, the attention that this issue has received in reformers' interpretations is due to their frustrations about the pace and the nature of the change. Reformers also have had, as mentioned above, to defend themselves against unsubstantiated attacks on the reform. In the defense, reformers, among other things, have pointed to the fact that important aspects of the reform, such as a complete set of social studies textbooks for grades 6-10, never saw the daylight (e.g., Edelstein 1987a, 1988a; Erla Kristjansdottir 1983).

What I find problematic, however, is little questioning of whether the reform was the right way to go; the goal to modernize and democratize Icelandic education has largely been beyond interrogation. Consequently, the problem that the reform faced, according to reformers, was a problem of implementation. Causes that reformers identify for the reform's slow success range from a focus on teachers' competence and training to analyses of the fact that reformers were not well enough prepared and to signs of authorities' indifference. Edelstein wrote about the politics around "The Rise and Fall of the Social Science Curriculum Project in Iceland, 1974-1984" (1987a; originally delivered as a talk at the AERA convention in Chicago in April 1985) that reformers "overestimated the power of scientific argument . . .", "underestimated the complexity of change processes in education" and "overestimated their ability to withstand stress and fatigue over a long period of time" (19). Sigríður Jónsdóttir -- once one of DERD's inspectors of the social studies project and now a DEE inspector -- argues that a "lack of introduction and discussion with local school authorities, the politicians and the media" had serious consequences (1988, 7). Ingvar Sigurgeirsson explains that "[m]ost of the curriculum writers working for DERD had no previous experience in tackling tasks of

this kind and ... nearly all of them did curriculum writing on a part-time basis" and that "experimental testing of the materials suffered also because of a lack of expertise" (1987b, 157). Ingvar concludes that "the whole process turned out to be much slower than had been initially expected" (1987b, 157), and he has observed the **"total supremacy of the published schoolbook"** in the Icelandic classroom (1988b, original emphasis; research towards a doctoral dissertation, see ch.2.2). Other observers draw similar conclusions as Edelstein, Sigridur, and Ingvar; for example, Thorvaldur Orn Arnason -- the natural sciences inspector for DERD and DSD (1982-90) -- in an outline of the story about the biology curriculum project (1987, 5, 22).

In sum, reformers believed that "scientific argument" and the essential qualities of the reform innovations would convince teachers and others that they needed to hurry up to teach the new materials with the new methods. Moreover, reformers became disappointed because they thought changes happened more slowly and in a different fashion than they had hoped for in their enthusiasm. Some of these disappointments were directed to teachers who reformers believed that did not act fast. It was also pointed to the lack of funding and lack of interest in the projects on the behalf of authorities. Finally, the controversies around the reform certainly did not encourage reformers to critically discuss the reform projects in public debates.

It is necessary to go beyond a discussion about whether practices changed fast or slowly because such a view is theoretically naive and politically simplifying as it tends to treat education as a technical problem. Furthermore, as Hrolfur Kjartansson (1980, 1) has pointed out, the reform implementation may have proceeded normally; expectations were simply unrealistically high. One of the implications of the "slow-change" view is depicting classroom teachers as stagnated. Reformers often complain that teachers don't work hard enough or that teachers didn't read the teachers' guides in the manner that the authors expected them to be read. For example, Sigridur Jonsdottir mentions "resistance to change, [and] lack of motivation" (1988, 7). Moreover, the slow-change view bears in it self-blaming tendencies. Edelstein's reflections -- i.e., that reformers "overestimated the power of scientific argument" and "their ability to withstand stress and fatigue over a long period of time" (1987a, 19; see above) -- is an example of a reformer taking a responsibility for the reform's failure.

While Edelstein's points not to avoid responsibility are well taken, the responsibility

of reformers as individuals has to be seen in context with the politics and culture of Icelandic society, as well as in relation to modernity and capitalism (e.g., psychological scientism and human capital theories). Such a scrutiny is both a theoretical and political problem which requires an investigation of the history of the reform and how it has transformed the discourse on education in Iceland. Such an investigation should focus on how the reform discourse relates, politically and culturally, to other discourses and how the reform beliefs and practices have contributed to establishing a social field of educational reform that strives to distinguish itself from previous educational ideas and practices. With such a comprehensive investigation of the relationships between discourses and individuals, it is possible to avoid blaming individuals or reducing the problems related to the reform into a problem of implementation.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF THE REFORM

Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) deals with how the reform was perceived politically by traditionalist and neo-conservative critics as well as he deals with cultural aspects of discourses in contemporary Icelandic society. His attempt is the first major attempt of a scholar, who was not involved in the social studies project or otherwise involved in the debates concerning the social studies, to place that project into an epistemological and political context.

Thorsteinn argues that the reform is a discourse of modernity and places the social studies project in the context of epistemological traditions. He points out that the ideology of human capital theory (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 69ff) and the positivistic epistemology (247ff) of Taba, Bruner, and Piaget (249) "became Siamese twins in planning educational reform" (246). Thorsteinn argues that

in 1966 Icelandic educational authorities had a full-fledged human capital theory platform to build on their educational policy and curriculum reform. All its major tenets are included, that is education -- enhanced by positivistic, educational science and concerns for the culturally deprived in order to eliminate waste in this production system -- is viewed as the most powerful means to promote economic growth (78-9).

Positivistic epistemology, on the other hand, was characterized of positivistic behaviorism which later, at least in the case of the social studies project, developed into "positivistic developmentalism" (249). One of the epistemological connections of

developmentalism is with culture epoch theories. Thorsteinn points out (252-3) the connections between culture epoch theories and Piaget's **Genetic Epistemology** (1970); he (Thorsteinn) argues (151-2) that the assumptions of cultural superiority of Western industrialized societies, prevalent in culture epoch theories and genetic epistemology, are perpetuated in the Bruner curriculum and the Icelandic social studies project. Thorsteinn concludes that "[i]n the long run, the SSCP epistemology -- contrary to the reformers' claims and intentions -- is anti-democratic because it tends to convert curricular decisions which are ultimately cultural and political, into psychological and technical problems" (254).

Thorsteinn reviews other discourses and practices in Iceland. He claims that the story-telling tradition in Icelandic culture has been interwoven with congregational pedagogy in Icelandic schools (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 42, 269) and that this kind of schooling clashed with the innovations (this clash will be investigated further and put into the Bourdieuean framework in ch.5.2). Thorsteinn also claims that the neo-conservative ideologues, who in the early 1980s initiated attacks on the social studies project and other liberal school reform items such as school psychology, didn't understand the nature of the reform proposals nor did they have any grasp of an understanding of the conjuncture of ideas and practices that was occurring. Thorsteinn contends that the rhetoric of the neo-conservatives and other "traditionalists," who entered the dispute, was characterized of misinformed and "xenophobic sensationalism aimed at scoring debating points" (234), and that these critics didn't succeed in revealing the actual weaknesses of developmentalism that may indeed have had an impact on the project's trouble in being implemented.

Since Thorsteinn's conclusions (1990, 301ff) are directed towards assessing the social studies' democratic potential, which he believes is considerable, due to the diversity of ideas that eventually were integrated into the original structures of the social studies curriculum -- he does not explore further the actual conjuncture of these ideas and practices. And, as we shall see later in this thesis, none of these discourses -- not the reform, not the pre-reform school pedagogy -- is an epistemologically coherent stream of thought.

TOWARDS A RELATIONAL INTERPRETATION

Most previous accounts of the reform have been the accounts of leading figures in the reform (e.g., Edelstein 1987a, Sigridur Jonsdottir 1988, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1987b, Hrolfur Kjartansson 1980). These accounts have, by and large, focused upon the reform's implementation and argued that the reform proceeded slower than planned. Many of these accounts were written under political pressures that did not allow critical self-reflection of the field of educational reform. There are also the polemical accounts of the neo-conservatives, merely aimed at turning down what they claimed were leftist, subversive aspects of the reform, and the epistemological critique of Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990). Projects other than the social studies project have not been scrutinized epistemologically in the same manner. Many of Thorsteinn's conclusions, however, apply to other reform projects.

None of these accounts examines specifically the impact of the beliefs in progress, science and the power of schooling to improve society on the reformers and on the discourse of education, nor were they intended to. Thorsteinn Gunnarsson, who focuses upon only one project, deals with certain aspects of the discursive conjuncture and sheds light on epistemological and political issues concerning these beliefs. In contrast, this study does not pick out one aspect, such as assessing the pace of the reform, or deal primarily with just one curriculum project, but focuses upon the structural relations of the reform and reformers in the complex historical conjuncture. In next chapter, I explain how I approach the relations of the reform themes and practices with reformers and why the theoretical framework that I use is right for the study.

Chapter 2. Conceptualization and the Procedure of Study

In the first part of this chapter, I discuss the conceptual framework that I use to interpret the reform and phrase research questions informed by the framework. The second part of the chapter explains the data.

2.1 Conceptualization and Research Questions

In this study I interrelate the conceptual approaches of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu to draw a method to investigate the Icelandic reform in elementary education in the last 25 years. I argue that the notion of historical conjuncture, developed by the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault, is useful to shed light on the mixture, the clash, the intersection, of discourses and practices in Icelandic education in the last 25 years. Then I explain Bourdieu's conceptual framework which directs attention to the reform as social strategies of the reformers and places these strategies in context with the formation of a social field of educational reform. I discuss how Bourdieu's analytical concepts bypass persistent problems in much current educational research. Central is Bourdieu's notion of social field which I compare to the more common sociological notion of community as an explanation concept. Finally, I outline research issues as questions to guide my investigation.

HISTORICAL CONJUNCTURE AND DISCURSIVE THEMES

The reform in elementary education in Iceland in the last 25 years is characterized by discourses of modernity. As I pointed out in chapter 1.2, politicians gave the task of updating education in the country to a team of experts and educators. These modernity discourses include child-centered points of view and the belief that scientific educational theory can improve education. These discourses collided with existing traditions in education.

I employ the notion of **historical conjuncture** to make sense of this discursive clash. Conjuncture, according to one dictionary, is an interaction between events and circumstances; an ambiguous, even fateful, condition. The term conjuncture is most

useful to refer to an historical event in which multiple connections between discourses and practices that appear to be coming from many directions occur; the term also refers to the notion that these interrelations produce a unique outcome (i.e., "historical conjuncture"). If we could visualize such a conjuncture, it would look like a road intersection near a large metropolitan area, except for that there is nothing to prevent the traffic (of discourses and practices) to clash. ¹⁾

Yet clashes do not occur without regularities. Foucault (1972) explains that "discourses ... [of modernity] give rise to certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to their degree of coherence, rigour, and stability, themes or theories ..." (64). Foucault calls for a way

to discover how they [the themes and theories] are distributed in history. Is it **necessity** that links together, makes them invisible, calls them to their right places one after another, and makes of them successive solutions to one and the same problem? Or **chance encounters** between ideas of different origin, influences, discoveries, speculative climates, theoretical models that the patience or genius of individuals arranges into more or less well-constituted wholes? Or can one find **regularity** between them and define the common system of their formation? (1972, 64, all emphases mine).

From this, we can see how to understand the reform in elementary education in Iceland as an historical conjuncture. The regularities (themes and theories) that Foucault talks about are historical "rules," and the "logic" beneath the reform (or any event, any conjuncture) is historically specific and socially constructed. In the study, I will look at the conceptual discontinuities and ruptures as well as the continuities, negotiations and compromises in the reform conjuncture. Often there is one most visible key event in a historical conjuncture that lends itself to be focused on. The DERD discourse and the reform in elementary education seem to be the primary examples of the modernization campaign in Icelandic education. Related issues that reveal a similar belief in progress as the reform campaign does are, for instance, the "open school" (one public school known as an open school was founded in Iceland at approximately the same time as the reform was being initiated), mixed ability grouping in classrooms, a ban on letting kids know where the rank of their grades is compared to their classmates, and school psychology. Therefore, in an important sense, the DERD discourse is just a merging lane to join the

traffic to other sites through new intersections (or a window to watch it through).

GENEALOGICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY

A relevant manner to investigate a historical conjuncture is by a genealogical analysis. Genealogy is a style of researching history in a non-chronological way. According to Elie Georges Noujain (1987, 160), genealogy traces how certain elements break up and recombine to form new elements. Genealogical history is studying the history of ideas and practices through the relations of ideas and practices to earlier conjunctures where these ideas and practices were transformed and produced. In this view, there is no ultimate "essence" of ideas or practices or a fundamental source they can be traced to. The main strength of a genealogical study is that such a study enables to see how the significance of elements of discourses, which I call **discursive themes**, and social practices emerged in a particular place and time. Genealogical analysis does not presuppose an original creation or unity (Foucault 1971, 22); what we expect to find are the connections and breaks between discourses and practices, a conjuncture (Foucault 1977, Noujain 1987).

Genealogical analysis differs from conventional historical approaches that tend to search for causal relationships or trace the chronology of events. The difference between genealogical history and "conventional" history or "critical [theory] ... enterprise is not one of object or field, but point of attack, perspective and delimitation" (Foucault 1971, 26). "It is thus that critical and genealogical descriptions are to alternate, support and complete each other" (Foucault 1971, 27). The genealogical study that I conduct here supports, completes and alternates with critical analysis, such as the Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) epistemological analysis (ch.1.2).

In conclusion, I investigate the reform as a conjuncture where the DERD discourse and other innovations in Icelandic elementary education meet other discourses and practices in society. This focus deals with history in terms of connections, ruptures, and structural relations, in contrast with a chronology of reform events. This focus enables to account for the complexities and nuances of the reform, in contrast with listing causes for how the reform was carried through and not carried through. This focus directs attention to the specificities of the reform conjuncture, in contrast with relating the reform to universal explanations of modernity.

BOURDIEU'S CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

It is possible to explore the implications of educationists in the reform conjuncture by employing Bourdieu's conceptual framework which suggests a structural and relational interpretation of the involvement of individuals in the reform. Below I explain Bourdieu's concepts social field, legitimating principle, social strategies, habitus, trajectory, and epistemic individuals and illustrate with examples from the studies he and his associates have done of French intellectuals' social fields.

WHAT IS A SOCIAL FIELD?

Social field, in Bourdieu's relational, structural definition, refers to the way of representing the "social world" as a space (1985a, 723). Bourdieu argues that a social space is "a multi-dimensional space of positions" (1985a, 724). For each individual or group there are multiple connections that relate to the impact of the different versions of **capital** which are specific to each field. Bourdieu explains:

The position of a given agent within the social space can ... be defined by the positions [s/]he occupies in the different fields, that is, in the distribution of the powers that are active within each of them. These are, principally, economic capital (in its different kinds), cultural capital and social capital as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, renown, etc., which is the form in which the different forms [economic, cultural, social] of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate (1985a, 724).

In earlier studies, Bourdieu (e.g., 1984a, original work in French 1979) used the term class fraction when describing the struggles of the French bourgeois and petit bourgeois for symbolic capital as they appear in the use of art. In his most recent publications in English (e.g., 1985a, 1989a), Bourdieu rejects Marxist class concepts and traces the genesis of social groups. He shows the arbitrariness of grouping and focuses on the site of the struggle as the key to understand the structural relations which result in the production of different versions of capital. The site of struggle is the social field and what is struggled over is legitimacy of ideas (themes) and practices.

Thus, in this view, a given social field is a particular set of relations, a space of relationships. The possibilities for connections in social space, inside or out of the lines that we arbitrarily draw, are endless. However, relationships are never just accidental;

connections are more likely to happen, and networks to be established, when individuals and groups are close to each other in a given social space. "To speak of a social space means that one cannot group just **anyone** with **anyone** while ignoring the fundamental differences, particularly economic and cultural ones" (Bourdieu 1985a, 726). Yet, "alliance between those who are closest is never **necessary**, inevitable (because the effects of immediate competition may act as screen), and alliance between those most distant from each other is never **impossible**" (Bourdieu 1985a, 726). It is in the willingness to accept the possibility of investigating any kind of social connections that Bourdieu departs from most economist Marxists who traditionally have looked for connections on the ground of how individuals, fractions, and classes relate to the means of production.

To identify the relations and connections in a given field is more important than to define boundaries. A field is a network of empirical connections in the social space and "[t]he limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" (Bourdieu 1989b, 39). These limits are specific to each field and can't be fixed once and for all. As I explain later, this definition differs substantially from definitions that identify boundaries between social groups; this definition draws attention to the processes of legitimation that shape the given field's history.

SOCIAL FIELDS AMONG FRENCH INTELLECTUALS AND LEGITIMATING PRINCIPLES

Bourdieu has done extensive studies of social fields in France. In these studies are numerous insights. I cite here briefly two of them to further illustrate what is meant by the concept social field.

In **Distinction** (1984a), Bourdieu identifies trends in tastes of art that can be explained by observations of cultural and economic capital held by the individuals. Bourdieu shows that craftsmen and small shopkeepers in the petit bourgeoisie and commercial employers in the bourgeoisie held the most economic capital and the least cultural capital compared to other fractions and that members of these groups tend to have artistic tastes at one end (the right end!) of the spectrum, while cultural intermediaries in the petit bourgeoisie and teachers in higher education and artistic producers in the bourgeoisie held the least economic capital and the most cultural capital and tend to have

artistic tastes located at the opposite end (the left end) of the spectrum (1984a, 262, 340).

In *Homo Academicus* (1988a), Bourdieu observes that

the university field [in France] is organized according to two antagonistic principles of hierarchization: the social hierarchy, corresponding to the capital inherited and the economic and political capital actually held, is in opposition to the specific, properly cultural hierarchy, corresponding to the capital of scientific authority or intellectual renown (48).

These constitute "two competing **principles of legitimation**" (48); the first principle is "specifically temporal and political ... [and] becomes increasingly dominant as we ascend the specifically temporal hierarchy extending from the science faculties to the faculties of law or medicine ..." (48). This social competence, important in acquiring academic capital, which can be measured in positions held and power exercised, is prevalent in the faculties of law and medicine. Meanwhile, "the other [legitimizing principle], which is founded on the autonomy of the scientific and intellectual order [scientific competence], becomes increasingly dominant as we move from law or medicine to science" (48). In the (sub)field of medicine, there is a "duplication" of these principles of legitimation in "two quite different concepts of medical practice, the first concentrating on the clinical relation between patient and doctor, ... and the second, privileging laboratory tests and pure research" (60). The capital, which is organized according to the latter principle, has, in fact, more in common with scientific competence than academic power or social competence. Other academic disciplines also have internal power struggles, and there are intermediate positions with more ambiguity than law, medicine, and science -- notably the social sciences. Such an ambiguous, intermediate site or field, that is, educational reform, is under scrutiny in this study.

The notion of **legitimizing principles** (hierarchization of values) is central to how I construct the field of educational reform in Iceland. I argue that the reform field is structured around spectrums of legitimizing principles that are the available means (strategies) for individuals to make sense of the reform, to capitalize on. Discursive themes and what I call "social networkings" (see ch.6, introduction) fall into patterns around these principles that are specific to the field (chs.5.3,6.2,8.1). These patterns are studied through a genealogical investigation. I tease out the significance of the points of intersections by asking specific questions about the structured and structuring processes (i.e., legitimizing principles) in the field of reform which constantly restructure what

counts as symbolic capital which, in turn, restructures the legitimating principles.

SOCIAL STRATEGIES AND THE HABITUS

If to gain an insight into how educational reformers in Iceland obtained symbolic capital and how discursive themes and reform practices became social strategies to obtain such capital, it is necessary to "examine the field in which the [individual] self is situated -- the social forces and the apparatus of perception of these forces" (Sabean 1984, 31). Bourdieu has developed theoretical concepts, strategy and habitus, that allow such examination without giving a priority to either the social forces or the perception of these forces.

The notion of **social strategies** (e.g., Bourdieu 1984a, 1986b, 1988a; see also Wagner 1989) enables to see the self in motion and in relation to the social structures and how these structures are perceived. Strategy "is the product of a practical sense, of a particular social game ... This presupposes a constant invention, an improvisation that is absolutely necessary in order for one to adapt to situations that are infinitely varied" (Bourdieu 1986b, 112-13). Social strategies are "objectively orchestrated" (Bourdieu 1988a, 150) by social forces, but at the same time they affect the relations of the field where the participants are playing their social game.

Strategies are derived from the **habitus**, a "durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu 1977, 78; 1990a, 57). The habitus is shaped in social processes but not unilaterally determined by them. The habitus produces social strategies and is produced by social strategies; it is "a structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu 1984a, 171). The relations between habitus and field are,

[o]n one side, ... **conditioning**: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field ... On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or **cognitive construction**: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's energy (Bourdieu 1989b, 44).

People located in near-by places in the social space (that is, with similar "conditions of existence" (Bourdieu 1984a, 171)) are likely to adopt similar habitus because they have had similar opportunities to employ strategies to make sense of the world. Bourdieu elaborates that habitus is

both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And, in both of these dimensions, its operation expresses the social position in which it was elaborated. Consequently, habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated; however, they are immediately perceived as such only by those agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemes necessary to understand their social meaning. Habitus thus implies a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others" (1989a, 19).

Even though the habitus is usually described as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990a, 53), the ways of perceiving and acting upon the world change. That means that the longer members of a group of people work together, the more likely it is that they develop a similar understanding of the world or, at least, understand each other's sense of the world. Thus, the habitus, in an important sense, is not only "a structured and structuring structure" but a structured and structuring process. The assumption that there is a "reform habitus," created over time, is addressed in chapter 7.1.

Bourdieu has interpreted artistic tastes in France in the terms of social strategies and the habitus (e.g., 1984a). In that study his primary interest is in social strategies as the "means of maintaining social distinction" (Foster 1986, 106), but, at the same time, these means are establishing new substances and new objects as signs of distinction. In **Distinction** (1984a), Bourdieu argues that the purchase of art work is one of the most powerful methods to create and show symbolic capital; the art work becomes "objectified evidence of 'personal taste'" (282). He points out that "[i]ntellectuals and artists have a special predilection for the most risky but also most profitable strategies of distinction ..." (282), for instance by attaching themselves to "not-yet-legitimate arts" (326). However, especially in the case of the petit bourgeois fractions, it is more than likely that individuals belonging to the petit bourgeois fractions "do not know how to play the game of culture as a game" (330); they lack "what athletes call a feel for the game (*le sens du jeu*)" (Bourdieu 1986b, 111). Furthermore, Bourdieu argues, "the willingness or capacity to accept the (average) risk ... no doubt varies, other things being equal, with inherited capital, partly by an effect of the dispositions themselves, which are more self-assured when there is more security ..." (1984a, 358), in part due to the possession of economic

means. Therefore,

the personal risk entailed by the riskiest positions declines, both subjectively and objectively, as inherited capital increases, [but] the chances of profit grow as capital increases in all its forms, not only the economic capital which gives the means of waiting for the future of "coming" occupations, or the cultural capital which helps to make that future by the symbolic violence needed to create and sell new products, but perhaps especially the social capital which, in these informally organized sectors [of cultural production] in which recruitment is effected by co-option, enables one to enter the race and stay in it (Bourdieu 1984a, 358).

Individuals with much inherited capital -- social, economic, cultural -- take indeed fewer and lower risks in the exact same acts as people with less capital. The "sense of the game" is crucial; individuals with a plenty of "back-up" resources "sense" when they can use the tiniest cracks or the wildest ideas and still only "run the risk of failure." 2)

Particularly interesting are Bourdieu's observations (1984a) which indicate that social strategies tend to differ among fractions depending on whether they are rising and declining in relation to the volume of possessed capital. Declining fractions tend to have socially established tastes; rising fractions are more likely to experiment with tastes.

Bourdieu explains:

Those class fractions which are expanding, which are mainly rich in cultural capital and which used the educational system as their main means of reproduction (junior and senior executives, clerical workers) tend to increase their children's schooling in much the same proportion as the self-employed categories occupying an equivalent position in the class structure (157).

He also points out that

new occupations are the natural refuge of all those who have not obtained from the educational system the qualifications that would have enabled them to claim the established positions their original social position promised them; and also of those who have not obtained from their qualifications all they felt entitled to expect by reference to an earlier state of the relationship between qualification and jobs (357).

It is important to note that these different strategies, as well as different perceptions of the objective chances for success, have structural and historical relationships with these objective chances. Specific strategies do not belong naturally to any special fraction or

occupation, but, through the concept of habitus, it is possible to make sense of them as historically and culturally shaped social phenomena.

CHANGE PROCESS AS A TRAJECTORY

The orientation in Bourdieu's conceptual framework towards studying processes makes the framework suitable to study social change, such as the reform in Icelandic elementary education. This framework opposes predetermining the nature and magnitude of the change because it does not buy any substance at face value. In this regard, the framework is closely related to the genealogical orientation that focuses on discursive, as opposed to "natural," connections of ideas (themes).

An example of the relational view is Bourdieu's treatment of the rising and declining fractions (Bourdieu 1979a, 1984a; Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). The phenomenon of "upclassing" and "downclassing" constitutes a major societal **trajectory** where "reconversion strategies" -- that is, strategies to translate one form of capital into another form (Bourdieu 1984a, 157, 163), primarily into symbolic capital -- are crucial for groups or individuals to be successful. By trajectory, I mean that this process is affected by the objective conditions ("objectively orchestrated") but the objective conditions are also affected by the attempts to change them. The notion of trajectory also refers to the specificity of each field; each field's trajectory has its own regularities but is not dependent upon universal, predictable logics of historical development.

In an excerpt from a longer article on upclassing and downclassing in France, Bourdieu (1979a, 87; original work in French, 1978) points out the

"creative redefinition" is ... found particularly in the most ill-defined and professionally unstructured occupations and in the newest sectors of cultural and artistic production ... , [in short], where jobs and careers have not yet acquired the rigidity of the older bureaucratic professions and recruitment is generally done by cooption, i.e., on the basis of "connections" and affinities of habitus, rather than formal qualifications.

The ideas that dynamics of conversion and ill-defined careers matter are especially relevant for my study of the trajectory of educational reform in Iceland in the last 25 years. "Cooption" into the field of reform had to be done on the basis of connections or qualifications in other fields because individuals with formal qualifications in education as an academic discipline were so few. There are also quite a few examples of individuals

using the education system (e.g., going overseas for studies) to obtain capital, and I would not be surprised to discover that someone used the reform as a "refuge" or a substitute for a career in an academically recognized discipline or other socially recognized activities. Reformers and the institution they worked in certainly occupy an ambiguous position in the field of academia and society. For example, during the 1970s and the 1980s the College of Education -- after the institution was moved from the secondary school level to the university level in 1971 by an act of the Parliament (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1971) -- went through what traditional approaches might call "identity crisis." Using Bourdieu's notion of capital, we see that the College of Education and DERD primarily lacked academic and social capital; these institutions didn't lack anything "essential," such as a university status. Reformers also seem to constitute a rising group -- at least a group who wants to rise by increasing academic and social capital, convertible into symbolic capital -- and reformers seem to have taken conscious and unconscious risks. The social reconversion strategies of such a group are particularly unpredictable; the "rules of the game" tend to be extremely fluid and inaccessible for outsiders or spectators outside the narrow field of reform, even for individuals (e.g., classroom teachers) inside the larger field of education. How these strategies were employed is discussed further in chapters 6-7.

EPISTEMIC INDIVIDUALS

By using the notion of habitus, (individual) selves are seen as historical subjects, and, similarly, subjectivity is considered to be constructed historically. Bourdieu (1990a, 56) argues that

[t]he "unconscious" ... is never anything other than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by realizing the objective structures that it generates in the quasi-natures of **habitus**. As Durkheim (1977, 11 [original ed. 1938, 16]) puts it:

"In each one of us, in differing degrees, is contained the person we were yesterday, and indeed, in the nature of things it is even true that our past **personae** predominate in us, since the present is necessarily insignificant when compared with the long period of the past because of which we have emerged in the form we have today. It is just that we don't directly feel the influence of these past selves precisely because they are so deeply rooted within us. They constitute the unconscious part of ourselves. Consequently we have a strong tendency not to recognize their existence and to ignore their legitimate demands. By contrast, with

the most recent acquisitions of civilization we are vividly aware of them just because they are recent and consequently have not had time to be assimilated into our collective unconscious".

This approach enables to view individual persons (e.g., educationists, reformers and teacher leaders in Iceland) and their positions as historical subjects, occupying spaces in structural relations and shaping and shaped through events of history (the reform conjuncture). By using the notion of a historically constructed individual, which Bourdieu in *Homo Academicus* (1988a) calls **epistemic individuals**, I do not highlight the formation of the particular individual with a proper name (label), no matter how complex that process might be, nor do I see the individual biographies as merely autonomous entities where the individuals have definite intentions that they act upon in a deliberate way. In contrast, the epistemic individual "is defined by a finite set of explicitly defined properties which differ through a series of identifiable differences from the set of properties ... which characterize other individuals ..." (22). The identification of epistemic individuals does not take place in an "ordinary space, but in a space constructed of differences produced by the very definition of the finite set of effective variables" (22); this definition takes place in an

epistemic space [which] is characterized by the system of differences, of uneven intensity and unevenly linked to each other, established between the finite set of his relevant properties in the theoretical domain considered, and the whole set of finite sets of properties attached to the set of other constructed individuals (22-3).

By constructing epistemic individuals, biographical individuals are "reduced" to their relations in social space. Biographical individuals do matter, however, because they occupy positions in institutions where they exercise power. But the study focuses upon them as epistemic individuals who are engaged in an argument, a discourse, a trajectory, of an ambiguous field where they affect the legitimacy of the argument, the discourse, the trajectory, just as they are affected by it (see also Bourdieu 1989d, 6-7).

POWER AS SITUATIONAL AND PRODUCTIVE PRACTICE

In this study, I look at power as situational; that is, its consequences can not be defined *a priori* to identifying the discursive themes and social networkings in the field in

which it is employed and exercised. In the thesis, I focus on how discursive themes become structured into patterns of symbolic capital (legitimizing principles, hierarchies of values), and I consider the creation of a collective belief in educational expertise (which Bourdieu (1990a, 68) calls "collective misrecognition"). This belief, specified as "professionalization of progress and educational expertise" (see ch.7.2), is based on the conviction that science can guide democratic, child-centered school reform. Power in the field of reform, therefore, refers to the authority (discursive ability) to disconnect and reconnect themes in order to produce a collective belief that, in turn, also structures what is possible to talk about in the field of reform.

Foucauldian scholars would refer to the notion of a collective belief as the internalization of truth, based on the notion that power refers to a network-like system of relationships. Foucault explains:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (1980, 119).

Power, from this point of view, is as much due to the internal persuasions of individuals themselves as it is to due to an institutionalization of discourses of modernity. Based on the network-like notion of power that produces pleasures, knowledge, and discourse, Foucault studied what he calls the political technologies of the self (e.g., 1986, 1988a,b) that emerged in the last two centuries. These technologies allow individuals to internalize conceptions and practices (such as curriculum reform) as natural phenomena. As Bourdieu phrases it, "The countless acts of recognition ... and ... collective misrecognition constitute investments in the collective enterprise of creating symbolic capital ..." (1990a, 68). Because individuals in a hegemonic society, such as contemporary Icelandic society, are not physically forced to take up modernity projects (e.g., curriculum reform), the personal engagement in reform practices ("countless acts of recognition") becomes productive of and produced by what I (following Bourdieu) describe as the habitus. In chapters 6 and 7, I discuss the relationship between epistemic individuals, the themes they adopt, and the collective belief in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society.

WHY BOURDIEU'S FRAMEWORK?

Bourdieu's conceptual framework did not jump full-fledged out of one individual's head but builds upon intellectual traditions in Europe. While it is not the task of this thesis to situate Bourdieu's conceptual framework in relation to the diverse developments in radical social theory in recent years, or situate its discursive practice in current educational research, it is appropriate that I explain why I decided to use it for this study as opposed to some other stances that, at first glance, may seem relevant.

I draw upon those aspects of Bourdieu's framework which bypass persistent theoretical and political problems that I was faced with in formulating a study of the educational reform in Iceland in the last 25 years. These aspects include the definition of boundaries and the problem of blaming. By "definition of boundaries," I am referring to the fact that many current conceptual approaches (arbitrarily) divide people into groups by using universal categories. Typically these divisions are dualistic and antagonistic. In such an approach it would be attempted to define teachers and reformers as two groups as separate as one could possibly construct them; in such an approach it is a problem, for its own sake, how to define the boundaries of a group theoretically. Bourdieu's framework, on the other hand, acknowledges that social fields are constructed in a social space and that, therefore, groupings are specific to each field.

By the "problem of blaming," I mean the tendency to blame a group for failure or bad intentions (or celebrate for success or good intentions). Bourdieu's framework helps the researcher and others to reflect on their involvement (currently called for by, for instance, many feminists) by objectifying the relations between individuals, including the relations between the researcher, as Bourdieu sometimes does with himself (see 1988a), and the types of capital; that is, seeing the individuals in the social and political context. Applied to the reform, neither teachers or reformers are to blame or celebrate for the reform's failure or success.

Related to the problem of blaming individuals or groups is the search for "causes." The world is complex, but approaches that focus on finding causes often satisfy the researcher if one or two causal relationships have been identified or a particular group (e.g., capitalists, teachers) can be made responsible. The search by reformers and others for simple causal relationships to explain the reform's failure "rate" does not give us as sophisticated insights into the reform conjuncture as frameworks, such as Bourdieu's,

that take the complexities and intersections into account and acknowledge that the world is often rather unpredictable. This is not to say that identifying "causes" is always and by definition wrong; rather, that the type of a study that is proposed here doesn't give a primacy to that task.

Below I discuss how Bourdieu's framework differs from notions in Marxist educational theory and from notions of community. First, I explain how the categories reproduction and resistance tend to give the floor to blaming and celebrating and how the use of them tends to divide each trajectory into antagonistic processes. Then I discuss a notion of community developed by Sabean and compare that notion with Bourdieu's notion of social field. Finally I discuss how the concepts field, strategy, habitus, and conjuncture, as well as genealogical analyses, help to avoid blaming and how they combat the creation of boundaries and the search for a single cause.

HABITUAL CATEGORIES VERSUS PREDETERMINED CATEGORIES

Marxist conceptions allow dealing with structures as well as individuals in an objectified way. Furthermore, the educational theorists who subscribe to Gramscian hegemony analyses (often referred to as neo-Marxists) would argue that the concept of hegemony adds to our understanding of the relations between conceptual and material change. In fact, this study gains from the insight of such studies (e.g., Baron et al. 1981, Apple 1982).³⁾ Most Marxist conceptions, however, have been more concerned with seeing the forest than finding the trees; that is, identifying causes rather than researching how things happen. Because this study's focus is on the structural and habitual relations between the reform's discursive beliefs and the individuals involved, it is important not to prioritize in advance one element of the reform trajectory, such as the reform's relations to the development of capitalist society, as automatically the determining side of the process.

Bourdieu (1985a) criticizes Marxists for seeing the world in "frozen" predetermined class categories when they go out and look for antagonistic groups. The traditional Marxist categories of social and economic classes were designed for certain purposes; that is, the guidance of a revolution where it was important to be able to identify who constituted the most likely group to take up the cause of a revolution towards a socialist society. The fields where these categories were first developed and implemented, the

fields of class struggle in the pre-World War II era in Europe and China, are less ambiguous than the field of educational reform in Iceland in the last 25 years and the fields among intellectuals in France that Bourdieu studied. Bourdieu's framework and Marxist approaches do not have clear-cut boundaries though; in much regard Bourdieu draws upon that tradition. But, important for my purposes, Bourdieu's framework combats the creation of arbitrary boundaries and blaming.

One of the most visible accounts of education in recent Marxist social theory is the distinction between reproduction and resistance (e.g., Willis 1981/1977, Apple 1982, Giroux 1983a,b; for a critique, see Walker 1986, Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1989b). Since resistance studies most often focus on identifying the ideal sites for promoting social change, this distinction bears with it the problem of defining what is reproduction and what is resistance as well as it has been widely debated when a particular activity is reproduction and when it is resistance. Through such a focus, practices are placed into a hierarchy, according to predefined criteria. In our case, reformers prioritize inquiry learning; sceptics argue that inquiry learning threatens the necessary knowledge base that children need. Such searches for a profound excellence in the reform or in the pre-reform tradition unfortunately intensify the separation between people by placing them in groups that are constructed on grounds, such as class or gender, which badly fit with the ambiguous field studied here. Questions about what is reproduction and what is resistance inevitably look for someone to blame. A typical example of such a question would be, Did teachers' "resistance" in Iceland have an "historical significance," or were teachers perhaps merely reproducing oppressive power relations by "resisting" the reform? The focus on identifying when an activity is reproduction and when it is resistance thereby paves the way to try to separate the process of reproduction from the process of resistance but, of course, only in this particular discourse. Resistance studies' preoccupation with identifying the sites of resistance gives too much priority to universal distinctions that ignore the facts that the reform is a part of a unique, complex historical conjuncture and that the reform has a trajectory with curious details.

Instead of seeing reformers and teachers, men and women, modernity and tradition, reform and anti-reform, as antagonistic opposites, Bourdieu's framework suggests to create only categories which are derived from the structural relations of the particular field and the types of capital to be found there. In other words, possible categories derived

from the notion of habitus should be tailor-made to fit the historical conjuncture under scrutiny. In such a view, all groupings have their primary relations to the content, the legitimating principle, the hierarchy of values, of the reform but not with classifications designed for purposes such as understanding labor relations (the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat). Similarly, what constitutes the types of capital can not be determined prior to studying the field where the particular capital counts as such.

SOCIAL FIELD OR A COMMUNITY OF EDUCATIONISTS?

When I first talked about this study with friends and colleagues in the education profession in Iceland in the summer of 1989, I was confronted with the problem of translating not only the English terms but also the conceptualization into the context. I talked about the "community of pedagogues," "educationists," or "educational experts," due to my unclarity of what a social field is and how to explain it in another language.

But I also became aware of that that "community," which I had thought of using interchangeably with social field, lacked the analytical capability that I was seeking. Historian David Warren Sabean (1984) provides a useful discussion which supports why social field may be a more suitable concept to understand the reform in Iceland than common notions of community. However, Sabean's own community concept provides insights into understanding the reform relationally. He redefines the community concept for the purpose of studying a village discourse in the pre-modern Germany:

What is common in community is not shared values or common understanding so much as the fact that members of a community are engaged in the same argument, the same **raisonnement**, the same **Rede**, the same discourse, in which alternative strategies, misunderstandings, conflicting goals and values are threshed out. In so far as the individuals in a community may all be caught up in different webs of connection to the outside, no one is bounded in his [!] relations by the community, and boundedness is not helpful in describing what community is. What makes community is the discourse (29-30).

Sabean expands upon this notion of community in the discussion about culture: "Since a close community is relatively impenetrable for the outsider, the investigator from his position often views its culture as highly unified" (1984, 94-5). He contends that "culture is a series of arguments among people about the common things of their everyday lives. What they share are the material and symbolic things which connect

them, not the attitudes, positions, perceptions, strategies, or goals" (95). This leads me to believe that the closer the researcher is to the field or the community s/he studies, the less likely the heterogeneity of attitudes and perceptions is going to go unnoticed. From the outside the reform field and its discursive themes may give such impressions of unity; from the inside the arbitrary nature of many of the themes are all too obvious.

Sabean's approach that the discourse makes the community and that primarily the material and symbolic things are shared is indeed almost identical in its practical use to Bourdieu's (1989b, 39) observation that the limits of a field are where the effects of it cease (see above). Were I to make my definition more precise, I would call the field that I study "the field of the educational reform discourse."

Related to using the term community are inevitable dangers that I want to avoid. It implies that there are (fixed) boundaries which I would be called upon for not determining. However, according to Sabean's notion of community, it is not important to deal with the community's boundaries so for that reason alone I do not need another term. Second, field suggests relations; community suggests some kind of wholeness or unity. Again, Sabean has fenced off that hole by acknowledging that fractures are inherent in any community because a community is only glued together by its members' engagement in similar practices and arguments, not by their attitudes. Third, the relational approach allows to catch the different kinds of capital that reformers and teachers possessed and articulated; the community approach doesn't have such a language. Fourth, I believe that field grasps the fact that there is a complex and dynamic change process, a trajectory, better than community does; "'community' tends to be historically flat" (Sabean 1984, 29). Yet the concept community, in its modified version, may be well suited to describe a slow-changing, relatively closed relationships, such as in the German village that Sabean studied. Meanwhile, field suits better the fast-changing, blurry relationships in the Icelandic educational reform. In the end, the course of study has to determine the exact definition of a particular field; there is no *a priori* notion of where the effects of arguments and debates in a given field cease.

INDIVIDUALS AND STRUCTURES IN ONE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concepts field, strategy and habitus, as well as conjuncture and trajectory, combat dualizing conceptions with arbitrary boundaries; these concepts do not draw

essential boundaries between the external and the internal, reproduction and resistance, the conscious and the unconscious, the rational and the irrational, men and women, or women and men; and everyone is implicated in the beliefs and practices in the field through their habitus. But, Bourdieu reminds, "[t]his paradoxical product [habitus] is difficult to conceive, even unconceivable, only so long as one remains locked in the dilemma of determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity ..." (1977, 95). By focusing on the reform as "an unstable assemblance of faults, fissures and heterogeneous layers" (Foucault 1977, 146) with continuities and discontinuities, I do not dualize or blame an individual or try to apply universal explanations. By employing genealogical analysis -- tracing connections and nuances instead of searching for the essential nature of discursive themes and practices -- it is possible to interpret the reform's history as a trajectory of social strategies to gain symbolic capital, but not as antagonistic processes with different origins. Bourdieu's relational distances are not natural differences but constructed differences in an epistemic space. Relations and alliances are special for each field in terms of social networks and symbolic powers (Bourdieu 1989a), and these relations and alliances cross over the boundaries that other theoretical notions, such as the reproduction-resistance duo, have been producing.

Wagner (1989, 17) points out that Bourdieu's "theory of practice allows for the 'uniqueness' (op.cit.: 113 [i.e., Bourdieu 1980b]) of situations and of human beings without sacrificing the interest in regularities." The promise that a study of "mini-processes" and individuals' strategies can be tied with the interest in understanding regularities and structures in one theoretical framework appeals to me. Bourdieu's framework, because of its concern to explain the relations between structural factors and the acts of (epistemic) individuals, does not trap me, or anyone else, into auto-biographical notes and blaming for what I did and what I didn't do as a reformer and now as a researcher and historian of the reform. In contrast, frameworks that have created arbitrary boundaries typically blame (biographical) individuals because these frameworks do not possess ways of seeing the habitual relations that allow individuals and structures to be conceptualized in one framework. This study of the social field of educational reform in Iceland in the last 25 years is a study of the trajectory of social strategies in a dynamic field.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

The notions of social field, social strategies, and habitus pave the way to view the beliefs in progress, science, and power of schooling to improve society and the formation of the field of educational reform historically and structurally. The conceptual frameworks and epistemic individuals involved in the historical conjuncture can be seen as mutually structuring and being structured in manners specific to each site where the reform discourse runs through.

For the study documents the complex interrelationships of objective conditions and conceptual changes, and how reformers "chose" sense-making strategies to understand and bring about these changes, the analysis includes two levels of interpretation: one level where I describe the reform and the institutional changes and another level where I interpret the reform's trajectory as social strategies of educationists to gain symbolic capital. On the third level of discussion I examine the implications of the study for social theory and research on educational reform

Following is a short overview over the main areas of the study.

DISCURSIVE THEMES, OBJECTIVE CHANGES, AND SOCIAL NETWORKINGS

1. At the first level of interpretation is a *documentation of the historical conjuncture, the discursive conditions, the event, which the new elementary education curricula signify*. I identify the emerging discursive themes, which constitute the key beliefs of reformers, and the relations between the discursive themes and practices of the reform and the pre-reform discursive themes and practices will be examined. Discursive themes refer to what is called cultural and educational capital in Bourdieu's framework. Specific questions include,

-What are the legitimating principles of the reform?,

-How do they conflict with the legitimating principles of the pre-reform educational discourse?,

-Is the reform a major break with the pre-reform pedagogy and educational discourse?,

-Are there internal divisions in the reform movement based on different types of educational and academic capital?, and,

-What are the spectrums of legitimating principles in the field of reform?

These questions are investigated in chapters 3-5.

2. At the "descriptive" level of interpretation I also investigate the "*institutional geography, social networkings, and movements of biographical individuals between institutions*"; that is, social capital. This description includes documenting the empirical relations of the proper individuals and the patterns these relations fall into. Specific questions include,

-How do different kinds of discursive themes relate to different groupings and institutions?, and,

-Is cultural capital and social capital in the field of reform related to different principles of legitimation (hierarchies of values)?

These questions are discussed in chapter 6.

THE TRAJECTORY OF THE REFORM

3. At a more speculative level, the study looks at the *trajectory of the reform; that is, how the educational reform conversed into social strategies of epistemic individuals*. I focus on what is taken for granted in the field of reform and investigate the interrelations between discursive themes -- the reformers' beliefs in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society -- and social networkings in establishing the reform as a special social field. Specific questions include,

-How do reformers (as epistemic individuals) employ the reform themes and practices in ways that affect the formation of a field of educational reform?, and,

-How do discursive themes and social networkings structure the formation of the field of reform at the same time as these themes and networkings are structured by the trajectory of events that take place?

Events, specifically investigated in chapter 7, are the social studies debate in 1983-4 and the subsequent campaign for teacher professionalism in the mid-1980s.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FOCI

4. At the third level of discussion the thesis is concerned with the *implications of its method and findings for social theory in general and intervention in educational reform in*

Iceland in particular. I argue that the research framework, adopted from Bourdieu's notion of relationally constructed social fields and a genealogical approach to history, has a potential to interpret social change much beyond the way in which these approaches have been understood by many British and American neo-Marxists who have perceived Bourdieu as a cultural reproductionist (ch.8.2).

This study has greater conceptual than political and practical implications. Written under the auspices of "curriculum theory and research" in a renowned research university, the dissertation, by its very existence, advocates pedagogy and curriculum theory and indeed any educational science as a legitimate strategy to make sense of schooling and society. On the level that the dissertation does not claim to offer practical solutions about how to carry out more progressive curriculum reform, it is a theoretical endeavor. On another level, theory, politics, practice (in this case reform), method, and conceptualization are not separate projects, and it is impossible for a researcher to be free from the game while doing the study.

Specific questions to be considered in chapter 8.2 include,

- What are the implications of Bourdieu's framework and the genealogical approach for the study of educational reform and social change?,

- How does the notion of legitimating principles differ from conventional views of how groups and differences are constituted?, and,

- What is the relationship between social action (e.g., intervention in educational reform) and conceptual research dealing with social change?

THE ENGAGEMENT OF A RESEARCHER

This account of the reform deals with the relationships between the discourse and the individuals engaged in the discourse. This directs attention to reformers' habitual engagement in legitimating ideas and changing the patterns of the discourse. What is studied is the social strategies of reformers toward gaining status for not only themselves but for ideas they believe in. This is important for how to view a researcher who is a part of the field because the approach enables to objectivize the researcher but "[w]hat must be objectivized is not the individual who does the research in his biographical idiosyncrasy but the position he occupies in academic space and the biases implicated in the stance he takes by virtue of being 'out of the game' (*hors jeu*)" (Bourdieu 1989b, 35). This means

that a researcher is just another epistemic individual who is not merely preoccupied in a self-reflection of her/his own engagement in the field of study. Nevertheless, my involvement in educational politics, research, and textbook writing indicate my closeness for the topic ⁴⁾ and explain my interest in being reflective about this field, and I do have my own agendas and reasons for doing the study. These reasons, however, must be seen as a product of practical sense rather than of intent or a "biographical idiosyncrasy." This is what I have referred to as individuals and structures in one theoretical framework (see above).

2.2 Notes on Methods and the Use of Data

Bourdieu's framework, as well as genealogical analyses, cannot be described as one specific, technical method; rather, these analyses and methods are interrelated and eclectic and include multiple "techniques." Historical and biographical methods are emphasized here, as opposed to statistical or ethnographical methods. These historical methods include primarily studies of original reform documents and secondary sources about the reform and pre-reform discourses besides interviews with participants in the reform. I also employ the methods of the detective in studying the social networkings among individuals and in institutions.

SOURCES

Written sources include published documents, drafts, xeroxed syllabi, handwritten classnotes, periodicals, newspapers, as well as scholarly work about the reform, primarily in the form of doctoral and Master's theses. I consulted institutions and Who's Who? books for biographical information, and I also interviewed a number of reformers.

WRITTEN DOCUMENTS

Written documents are the largest source of materials. They include reports and documents from DERD and other institutions. Some of them are pre-publication versions that were xeroxed for a limited group of people. An example of a key document is the draft toward a new General Syllabus for Primary Schools, released for review in 1983 (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983). Among other important documents are policy documents from the elementary school teacher union, the College of Education, and other important sites. The scholarly work of Wolfgang Edelstein, which includes numerous articles in international journals in English, speeches, and his 1988 book in Icelandic (1988a), lends itself to a special scrutiny. Proceedings of conferences turned out to be an accessible source since several of these proceedings have been published. Debates in periodicals, newspapers and elsewhere often illuminate the educational and cultural capital in the reform and shed light on the discursive conflicts and social strategies that I investigate in this thesis.

SYLLABI AND CLASSNOTES

To find what was "taught" in the College of Education and the University Pedagogy Division's educational psychology and curriculum theory classes, I investigated syllabi and spoke with instructors. For the College of Education, I focused on developmental psychology and the so-called theme study after 1978. For the University's classes, I investigated syllabi and class notes.

SECONDARY SOURCES AND THEIR AUTHORS

When I in the early 1980s wrote my cand. mag. thesis on the history of elementary education in Iceland during approximately the first half of this century (1908-1958), I was faced with having to scrutinize original materials such as the Althingi proceedings to be able to write the thesis; so few secondary sources were available. In the 1980s, however, an increasing number of doctoral and Master's degree theses and other accounts have been produced about education in Iceland. Most of these theses and accounts are written in English. It may say something about the state of educational research -- and, in fact, about almost all research in the social sciences -- in Iceland that the only opportunity most of us have to do scholarly work has been during the time we spend for our Master's or doctoral studies.

Below I discuss some of the theses I use in this study. The authors are ranked alphabetically:

Anna Joelsdottir (1947-) is a graduate of the Reykjavik Gymnasium and the College of Education (1978; see also ch.7.1). She taught in two open schools, Fossvogsskoli and Vesturbæjarskoli, in Reykjavik (1978-84) and served on the Editorial Board of *Ný menntamal* (1983-4, 1985-7). Anna finished her MA degree from the University of East Anglia in September 1985. Her thesis is an exploration of the cultural assumptions that affect dialogue among teachers in Iceland. The study is based on anonymous interviews with eleven teachers and teacher educators.

Arthur Morthens (1948-) is a kpr. graduate of the College of Education (1973). He was an elementary school teacher in Keflavik (1973-8) and Reykjavik (1978-) and is now a department head at the Reykjavik District Office of Education. Arthur's study (*hovedoppgave*), done at the State College of Special Education in Oslo (1987a; see also excerpts 1986, 1987b), concerns how the intentions of the goal article in the Primary School Act are perceived by teachers and practiced in schools.

G. Thomas Fox (1937-) has a Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He has lived in Iceland since 1987. The study I cite (Fox 1990) was done for the Ministry of Culture and Education about four schools that were transformed from a secondary level school to a university level school. One of the schools is the College of Education, previously the Teacher Training College.

Hrolfur Kjartansson (1945-) is a graduate of the Teacher Training College and was an elementary school teacher in Hlidaskoli, Reykjavik (1966-75). He has been an inspector for the physics and chemistry (1975-9) and biology (1977-82) curricular projects in DERD, was the head of DSD (1984-1990) and is now the head of the Department of Elementary Education within the Ministry. His thesis, a MA thesis from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1982a), is a case study about the biology curriculum in Iceland. Hrolfur must be considered one of the instrumental figures in the reform.

Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (1950-) is a graduate of the Teacher Training College and was an elementary school teacher in Vogaskoli and Olduselsskoli, Reykjavik (1970-76). He worked for DERD (from 1973) as an author and was an inspector of the social studies project (1978-83). He was the Director of NCEM's Teacher Center (from 1983) and an Assistant Professor in the College of Education (1988-). His doctoral thesis (in progress) from the University of Sussex, England is an evaluation of the use of the DERD curricula. It is based on observations in 20 classrooms across the country, interviews with teachers and pupils, mail surveys, and curriculum analysis methods. Ingvar is one of the most outspoken reformers and has -- as I just mentioned -- worked for three of the leading educational institutions.

Olafur J. Proppe (1942-) is a graduate of the Teacher Training College and was an elementary school teacher in Hlidaskoli, Reykjavik (1964-5) and Oldutunsskoli, Hafnarfjordur (1965-74). Olafur worked for DERD (1973-8, 80-83). He was the chair of the National Board of Examination (1977-8, 1980-84), an Assistant and later Associate Professor at the College of Education (1983-), and the Dean of Academic Affairs (1987-9). Olafur finished MA (1976) and Ph.D. (1983) degrees at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His Ph.D. thesis (see 1983a) is a theoretical discussion concerning evaluation as a dialectical process and includes a comprehensive account of educational evaluation in Iceland in a historical perspective. Olafur must be considered a central figure in the reform.

Sigurjon Myrdal (1949-) is a graduate of the Reykjavik Gymnasium and the Teacher Training College. He holds a BA degree in sociology from the University of Iceland (1973) and a MS degree in education from the University of Wisconsin, Madison (1989). Sigurjon was associated with the College of Education from 1977 to 1991 and served in various administrative positions. His last position was the Dean of Academic Affairs. Sigurjon's MS thesis explains the organization of the Western world after World War II, the human capital theories' impact on education and curriculum, such as the Bruner curriculum, and how educational ideas were distributed after "pipelines," such as the OECD pipeline, to Iceland.

Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1953-) is a graduate of the University's Division of Psychology (1976) and received a teaching certificate from the Pedagogy Division (1978). Upper elementary school teacher in Kopavogur (1977-9), a teacher and administrator in the Egilsstadir Gymnasium (1979-83) and the Akranes Comprehensive School (1983-5). Thorsteinn is now a education specialist in the Division of Higher Education and Research within the Ministry of Culture and Education. Thorsteinn was once on the Board of the Teacher Association of Iceland (HIK). Thorsteinn finished a Ph.D. degree from Ohio University, Athens (1990). His dissertation deals with the epistemological and political conditions of the social studies curriculum project (see ch.1.2.) Since several of his conclusions were discussed in 15 hours of phone conversations between me and him during September through December 1989, it is obvious that they are of special value for my interpretation of the conjuncture of discourses in Icelandic elementary education. We have continued our correspondence by letters after he left the United States and had long conversations in the summer of 1990, inspiring each other's research. Further, Thorsteinn and I have co-written a paper focusing on the clash between the old and new pedagogy (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson and Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1990). Incidentally, Thorsteinn and I share a rural background; we were raised in near-by districts in North East Iceland, and we went to the same secondary schools. Thorsteinn was graduated from the lower secondary school at Laugar in 1969, I in 1971; Thorsteinn finished his matriculation examination from the Akureyri Gymnasium in 1973, I in 1975.

Other studies and the background of the commentators are usually explained in the context where they are cited, or first cited if they are cited more than once.

INFORMATION ABOUT BIOGRAPHY

I collected lists of the faculty in the Department of School Development, the College of Education, the University's Division of Pedagogy, the National Center of Educational Materials, and the District Offices of Education (DOEs) as of January 1990. Included in the list are the individuals who were on the staff of DOEs as of fall 1990. I also collected information who were in the leadership (the Central Board, members of committees, etc.) of the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI) as of January 1990 and who had been on the Pedagogy Committee (skolamalarad) from 1984. Finally, I collected from various sources as complete information about DERD inspectors, textbook writers, and consultants throughout the years (1966-84) as it was possible to obtain. The inspectors' list was reviewed by Hrolfur Kjartansson, the head of DEE. A list of the individuals analyzed in the thesis appears in Appendix IV and a list of the sources that were used to compile faculty lists and to obtain biographical information appears in Appendix 3 to the References.

Information on education and careers of (biographical) individuals was gathered from **Kennaratal** (Olafur Th. Kristjansson 1958-65; Olafur Th. Kristjansson and Sigrun Hardardottir 1985-8) with some entries as old as from 1979 or older and **Æviskrar samtíðarmanna** (Torfi Jonsson 1982-4). Following Bourdieu (1988a; see also 1989b, 35), I prefer to use published biographical information because everyone has access to this information and can verify or challenge my interpretation. This was not always possible, however. Information about individuals not listed in either of these sources was furnished by the institutions they work for or by themselves at the institution's request (see Appendix 3 to the References). Occasionally I needed to verify information through inquiries and multiple sources (such as asking the respective individuals), and -- because of the early 1980s entries in the information books -- I use the most recent career information that I could find (from staff lists, personal inquiries, and so forth). In this context, I should note that Icelandic society is very small. The nation is only a quarter of a million people, fewer people than in Dane County, Wisconsin. Teachers are about 4000-4500. Therefore, it is relatively easy for a researcher, who is reasonably knowledgeable about biography and genealogy, to gather critical information informally. Communal interest in genealogy in the culture is also of help in finding information of this kind.

It is not the goal of these inquiries to record every person in the field; rather, the goal

is to study the (empirical) individuals' relationships with the reform discourse. The method I have described does indeed map most individuals in the field of the reform discourse in the last 25 years. Individuals, who have participated in the reform and are not in the group of between three and four hundred people that I gathered biographical and professional information about, are a few principals and teachers -- notably principals and teachers of "progressive" and open schools -- as well as individuals retired from a professional career in education. Many of those have been in the leadership of the Teacher Union of Iceland or worked for DOEs at some point in their career but were not on the payroll or in the leadership of any of the six institutions and unions as of 1990. But using the institutional sites frees from the temptation to try to establish a set of criteria to determine who belongs to the field of reform and who does not.

INTERVIEWS AND LETTERS

I interviewed a selected group of reformers to further explore the central beliefs in activity, cooperative learning, and so on. I focused on questions of who, what, how, when, and why? On many formal and informal occasions, I discussed the validity of my claims about which beliefs are the key themes in the reform with various reformers and educationists, many of whom are friends and colleagues. Having only relatively brief research time in Reykjavik prevented more of such discussions. I conducted a formal interview with Professor Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir who has been the chief instructor of developmental psychology at the College of Education since 1976. Other formal interviews include interviews with Teacher Union of Iceland leaders Svanhildur Kaaber and Birna Sigurjonsdottir. I also wrote up interviews with Hrolfur Kjartansson and Erla Kristjansdottir, a former DERD inspector of social studies, now a lecturer at the College of Education. The interviews were (casual) conversations with the interviewees in a good tradition of doing research in history; that is, interviews were never conducted merely to gather information that could be gathered from written sources but to discuss rather specific questions that came up in studying written sources. (In the References, I cite only the interviews of which written notes are available.) Some of the interviewees responded to drafts of the interviews with written notes or letters. Some of these accounts have been integrated into the final write-up of the interview.

DATA COLLECTION AND THE WRITING PROCESS

My major theses -- that is, that the reform can be interpreted as social strategies of reformers and that there is now a field of educational reform in Iceland -- were formed in May 1989, but I did not have much time to collect data in my short stay in Reykjavik in the summer of 1989. Therefore I am indebted to colleagues, such as Thorsteinn Gunnarsson, Hannes I. Olafsson, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, the librarians at the College of Education, members of my family, and many others who have sent me important documents and publications. These documents enabled me to write a proposal and the first drafts toward chapters 1-5 in the period between December 1989 and June 1990. I wrote letters to ask for staff lists in March 1990 and received most of them that spring. Other staff lists were collected during August to October 1990. Data collection also took place when I stayed in Reykjavik in August 1990. Then I researched data to fill gaps in the drafts toward chapters 4-5 and data for the remaining chapters. On my return to Madison at the end of the summer 1990, I revised the drafts of chapters 3-5. The first drafts of chapters 6-7 were written in December 1990 and January 1991, and the conclusion chapter was written in February 1991. The first complete version of the dissertation was ready by mid-March 1991.

The chapter that documents the discursive themes (ch.4) was relatively easy to write; it is written by scrutinizing documents and written sources. More difficult was to analyze networkings between individuals, institutions and discursive themes (see ch.6.1). I felt that I got much less out of the biographical information than I had hoped, that the patterns that I thought I would find were not there. Most difficult is to reduce a biographical individual into an epistemic individual; I often got caught up in the information as biographical information. This resulted in a decision to provide several examples of biographical information to show tendencies in family relations and networkings.

It goes without saying that the distance from Iceland posed a special problem. In addition to the usual delay of mail, the U.S. postal service got unusually behind during the winter 1990-91. Organizational and political changes occurring in Iceland in 1990 and 1991 made it difficult to keep up with providing updated information, and most such information is of 1990. For instance, the dissertation is presented for an oral examination three days after Parliament elections that may determine if we are going to have the same government for next four years or not.

TRANSLATIONS

Writing this thesis in a language that is not my native language poses multiple problems, even though many of the problems of writing a dissertation are the same whether it is written in English or Icelandic. I will, however, discuss the special problems here.

TRANSLATIONS AS A TECHNICAL PROBLEM

Having read a number of theses about Icelandic education leaves me confused about terminology. There does not seem to be any agreement whatsoever on how to translate the names of many educational institutions (e.g., the College of Education, see ch.3.2). A few overviews in English on the Icelandic educational system and terminology are available (e.g., Bragi Josepsson 1985, Hordur Larusson 1985). Then there is the **Nordic School Thesaurus** (1983) which explains educational terms in eight languages and dialects used in the five independent Nordic countries, and it includes English. None of these sources is complete, and sometimes they are confusing, too. Furthermore, at least the **Nordic School Thesaurus** is more in line with British English than American English.

The confusion is so widespread that there is no way to try to be totally consistent with "official" translations. I have simply adopted the terms that I am most comfortable with (or I first came across). On some occasions, there was even no way to be consistent in the use of terms. For instance, the term "primary" education is widely used in translations by other Icelanders, while I prefer the term "elementary" education. Some words have different meanings depending on their context. An example of a word that has multiple meanings is "verkefni" which is sometimes translated as an activity but at other times as an assignment or a project. In many cases, I describe the Icelandic concept or practice and use the Icelandic term after that -- rather than arbitrarily trying to find a corresponding English, American, or international term for an Icelandic concept. Examples include "kvoldvaka" (ch.3.1) and "namsmat" (ch.4.1). As for titles, I often adapt them to common U.S. usage (e.g., different levels of Professors refer to lektorar, dosentar, and professorar which all are tenured positions in Iceland). As for abbreviations, I use Icelandic abbreviations when they are commonly used; in other cases I use English abbreviations for the sake of a quick reference. A list of these abbreviations is provided in Appendix III.

Of course, I translate every quotation from works written in Icelandic, Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish. These translations are identified as literal quotations when I tried to maintain accuracy. Icelandic words are given in parentheses when a special connotation is important. These words are also indicated to maintain integrity for readers who understand Icelandic. On occasions, I consulted or used translations provided by others.

TRANSLATIONS AS A CULTURAL PROBLEM

Translations as a cultural and political problem is not entirely separate from the technical aspect. The most important consideration in this respect is probably the dissertation's audience. At the same time that the thesis has to be informative about things taken for granted in Icelandic history and culture for the sake of the dissertation advisors and readers (ch.3.2 and some of the materials in the appendices are examples of this), it must be intelligible for Icelanders. Ultimately, the dissertation is written with the individuals in the field of educational reform in mind as audience. Otherwise, writing it does not make any sense to me.

Icelanders persistently try to translate words for ideas and things that are brought to the country. Earlier I referred to the problem of explaining my conceptualization (e.g., the concept field) to friends. This is different from what our relatives in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden do. They adopt international words without hesitation. In contrast, ideas or things are never fully integrated into the Icelandic way of thinking until they have been accepted with an Icelandic word. Examples are computers and AIDS. The short word "tolva" replaced two much longer and more complicated attempts to translate the word computer (these words are, literally translated, "electrical brain" and "electric calculator"). Only then was the time ripe for Icelanders to become computer freaks. Similarly, AIDS has been more widely discussed in Iceland as a linguistic problem than as a health threat or with regard to social problems such as homophobia or drug use. (As of now, there are two or three competing words for AIDS and which of them will win the "contest" is still uncertain.)

Translations reconstitute ideas; the word curriculum, for instance, does not need much explanation for those who are familiar with the education literature in English. On the other hand, there is not yet a comparable concept in Icelandic. Different words, such as namsefni (learning material) and namskra (syllabus) are used, depending on the

context. Even the title word of this thesis, reform, is usually translated with words, such as innovations (nyjungar) or change (breytingar), that have a much stronger connotation with "new" than reform does. When presenting the research to Icelanders, I have chosen the word "umbot" (or the plural form "umbætur") that connotes improvement because it also represents the belief in progress that reformers (umbotafolk) have. The literal translation of the word reform, "endurmotun" or "endurskopun," is not used about educational reform.

The interrelationships between a sophisticated idea, implementation, and the translation of a term may have had a symbolic impact on the field of educational reform. Educationists do not want to distinguish themselves from others merely through the use of foreign words; however, they want the distinctive value of the idea. Therefore, educationists participate in the national sport of inventing new words, even though many of the translations have been awkward and unsuccessful. Reformers also face the general tendency in Iceland to dismiss the social sciences as "scientific-looking" terminology for something that everyone would understand if said in common words.

Chapter 3. The Educational Scene in Iceland

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the cultural assumptions and pedagogical traditions prevalent in Icelandic society prior to the reform. These assumptions and traditions are examined as they are relevant to the legitimation of the pedagogical ideas and practices that the reform discourse competes with.

The second section provides an overview over the educational system in Iceland as it is by 1990, intended for readers who are unfamiliar with it. In that section, I also explain the history of the main institutions that were involved in the reform in elementary education in the last 25 years. Further information on Icelandic history and the political system in the country is provided in Appendix II.

3.1 The Pre-Reform Pedagogy

In one of his essays, Edelstein (1988/1981) argues that the "traditional occupational consciousness of teachers (*fagvitund*) conflicts with the innovation plans ..." (104) and that "teachers who do not buy into reform arguments rely on different work logics and different educational values than those who follow the reform policy" (105). About what characterizes this "traditional occupational consciousness" and these "different educational values," Edelstein says little in the essay. It is the goal of this section to pursue these values, focusing on the struggle of legitimation between the reform's discursive themes and the pre-reform pedagogy.

The term pre-reform pedagogy is a relational term that directs attention to the educational discourse and practices in Iceland prior to DERD's work. I am concerned with the differences between the earlier assumptions, priorities, and distinctions, on the one hand, and the reform's discursive themes, on the other. In genealogical terms, I locate points of intersection in the discourse on education.

Reformers often constituted the wisdom of their ideas through the badness of the pre-reform pedagogy (testing, elitism, and so forth), in turn putting pre-reform ideas and practices on defense. There is little access to the views of classroom teachers (I will turn

to this problem below) or others in the educational community regarding the articulation of the defense. Thus I look at the pre-reform ideas and practices through secondary accounts that reformers, education researchers, and other writers have produced. Some of these accounts (e.g., Olafur J. Proppe 1983a) were indeed produced to combat pre-reform practices and do, therefore, highlight the differences.

The discussion in this section is on two levels: On one level, I discuss the distinctive features of Icelandic pedagogy prior to the reform in the 1970s and 1980s. In this discussion, I am not attempting to reveal what actually took place in classrooms across the country; for my purposes here, stereotyped views about pre-reform teaching illustrate how these pedagogical practices are legitimized. This leads to the second level of my interpretation, i.e., how the descriptions of pedagogical ideas can be considered discursive themes. As cultural assumptions these themes have a prescriptive quality about what and how and why something should be taught.

This discussion is arranged around several over-arching discursive themes or patterns that are of central importance for considering the pre-reform principle of legitimation. These themes are: knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement; congregational pedagogy and the Icelandic story-telling tradition; Christian studies; nationalism; objectivism; tests; and teachers' commitment. Each theme is sketched out as to highlight the differences and continuities between the pre-reform and reform pedagogies and the interplay of these relations. These thematic sketches lay out patterns of cultural assumptions and educational traditions. These sketches also show a legitimating principle that conflicts with the reform. Finally, I discuss the pre-reform legitimating principle in relation to an example of contemporary work that appears to be derived from it.

KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLIGENCE, EXCELLENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT

The pre-reform pedagogy is based on a strong belief that knowledge is important. Individuals who have achieved a high volume of knowledge -- primarily cultural literacy in terms of knowing names and places -- are celebrated for intelligence in Icelandic society. Icelanders strive for a high degree of literacy, knowledge of foreign languages, living standards among the highest in the world, and other achievements. We are proud of our extensive book-publishing (see, e.g., Tomasson 1980, ch.5) and literary tradition,

and we threw the British out of our fishing limits when they did not accept our expansion in the 1950s and the 1970s -- not insignificant victories for the descendants of the Vikings!

The emphasis on knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, is intertwined with persistent cultural conceitedness and, at times, xenophobia. Fox (1990, 31) describes this as a respectful "attitude, just below the surface of many educated Icelanders, towards formal knowledge" which to him appears to be "one of the few forms of Icelandic elitism" he has come across. Another foreign observer, Richard F. Tomasson -- an American Professor who did a sociological study in Iceland in the early 1970s -- is a little more explicit when he discusses the "tendency" of Icelanders "to regard themselves as culturally superior to other people" (1980, 202). These observers have a point: we never forget to pat ourselves on the back for how small we are yet so superior per capita, nor do we forget to make much of any achievement of our daughters and sons. If an Icelander moves a finger or a toe somewhere in the world, literally the whole nation reads about that activity in Reykjavik's newspapers and periodicals. Professional sportsmen are a case in point. Everything from goal-scoring to health problems of Icelandic sports professionals who play with teams in foreign countries is reported. ¹⁾ Sigurdur A. Magnusson (1977, 161; also cited by Tomasson 1980, 197) -- a prominent cultural figure, journalist, and literary author in Iceland -- captures this naive perspective well when he argues that "the supreme ideal of Icelandic culture is ... **excellence** which will bring the individual fame or fortune or both, and preserve his [sic!] renown after death, which is by far the highest honour."

Olafur J. Proppe (1983a) discusses what kind of knowledge and intelligence are most valued among Icelanders. He argues that Icelandic heroes used to be "men of knowledge and wisdom" (317) and that "[k]nowledge which can be defined, documented and treated as law has high social status in Iceland" (318). Olafur contends that the "Icelandic concept of knowledge related to education is largely positivistic ... [.] something outside the person ... [and] definable (318). This view is supported by Tomasson (1980, 200) who argues that "the Icelanders are predominantly empirical -- not ideological or theoretical or philosophical -- in their approach to experience" and less concerned with grasping an understanding of "underlying structures." Furthermore, cultural literacy in terms of "a certain common core of knowledge for every student to

acquire" (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 318) is emphasized. Finally, intelligence "seems to mean something close to the ability to ... acquire and recite knowledge" (319), individuals are born with it, and it is "more or less constant during each person's lifetime" (319). Consistently with Olafur's arguments, Arthur Morthens states that "in the old school, one saw intelligence as fixed and almost unchangable general competence" (1987b, 2).

There is not much data available to indicate how these cultural assumptions work in a classroom. Evidence suggests that teachers may not have liked the emphasis on memorization. A survey conducted for the Central Office of Education (COE) in the 1940s shows that many teachers complained about "too much emphasis on book learning and grades ..." (Gudjon Jonsson 1954, 57). But what teachers personally feel does not always determine what is perceived (by students, parents, and others) to be most important in schools. For a large part of this century, children did not go to school until they were nine or ten years old (see ch.3.2). Children prior to this time learned to read and write at home. This pattern must have reinforced the idea that the primary task of the elementary school is to teach knowledge and facts, but neither the basic skills of reading and writing nor to care for children's overall well-being.

The cultural assumptions toward knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, have played a role in legitimating pedagogical discourse, at least in the sense that it is very difficult to argue for pedagogical ideas or practices that contrast with these assumptions. In conclusion, these assumptions have a major impact on legitimizing the discourse on education. Meanwhile, the impact on classroom practices and teacher perspectives toward pedagogy are much less certain.

CONGREGATIONAL PEDAGOGY AND STORY TELLING

The term congregational pedagogy is borrowed from Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) who uses it to describe "the older dominant Icelandic pedagogical tradition" (269). Whereas the discussion about knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, tries to capture these notions as cultural assumptions, which may or may not have relevance for teaching, the discussion of congregational pedagogy tries to picture actual school practices. I assume that there is a body of pedagogical practices whose ingrediencies can be described; the focus here, however, is on the ways in which these

practices are legitimized as the correct ideas. In this subsection, I discuss these practices and their links with culture and history and speculate about their impact on the struggle for legitimating the reform.

The Icelandic public school was originally "modeled" after the German and Danish school systems. In the public school, "the teacher became the minister, the textbooks replaced the scriptures and the students represented the [passive] congregation" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 42; see also 268). Thorsteinn's description of the Icelandic school system at the outset of "the reformist 1960s" is rather bleak: "It is meritocratic, tilted towards classical education, teacher and subject oriented and characterized by transmission of knowledge through lectures and recitations" -- "aiming at national unity" (49). Thorsteinn points out that "the organizational realities of Icelandic schools such as fragmented lessons and fragmented and double-shift school days are much ... friendlier to this congregational pedagogy than to an inquiry pedagogy" (268). Arthur Morthens (1987b, 2) touches the same strings. He explains that the teachers' job was to present materials to students whose role is to receive. He also emphasizes the "strong time rhythm" element of a day which is broken down into lessons that last for 40 minutes each.

The historical links between the Protestant Church, public education, and pedagogy are worth pursuing. After Martin Luther posted his theses on the portals of the castle church in Wittenberg in 1517, much of Northern Europe quickly converted to Lutheranism. Denmark was converted in the 1530s, and the Southern, Eastern and Western regions (the Skalholt diocese) of Iceland gradually became Lutheran in the 1540s through debates and controversies around two elections of a new Bishop to reside in Skalholt. The Northern region (the Holar diocese) became Lutheran in 1550 with the illegal execution of Jon Arason (1484-1550), the country's last Catholic Bishop, and his two sons, a sheriff and a priest.

Carmen Luke (1989) has examined the conjuncture of pedagogy, printing, and Protestantism in 16th century Germany. She associates a break in pedagogical principles and practices with Luther's theological and pedagogical work. To promote the new faith, Luther wanted to educate the public his style, and for that task he needed a pedagogy. Luke explains how oral transmissions and printing of Luther's pedagogical ideas complimented each other and provided the site of emergence for a new discourse, the

discourse on childhood. The almost brand new printing press allowed Luther's ideas, printed in German, to stay "clean" where various religious interpreters (pastors, teachers) and later the general reading public had access to them. Luke points out that Luther "considered universal rudimentary literacy ... essential in enabling all people to have access to the words of scripture" (11) and argues that this was an "insistent call for a universal priesthood -- a mass readership of the Bible" (135).

These events are significant for the emergence of pedagogy and public education in Iceland, and, not surprisingly, the first book to be printed in Icelandic was the Bible in the 16th century (see Sigurdur Bjarnason 1989). Close ties between the Church and the colonial state, which in the late 19th and early 20th century gradually became independent from Denmark, further insured good conditions for Luther's "ideal situation" which is, according to Luke (1989, 77), that "family and community members ... gather together and listen to the reading of the holy words by those who were literate." Social historian Loftur Guttormsson, who has examined the publication of Luther's work in Iceland, believes that Luther's catechismus has become "by far the longest-living textbook in the history of Icelandic education" (1989, 176).

The Icelandic institution "kvoldvaka" (literally, an evening sitting-up, an evening waking; dictionary transl., the time between twilight and bedtime) became the main channel for religious and cultural upbringing (Kjær 1935, 1981, 1982; Magnus Gislason 1977). On the kvoldvaka, family members, servants and others in the household sat together in the living room, the so-called badstofa, and worked the wool and did other light work. It is believed that in every household there was at least one person who could fluently read aloud while others listened, worked and discussed the characters. Originally this was an oral tradition, but written word became more and more important and the text took over the role of the narrated story in the oral tradition. What was read was the Bible, other religious texts such as **Vidalinspostilla** and **Passiusalmar**, the sagas, and other books whose number increased greatly in the late 19th century. Other activities included house prayers, rhymes, songs, music, verse making, and guessing games (Magnus Gislason 1977, 151-2). These traditions were still well alive in many farm homes in the first half of the 20th century.

Radio and television with short programs, limited to evenings in their pioneer days (radio from 1929, television from 1966), were used much the same way as the

kvoldvaka-reading took place, except that the story teller was now located in Reykjavik. A program entitled "Kvoldvaka" is still broadcasted by the National Radio. This program imitates the traditional kvoldvaka (Magnus Gislason 1977, 139, 154). A mass is broadcasted on the National Radio every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, and the National Television broadcasts the Lutheran Bishop's mass on Christmas Eve.

No one knows exactly how the fusion of a story-telling tradition, Icelandic literature, religious literature, and the learning of reading came about, and the relations between religious and non-religious contents and spoken and written forms of culture need much further consideration. What matters for my purposes is the impact that the myths of the kvoldvaka culture have had on the legitimation of the discourse on public education and pedagogical practices. The stereotyped view is that the kvoldvaka transmission was uncritical and textually bound; there is no evidence, however, to suggest that all transmission was uncritical. Yet, put simply and bluntly, the school tradition is to listen, not to discuss. The telling-and-listening practice of congregational pedagogy is an eloquently woven web that has rooted itself so firmly in the Icelandic habitus that no one can separate what is Icelandic and what is non-Icelandic in the school practice.

When the introduction of compulsory schooling took place in Iceland in the early part of the 20th century, the teacher replaced the minister -- not only in a metaphorical sense, but in a physical sense as well because the number of parishes and ministers decreased. In many communities the teacher became a cultural leader (Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1987a, 1988a). Ministers continued to be involved in teaching, however. Today many ministers still teach at various school levels, and they teach subjects as diverse as history, geography, civics, human physiology, zoology, Danish, drawing, and Christian studies.

There are also important historical links between Icelandic teacher education and Christian theology. Theologians established the first teacher education programs in the Flensburg school in the 1890s and fought for it in the Parliament (Lydur Bjornsson 1981, 37). Theologian Magnus Helgason (1857-1940) was the first Rector of the Teacher Training College (TTC) when it was founded in 1908. Incidentally, Hjalti Hugason, current Acting Rector (1990-91), is also a theologian and a former church minister (ch.6.1).

Of course, this does not mean that Lutheran theology has dominated teacher education in Iceland. Important for the pedagogical argument, it has been observed that

congregational pedagogy had a stronghold in TTC. Anna Joelsdottir (1985) interviewed eleven teachers and teacher educators to gain insight into the role of dialogue among Icelandic teachers. She cites a teacher with the pseudonym "I," born in 1930, who said that teaching in TTC was "didactic," that hardly any papers were written, and that "we [TTC students] just sat and listened to the masters" (53). Anna speculates about the impact of the congregational, oral tradition on teachers graduated from TTC:

The way the education or the home of the past is described here [by the interviewees] seems to reflect the teachers' own attitude towards education and knowledge. Their appreciation is uncritical, nothing is questioned. Is that an attitude that was handed down to them from the generation they were fostered by? (38).

The communication does not question or try to make meanings, but rather it could be viewed as being about knowledge being handed down and shared (43).

Anna's study indicates that there are relations between the cultural assumptions about knowledge and pedagogical practices. The kvoldvaka discussions on literature, of whatever nature they were, did not find their way into the ordinary classroom where teachers commonly lecture the correct interpretation of literary work to be repeated on the test.

CHRISTIAN STUDIES

The Primary School Act of 1974 explicitly states that elementary education should be guided by "Christian morals" (Log um grunnskola 1974, article 2). The elaborate DERD curriculum project in Christian studies has had resources in terms of money and personnel. The project is based on Norwegian textbooks that consist of texts that rely on evangelical Lutheran interpretations and has been directed by true Lutheran believers. Similar to the pre-reform textbooks, the DERD Christian studies textbooks emphasize stories about the life and work of Jesus Christ as well as stories from the Old Testament. But, contrary to the older textbooks that stood by themselves, the new textbooks, adapted from Norwegian textbooks (ch.1.2), are accompanied with teacher guides that teachers are expected to read.

During DERD's lifetime, we can observe an interesting pattern of relaxing the time allocation for Christian studies, as well as an increased emphasis on teaching about other religions. Special allocation of time to Christian studies in schools was suspended in

1979 but reinstated in 1984 by Ministry Announcements (Auglysing um skiptingu kennslustunda ... 1979, 1984). According to the 1984 announcement, 10-12 weekly lessons of the grand total of 266-70 weekly lessons to teach all subjects in grades 2-10 (then grades 1-9) were allocated to teach Christian studies.

The Christian studies syllabus that DERD prepared (**Adalnamskra grunnskola. Kristinfræði** 1976, 9, goal no.9) requires that students are "indoctrinated ... tolerance and respect for the right of people to have different religious and philosophical views ..." In the post-DERD syllabus (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1989, 76, goal no.8), this sentence has been omitted, but "informing" students about other religions is still included. The language that requires teaching Christian values and morals has been strengthened in the new syllabus. For instance, knowledge of the Bible has become a separate goal (goal no.2), and an additional goal emphasizes the common heritage of all Christian sectarian groups (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1989, 75-6).

Given the attention to the Christian studies curriculum, DERD obviously did not propose to weaken Christian studies. The 1984 announcement and the 1989 syllabus then restrengthened the status of Christian studies. Ministers have continued to use school buildings for the preparation classes for the confirmation which usually takes place around Easter during the year of eighth grade; they even squeeze these classes into gaps in the school classes' timetables. These practices and the status of Christian studies further reinforce the congregational tradition in Icelandic public education.

NATIONALISM

If the assertion that a feeling of cultural superiority is widespread among the people of our nation has any merit, nationalism must be right around the corner. I shall speculate about the impact of nationalism on educational perspectives. I consider two school subjects, Icelandic and history.

Nationalism and the "cleaning" of the Icelandic language from Danish influence rose in the 19th century. That the teaching of Icelandic is important has a broad consensus. As I have pointed out (see ch.2.2), it is a national sport to invent words for any thing or idea that is brought to the country. It is reported that "[s]choolteachers are still hunting for words of Danish origin in the essays of their pupils" (Gunnar Karlsson 1980, 86), even though English most likely has a greater impact on our language now than Danish

does. The reform has not challenged the status of Icelandic; in fact, the emphasis on teaching the language is as strong as ever in sites such as the College of Education and the Teacher Union of Iceland (see ch.4.2).

There has been relatively little discussion among reformers and leading educationists about the teaching of Icelandic. The role of the inspector in DERD was vacant between 1979-82 (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990b). Previously the post had been filled with two liberal linguists, Baldur Ragnarsson, now a teacher in the Hamrahlid Gymnasium (MH) in Reykjavik, and Indridi Gislason, a Professor at the College of Education.

Liberal linguists in the University and elsewhere have advocated radical views toward the preservation of the language. They suggest not to try to mandate the development of linguistic rules in children but let this development take its "natural" course. They sometimes call the traditional approach to teaching grammar "malveirufræði" ("bacteriolinguistics"). The term, coined by anthropologist Gisli Pálsson (1979), refers to the obsession of searching for language usage, capable of "infecting" Icelandic.

In the early winter months of 1983 (October-November), conservative critics initially attacked these perspectives concerning the language, as well as psychological services in elementary schools (Gudmundur Magnusson 1983a,b). The attack on the radical views toward the teaching of Icelandic never really took off, perhaps because the radical views were indeed not widespread in the reform institutions. It is ironic that many reformers and reform institutions -- certainly the College of Education and even DERD -- are more conservative in this regard than some of the University Professors who research and teach Icelandic grammar (see also Eirikur Rognvaldsson 1990). At the same time, these radicals (in relation to grammar) didn't have the opportunity -- or the interest -- to implement their views in curriculum work or advocate them in relation to public school policy (this may be different now at the beginning of the 1990s). In short, reformers did not seriously try to challenge the traditional views by capitalizing on the need to change the teaching of grammar; in contrast, capitalizing on the need of teaching much Icelandic has remained an important element in the reform discourse (e.g., in the College of Education, and the Teacher Union of Iceland school policy; see ch.4.2).

It was the teaching of history that caused the most heated debate about an educational issue in the country in recent years. While this debate has been extensively covered

elsewhere (e.g., Gunnar Karlsson 1984, Edelstein 1987, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990; see also ch.7.2), I put different approaches to writing history textbooks in the perspective of what legitimates pedagogical discursive themes.

Professor of history Gunnar Karlsson (1982) has analyzed history textbooks and approaches to teaching history in Icelandic schools in the 20th century. He places these approaches in the context of European traditions. History in Europe in the 19th century became nationalistic; the aim of the new history was to awaken patriotism and cultivate the idea that the people were the citizens of a remarkable nation (181). Another aim was to celebrate the role of the individual and her/his abilities and achievements (181-2). Accordingly, teaching methods should be inspiring and tell stories about heroes who fought and defeated evil for the good of the nation. The German curriculum theorist Wolfgang Klafki calls this tradition "classical" history teaching (Gunnar Karlsson 1982, 182), but Gunnar suggests to call it "inspiring" (vekjandi) history.

Gunnar analyzes Icelandic examples of inspiring history books; the book series that lived longest was **Islandssaga handa bornum** (History of Iceland for Children) by Jonas Jonsson (1885-1968) (see Jonas Jonsson [1966]/1915-16). The Jonas books were still taught almost unchanged in grades 5-7 in the early 1980s (Gunnar Karlsson 1982, 184). The Jonas books have now been replaced by Gunnar's own series of history books (Gunnar Karlsson 1985-6, 1988). Jonas was a leading political figure of the liberal left (the Progressive Party) in the first half of the 20th century, the Minister of Justice, Culture and Education from 1927-32, and the principal of the School of the Cooperative Society. He wrote **Islandssaga** when he was supervising teaching practice in the Teacher Training College; in fact, his supervisory teaching inspired him to see the need for the book. The Jonas books tell the story of a constant struggle between Icelanders and those who wanted to suppress the nation; he gave "Icelandic nationalism ... its historical catechism" (Loftur Guttormsson 1977, cited by Gunnar Karlsson 1982, 186; my transl. from Danish). Jonas celebrates the "great" Icelandic men (and women) of history in terms of what they did to help fight for independence or what they contributed to the nation's cultural identity.

The Jonas Jonsson books -- the only history book series for the grade level for which it was intended until the 1960s, when teachers were given the choice of another book (see below) -- must have had an impact on the way many of us think about our

cultural identity. The impact is, of course, interrelated with the congregational pedagogy that the books are based on; they tell a story that emphasizes continuity and is grounded in a specific version of truth. Ironically, the struggle with the Danes, which the book was intended to inspire, was concluded in 1918 with a Union Contract (see Appendix II), only three years after the publication of the first volume. Nevertheless, in *Islandssaga* Jonas unknowingly organized a persistent knowledge base that appeals to most political stances (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 47).

Only the social studies team with the spiral as a tool (chs.1,2,4.1) has challenged the chronological order or the selection of events and individuals that Jonas Jonsson made. In a cynical voice, it was pointed out that those social studies textbooks that had been published by the early 1980s only "covered" about 120 years of the history of Iceland (Gunnar Karlsson 1983). In spite of the spiral, however, the social studies team largely selected historical events and individuals that previously had been emphasized, such as the settlement of Iceland (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1985/1982) and the independence hero Jon Sigurdsson (Lydur Bjornsson 1985/1981), which shows the strength of the nationalistic knowledge base in history *a la* Jonas Jonsson. Gunnar Karlsson's own textbooks (1985-6, 1988; see below) are traditional in this sense; they, too, are primarily a political history of events. It seems safe to argue that the legitimating effects of the inspiring, nationalistic knowledge base have been tremendous, but the delegitimation lies as much in the discursive conflict as it lies in the differences (real or perceived) between reform and pre-reform pedagogy (see ch.5.2).

OBJECTIVISM

The next two themes are 20th century inventions, and they are in that sense different from the nationalistic, story-telling, and congregational traditions. Yet these themes, objectivism and tests, are as integral to the pre-reform educational discourse and practice as the "non-imported" themes and the older Lutheran imports. In this subsection I discuss objectivism with a focus on objectivist history; in next subsection I discuss how "objective" measurement in testing was brought to Iceland in the 1920s.

According to Gunnar Karlsson (1982, 193-4), objectivist history has no specific pedagogical aims and those who ascribe to the objectivist perspective in education have nothing but the conventional selection of contents (facts, events, etc.) to rely on; only the

explicit values are omitted. Gunnar (194-5) suggests that early on teachers quit using the Jonas Jonsson history books (see above) to indoctrinate in children nationalistic, Dane-hating views and stayed with the facts presented in the books. Gunnar's opinion is supported by Eiríkur Stefánsson -- a retired teacher with a long career ranging from travelling teaching (*farkennsla*) at the countryside around 1930 to classroom teaching in Akureyri in the 1940s and 1950s and in the fastest growing suburb of Reykjavik in the 1960s -- who recounts how much he liked the Jonas Jonsson *Islandssaga* both as a pupil and as a teacher. Eiríkur notes: "Of course, we knew that some of what Jonas told in his narrative was naturally a doubtful truth" (1987, 35).

Ironically, it was in 1966 -- the year that the education advisors were appointed to prepare the DERD projects (ch.1.2) -- that the objectivist version of Iceland's history for children was published by the State Textbook Publishing House. This textbook series is written by Thorleifur Bjarnason (1908-1981) (see Thorleifur Bjarnason [1970-71]/1966), an educator and writer, and was supposed to parallel the Jonas books. Gunnar Karlsson (1982) has compared the Jonas and Thorleifur books; he points out that the "[s]election and sequence of material is so similar in the books that they could be printed side by side in one book, the Jonas text on the [left] page, the Thorleifur text on the [right] page, without changing the sequence substantially" (198). It seems apparent that the Thorleifur books helped to legitimize the knowledge base that had been structured by nationalistic views (the need to inspire and empower people under a colonial rule). As a consequence, a knowledge base sanctioned by nationalistic perspectives continues to structure what is considered important for children to know about the past. Edelstein describes this eloquently in a speech he gave to a group of historians:

When historicism [i.e., objectivist history] ... broke the web of meaning, the facts without references remained in the minds of many generations of pupils. At the same time, the older bourgeois contemporary goal was maintained as ideology. The historicism preserved the collection of facts and the honorable status of history. We know similar examples from religious history: The rituals remain when the power of the faith fades (1988/1974, 181).

Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, 62-9) discusses further examples of objectivism from textbooks in geography, home studies, and civics. It is also safe to argue that pre-reform biological sciences (botany, human physiology, zoology) were taught as classification

exercises, the teaching of Icelandic grammar was based on trying to let children master rigid structures and rules, and poems were supposed to be learned by heart.

In fact, the objectivist views to the elementary school curriculum were stipulated as recently as 1960 in the Syllabus for Students in Compulsory Education (**Namskra** 1960). The 1960 syllabus is based on "the notion of the passive student [that is, the practice of congregational pedagogy] and the emphasis on transmission of factual knowledge" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 67). Thorsteinn argues that the 1960 syllabus's notion of knowledge is fragmented and positivistic (which is consistent with Olafur J. Proppe's analysis of prevalent Icelandic views about intelligence, see above) and that the objectivist and inspiring traditions -- in combination with each other -- "advocate ideologies such as ethnocentrism, nationalism, individualism and authoritarianism" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 67). The fragmentary and uncritical, nationalistic "substance" of the pre-reform pedagogical ideology is further sanctioned by teachers' practices such as factual testing and the desire to "cover" the materials to prepare pupils for life after school (see next two subsections).

TESTING IN ICELAND AND STEINGRIMUR ARASON

The history of testing in Icelandic schools is another pattern that challenges the idea that the web of pre-reform pedagogical practices in Icelandic schools was woven of "pure" patriotic cultural traditions. Accordingly, reformers fought testing practices as pro-tradition but not as a "modern invention."

Lutheran ministers introduced "spring examinations" in the 1880s, but -- according to the Royal Ordinance of 1790 regarding teaching children reading and religion (*Reskript til Biskoppen i Skalholt 1790*) and the Act of 1880 regarding teaching writing and arithmetic (*Log um uppfræding barna i skrift og reikningi 1880*) -- ministers were responsible for overseeing that the homes did their job. The use of spring examinations quickly spread throughout the country in the early 1890s (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 256). Finally, the spring examinations were institutionalized in the education act of 1907 (*Log um frædslu barna 1907*; see also Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 258-9).

Examinations prior to 1920 were almost exclusively oral. The common practice was that students randomly drew a topic and answered questions related to the topic. Even math problems were given orally but worked out on the board or paper. Leading

educators became unsatisfied with the tests' inaccuracy. For instance, Rector Magnus Helgason argued that "written tests" (a term issued by him) were superior to oral examinations and more reliable (1919, 230; cited by Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 260-61).

In 1920, Steingrímur Arason (1879-1951) returned to Iceland after five years of "advanced studies" at Teachers College, Columbia University as "a great believer in quantitative measurements in the form of 'written tests'" and the first Icelander who "preached quantitative and scientific measurements as the **only** acceptable practice of educational evaluation" (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 261, 269). Steingrímur's "import" caused controversy that are reviewed by Olafur J. Proppe (1983a, 260ff). Among the most outspoken critics was Professor Sigurdur Nordal (1886-1974), widely accepted authority on Icelandic culture and literature (e.g., Sigurdur Nordal 1927). In spite of the controversy, the time must have been ripe for change because by 1923 written tests were used in most subjects in the Primary School of Reykjavik (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 266). Interestingly, practices changed before regulations changed (267). The success of written tests and their impact on elementary schooling and the discourse on education was further sanctioned through Steingrímur Arason's teaching career at the Teacher Training College that lasted to 1940; and he was a "very popular" teacher (269). Among his students were all members of the nationwide School Council that in the 1930s established testing guidelines -- in opposition to Minister of Education Jonas Jonsson who sat in that post from 1927-32 (see above). Also among Steingrímur's students were all four Commissioners of Education (269) which was an influential post from 1908 until 1973, when the Central Office of Education had been reorganized within the Ministry of Culture and Education and the post was discontinued (Bragi Josepsson 1985, 68).

Teachers believed that written (objective) tests made their work more accountable than the previous practices (Olafur J. Proppe 1983, 271); consequently, they generally supported the move toward centralized examinations. In fact, the change toward the use of written tests and the increased emphasis on testing in elementary education can not be understood except in relation to the centralization of testing, longer compulsory education, and increasing governmental oversight of schooling (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 271-7, 297; see also Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1984/1983, chs.5-6).

How have written tests influenced pedagogical practices and the ways in which educational beliefs -- discursive themes -- are legitimized? Written tests are such an

extensive practice in most schools that a week after week of the school year is spent for tests at virtually every school level. For this author, examination periods always were a time to look forward to, both when I was a student and when I was teaching. The reason is more free time. This is not so for everyone, but should not be underestimated as an underlying factor for many teachers (and those students who don't have traumatic experiences during examination periods). But this "cause" is not often spelled out; how could one admit "more free time" as a legitimate reason for having tests? More often tests are rationalized because they are supposed to maintain standards, secure merit, help to select students for other schools, and give individual schools accountability, to name just a few reasons (see, e.g., Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 300-301). Examinations and test results of individuals are also among the most discussed educational topics in teacher lounges where I have been. This contributes to their discursive influence; almost every teacher is in one way or another engaged in such discussions.

An anecdote shows how easy it is indeed to use imported objectivism and measurement to the advantage of our patriotic cultural conceitedness. Eiríkur Stefansson (1987, 34), who praises Steingrímur Arason's geography book (Steingrímur Arason 1924), recalls that sometimes people made fun of Steingrímur's obsession with (objectively) reporting which mountain was the highest in the world, which river was the longest, and so on. Eiríkur reports that once the story was told that Steingrímur had identified the most intelligent farmer in the world who, of course, was an Icelander!

TEACHERS' COMMITMENT TO YOUNG CHILDREN AND THEIR FUTURE

The goal of this subsection is to consider how teachers may have legitimated their work under the circumstances that I have tried to capture. We have here a lot of evidence about what may have structured teachers' practices and perhaps their views, but little evidence about how teachers' practices and beliefs structure cultural assumptions, nationalistic ideologies, congregational pedagogies, and measurement practices. Nevertheless, classrooms and teacher lounges are, and have always been, a crucial productive site of pedagogical principles and symbolic capital.

There is little doubt that most teachers did not immediately subscribe to the profound wisdom of the reform. They had invested emotionally in their commitment to the children they taught and may have hesitated to experiment with teaching something they

were not convinced about, such as Kohlberg-style interpersonal moral reasoning joined with interactive teaching strategies in social studies (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 142ff). The new biology or the physics and chemistry materials that included lab experiments were not too familiar or easy either. But teachers knew they had to teach their students to cope with reality, teach them to read and write, teach them mathematical and cultural literacy skills, and much more. Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) has pointed out that "[t]he SSCP reform -- through scientific arguments [and the curricular designs of Kohlberg and Bruner] -- somewhat abruptly disrupted the textbooks and teachers' practices" (259, see also 141-6). It is easy to imagine the dilemma that teachers were faced with between the practice of "covering" every country, on the one hand, and the social studies suggestion of a more extensive coverage of a limited number of exemplary countries, on the other hand. Similar practice of teaching about each animal and each plant conflicts with teaching biological or ecological principles.

A common argument of a cautious educator is "I don't want to change just to change." This very argument is seen, by reformers, as pro-tradition and anti-reform. Pre-reform traditions were put on a defense and became difficult to argue for if one didn't want to be ridiculed; the pre-reform practices didn't have a symbolic value in the emerging field of educational reform. An example is Haukur Viggo's statement in an editorial in *Hodur*, a controversial periodical that students at the College of Education published in 1977-8 (see endnote 5, ch.4; see also ch.7.1). Haukur wrote: "Even the best people among the teachers take a firm stand against change and fill the ranks of conservative forces in education ..." (1978a, 5). The fact is, however, that pro-cautiousness has little to do with being anti-reform or anti-progressive. As Haukur indeed admits:

Most often these reactions are caused by a complex, psychological crisis ... [the teacher] feels rejected and that [her/]his work is undervalued -- that reformers are judging [her/]him incapable and [her/]his methods inhumane ... A teacher who has been on the job 10-20 years or more and taught the traditional way in good faith that [s/]he is doing the right thing is doomed to defend [herself/]himself when [s/]he's told that these methods ... are no longer viable, even harmful (1978a, 5).

Thus, in an important sense teacher lounges may have become sites of not an anti-reform discourse, but of a cautious approach toward change. In these discussions (that I assume

took place), teachers discussed what they liked in the reform; they also implemented what they liked. In some cases teachers may have disliked what existed so much that they would have implemented anything. I also believe that teachers and principals may have been more realistic than the DERD reformers in terms of knowing that an adequate financial support for mixed ability grouping, integration of special education students, and various other reform demands was not available.

Teachers had good reasons not to jump immediately on the DERD bandwagon; too much was at stake. They demanded the right to care for pupils with methods and contents they knew. How this can be articulated as capital is less certain; but in the eyes of reformers who have put their pride into confronting status quo, cautiousness has the effect of conflicting with the reform's discursive beliefs.

COMTEMPORARY REVIVAL OF STORY TELLING AND NATIONALISM IN TEXTBOOK WRITING

Authors and publishers of textbooks written in conformity with the pre-reform tradition usually do not discuss their work and the ways in which it conforms with or deviates from earlier work nor do they normally publish teacher guides. A notable exception is the rationale of Professor of history at the University of Iceland, Gunnar Karlsson (1939-). Gunnar is one of the leading historians in the country and a well-respected academic on the Icelandic left. He received a cand. mag. degree (1970) and a doctoral degree (1978) from the University of Iceland where he has been a lecturer (stundakennari) (1970-71, 1973-4), Assistant Professor (1976-80), and Professor (1980-).

Gunnar Karlsson's work concerning educational issues includes, on the one hand, investigations of history teaching (e.g., 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1989) and, on the other hand, textbooks for elementary schools (1985-6, 1988) and secondary schools (Bragi Gudmundsson and Gunnar Karlsson 1988, Gunnar Karlsson og sagnfræðinemar vid Haskola Islands 1989, Gunnar Karlsson 1990). The only school level that Gunnar has not written textbooks for are the upper elementary grades (8-10).

Gunnar Karlsson's analysis of the merging traditions of nationalism and objectivism in history teaching has already been mentioned (see above), and in the early 1980s, Gunnar undertook two projects in relation to teaching history that have led to his series of

textbooks for two school levels. He taught graduate level classes in the University of Iceland dealing with the subject of Icelandic history as teaching material. The first of those classes, taught in spring semester 1982, dealt with Icelandic 20th century history. One of the students in the class, Bragi Gudmundsson (see ch.7.1), later co-wrote a book with Gunnar, using materials they first presented in this class (Bragi Gudmundsson and Gunnar Karlsson 1988). Another class, first taught in the spring of 1984, dealt with Icelandic medieval history and has led to a book co-written by Gunnar and students who had taken these classes (Gunnar Karlsson og sagnfræðinemar vid Haskola Islands 1989, see also Haukur Sigurdsson 1990). Gunnar's other textbook-writing project began with writing stories from the history of Iceland for his daughter's 5th grade class in Laugarnesskoli, Reykjavik. The daughter's teacher, Matthildur Gudmundsdottir who had been in the social studies curriculum project team, let others know about Gunnar's stories, and they were trial-taught by other teachers and published by NCEM (Gunnar Karlsson 1985-5, 1988) with the approval of the DERD inspector and other leading social studies team members.

Gunnar Karlsson has explained the rationale for his work. In an article entitled "I am Giving the Nation a History" (1989), Gunnar argues that "[a]ll history is based on constructing comprehensive entities out of complex reality which is abstruse and unattractive ... In history for children, these lines must be even more clear than for adults" (31; transl. by Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 303). Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) reviewed Gunnar's elementary-level textbooks; he points out that they present "a comprehensive chronological and thematic history of the Icelanders' struggle for independence" (303). This theme is indeed reflected in their title, i.e., **Independence of the Icelanders** (Sjalfstæði Islendinga), volume 1-3 (Gunnar Karlsson 1985-6, 1988). In short, Gunnar integrates a narrative text that tells a story in "a relatively uninterrupted chronological sequence and explains the causes and consequences of crucial political events" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 305) with a patriotic theme. The rationale for telling such a story is the view that story telling is integral to the Icelandic tradition. Additionally, Gunnar seeks to integrate the theme of independence, sanctioned by nationalism, with the view that school books need to be less overtly partial than the Jonas Jonsson books without becoming as boring as books written in the objective tradition. One strategy that Gunnar adopts in his books is to use questions that should

lead to discussions. In conclusion, Gunnar "synthesizes the earlier curriculum traditions and the various cultural and political traditions which indicate how history should be taught and the Icelandic culture and society interpreted" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 305, my emphasis).

The Gunnar Karlsson stories have reportedly become popular by teachers (e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1988b), and Gunnar's efforts show that the pre-reform pedagogy, whatever modifications he may have made by incorporating questions, still is strong in schools. Gunnar has also achieved capital that he might be able to use in the field of educational reform (whether he uses it there or not), even though he complains that his colleagues in the University's Division of History do not appreciate this achievement as academic capital (Gunnar Karlsson 1989).

THE LEGITIMATING PRINCIPLE OF THE PRE-REFORM PEDAGOGY

The drawing of a web of cultural assumptions and congregational, nationalistic, and pre-reform scientist ideas and practices enables to see how these patterns are intervoven into a legitimating principle that favors certain types of school and curriculum work over others. In this view, the patterns of the web discursively intersect with other patterns. Written tests, the major means of evaluation in Icelandic schools, is a typical point of intersection of the discourse of scientism and congregational pedagogy. Written tests sanction the transmission of a nationalistic and fragmentary knowledge base which is difficult to change once it is there and appears objective because it has been stripped of its explicit values. Written tests fit well with our cultural assumptions of knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, because they "objectively" report who is the most knowledgeable (intelligent) child.

The pre-reform pedagogy is socially and historically constructed and, as argued above, can not be traced to one source. For instance, memorization in Icelandic schools (what is memorized, under which circumstances it is memorized) is not of a "pure" origin. Memorization of a fragmentary, cultural literacy-type knowledge, taught in a congregational manner and tested with objective tests, is a historically woven web of ideas and practices; that is, a historically and socially constructed legitimating principle. It is the available means to legitimate current practices or delegitimate new work. Teachers' commitment not to experiment with children makes it still more difficult to

initiate changes that may have unforeseen consequences.

Reformers' interest in evaluation as process (ch.4.1), which does not fit with the emphasis on memorization and the congregational telling-and-listening of nationalistic knowledge, signifies a difference, a rupture, from previous ideas and practices. The social studies spiral is another rupture. The often-hostile discourse of reformers (e.g., Haukur Viggosson 1978a; see above) also signifies the rupture. Chapters 4 and 5.1 explain the reform principle and chapter 5.2 includes a systematic analysis of the break in discursive practices (collision of legitimating principles) concerning elementary education in the last 25 years in Iceland.

3.2 Public Education in Iceland and Leading Institutions in the Reform

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

There are three school levels in the public education system in Iceland: the elementary (primary) level, the secondary level, and the university (college) level (Log um skolakerfi 1974). The first public education act in Iceland was passed in 1907 (Log um frædslu barna 1907). This act made education compulsory for children between 10 and 14 years old. The implementation of this legislation was slow, and in the rural areas the legislation was largely fulfilled by relying on travelling teachers as well as on parents and other residents in children's homes. New laws on public education were passed in 1946 (e.g., Log um skolakerfi og frædsluskyldu 1946, Log um frædslu barna 1946, Log um gagnfrædanam 1946). Nevertheless, permanent schools did not fully replace circuit schools (farskolar) until the 1970s -- around the time that the 1974 school legislation (Log um skolakerfi 1974, Log um grunnskola 1974) was taking effect. In general, it was in the 1930s in Reykjavik and the larger coastal towns and in the 1960s and 1970s in rural regions that public schools took over the task of teaching how to read and write. Secondary education also increased in volume in the 1970s and 1980s with the establishment of comprehensive schools in communities across the country. Public education is virtually free for students from elementary school where parents often pay a small charge for xeroxed materials through university where students pay a nominal fee of ca. 140 dollars. (See Bragi Josepsson 1985 and Hordur Larusson 1985 for convenient overviews of the Icelandic educational system in English.)

The elementary school (grunnskolin) in Iceland is a comprehensive school that from the early 1970s has ranged from a non-compulsory Kindergarten class (that most children attended), where children begin at the calendar-year age of six, to ninth grade from which students are graduated at the age of 16. In 1990, however, the Kindergarten class (previously called "the class of six-year-olds" or grade "0") was made compulsory and renamed first grade. The subsequent classes were also renamed, and I use the new grade names, which roughly correspond to the U.S. grade names, throughout the thesis. Most elementary schools students attend school nine months a year, but in rural areas, many schools are only in session for eight months each year.

A distinctive feature of the Icelandic elementary schools, compared to elementary schools in the U.S., is that classroom teachers often follow each class group for at least three years. They teach, for instance, the same group through grades 2-4 or 5-7. Yet in grades 8-10, most teachers are subject teachers; most likely they teach the subject at all these grade levels. Grades 8-10 were often called the teenage or middle school level, but I usually refer to them as the upper elementary school.

Next school level is the secondary school level (*framhaldsskoli*). It is a four year school that also offers shorter courses of study. Three main types of schools are at the secondary level. First, traditional or credit-unit-based *gymnasia* (*menntaskolar*), offering lines in modern languages, classics, physics, mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences, and economics. Second, comprehensive schools (*fjolbrautaskolar*), offering similar programs as the *gymnasia*, but in addition many of them offer non-traditional academic lines such as nursing, social services, business, and the art and crafts, as well as vocational lines. The third school type is vocational schools (e.g. *idnskolar*) without academic lines. I consider preparatory institutions for various occupations to belong to that category.

The university level's flagship is the University of Iceland, Reykjavik with nine faculties. The University was founded in 1911 with four faculties, i.e., those of Law, Medicine, Theology, and Arts. In the Faculty of Arts (*heimspekideild*) -- which currently offers programs in about 20 disciplines, including foreign languages, Icelandic grammar and literature, linguistics, literary theory, philosophy, and history -- "*islensk fræði*" (Icelandic language, literature, and history) was the major discipline for most of the century. Other universities in Iceland are the College of Education, Reykjavik (see later in the chapter) and the University of Akureyri. A few other schools and colleges offer programs at the university level. Among them are the Technical College of Iceland, Reykjavik, the School of Agriculture at Hvanneyri, the Icelandic School of Business, Reykjavik, the College of the Cooperative Society at Bifrost, the Reykjavik School of Music, the Icelandic School of Theater, Reykjavik, and the College of Art and Crafts, Reykjavik. ²⁾

A distinctive feature of Icelandic secondary schools and higher education institutions is the relative absence of the social sciences (sociology, political science, psychology, etc.). With the exception of one Professorate in pedagogy and a small Division of

Psychology within the Faculty of Arts, social sciences were not taught in the University. However, in 1971, a Sociology Division with sociology and political science was established. These two disciplines and pedagogy, psychology, and library science were combined into the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1976. The first social science divisions in secondary schools were established around 1970 as well.

THE TEACHERS

Teachers in Icelandic public schools are paid from state funds for most of their duties. Nevertheless, hiring decisions are handled locally by principals, Rectors, and school boards. By the end of the year 1987, 3100 licenses had been issued to elementary school teachers and 1444 to secondary school teachers (Menntamalaraduneytid 1988). It has always been difficult to find licensed teachers to teach in many rural and coastal communities.

Teachers who teach in grades 1-7 in Iceland are almost exclusively women. The "normal" teacher is licensed, female, married, 25-45 years old, has one or more children, holds a 50-75 % position and lives in Reykjavík or a neighbor town. This teacher's husband typically has a better-paid or a higher-rank job; for instance, he is a full-time teacher in grades 8-10 or principal, he runs a business, or he works for the state.

Among middle school teachers (those who teach in grades 8-10) and secondary school teachers are proportionately more men than in grades 1-7 -- indeed a majority in secondary schools. Furthermore, most principals are men, and there are more men among teachers in rural areas and small towns than in Reykjavik. Typically there are also more university-trained teachers in grades 8-10 and in secondary schools than in grades 1-7 where most teachers are graduates of teaching training institutions, i.e., the College of Education or the Teacher Training College (see below). The result of this is a greater diversity the higher in the system and the farther away from Reykjavik we go, compared to the relative homogeneity among teachers in grades 1-7 in Reykjavik.

LEADING REFORM INSTITUTIONS

The remainder of this section contains a brief background information concerning the major institutions that are involved in the reform in elementary education. The selection of institutions is sanctioned by the level of each institution's involvement in the reform

discourse, but not in an attempt to draw boundaries around the field of educational reform (see also the introduction to ch.6).

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT

As I briefed in chapter 1.2, the Department of Educational Research and Development (Skolarannsóknadeild, DERD) was established within the Ministry of Culture and Education in 1966 (see also endnote 1, ch.1). Its task was to coordinate a major revision of curricula and teaching materials in the Icelandic school system with a special focus on the elementary level. Inspectors (namstjorar; other transl. include national directors of study, and project directors) supervised the planning of curriculum for DERD, led workshops and in-service programs, advised teachers -- in brief, they were spokespersons for DERD's policies. DERD is the primary site to search for the reform's discursive themes in the 1970s and early 1980s. Different abbreviations have been used for DERD. Literal translation is "school research," not "educational research." I use educational to contrast with school in DERD's successor agency (see below) and to capture the broad nature of DERD's concerns in education. DERD is sometimes referred to as the R. & D. unit.

On January 1, 1985 DERD was changed into the Department of School Development (Skolathrounardeild, DSD) in relation to other organizational changes in the Ministry. These changes also included the foundation of the Department of Secondary Schools. The role of DSD was different from DERD's role. For instance, DSD was now not to be responsible for the development of curriculum materials since that task was officially moved to NCEM (see below), and DSD hired fewer inspectors than DERD. DSD was reorganized as a part of the Department of Elementary Education (DEE) within the Ministry in early 1990 but under the leadership of the DSD staff. However, I focus on DSD as a unit in the remainder of the thesis since the role of the DEE inspectors has still to develop.

THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

The College of Education (Kennarahaskoli Islands, KHI) is also called the University College of Education (in contrast with its predecessor, Kennaraskoli Islands, see below)

or the Educational College of Iceland in translations. Literal translation is the Teachers College (or University) of Iceland. The official English title was until recently the Iceland Institute of Education but is now the Icelandic University College of Education. While the choice of a translation is for many a political issue, I have chosen to use "College of Education" to emphasize that KHI is not only a "training" institution for teachers; "College of Education" is also a short and convenient name.

The College of Education was founded in 1971 by transforming the Teacher Training College (Kennaraskoli Islands, KI; hereafter I use an English abbreviation, TTC, to avoid confusion with the Icelandic abbreviation of the Teacher Union of Iceland which is also KI, see below), an upper secondary level school, into a university level institution (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1971). TTC was founded in 1908 but the first teacher education programs in Iceland had been initiated by teachers in the Flensborg School in Hafnarfjordur, near Reykjavik, in 1892. TTC was a relatively small institution until the 1960s when its enrollment increased rapidly. In 1962, TTC moved to the current location of KHI with the street Stakkahlid, Reykjavik. TTC admitted graduates from the upper elementary schools (gagnfræðaskolar) until the transformation into a College in 1971. From 1950, TTC also offered a one-year program for gymnasia graduates who wanted to receive a teaching certificate (in 1969 this program was expanded to a two-year program), and in the late 1960s TTC added a one-year matriculation examination program (menntadeild) for its own teaching certificate graduates (e.g., Thuridur J. Kristjansdottir 1979). After a brief transition period that began with the new legislation in 1971, KHI only graduated teachers with a B.Ed. degree to teach in elementary schools. The course of study was three years, and students needed the matriculation examination to enter. By an act of the Parliament in 1988 (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1988), KHI's elementary teachers' program will become a four-year program in the near future, possibly as soon as by fall 1991.

The 1971 legislation was not only to move teacher education to a college level; it was to strengthen KHI's potential as a leadership institution in educational research in the country. While currently there are no graduate programs in educational theory in Iceland, it is planned that KHI offer Master's degree programs. KHI now runs a special education program, a program for principals, a program to certify teachers in vocational schools, and in-service courses for elementary school teachers. Furthermore, KHI's

library is the largest and best-equipped education-research library in the country (for an overview over the programs, see Appendix V).

TTC operated teaching practice classes (so-called "æfingadeild"), and the Teaching Practice School (TPS, *Æfingaskolinn*) was established in the 1960s. When the moving of TTC to the university level took place, the TPS's name was changed into the Teaching Practice and Experimental School of the College of Education (*Æfinga- og tilraunaskoli Kennarahaskola Islands, ÆTKHI*). The name change reflects that the school is not only to be the center of teaching practice for the College students, but it should also conduct educational experiments and initiate innovations.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND'S DIVISION OF PEDAGOGY

In the early 1950s, a teacher education program was established in the University of Iceland, within the Faculty of Arts, to comply with the 1946 education legislation (Lydur Bjornsson 1981, 53), and the position of the Professor of education was established in 1957 (Andri Isaksson 1986/1984, 51). This program offered university graduates a half-year course in pedagogy to prepare them as teachers, primarily for the middle school level (grades 8-11, now the upper elementary level) and the gymnasia.

In 1976, the Pedagogy Division was moved from the Faculty of Arts to be one of the five major academic subjects in the new Faculty of Social Sciences. The Division now offers a 30-credit program (equivalent to one year) for teachers with Bachelor's, Master's, or Ph.D. degrees in an academic subject to qualify for a teaching certificate, as required by a 1978 act (*Log um embættisgengi kennara 1978*). The licenses, however, are not level or subject specified. This program is entitled Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program (*Uppeldis- og kennslufræði til kennslurettinda*, often called the UK program). The Division also offers a three-year BA program. A popular route of study was to split the 90 credits of Bachelor's studies, required for any Faculty of Arts degree, so that one would have 60 credits in, for instance, history, Icelandic, or English and 30 credits in pedagogy. Fifteen of the 30 credits in pedagogy toward the BA degree could be applied to the UK program. Then it was only necessary to add 15 credits of curriculum theory, evaluation, teaching practices, and related courses to be able to receive the teaching certificate, saving one semester or relaxing the four years of study.

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

The National Center for Educational Materials (Namsgagnastofnun, NCEM) was founded in 1979 by combining the State Textbook Publishing House (Ríkisutgafanamsboka, STPH), the National Educational Film Library (Frædslumyndasafn ríkisins, NEFL), and new responsibilities. The most important of these responsibilities in relation to this thesis is the curriculum development.

NCEM consists of several divisions. Some are sales and production divisions; others are focused on curriculum and instructional issues. In the latter category is the Division of Educational Materials that includes the Department of Curriculum Materials Development, the Department of Audio-Visual Media, and the Teacher Center. The Teacher Center is one of the central meeting places for teachers in the country, in particular the Reykjavik metropolitan area. The Teacher Center conducts formal and informal in-service educational programs and workshops, it has a library and a computer lab, and it distributes assignments and publishes xerox-ready materials for teachers (see also Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1987b, 159). NCEM has employed a number of people who were involved in the DERD work (ch.6.1), and the institution and its staff are in a position to play a major leadership role in education.

THE DISTRICT OFFICES OF EDUCATION

The Primary School Act of 1974 (Log um grunnskola 1974) divides the country into eight education districts (the same as the electoral districts, see Appendix II). Each of these districts has a Board of Education (frædslurad) of local citizens, elected by the associations of the communities (in Reykjavik by the City Council). Each Board of Education works in relation with a District Office of Education (frædsluskristofa, DOE), directed by a superintendent (frædslustjori) who is financially and professionally responsible to the Ministry of Culture and Education. The superintendent positions are relatively recent positions within the educational system. Superintendents replaced several district and regional "namstjorar" (not to be confused with the DERD namstjorar). In some sources in English, the (modern) superintendents are called supervisors. Formally, the DOE staff is employed by the Ministry, and the work division between DOEs and the Ministry is somewhat blurry as it is undergoing change (see also ch.6.1).

Some superintendents have taken on major leadership roles in the reform, and many

important leaders in the reform movement and progressive teachers have worked for DOEs as staff members or consultants. If decentralization in the Icelandic school system will increase, the superintendents' offices will play an important role in that process. The superintendents and DOE staff members, who want to be influential, are major players in the reform field.

TEACHER UNIONS

In the 1980s, teachers in elementary and secondary schools have been in two major unions, the Teacher Union of Iceland (Kennarasamband Islands, KI) and The Icelandic Teacher Association (Hid islenska kennarafelag, HIK). KI members are around 3000; HIK members around 1000. KI consists of all Teacher Training College graduates, many College of Education graduates, and many vocational-education teachers. HIK consists of all gymnasia teachers, most other secondary school teachers in the academic disciplines, and some College of Education graduates in elementary schools. In almost all comprehensive schools and at the upper levels of the elementary school (grades 8-10), teachers belonging to KI and HIK teach side by side. This arrangement, which is more complex than is possible to describe here, is in a mess because the unions have usually bargained separately within different federations of state employees. Membership in a union is mandatory once someone is employed by the state school system (the only choice is between KI and HIK for B.Ed. graduates and HI graduates who teach at the elementary level), and membership fees are automatically deducted from the paycheck by the State Treasurer.

HIK was founded in 1979 by combining the Association of Gymnasia Teachers (Felag menntaskolakennara, FM) and the Association of University Educated Teachers (Felag haskolamenntadra kennara, FHK). FHK consisted of university graduates who taught at the middle school level (then grades 8-11). KI was founded in 1980 by combining the National Union of Secondary School Teachers (Landssamband framhaldsskolakennara, LFSK), which consisted of middle school teachers and vocational education teachers, and the Elementary School Teacher Union (Samband grunnskolakennara, SGK). Before a name change in 1978, SGK had been the Union of Icelandic Teachers of Children (Samband islenskra barnakennara, SIB). SGK/SIB consisted mainly of Teacher Training College graduates.

The Federation of Teacher Associations (Bandalag kennarafelaga, BK) was founded in June 1984. It is a professional federation, consisting of HIK og KI, and publishes two periodicals, one professional (**Ny menntamal**), published quarterly, and one on union-related issues (**Felagsblad BK**), published more frequently. An attempt to combine KI and HIK in a single professional and bargaining union failed in 1987 when the HIK membership voted against merging with KI.

The Association of Principals and Deputy Principals (Felag skolestjora og yfirkennara, FSY) is also a part of the leadership of teachers. As FSY doesn't have a bargaining position, its members also belong to KI or HIK. With an increasing focus on administration in Icelandic schools, however, signs indicate that FSY and the Association of Icelandic Rectors (AIR, Skolameistarafelag Islands) that includes administrators (Rectors and Konrectors) in secondary schools might join forces and form a new bargaining union.

KI has taken an aggressive stance in forming a school policy. It is KI's Pedagogy Committee that has led the formation of the school policy (chs.4.2, 5.1). HIK will not be investigated further in this thesis.

IN SUM

These institutions are the major institutions that have an impact on the trajectory of the educational reform. In the subsequent chapters, I investigate these sites. I examine the different kinds of educational and cultural capital that have surfaced in the reform, the social networkings and rivalries between the institutions, and the social strategies that the epistemic individuals in various sites employed.

Chapter 4. Discursive Themes in the Reform in Elementary Education

The objective of this chapter is to describe the discursive themes in the reform in elementary education in Iceland in the last 25 years. This discussion is to identify the discursive themes and practices; chapter 5 focuses on how these themes constitute the educational and cultural capital of the reform. The discussion in chapter 4 is a "thick" description in terms of analyzing the rhetoric of reformers in policy documents, articles, letters, speeches, and so forth; chapter 5 places the findings of chapter 4 within the theoretical framework.

I focus on the reform in elementary education in selected sites and study how the discursive themes and practices fall into patterns. By a "site" I mean institutions at specific moments -- for instance, at the release of a specific document that is investigated here. These sites are DERD (with a special attention devoted to a syllabus draft released in 1983 (see below) and the social studies and biology curriculum projects), teacher education institutions (College of Education, University of Iceland's Division of Pedagogy), and the elementary school teachers' union (Teacher Union of Iceland).

The chapter unfolds as follows: First, I discuss a draft toward the General Syllabus for Primary Schools (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983), written by DERD. In the draft, most of the reform's major tenets can be found. The draft is analyzed in detail and its major discursive themes summarized. Second, I discuss two of DERD's projects, the social studies and biology projects. These projects represent two of the most radical restructuring of curriculum in the reform and potentially-opposite poles: social studies deal with social issues and may represent a child-centered and progressive pole; biology draws upon natural sciences and may represent a scientist and technological pole. Both projects have been sites of tensions, although in a different way, and both projects have "produced" important leaders in the reform (see ch.7.1 for social studies; in biology, for instance, DSD's head Hrolfur Kjartansson). I explore the ways in which these two projects relate to an overall picture of the discursive themes and the legitimating principles of the reform.

In the second part of the chapter (ch.4.2), I discuss the College of Education and the University of Iceland's Division of Pedagogy as sites of introduction of educational

theory to pre-service teachers. It is important to have insight into how these institutions' discursive themes and practice reflect or vary from the DERD themes. I examine the discursive connections with elements derived from other legitimating principles that have occurred in these sites. I also discuss several topics that I consider focal points to understand the credibility of the reform's various aspects. I argue that the so-called open schools as well as open weeks and interactive-schooling workshops were among the most successful practices in giving the reformers "visible proofs" in debates. Other much-debated issues include mixed ability grouping, special education for the talented and gifted, and the debates about new private schools in the 1980s. Reformers' arguments in these debates highlight themes from the DERD discourse. Lastly I turn to the Teacher Union of Iceland. The Teacher Union has taken on a considerable leadership role in the latter part of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s and has prepared a school policy document, entitled *Skolastefna* (1990). Here I examine the relations between the discursive themes in *Skolastefna* and the DERD themes.

4.1 Discursive Themes in the Discourse of DERD

ADALNAMSKRA GRUNNSKOLA 1983

A 1983 draft toward the General Syllabus for Primary Schools offers a good site for a detailed analysis of the discursive themes in the reform. The draft was released for discussion in April 1983 (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983, hereafter A.g. 1983). The draft was to replace DERD's first General Syllabus (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1976-7) but was never signed by the Minister of Culture and Education who, at the time of the draft's release, was Ingvar Gislason from the Progressive Party. Later that summer the conservative politician Ragnhildur Helgadóttir -- a person from the heart of the Reykjavik elite and a member of the Independence Party -- became the Minister of Culture and Education in a right-of-center coalition government and effectively blocked the draft. In fact, it took six years and several twists and turns to finalize a new General Syllabus (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989), a document much unlike the 1983 draft.

The content of the 1983 syllabus draft (A.g. 1983) is a discursive platform. Before it was released, the draft had been discussed among the DERD personnel and others; the draft editor, Hordur Bergmann who prior to that task was the inspector of the curriculum project in Danish, is only one of its "authors." After the release, the draft had considerable rhetorical power in the group of reformers inside and outside DERD. It expresses fundamental beliefs of the reformers. These are the belief that education needs to become more child-centered and democratic and the beliefs in that that scientific curriculum theory, process approaches toward teaching and learning, and the integration of school subjects will improve education. In the draft, these beliefs manifest themselves in the discursive themes and "catch phrases" that the subsequent discussion is aimed at revealing.

I have arranged the discussion of the themes in the syllabus draft around three patterns or over-arching themes. These patterns are democratic, child-centered discursive themes, scientist discursive themes, and activity pedagogy. These patterns provide examples of discourses that intersect in the reform context. These discourses can be identified as the discourse of liberal/radical democracy, or progressivism, and the discourse of the natural sciences as it is perpetuated in American curriculum theory,

referred to here as scientism. In fact, democratic, child-centered beliefs and the belief in science are not derived from two previously antagonistic directions. Rather, these strands signify nuances of modern beliefs that led a life together before they appeared side by side in the reform in elementary education in Iceland in the last 25 years. The third pattern, activity pedagogy, lies at the intersection of the democratic, child-centered beliefs and scientism. (For an historical examination of this intersection in British education, see Walkerdine 1984; see also ch.5.1. The "liberal/radical" slash is also borrowed from her.)

Below I discuss these patterns as they appear in the 1983 syllabus draft and reactions to the draft.

DEMOCRATIC AND CHILD-CENTERED DISCURSIVE THEMES

Under the umbrella-like terms democracy and child-centeredness I have arranged a discussion about student-centered teaching methods, egalitarian issues, cooperative learning, integration of subjects, inquiry learning, process learning, non-quantitative evaluation, and related issues. The definition here of liberal/radical democracy, lumped together with child-centered views, is vague; it is not the purpose of this discussion to define what democracy means. Moreover, if what is meant by "democracy" is defined too clearly, it might narrow the consensus behind the goal article of the Primary School Act of 1974 (see below) that seems to entail a myth-like notion of (Deweyan) liberal/radical, participatory democracy.¹⁾

The Primary School Act of 1974 defines the goal of elementary education in Iceland in following manner:

The aim of the primary school is, in cooperation with the homes, to prepare the students for life and work in a continuously changing democratic society. The organization of the school as well as its work shall, therefore, be guided by tolerance, Christian virtues, and democratic cooperation. The school shall endeavor to widen students' horizon and develop their understanding of the human condition and environment, of the Icelandic society, its history and characteristics, and the individuals' sense of duty to community/society (samfelag).

The primary school shall endeavor to conduct its activities in the closest harmony with the nature and needs of the students and foster the development of the overall maturity, health, and education of each one of them.

The primary school shall provide students with opportunities to acquire

knowledge and skills and learn methods of work that will lead them to make a constant effort to improve their education and reach further maturity. The school shall, therefore, lay the foundation to independent thinking and develop the ability for cooperation. (Log um grunnskola 1974, article 2. Transl. with regard to Ólafur J. Proppe 1983a, 196; Hordur Larusson 1985, 2380; Bragi Josepsson 1986, 72; and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 93. I have adopted the name Primary School Act about the 1974 law concerning elementary education as that transl. is commonly used, see also a remark on the use of terms in ch.2.2.)

The 1983 **Adalnamskra grunnskola** draft builds upon and elaborates these goals. It argues that "[t]he founding idea of the democratic organization of society is that all citizens have an equal right to have an influence on the society's future policy" (A.g. 1983, 21).²⁾ The draft also argues that the "[s]trength of democracy depends ... on the knowledge and maturity of those in power as well as any one who attempts to affect how power is exercised" (A.g. 1983, 21) and that "[t]herefore it is important that the school contributes ... to what is described in the second article of the Primary School Act" (A.g. 1983, 21). The syllabus draft recommends that students are provided with "experience of working in a democratic manner in the school [and that they] have a say about what is learned and how" (A.g. 1983, 22). The school's responsibility to "present different points of view and different values in an objective way" (A.g. 1983, 33) is highlighted. The draft continues:

The curriculum must not present a flattering picture of reality. The picture must be as true as possible each time. Contrasts and different points of view must not be masked but revealed and explained. When different points of view appear in curriculum materials, it is important that these views are treated in an objective manner and that students have the opportunity to investigate and assess them. It must be clear whose opinions -- authors' or others' -- are presented in the curriculum. The opinions of those who don't present them themselves must be treated fairly and justly. Students need to become aware of the differences between facts and opinions. It is also desirable that students gain background information that can explain different viewpoints appearing ... in the curriculum as well as they [students] should try to think of themselves in the situation of others. This kind of practice can help cultivate students' independent thinking, widen their horizon and develop the ability for cooperation (A.g. 1983, 33).

The thrust of this is that schools need to change toward a more democratic and student-centered daily routine. Otherwise, the schools will be unable to raise and educate

citizens, capable of developing a democratic society.

These are the foundations for the belief in democratic, child-centered schooling as these beliefs are articulated in the reform discourse. In the remainder of this subsection, I tease out "topics" that further explain these beliefs are carried out in the draft.

Child-centered attitudes: The child-centered views appear throughout the draft in statements such as, "Teens must be given the opportunity to exercise self-control and responsibility if they are supposed to stand on their own feet in their studies and work" (A.g. 1983, 18), "Children's nature includes the need to work and move [and] a natural need to learn ... " (A.g. 1983, 42, 39), and, "[I]t matters most of all that students learn to know themselves and their abilities ... and how to achieve enough knowledge to be capable of realizing how they can continue to mature their abilities" (A.g. 1983, 9).

Student-centered teaching methods: A child-centered point of view -- as opposed to a teacher-centered or an authoritarian point of view (I don't mean to argue that "teacher-centered" and "authoritarian" are necessarily identical adjectives, but since the draft rejects both positions it does not always distinguish clearly between them) -- can be seen clearly in the syllabus draft's discussions of the role of the teacher: "The main role of the teacher is to guide [the students] through the studies" (A.g. 1983, 49).

Furthermore,

[o]ne of the teacher's most important roles is to attempt to awaken a desire in the student so that [s/]he will cultivate the studies by her/himself. Everyone is interested in something. The role of the teacher is to find to where the student's interests are directed and find ways to connect these interests with the learning ... (A.g. 1983, 47).

The teacher needs to listen to students' stories (A.g. 1983, 47), and, in general, the draft expects teachers to use their knowledge of students' opinions and interests to guide the selection of learning materials and teaching methods. The methods teachers use must provide flexibility for students "to learn to find, on their own, a way through the universe of knowledge, to find sources, and to utilize them" (A.g. 1983, 39).

Student participation in decisions: The syllabus draft expects student participation in decision making in the school:

Teachers' waking consciousness about the dialectical relationship between goals, curriculum materials, and teaching methods [on one the hand] and the interest in giving students opportunities to decide how

teaching takes place [on the other hand] has a definite and manifold value -- from the beginning of the elementary school to its end. The youngest students should not be excluded from this matter, even though, clearly, students, when they become older, can do different things than when they were younger (A.g. 1983, 38).

In this light we can also view the demand for that students learn to communicate "freely and effectively in conversations and debates" as well as the demand that they learn to write (A.g. 1983, 31).

Integration of students, mixed ability grouping: The reform movement promoted egalitarianism between individuals. The liberal notion of equality of opportunities is well alive in a support for that every individual receive the education he or she needs. One such sign is the integration of all students, highly favored among Icelandic educationists in the 1970s. The syllabus draft discusses various arrangements of special education (e.g., A.g. 1983, 79, 81) and mixed ability grouping (A.g. 1983, 68ff). Distaste for any kind of ability grouping seems to have been taken for granted in the reform discourse (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues).

Egalitarianism -- but with a "lid" on unsafe issues: Reformers are not only concerned with egalitarianism on the level of equality between individuals but also on the societal level. The syllabus draft gives a few suggestions as to how to deal with social and environmental issues: "When students set up exhibits, deliver programs, or perform plays in the school, it is important that as many students as possible are given opportunities to participate in accordance with their interest and abilities" (A.g. 1983, 43). Another example is the quest for that "students gain insight into the living conditions and attitudes of different social groups [and classes]" (A.g. 1983, 19). The draft continues: "The school must present to students debates between interest groups and nations as well as the difficult problems of the human race, such as the division in living conditions, the pollution and destruction of natural resources, and wars" (A.g. 1983, 19).

These measures are not intended to change social structures, and only the safest issues concerning structured inequality are promoted in the syllabus draft and other government publications. Examples of issues that reformers have tried to combat are the status of the mentally and physically disabled (by integration and more attention to special education, see above) and discrimination based on regional differences. These two

issues are relatively "safe" in relation to the polarization between the left and the right in politics. That "safety," however, is greatest at the discursive level as these issues intersect with fiscal problems and with the interests of the power elite in Reykjavik. An example of how the fiscal problem is intertwined with power struggles was the (illegal) discharge of the superintendent of the North East district in January 1987. The reason was a dispute with the central administration in the Ministry of Culture and Education in Reykjavik over funds to implement the special-education measures in the Primary School Act of 1974.

Consideration has been given to gender issues by reformers. While there is not much talk about gender equality in the syllabus draft, the general gender-equity legislation mandates teaching about gender-equity issues in schools (*Log um jafnretti kvenna og karla* 1976). Special textbooks and other publications have been prepared to deal with this matter (e.g., Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir 1985).

Other important issues regarding structural inequality are either backgrounded or not discussed. For instance, discrimination based on social class is a taboo issue in Iceland because of the common myth of a classless society. If textbook authors introduce this dimension, they do it in a coded language, for instance by talking about "occupations" or "economic status." An official draft toward an educational policy document for the 1990s, released by the Ministry of Culture and Education in November 1990 (*Til nyrRAR aldar* 1990), lists five types of inequality, in this order (I use the words and phrases that are highlighted in the text): "disabled," "foreign children," "equal status and equal rights of women and men," "regional status," and "economic status" (16-18). It is illustrating that economic status is at the bottom of the list -- in spite of the fact that the Minister of Culture and Education who is responsible for this document, Svavar Gestsson, and his special advisor on educational issues, Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir, are socialists from the People's Alliance. Interestingly, "foreign children who do not have a command over the Icelandic language" are given attention in one sentence. Race and racism are not mentioned, however, even though this sentence seems to primarily concern refugees from Vietnam who recently have been admitted to Iceland, and talk about discrimination based on the dominance of heterosexuality in Icelandic society has not appeared in the official educational discourse that I know of.

In spite of obvious omissions that undermine any notion of socialist (as opposed to

liberal) politics in the official documents, egalitarianism is an important discursive theme in the reform discourse. In the second part of this chapter (4.2), I discuss further egalitarian themes in relation to mixed ability grouping and publicly funded private schools.

The total child: An holistic approach towards students is a part of the anti-authoritarian beliefs of reformers. But to grasp the sense of "the total child" in the syllabus draft is more difficult. The main way in which the reform discourse directs a focus on the total child is to present three domains for curricular objectives, that is, the knowledge, affective, and psychomotor domains (the Bloom taxonomy). There is a mention of the tendency of Icelandic schools not to regard the affective domain when children are tested (A.g. 1983, 98), and a paragraph that spells out the importance of fostering moral and emotional development of the child (A.g. 1983, 44). The introduction of the affective "domain" into educational discussion is significant as a discursive theme -- even though it was enveloped in a scientist language -- because there was a little emphasis on emotions in the pre-reform rhetoric.

Having said that the reform focuses on the total child, I must disclaim that assertion by pointing out how strong the cognitive base of the syllabus draft is. A major source for reformers about children's moral development is Kohlberg's theory (see the discussion about scientist themes later in this section), and the vantage point of the draft is obviously rational and cognitive rather than naturalistic or hermeneutic. The following statement is an example:

It needs to be championed (keppt) towards [the goal] that students gain understanding of what lies behind their own responses (vidbrogd) and emotions, that they can compare them with the emotions of others, and that they can, to some extent, rationalized (alyktad) about emotional responses in general (A.g. 1983, 44).

All in all, however, it is safe to argue that the reform pedagogy that the syllabus draft is an example of paves the way for more explicit articulation of non-knowledge aspects in a child's development. Although reformers did use some scientist language to express these views, there is no reason to believe that their concern was primarily to comply with scientific curriculum theories. This is an example of how scientist arguments were frequently used to support child-centered and democratic concerns (see ch.5.1).

Cooperative learning, group work, and discussions: Among the foundations of the Primary School Act's goal article (see above) is cooperation. The syllabus draft -- along with short courses in group dynamics that were offered to in-service teachers and mandated for student teachers -- indicates an emphasis on using study groups for students to learn from each other and to be with each other, and, by doing this, foster the skills and attitudes necessary to cooperate.

Students must be given vast opportunities to work together and exchange views. Furthermore, it should be attempted to increase their sense of responsibility for own contributions and results as well as the contributions and results of the fellow students and the whole. Those who know more should be encouraged to help those who need help (A.g. 1983, 19).

Cooperative learning or "hopvinna" (group work), the Icelandic catch phrase, is in this way also supposed to help the teacher by giving her/him the extra time needed to assist individual students because the other students are working with each other although the teacher is not overseeing them every minute (A.g. 1983, 41). The syllabus draft warns that it may take both time and patience to change teaching into this direction: "It takes time for them [students] to learn to work with others ..." (A.g. 1983, 58).

The syllabus draft (A.g. 1983, 51) argues that discussions among students and between students and teachers are imperative "to prepare students for life and work in a democratic society" and that such discussions can "deepen understanding" of the curriculum and open opportunities for creative interactions. Discussions demand respect from others who participate, and "[g]roup discussions open up more egalitarian participation than [other methods]."

The emphasis on cooperation in the draft (and in the reform in general) is, in my opinion, ambivalent. Some of the citations might as well be meant to refer to cooperative learning as a learning aid rather than a purpose in itself. But even though the discussion on cooperative learning might be derived from sources (group dynamics, social psychology, and so on) that tend to view cooperation as a learning aid as opposed to cooperation as a social goal, the reformers' interest was in democracy. Progressive educators were hooked on the idea that they needed any possible tools to work towards the goal of the Primary School Act to foster cooperation.

Integration of subjects: The reform emphasized integrating subjects that previously

had been kept separate in conformance with their respective academic disciplines, such as botany, geography, history, physics, and zoology. The syllabus draft suggests that teachers tear down the walls between the subject matters and "place the emphasis on the connections and relationships between those threads that the activities (vidfangsefnin) consist of" (A.g. 1983, 14). Moreover, the draft argues that

[t]he school is to provide students with opportunities to participate in intergrated projects so that they, in that way, can become acquainted with cooperation between teachers, between teachers and students and the value of cooperation between themselves. This experience can have an increased value when [students from] more than one age group work together (A.g. 1983, 19).

Besides the integration into new subjects, such as social studies and biology, the syllabus draft makes several recommendations for integrated topics. For instance, issues that relate to the family should be touched upon in second grade (at this time first grade) in social studies and dealt with again with sixth and seventh graders in biology in relation to conception, birth, and sex education. In ninth grade, the draft expects this topic (i.e., the family) to be widely covered in various subjects, such as biology, literature, and social studies (A.g. 1983, 30).

As with cooperative learning, there is a question whether integration was seen as serving a purpose in itself or seen simply as an effective teaching method. Let us look at a quotation:

Training in basic skills inevitably takes place when it is worked at a topic exploration ("efniskonnun" [see below]) or at integrated projects. Therefore, these teaching methods should not be viewed as waste of time but the opposite, in part because these methods most often increase the interest of those who generally fare badly when they are taught in a traditional manner ... It is easiest to train basic skills in wrestling with projects that awaken interest (A.g. 1983, 32).

In the above quotation, there is a visible interest in social equality (i.e., that every one needs to learn the basic skills in his or her own way) which is connected with an interest in social responsibility on the next page of the draft: "By relating school learning to burning questions and the immediate problems of the nation, with regard to the more widespread problems of the human race, it is possible to cultivate the ability and attitudes of the growing generation in a way beneficial for the future" (A.g. 1983, 33).

The draft also contends that students need a social understanding of what they learn in school:

In all elementary school teaching, it needs to be kept in mind that the connections between school subjects can increase their value in students' minds and make it easier for students to see a purpose in their studies. These connections can also help students to better utilize their learning. Integration can, if well managed, increase students' understanding of the whole and help them to cultivate, on a rational basis, their philosophical values from the multiple, diverse influences that the environment offers. Integration can make learning more relevant [nærtækara] and more interesting than is possible with the stubborn division into subjects that rotate ... every 40 minutes throughout the day (A.g. 1983, 36).

The official rhetoric may have reduced integration of subjects to a good learning strategy. Many reformers, however, saw integration having the potential to foster critical thinking skills and understanding of social forces and world problems. This twofold nature (in terms of capital) of integration reinforces the usefulness of this talk in legitimating the reform (see ch.5.1).

Efniskonnun: The authors of the syllabus draft define "efniskonnun" separately from integration. Literally, efniskonnun means topic exploration but is in fact a translation for "project work." Efniskonnun is closely related to the integration of subjects; indeed, when efniskonnun draws upon more than one school subject, then it is an integrated subject (A.g. 1983, 105). "By [efniskonnun] it is meant that students investigate a topic and discuss it in order to draw conclusions which are, perhaps, not fully clear at the outset" (A.g. 1983, 60). Important is to define a topic for efniskonnun clearly and narrowly. For instance, the topic "sports" is probably too broad, but questions, such as "How do athletics become champions?, What are the possibilities for small nations [to do well] in a world championship?, In which sports do girls/boys best?, [and], What causes sports' popularity?," are more manageable (A.g. 1983, 61). The process of efniskonnun is explained in detail (A.g. 1983, 62-3).

Efniskonnun appears to be thought of as a bridge into more elaborate and widespread integration because it does not require structural changes. For instance, a subject teacher, who only has the students for two to four 40-minute periods a week, can easily use efniskonnun in relation to library research or even just in classroom work.

Inquiry learning, questioning skills: The social studies project emphasized inquiry

and discovery learning strategies. Various sources, including the syllabus draft (A.g. 1983, 53), often refer to social studies documents for further explanations. An example of such a publication is a xeroxed booklet edited by Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Halldora Magnusdottir, and Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir (1977) about how questioning methods can be used to foster the development of children's conceptual skills.

The syllabus draft discusses different types of questions. Questions are divided into "closed" and "open" questions (A.g. 1983, 52), and the "questioning method" is mentioned. The questioning method consists of "key questions ... asked in order to speed students' thinking, for instance to train them to compare, categorize, deduct, or draw conclusions" (A.g. 1983, 53). Still another type of questions is "awakening questions" (A.g. 1983, 49). A paragraph lists the dangers that teachers need to be aware of when questions are used:

It is important that [s/]he [the teacher] cultivates a strong consciousness about not taking too much of the time for [her/]himself [to talk] nor answer the questions or repeat or rephrase students' answers so that they don't become accustomed to use [her/]him as a kind of a loudspeaker. It is also important that students have enough time to think each time a question has been asked. The silence between the question and the answer has more value than something which is only said as a filler or to avoid the uncomfortableness that the silence might cause (A.g. 1983, 53).

Local curriculum and community outreach: Related to the emphasis on integration and inquiry is what would be called "community outreach" in the United States. In order to tie the school with the community, field trips to businesses and people-made or natural environments are strongly encouraged (A.g. 1983, 56-8).

The contrast between the tiny rural schools, many of them with less than 50 students, and Reykjavik's schools with several hundred students each, some with over 1000 students, poses a special curriculum problem that local curricula seem suited to combat. The syllabus draft argues:

Local curriculum materials have many advantages. Students know many of its factors, and have possibly contemplated them on their own. Such materials allow for using hands-on (athreifanleg) examples, pointing to connections, making field trips, and by these means explain various items that are dealt with theoretically in the classroom. This can help students to see purpose in the studies. Also, local curriculum can

strengthen the ties between the school and the neighborhood -- parents as well as other inhabitants. Non-traditional, hands-on materials and real situations may also awaken interest and understanding in students who have difficulty in making sense of abstract tasks (A.g. 1983, 34).

For social studies reformers, at least, local curriculum was not only a rhetorical act. Many social studies curriculum projects are based on the local curriculum approach. Two of them are **Heimabyggdin**, a collection of activities to explore the local community in rural and coastal communities (Ingolfur A. Johannesson et al. 1985, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1986), and **Vid sjavarsiduna**, a project created in cooperation with students and teachers in the village of Dalvik, Northern Iceland (Kristin H. Tryggvadottir 1982, 1983). These curriculum materials appear to be capable of making the reform more appealing to the coastal fishing villages and rural farming areas of the country. The so-called "open weeks" are also based on a similar approach (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues), and some of the new biology textbooks (e.g., Gudmundur P. Olafsson n.d.a,b) utilize local research methods.

Student research: Consistent with integration, efniskonnun, and local curriculum projects, the syllabus draft places emphasis on research methods. It points out that "[t]eachers and students ... can find information and ideas for projects and assignments in textbooks and teachers' guides from NCEM or in other books, periodicals, newspapers, films, and so forth" (A.g. 1983, 29). The draft continues:

In the school, it must be worked towards the goal that students become literate in the most extensive meaning of the word. In addition to be able to draw information from a spoken language and from the reading of texts, they need to become capable of understanding numbers, graphs, drawings, maps, and every type of visual aids (A.g. 1983, 31).

Student research needs to have an equal status with other learning (A.g. 1983, 37), and it is important that the research results are communicated to other students (e.g. A.g., 1983, 53). In open weeks, students frequently did exactly this by exhibiting or presenting the research results.

Play as a teaching method: The syllabus draft mentions simulation games (hlutverkaleikir) as a teaching method (A.g. 1983, 17, 42) and sports are also mentioned (A.g. 1983, 42). Sports, of course, had been taught as a part of physical education.

What is new in terms of policy is the draft's suggestion to use various kinds of games in other school subjects (A.g. 1983, 42, 55-6). The draft also suggests that students can understand events and concepts through simulation games; for instance, that they can learn about the settlers and the settlement of Iceland (A.g. 1983, 55). In fact, a simulation game had been designed to accompany the curriculum package that dealt with the settlement of Iceland (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Olafur H. Johannsson, and Gudmundur Ingi Leifsson 1980).

Play and spontaneity are indeed central features in child-centered pedagogy and developmental psychology, based on the assumption that leaving children alone in a stimulating environment will lead to the discovery of democratic logics. Even though Piaget and Kohlberg suggest more guidance than, for example, Summerhill's A. S. Neill, the guidance that they suggest is a mere monitoring of conditions for play in the form of exploration of objects that should spontaneously create scientific rationality (Walkerdine 1984, 180). Several handbooks on simulation games and "creative drama" as teaching methods, compiled by the social studies team, were published (e.g., Erla Kristjansdottir and Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1977; Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Halldora Magnusdottir, and Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir n.d.).

Not one teaching method: The syllabus draft argues that "a search for the one right teaching method does not serve any purpose -- different teaching methods serve different purposes and suit different situations" (A.g. 1983, 50). The emphasis on explaining integration, efniskonnun, discussions, and research methods may be largely due to the fact that these methods have been much less used in Icelandic schools than frontal teaching to a whole class and children's seat-work on individual assignments. Consequently, there was a lesser need to explain the latter methods in the draft. This observation undermines that the emphasis on multiple methods can be interpreted as a "pure" sign of democracy. On the other hand, this observation does not exclude it either that this emphasis is a sign of an interest in democracy. Indeed the arguments in the draft suggest that reformers were interested in democratizing education in addition to that that they were interested in making education more effective by using multiple methods.

Evaluation as process and anti-testing attitudes: The reform movement tends to use the term "namsmat" (evaluation). The term is much associated with the reform and may indeed have been invented by reformers; the first reported example of the word is from

1977 in a book by linguist Baldur Ragnarsson (1977) who worked for DERD (information from the Lexicon Institute of the University of Iceland, see Ordabok Haskola Islands 1990), but most likely the word is older.

The use of the term *namsmat* emphasizes "that ... evaluation should reach other domains than the purely cognitive, and, especially, that it should be an ongoing activity, i.e., not only practiced at the end of the term" (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 211). *Namsmat* is more inclusive in regard to which specific techniques should be used than the term "prof" (test, examination). Even though *namsmat* may include "prof" as a means, *namsmat* as a catch term clearly refers to the child-centered anti-examination attitudes of the reform, including the DERD discourse (e.g., A.g. 1983, 95-103). In the source cited by the Lexicon Institute (see above), "*namsmat*" is used as an explanation of "active examinations" (*virkniprof*) which, according to the author of that source, have the major advantage that they provide teachers with information on how active students are in their studies (Baldur Ragnarsson 1977, 176).

The syllabus draft encourages teachers to make evaluation and assessment more comprehensive -- that is, to take into account more than just the factual knowledge that students have received -- and to decrease formal, scheduled testing (A.g. 1983, 100). Teachers are also encouraged to evaluate own teaching by, for instance, taping lessons and reviewing the tapes (A.g. 1983, 100). Tests are disliked for the reason that they don't assess the school practice as whole and for the fact they tend to maintain the traditional walls between school subject matters. Examples from the syllabus draft give an insight into how reformers thought it was possible to make current testing practices more tolerable: "When tests are used to evaluate learning, it is ... possible to not give grades and only give students information about what they did well or not so well along with suggestions how to improve, followed with help in the improvement effort" (A.g. 1983, 95). The draft argues that it is imperative to cultivate students' interest in that that they evaluate themselves (A.g. 1983, 95-6).

The syllabus draft repeats the Primary School Act's emphasis (see articles 56 and 57) on that *namsmat* should "not only performed at the end of the study period" and that *namsmat* should be "one of the permanent factors of the schooling, not separate from learning and teaching" (cited after A.g. 1983, 92). Consistent with the discovery nature of knowledge and the active nature of the learner, reformers suggested that *namsmat*

should be an ongoing activity (see the discussion on activity pedagogy below; see also Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 211).

The syllabus draft argues that tests are superficial and tend to take over the inner validity of projects and subjects; therefore they must be abolished (e.g., A.g. 1983, 97-8). The draft also argues that comparison is one of the inappropriate things with the traditional testing practices: "Comparison between students is not consistent with the chief goal of evaluation to cultivate students' spirit and help them. Comparison is often negative, in particular for those who always lose" (A.g. 1983, 96). Indeed the Primary School Act prohibits to give information on students' grades to any other party than the student, her/his parents or guardians, or a different school in case of a school change (Log um grunnskola 1974, article 57). This clause bans ranking students' grades. Yet the clause may not be perfectly complied with because "[m]any teachers think of this as 'silly rule'" (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 218). The draft takes a position against "samræmd prof" (here the term seems to apply to various kinds of centrally administered tests and standardized tests). The draft argues that samræmd prof contrast with the thrust of the reform philosophy to treat different activities as they were of an equal value (A.g. 1983, 97). In addition, tests are said not to provide much information because they have been so much focused on memorizing simple facts (e.g., A.g. 98, 102).

In sum, traditional tests are not respected in the syllabus draft nor by reformers in general. Tests are not believed to give much information, and they are also considered non-democratic.

On the other hand, this topic (i.e, evaluation) must be understood in relation to the pre-reform tradition and the emphasis on accurate and objectivist measurement (as opposed to subjective grading) taught in the Teachers Training College since the 1920s (see ch.3.1). In the reform, and even among leading reformers, there was indeed a considerable emphasis on teaching the best methods for doing multiple choice tests yet in relation to not using such evaluation methods exclusively (Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1977-80), and Olafur J. Proppe reports that "[t]he people who introduced the new term **namsmat** were, in many instances, advocates for much more objective evaluation than ever before, in form of criterion-referenced measurements and standardized achievement tests based on behavior[al] objectives" (1983a, 211). The relations between the teaching of testing methods and the teaching of non-quantitative evaluation perspectives probably

must bear in them complicated results when it comes to practices. Much anti-testing rhetoric was created, but -- even though some teachers may have relaxed the use of simplistic written tests about facts -- traditional testing practices do not seem to have been conquered to any extent.

Testing practices such as the centrally administered semi-standardized achievement test (most often called "samræmd prof") in tenth grade (a part of the grunnskólapróf that students take when they leave the elementary school) -- introduced in 1977 in a new form with an official use of a normal curve to rank the results -- also had an impact on teaching and other tests, regardless of any official ideology. To add to the paradox, Olafur Proppe was for five years (ch.2.2) the chair of the National Board of Examination that prepared and judged this examination. It was not easy for the public or for teachers to distinguish between what the private educationist taught about various types of potentially innovative forms of namsmat and how the public officer explained the normal curve. The normal curve does indeed conflict with Olafur's and DERD's stated philosophies, yet both the normal curve and qualitative and interactive namsmat were equally new in the Icelandic context. Thus, it should be of no surprise when it was observed that by 1982 "most people have heard of it [the term namsmat], but are ... confused by its meaning" (Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 212).

However, it is safe to conclude that evaluation as process and a decreased use of tests were important elements in reformers' beliefs. By implementing a term (namsmat) that did not have a clear meaning for the public and even not for many educators, reformers differentiated themselves from other educators and alienated secondary school teachers, the University (except for the Division of Pedagogy), and the public. What was practiced in public schools -- or even if the reformers who were teacher educators practiced the traditional methods of assessing students and schooling -- does not change the fact that evaluation as a process and anti-testing rhetoric as discursive themes were instrumental in establishing the mission of a democratic school reform, so prevalent in holding the reform together as a movement.

Teachers' initiative and school autonomy: "It is important that principals and teachers carefully evaluate their possibilities to change their schools according to their own convictions ..." (A.g. 1983, 5) and that they discuss the school's policy in their own group (A.g. 1983, 6). The syllabus draft also argues that it is important that the

flexibility suggested in laws, regulations and administrative directives is utilized in each particular school (A.g. 1983, 6-7). The draft also notes that teachers are very important (A.g. 1983, 47).

Teacher initiative is one of the most ambiguous themes in the syllabus draft. The rhetoric about autonomy of teachers and schools is in a tension with the emphasis on extensive teacher guides in the 1970s. The reform curriculum projects draw upon curricula that -- at least traditionally -- depend less on the teacher and her/his initiative than the quality of the curriculum materials. In light of this it is interesting that the draft does not talk much about teacher guides. Teacher guides had not been as helpful in spreading out the reform pedagogy as they were supposed to, and it is possible that the omission of them from the draft (see next subsection) may be understood as indicative of a shift in the rhetoric of leading reformers toward a focus on school syllabi (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1985, 1990a; see ch.4.2, Debated Issues) and talk about the importance of teachers and teacher professionalism (e.g., Edelstein 1985; see ch.7.2).

Summary of the democratic, child-centered themes -- distancing from the pre-reform tradition: Reform based on the interests in democracy, child-centeredness, inquiry learning, projects, discussions, and so forth conflicts with stubborn structures which include reliance on textbooks, teacher lecturing, and extensive use of factual testing (ch.3.1). It became a discursive theme by itself to distance the reform ideas from the allegedly non-democratic, elitist school tradition. In his article, "Does the School Increase the Potential for Better Education and More Democracy?," Olafur Proppe (1983b) argues that education and democracy "are impossible without one another" (365). He claims that Icelanders have "not passed" the test of providing quality education to everyone (365) and that the current school system in Iceland is based on the elitist idea not to give everyone access to higher education (366). Indeed it is true that the Icelandic school system was originally modelled after school systems that were designed to select the "best" individuals to receive education and, consequently, lead the society. However, it is the discursive impact of such distancing as a major means to give a credibility to the reform as a modernizing force that matters. The democratic, child-centered themes that have been identified here signify this distancing from the pre-reform ideas much more than they signify the essential nature of the reform as a democratic force.

SCIENTIST DISCURSIVE THEMES

The authors of the syllabus draft of 1983 believed that scientific knowledge about children and curriculum would help to write textbooks and other materials needed to update education and bring about the democratic, child-centered elements of the reform. The scientist beliefs include a strong belief in progress and the power of schooling to improve society and an explicit reliance on scientific curriculum theory and developmental psychology. This subsection focuses on the scientist elements of the syllabus draft in the same manner as democratic and child-centered themes were identified; I tease out the most significant topics and patterns.

Belief in progress and the power of schooling to improve society: The belief that schools and education can bring about significant changes in society is central to the reform. It is believed that the school is to play a major role in the scientific and democratic development of Icelandic society. The syllabus draft argues that in a fast-changing society, schools are more important than ever to tie together the past, the present, and the future (A.g. 1983, e.g., 8, 9). Considerable attention is directed to discuss the necessity that the school makes up for the "fact" that children and adults have less interactions with each other than they did in the agricultural society (e.g., A.g. 1983, 42; see also Edelstein 1967, 1975, 1981, 1987). In particular, reformers expressed their concerns about the influence of the modern media (e.g., Edelstein 1988a, 144-5).

The school is believed to be able to play a significant role in helping children from deprived environments to achieve goals compared with children from more enriching environments (A.g. 1983, 15-16). In this view, there is a definite "care-taking" attitude; that is, that people, in this case children, have to be helped by giving them the facts and means to survive and succeed in the modern society, things that were achieved "naturally" in the agricultural society through work relations and necessity (see the citations above).

These claims perpetuate myths about agricultural societies in general and the Icelandic pre-World War II culture in particular. These claims also perpetuate the myth that social change has been more rapid in Iceland in the 20th century than anywhere else in the Western world (ch.1.2). The school's potential to build bridges between old and new became a discursive theme.

Belief in scientism and expertise: By the belief in scientism and expertise I mean the

belief that science can reveal the most significant social change and that science and experts can be helpful, indeed necessary, in assessing what needs to be done to facilitate the change. The syllabus draft begins with arguing that a "[c]lear idea among teachers and principals about the goals and methods in the school practice (skolastarf) is dependent upon" three key areas where science can help. These areas are listed: First, teachers and principals need to "realize as clearly as possible the demands to the school, placed upon it formally and informally;" second, they need to "realize as clearly as possible the maturity and developmental possibilities of the students;" and third, they need to "constantly reevaluate goals and methods in the school practice by assessing curriculum materials, teaching methods, and the outside conditions which affect the [school] practice" (A.g. 1983, 6). The main disciplines considered here are the sociology of education and developmental psychology, introduced into the discourse on education in Iceland in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Edelstein and other reformers. Educational evaluation is the third discipline that is referred to, but that reference is less articulated than the first two.

The "knowledge revolution" haunts the syllabus draft (e.g., A.g. 1983, 10, 27, 32). The "school's policy and modes of work must be constantly evaluated and discussed ..." (A.g. 1983, 5), "with regard to societal changes, future prospects, and new discoveries in the sciences and the liberal arts ..." (A.g. 1983, 5). Reformers relied on research to argue for the soundness of various reform items. For instance, Edelstein (1981, 55) argued that by analyzing and researching the educational context, "the elimination of factors inhibiting development would be the object of educational intervention," and "[i]nternational research" is cited (A.g. 1983, 69) to say that the methods used in classes with students with mixed abilities are imperative for the outcome.

Inspectors to provide pedagogical expertise (A.g. 1983, 86-7) and school counselors (A.g. 1983, 88) are argued for. The reform also argued for the incorporation of psychological and counseling services into the daily routine of the school because that would "decrease the danger of isolation and distrust" which affects these services if they are provided from central offices. At the same time there is an uncritical attitude toward how much good these services can do (A.g. 1983, 86).

Scientific curriculum theory: The superiority of curriculum science as a source for facilitating progress in schooling is evident in the syllabus draft. Ideas of this kind

include the Tyler rationale, the social studies spiral, and developmental stages. The belief in the scientific method is also prevalent in the emphasis on discovery learning (see next subsection). Below, I discuss these themes as they appear in the draft.

The Tyler rationale and criticism of school subject matters: The Tyler rationale is evident in the syllabus draft (see, e.g., Tyler 1949). In the introduction to chapter 1 of the draft, entitled "The Presuppositions of a Curriculum," says: "This chapter deals with the major presuppositions that affect a curriculum: the community/society (samfelag) where the school is, the knowledge base, and the student" (A.g. 1983, 8). In another place in the draft, it is argued that

[i]t is more important that the [school's] activities (vidfangsefni) serve the demands and needs of the student and the community/society (samfelag) for skills and knowledge than the demands from certain academic disciplines or school subjects concerning the special role and proportion of [each of] them in elementary education (A.g. 1983, 34).

The draft continues that the school subjects are merely tools to achieve the goals that students and teachers are to accomplish (A.g. 1983, 34-5). It is important to keep in mind the importance of the academic disciplines as a source for school subjects prior to the foundation of DERD. Consequently, reformers and DERD staff members had to argue for the importance of the two other sources (according to Tyler 1949) of curricular knowledge, the child and the society. This has resulted in that that reformers often confronted the stronghold of academic disciplines in the curriculum, a source which still is among the cornerstones of the Tyler rationale and the reform's curriculum design.

Criticisms of the traditional school subjects is an important theme in the reform discourse. It relates to both scientism and child-centeredness. The Tyler rationale was used to introduce child-centered rhetoric by adding the child to the list of sources for curricular decisions. At the same time, by being simplistic and mechanistic, the rationale brings with it the illusion that technical models can solve educational problems. (For a critique of the Tyler rationale, see, for instance, Kliebard 1970.)

Key concepts: The syllabus draft argues that one of the foundations for curriculum reform is the need to have main ideas (meginhugmyndir) and key concepts (lykilhugtok) to guide teaching and learning (A.g. 1983, 10). Instead of teaching students the facts about the settlement of Iceland,

it is possible to treat the topic in a manner that students gain an in-depth understanding about certain key concepts such as the dialectical relationships between man, community/society, and nature. Students could study the reasons for the settlement and, at the same time, achieve some understanding of the general reasons for migration, i.e., of the fundamental logics in a certain area [of knowledge]. How the subject is dealt with is important for its transfer and generalization value and how useful it is for students (A.g. 1983, 28).

The structure (formgerd) and the sequence of each school subject lay the foundations for successful curriculum projects (A.g. 1983, 48). In math and foreign languages, the sequence is "an integral part" of the subject, but "[i]n other [subjects], key concepts and main ideas give directions as to how to select materials and how to use them and arrange them sequentially ..." (A.g. 1983, 48).

The most controversial curriculum structure was the social studies curriculum structure (the Taba spiral). The spiral consists of 17-18 concepts (**Adalnamskra grunnskola. Samfelagsfræði** 1977, 13-19; see also Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 111; Edelstein 1987, 13; 1988a, 202). If the production of social studies materials derived from the spiral were to be completed, the social studies curriculum would be amazingly sophisticated curriculum. In fact, as Edelstein noted at one of the social studies team's workshops, it would be easier to plan this curriculum for 20-30 lessons a week instead of for the three or four lessons that the social studies subject area usually has in elementary schools; there were so many valuable ideas that could fit the logic of the spiral (personal recollections from a social studies team workshop, June 1982).

Developmental stages: Piaget's developmental cognitivist psychology is a chief source for reform rhetoric. The syllabus draft argues that in

the cognitive development of children, there are stages that are sequentially arranged one after another. Even though the developmental stages come one after another in a definite order in all children, this takes place at a different age [in each child] as well as a child's thinking can be at one stage in relation to some aspects but at another stage in relation to other aspects ...

The developmental stage of the child much determines what the child can learn and which methods the child uses with the learning. The developmental stage affects the child's thinking as well as [her/his] acts. The forms of thinking develop in relation to the child's experience and social interactions. When the child reaches a new developmental stage,

s/he can deal with activities in a new manner, [s/he can] learn with new methods (A.g. 1983, 13).

Therefore, it is "[i]mportant to realize at which developmental stage students are and attempt to understand the presuppositions that they have in dealing with the activities" (A.g. 1983, 14). The draft also refers to the importance of fostering higher order thinking skills (A.g. 1983, 14) and formal operational thinking (A.g. 1983, 30).

In brief, the sequences of the new curricula are supposedly based on Piaget's developmental stages. This is indicated in syllabi and teacher guides. Whether textbooks actually are written in an accordance with the stages is less crucial for the discursive use and the potential of converting it into capital than it is to rhetorically articulate the belief in Piaget's stages. But, of course, if reformers could identify signs indicating that the stages were used in textbooks, they felt more confident about the reform work than if someone had written a textbook that apparently didn't utilize the beliefs about what was right for children to learn at a given age.

Kohlberg's developmental stages: Kohlberg's theories about moral development had an impact on many reformers. Kohlberg's theories rest in developmental stage psychology . The syllabus draft argues:

Moral consciousness develops as do cognitive abilities stage by stage. At the beginning of the elementary school, the moral consciousness is usually naive and self-centered and limited to what the child, without any doubt, believes that are universal rules and a final truth. With age, the child gains increased abilities to imagine her/himself in the situations of others, to be conscious of others' needs, and to evaluate problems and responses to these problems with regard to ever-increasing amount of presuppositions and with regard to an in-depth understanding of relationships and the common good (almanahagur). Knowledge of moral development is imperative for those who bring up children and want to speed (orva), as well as enrichen the emotional life of children and teenagers. The same applies to knowledge about the factors that have an impact on the emotions and the interrelations between emotions, other personality factors and communication between people (A.g. 1983, 16).

Students should also be "encouraged to think and conclude about moral problems at a somewhat higher level and from a bit more complex presuppositions than they are usually at at the various age levels in order to widen their horizon" (A.g. 1983, 18). The curricula and textbooks, such as the book series **Samskipti** (Interactions, Ingvar

Sigurgeirsson 1980a,b,c,d), have indeed high intellectual expectations to children.

Omission of teacher guides: Teacher guides are almost absent from the discussion in the syllabus draft. Prior to DERD's work, teacher guides were almost unheard of with Icelandic textbooks. DERD publications in the 1970s were frequently accompanied with teacher guides that were "fool-proof," detailed, and heavy! A teacher has told me she weighed a social studies guide (she is referring to Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir's 1980/1976), and it weighed seven kilograms. Teacher guides were not always so detailed and thick but were, nevertheless, the norm to follow.

The reason for the omission of the teacher guides from the 1983 syllabus draft may be that that DERD staff members had discovered that teacher guides did not serve their purpose; for instance, they were not always read. Furthermore, the publication of teacher guides fell behind the publication of student materials (for instance in biology, see below). In short, DERD reformers in the early 1980s did not advocate detailed teacher guides any longer; their distinctive value, if any, was turning negative.

Departure from taxonomies and behavioral objectives: While taxonomies are not abandoned altogether in the 1983 syllabus draft, there was a movement away from them in the late 1970s and early 1980s, apparent in the draft. Behavioral objectives had become even less popular than the taxonomies. Because of the nature of the syllabus draft as a general part of a complete syllabus, it remains to be seen if subject guides in a 1983 style would have included taxonomies and behavioral objectives as some of the 1976-7 subject guides (for an example of the use of behavioral objectives, see, for instance, **Adalnamskra grunnskola. Modurmal** 1976).

While the use of teacher guides was not abandoned because of a principle but, at least in part, because of pragmatic reasons, it seems to me, however, that the Bloom taxonomy and behavioral objectives were issues that most leading reformers did not believe in any longer. Yet "mastery" of such techniques and the language around them did not lose its value as a discursive theme.

Summary of scientist discursive themes: This journey through the scientist beliefs in the syllabus draft reveals that reformers believed that better schools could improve society. A major source for such change is supposed to be knowledge derived from scientific curriculum theory, a brand of Western natural sciences that had been brought into mainstream human and educational sciences in the United States academe earlier in

the century. In particular, the draft reveals strong beliefs in the developmental theories of Piaget and Kohlberg.

The influence of developmentalism as a discursive belief is strong among educators in Iceland. Benedikt Sigurdarson -- the principal of the Akureyri Elementary School, Central Board member of the Association of Principals and Deputy Principals, and a graduate of the University's Division of Pedagogy where he was a critic of the stronghold of psychology in the Pedagogy Division -- in a review of a harsh critique of the foundations of the reform comments: "And if they [Piaget and Kohlberg] are wrong: Do we then have anything better [than their ideas] from where to enter a discussion?" (1987, 38; a review of Arnor Hannibalsson 1986).

ACTIVITY PEDAGOGY

I now turn to the set of themes that tie together the beliefs in science and the democratic, child-centered attitudes of the reform, that is, activity pedagogy (the Icelandic term that corresponds to "activity" is "virgni") -- or what would likely be referred to as "hands-on" in the U.S. contemporary discourse on education. The activity theme is separated out here because of two reasons: one reason is its overall importance as a discursive theme in the reform; the other reason is that the notion of activity is also a theme that can not be labeled either scientist or democratic/child-centered.

What, then, are the components of the activity theme as it appears in the 1983 syllabus draft? The child has an active mind and active hands, and s/he needs direct contacts and experience with the environment through process-oriented curricula which utilize the scientific method, discovery learning, and more. I first deal with the draft's notion of the active (discovery) nature of knowledge and the active nature of the child; then I turn to a discussion of which teaching methods were proposed to utilize these perspectives.

The discovery nature of knowledge: In relation to new perspectives about knowledge, the syllabus draft sets the tone at the beginning. It is argued that

[t]he school's role is to prepare ... students to be capable of responding to change and the new demands for skills and knowledge that result from the change. Simultaneously, it must be emphasized that students learn to learn, rather than they learn about selected domains of knowledge or that they learn techniques that age fast. The school must increase the

students' abilities to gather information as well as assess the information. The discovery/process nature (leitaredli) of knowledge must gain further acknowledgement in the school practices, as well as students should be encouraged to use the versatile opportunities for finding knowledge outside the school ... (A.g. 1983, 10).

This position is elaborated: "Knowledge is the constant creation of each individual, it is based on what the children discover themselves in wrestling with the activities" (A.g. 1983, 13). The discovery approach to learning claims that "development [of the individual] is based on dialectical relationships between movement [hands-on], perceptions, and thinking" (A.g. 1983, 13). In this view, knowledge is not looked at as a goal in itself but as a tool to serve children and their needs. Reformers also pointed out that interactive processes connect pieces of knowledge (the so-called facts) into one picture much better than pre-reform teaching had been able to.

That knowledge is considered of active nature is an appealing notion to socialists who know that knowledge depends on who defines, in contrast with knowledge being a fixed and final truth (see a more detailed discussion on why the reform appealed to leftists in ch.7.1). At the same time, the lengthy quotation at the beginning of last paragraph reveals a belief in learning as the learning of skills and techniques. In that view, process becomes a process for the sake of a process. What exactly is behind the rhetoric is of little relevance in this context; but the interactive nature of knowledge is clearly an important discursive theme in the reform discourse.

The active nature of the learner: The syllabus draft defines that by activity (virkni) is meant participation where the student's mind is active, regardless of whether s/he is seeking answers on her/his own or just listening to the teacher (A.g. 1983, 41). Each individual is believed to be "constantly active and creative in the struggle to understand the environment and her/his relationships with it" (A.g. 1983, 13). Furthermore, the draft argues that "[i]f the student's attention is awake ... , [s/]he is wrestling with the particular problem in order to find solutions on [her/]his own" (A.g. 1983, 41). The process of individual's learning is dialectical, according to Edelstein (1988/1974): "Curiosity challenges the intelligence (greind) to conquer more and more domains. It is the motor force behind intelligence. The intelligence is a constructive process" (184). "But ... the motivation to learn ... is [also] the motor force beneath curiosity that activates it to discover and understand" (185).

In short, all people, including children, are creative and active learners, not passive learners who should receive knowledge prepared and "cooked" for them. This view of the learner is the key to understand the way in which many reformers saw human nature as an interactive process, and it ties directly with the democratic, child-centered attitudes.

Hands-on (handfjotlun) approach and the scientific method: To provide students with opportunities to be active and creative in the school, the school would need to change its teaching methods. Among recommended changes are hands-on teaching, direct experiences, the scientific method, and more emphasis on teaching methods and learning strategies than previously when it was focused upon the contents of what was taught and learned. The syllabus draft argues that "[s]tudents must receive vast opportunities to look around and touch (handfjatla) objects, materials, and phenomena, move around, and talk" (A.g. 1983, 14). This is called "children's natural need for exploring the environment and their position in it" (A.g. 1983, 14). The draft continues to argue that the student must "receive opportunities to develop and test own hypotheses" (A.g. 1983, 14). Emphasis is placed on relating the school to the daily conditions of students and others (e.g., A.g. 1983, 17, 19), and field trips are encouraged and discussed in some detail (A.g. 1983, 56ff).

When talking about the first years of schooling, the syllabus draft emphasizes the importance of that "students gain direct experience of near-by problems that they care about" (A.g. 1983, 40). The methods to be used are multiple: draw conclusions, draw pictures, listen to teachers' explanation, explain themselves, gain hands-on experiences of various things and phenomena, and so forth. In short, the draft argues that these first years are the most important years when it comes to considering direct and hands-on experiences (A.g. 1983, 40).

SUMMARY

In the 1983 syllabus draft, beliefs in democracy, child-centered attitudes, and the rhetoric of scientific curriculum theory and developmental psychology emphasize the creative and active nature of the child. The draft elaborates the implications of child-centered points of view, participatory democracy, scientific curriculum theory, and the active nature of the child for schooling. The draft suggests to use psychological knowledge about children to guide teaching and planning, and it presents sophisticated

methods such as the use of key concepts and spirals in the construction of a curriculum, integration of subjects, inquiry, and cooperative learning as the basic tenets of modern elementary education.

The notion of activity was set up as a major departure from existing practices that reformers believed were characterized by uncritical transmission of fragmented facts and non-scientific methods. Therefore the notions in the reform pedagogy that knowledge is a process and that the learner is active are highlighted. On the surface, the rhetoric appears to emphasize the physical activity. But when seen as a discursive theme, the focus on an active mind is no less important than the purely hands-on activities.

REACTIONS

The periodical *Ny menntamal* invited to a discussion several months after the syllabus draft's release. Asked to review the draft were Professor Andri Isaksson, DERD's former director, sociologist Gestur Gudmundsson, a radical student leader in the University of Iceland during the early 1970s whose primary research regards the role of vocational education in Iceland, and Rector Thorvardur Eliasson of the Icelandic School of Business. Andri is the only one of these critics who can be seen as a participant in the reform discourse. Gestur and Thorvardur are marginal at best in that regard. Finally, the draft editor, Hordur Bergmann, was asked to respond to the discussion.

Contribution to Icelandic curriculum theory: Andri Isaksson argues that the syllabus draft has "a considerable value as an Icelandic contribution to curriculum theory (almenn hagnyt kennslufræði)" (1984, 9). The observation that the draft represents an Icelandic contribution to curriculum theory is right to a point and is in itself a discursive theme which I believe will play a considerable role in the future (ch.5.1). Hordur Bergmann points out the "[m]ain reason for that this subject [curriculum theory] is given a considerable space [in the syllabus draft] ... is the lack of conveniently available overview on the subject ..." (1984, 21). He also mentions that the Elementary School Teacher Union (SGK) had requested more detailed discussion of curriculum theory after the release of DERD's first General Syllabus in 1976-7.

This curriculum theory discussion did not suddenly fall from the sky into Ingólfsstræti number 5 (the building where DERD was located at the time) at the beginning of the 1980s. Many of the themes in the syllabus draft had appeared before in

reports prepared for DERD around 1970 about the subject matters. They had been expanded in the general part of DERD's first General Syllabus for Primary Schools (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1976), as well as in the so-called Um-booklets of which DERD published 35 volumes in the period between 1974 and 1981 to present the reform ideas to teachers and others. The draft places these themes into an eloquent web of sophisticated ideas, open to interpretation as capital for reformers.

The draft in a political context: The other two responses are of a different kind. Neither Gestur Gudmundsson or Thorvardur Eliasson discuss the syllabus draft purely as an educational-theory document; they use their own rhetoric or theoretical-political language to interpret its significance.

Thorvardur Eliasson completely rejects inquiry and activity pedagogy and states that it is too early to start discussing controversial issues with young children. Such issues are, in his words, "sensitive matters that they [young children] don't know anything about" (1984, 11), and he claims that the draft "emphasizes form without content as well as the irresponsibility of man [sic!]" (10). Thorvardur worries that no learning is going to take place in the reformed school and contends that "the draft ... [suggests] that the elementary school changes from learning to indoctrination" (13). Nevertheless, Thorvardur argues that school teachers ought to rely on formulae from the Church to teach good morality (11). Thorvardur's arguments, as hostile as they are, are consistent with much of the traditionalist attitudes toward the reform's suggestions (chs.5.2,7.2).

Gestur Gudmundsson argues that the syllabus draft neglects the reasons for mass schooling, that is, the evolving of a complex job structure. He points out that the draft does not pay much attention to the economical foundations of society; the draft's "main emphasis is placed on ... democratic **ideals** rather than reality" (1984, 14). Gestur's central point is to caution against the perspective that schools can do much to change economic and social realities. He argues that

[t]eachers and other educationists (skolamenn) can, of course, assist students in their striving [for developing their identity in relation to the societal realities], but such assistance can never follow any plan or curriculum. Last of all we should expect that a plan for this will come from the central educational authorities of the country (17).

Gestur also questions the value of Piaget's developmental psychology (15). He is the only critic of the Icelandic left I have seen criticize Piaget's developmental psychology in debates on educational issues in the 1980s. In particular, Gestur criticizes the reliance on cognitive and moral stages (see A.g. 13, 16).

In sum: Thorvardur's response indicates the resistance to the syllabus draft from the powerful right and the Reykjavik elite; Gestur's response seems to indicate that "true" believers of (economist) Marxism didn't like the liberalism of the reform. However, leftists seem to have subscribed to the anti-tradition potential of the reform (see chs.5.2,7.1).

The "fate" of the draft: The debate in **Ny menntamal** says little about the reception of the syllabus draft in the larger field of education. A series of political changes lead to an undermining of the draft as an official policy. The change of the Minister of Culture and Education (see above) was almost simultaneous with the retirement of Birgir Thorlacius, a senior government official who had been the Ministry's Director General since before DERD was founded. Birgir, who is of a family of influential individuals involved in progressive education and union politics (ch.6.1), had nurtured and protected DERD's work through a period of five "hands-off" Ministers between 1971 and 1983. An event that also had an impact on the discursive power of the various reform themes was the social studies debate in 1983-4 (ch.7.2).

These events and other events resulted in the dismissal of the document itself. Nevertheless, the document is important because it articulated themes central to the reform discourse; it is a pillar-stone over a certain period (the DERD period) in the reform.

SOCIAL STUDIES AND WOLFGANG EDELSTEIN

The social studies curriculum project is of central importance in the reform. The social studies project has been the most debated project, the Ministry's education advisor, Wolfgang Edelstein, headed the team and was its intellectual leader, most of the people who were in the first committees on social studies did not leave the reform work as quickly as some of the individuals who pioneered other projects, and a higher number of individuals was involved in the social studies project than in any other project (at least 46 individuals, see Appendix IV). Members of the social studies team were visible and

outspoken, and, perhaps above anything else, the work within the group was a particularly rewarding experience, intellectually and socially. In fact, the group has been named "an informal academy" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 167). Former team members now work for the College of Education, HI's Division of Pedagogy, DOEs, the Ministry of Culture and Education, and NCEM; many members were influential in writing the Teacher Union of Iceland policy documents (ch.4.2); and several members have become principals in elementary or secondary schools. In short, the social studies project seems to have "produced" more educational leaders than any other site (see also ch.7.1).

In this section I discuss the movement from a reliance on "orthodox" scientific curriculum theories, such as the Bloom taxonomy and the Tyler rationale, through the Taba and Bruner curricula, and toward more pluralistic, progressive approaches and potentially a synthesized Icelandic tradition of writing history textbooks. The assumption is that the social studies curriculum work is the most productive site of the development of a domestic curriculum theory tradition. The second part of this subsection talks about Edelstein and his importance for the reform. Edelstein's knowledge and insight are an important factor in the possibility of developing Icelandic curriculum theory. Edelstein is also an internationally renowned scholar who has connections with leading psychologists and curriculum scholars in Europe and North America. These connections provided reformers with an important access to educational capital, instrumental to the advancement of writing many of the social studies textbooks. These connections also provided social capital and in a few cases economic capital (grants from sources such as the Ford Foundation in the United States).

FROM SCIENTIST TO PLURALISTIC CURRICULUM THEORY

Stages in the development of social studies curriculum theory: Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) documents a movement from the social studies curriculum project's reliance on scientific measures in curriculum planning, through reliance on interactive models, towards the use of pluralistic and potentially progressive curriculum approaches. Thorsteinn contends that the first report about the social studies curriculum, released in 1971, relies on behaviorism in conjunction with earlier traditions, but as early as 1975, cognitive developmentalism has got the upper hand as citations to Piaget and Taba in

social studies documents indicate (101-2). The developmentalism is further elaborated in the social studies part of the General Syllabus for Primary Schools, released by DERD in 1977, where the controversial curriculum spiral is explained in detail (109; see also **Endurskodun namsefnis og kennslu i samfelagsfræðum 1971, Um endurskodun namsefnis i samfelagsfræði 1975, and Adalnamskra grunnskola. Samfelagsfræði 1977**). Thorsteinn goes on to analyze that the Icelandic social studies texts "represent various strands within (and on occasion outside) the developmentalist tradition" (122). He divides the textbooks into the Taba tradition, the project method, the Bruner/Kohlberg design, the integrative approach, and the objectivist tradition (122; see also a quotation to Edelstein and Gudny Helgadóttir 1981, ch.1.2).

The perspective that curriculum work is a process is imperative in explaining the engagement of the reformers in the reform labor and discourse. Edelstein's analysis (1988/1981) of stages in the reform curriculum work sheds light on that process. He identifies two models, the "mechanistic" model and the "organismic" model (following Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, I call the latter model the "organic" model). Edelstein first compared these two models in 1981 in a paper presented to the DERD staff. However, it is not until with his 1988 book that he fully develops the distinction between the two models (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 171); that is, the organic model was still in making between 1981 and 1988, and the social studies team members knew they were a part of a unique work.

The mechanistic model is based on behaviorism and the Bloom taxonomy. According to Edelstein (1988/1981), it has been gradually replaced by the organic model which was originally introduced into the reform discourse at a DERD workshop at Hrafnagil, Northern Iceland in 1973. He argues that

[t]he organic model of learning is based on ideas about an active and dialectical role of the student in the construction of knowledge. This model gained momentum in part because of the experience, [which is] in a sharp contrast with the theoretical perspectives of behaviorists, that learning cooked in compliance with the exact domain distinctions [of objectives] is not as effective as desired (98).

Edelstein continues:

If development is an objective of learning (Kohlberg & Mayer 1972), the teacher has criteria that demand that [s/]he consider the activities of the individual and that [s/he] use the [individual's] presuppositions in a totally different way than the organic model of **content learning** (consumption) or skill learning (drill, exercise) demands of [her/]him [the teacher] (Edelstein 1988/1981, 99).

Edelstein links this curriculum science with liberal/radical democracy and the ideas of John Dewey. He argues that "[f]ollowing the theories of Bruner and because of the increasing influence of Piaget's psychology, the activity pedagogy of Dewey and the older generation of school reformers (skolabotasinnar) was reactivated ..." (99) with the help of scientific curriculum theory.

Both models, the mechanistic and the organic, rely on scientism and have a built-in notion of progress. Yet the models represent somewhat different strands of Western modernity. Edelstein (1988/1981, 101) provides a comparison of the models in a table. He points out that the mechanistic model is quantitative, continuous, behavioral, linear, and relativ[e]; that it is based on elementarism and linear causality; and that it considers causal relationships as antecedent/consequent input/output. Meanwhile, the organic model, according to Edelstein, is qualitative, discontinuous, structural, reciprocal, and universal; it is based on wholism and complexity; and it considers causal relationships as structure/function (I use translations provided by Edelstein in parentheses and have omitted other categories).

One characteristic of modern Western thought is this kind of grouping, division and comparison. Edelstein's comparison highlights continuities and evolution. He admits that "goal analysis in the spirit of Bloom" (97) is indeed not dismissed by the use of an organic model. He argues that "[t]he organic model ... did not dethrone the values of the mechanistic model; rather, it has been rearranged to a space inside a new curriculum" (103). Bloom's model, according to Edelstein, helped to make Icelandic educationists pay a closer attention to why particular knowledge items should be taught, something not much discussed in the pre-reform educational discourse.

Edelstein identifies the difference between the organic and mechanistic models to increase the distinctive value of documents written in the organic mode. Seen this way, the idea that there are stages in the curriculum work -- that there is a progress in the theory itself -- is a discursive theme. The pedagogical discussion in the 1983 syllabus

If development is an objective of learning (Kohlberg & Mayer 1972), the teacher has criteria that demand that [s/he] consider the activities of the individual and that [s/he] use the [individual's] presuppositions in a totally different way than the organic model of **content learning** (consumption) or skill learning (drill, exercise) demands of [her/him [the teacher]] (Edelstein 1988/1981, 99).

Edelstein links this curriculum science with liberal/radical democracy and the ideas of John Dewey. He argues that "[f]ollowing the theories of Bruner and because of the increasing influence of Piaget's psychology, the activity pedagogy of Dewey and the older generation of school reformers (skolabotasinnar) was reactivated ..." (99) with the help of scientific curriculum theory.

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draft (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1983) seems indeed to follow the guidelines for an organic pedagogy. In the draft, we can identify Bloom's "scientific" elements and more extended use of the theories of Piaget, Bruner, and Kohlberg than in earlier versions of DERD documents (thanks to Thorsteinn Gunnarsson for initiating me to develop this point). The timing is also consistent; the actual writing of the 1983 draft was launched at the turn of 1981-2 (see **Starfsemi skolarannsoknadeildar 1979-1983** n.d., 6) after Edelstein had delivered his 1981 talk (Edelstein 1988/1981).

If Edelstein's two models represent two stages in an evolution of Icelandic curriculum theory, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's recommendations in his dissertation (1990) seem to represent a third stage; that is, "progressive pluralism" which draws upon the potential he sees in the various strands of the social studies methods and curricula. For instance, he argues that

developmental stage theory does not have to be taken so literally. In a softer version of it one can take it to mean that children think and reason radically different from grown-ups ... and textbook writers need to take this difference into account when they write their texts.

This assertion, nevertheless, is a far cry from the orthodox developmentalism which is present in some of the SSCP textbooks ... (1990, 262).

Thorsteinn contends that by exploring the social studies textbooks and curricula "one could see the evolution from the rather patronizing, teacher-proof guides in the Taba tradition to more wholistic directives in the Project method and the Integrative approach" (264). Thorsteinn also observes a movement from "the developmental child [as] ... a miniature social scientist ..." (263-4) to the notion of the "child as potentially active researcher" (264) and even toward seeing the child as a community activist when working on local studies curricular projects (308-13).

This third "stage" is a movement away from one (technical) model toward relying on various kinds of curriculum approaches and integration of approaches. These changes and challenges took place both within and outside the social studies team work. The members of the team went overseas and acquainted themselves with different curricular projects and with various curriculum theorists, and new members brought fresh ideas and inspirations to the team work (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 137-41, 167-8, 174-6). Furthermore, the social studies team was sensitive to the interests of progressive teachers

who wanted projects in the "open week" spirit to be designed. Lastly, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, e.g., 305) argues that the work of Gunnar Karlsson, accepted by social studies team members (ch.3.1), represents an example of an integration of the story-telling tradition with other curricular models into an Icelandic version of a curriculum design.

Progressive potential? The perspective that the Icelandic social studies curriculum theory -- in conjunction with open weeks and open schools -- has the potential for democratizing education is a discursive theme that Thorsteinn Gunnarsson and many others capitalize on. Social studies textbooks, such as **Landnam Islands** (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1985/1982; Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Ragnar Gislason and Sigthor Magnusson 1983), **Jon Steingrímsson og Moduhardindin** (Adalsteinn Eiríksson 1985/1981), **Vid sjavarsiduna** (Kristin H. Tryggvadottir 1982, 1983), and **Heimabyggdin** (Ingolfur A. Johannesson et al. 1985; Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1986), and the "post-social studies" history textbooks by Gunnar Karlsson (see ch.3.1) are among the books that Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, 301ff) argues that have a potential toward a democratic pedagogy. Most of these textbooks and materials, in spite of many differences, have "effective," in some cases innovative, narratives, include open-ended questions, are usually accompanied with relatively modest teacher guides and use curricular models in an eclectic manner. (A complete list of social studies textbooks and other publications appears in Edelstein 1988, 231-7.)

Thorsteinn Gunnarsson also discusses open schools and their pedagogy, and one of the educators he refers to is principal Petur Thorsteinsson in the Kopasker Elementary School, North East Iceland (1990, 308, 311-13). Petur has created a model of a small school that is a reminder of the possibilities that creative, pedagogical work, grounded in commitment to the community, can offer. Petur's popularity among reform-minded educationists is in itself a discursive theme and a part of an overall belief in the possibility for Icelandic pedagogy and curriculum theory.

I have to admit that I share Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's optimism concerning that possibilities for progressive education rest in various theoretical approaches, books, and practices. Textbooks and materials such as those cited above justify for me having been involved in the DERD labor. I believe that **Heimabyggdin**³⁾ has a great potential for rural and coastal schools, and I believe that books that include open-ended questions with

well written narratives, such as **Landnam Islands**, are prerequisites for democratizing education. I can also confirm that the work with the social studies team was an academic work; through that, I achieved understanding of educational theory and gained invaluable experience in writing curriculum materials -- not small deals in achieving educational capital. But the "essential" quality of this work is not the only avenue for legitimizing it; the symbolic power struggles are equally important as I discuss further in chapter 8.2.

In sum: The social studies themes are not much different from the themes of the 1983 syllabus draft when they are seen as elements of the discourses of democracy or scientism. Accordingly, activity pedagogy is a central notion in the social studies. Accordingly, social studies reformers believe in the potential of education to improve and democratize society. Nevertheless, three special themes have emerged in the above discussion. First, the view that it is possible to synthesize the advantages of the theoretical insights introduced through the reform with, on the one hand, progressive social and educational goals and, on the other hand, existing pedagogical traditions. This view is not only put forward by some social studies reformers but is shared by Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) and many other pedagogues. Second, the theme of the prominence of the social studies project legitimates a belief in the possibility of domestic Icelandic curriculum theory. Third, that there are stages in the development of the theory is an important theme.

In which direction the development of the social studies curriculum theory will take us remains to be seen. The discursive contentions concerning the prominence of the theory -- for instance, Edelstein's about the organic model and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's about pluralism in textbook writing -- are as much a part of this process as the content of the curriculum advice that may be creatively thought through in various sites. Such contentions are meant to increase the visibility of those notions that players in the field wish to highlight.

WOLFGANG EDELSTEIN

Wolfgang Edelstein was an instrumental figure in creating the social studies curriculum. He was the advisor to the Ministry of Culture and Education from 1966 to 1984 when he resigned with other members of the social studies group after the social studies dispute. Edelstein is bi-national, Icelandic and German. He is born in Germany

in 1929 but received elementary and secondary education in Iceland where he attended the Reykjavik Gymnasium. Edelstein received university education in France and Germany, including a doctoral degree from Heidelberg, and has worked for the Max Planck Research Institute in West Berlin from 1963. He has served as one of its directors from 1981.

It is not Edelstein's biography, however, which matters most; it is his position and relationships in the field of educational reform that I am interested in. Edelstein's position as an internationally known scholar has been important for the emergence of a field of educational reform in Iceland. The connections with leading curriculum scholars and access to the international community in the field triggered other Icelandic curriculum workers much easier access to these people than governmental connections alone could have. Edelstein's knowledge of social theory, history, curriculum theory, and psychology has always been important as he has educated the people he worked with more than can be quickly reported. His scholarship in the sociology of education is a pioneering work in that field in Iceland and in Icelandic. Most famous in this area is a speech he gave to a conference of principals in 1966 where he explained Basil Bernstein's sociolinguistics as well as the two different forms of childhood in traditional and post-traditional societies (Edelstein 1967; references to Bernstein 1961, 1963/1961). Later he has published more, both in Icelandic and English, on these issues (e.g., Edelstein 1971, 1981, 1987b, 1988a). Edelstein's contributions to curriculum theory are instrumental for the development of Icelandic curriculum theory (e.g., Edelstein 1988/1974, 1988/1981, 1988a). The scholarship of the greatest international significance is probably in developmental psychology (e.g., Edelstein 1981) and about the longitudinal study of the development of Icelandic children whose partial results have been published (e.g., Sigurjon Bjornsson, Edelstein, and Kreppner 1977; Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir and Edelstein 1989).

After Edelstein had to leave the role of an advisor for the Ministry, we can observe an important shift in his work in Iceland. Edelstein had been the back-seat driver in regard to a public discourse. Now he turned to teachers, and in three speeches in the fall of 1985 he "gave the line." He declared that teachers needed ten years of hard work to improve education before they could expect to see significant results of their effort (Edelstein 1985; see also 1988a). The change in focus from curriculum to teachers is

consistent with similar changes in the international discourse on education, even though in Edelstein's case the shift was further sanctioned by the untimely departure from the Ministry.

Edelstein was important for the reform on multiple levels. Not only did he have much knowledge of educational and social theory and curriculum planning; his knowledge, skills, international connections, and reputation provided a platform and an internal credibility for the curriculum workers. This made reformers confident that the whole field was of scholarly significance. On a more personal level, it was also important that in the difficult times during the social studies debate in the winter of 1983-4 and in the struggles with Ragnhildur Helgadóttir and two subsequent conservative Ministers of Culture and Education that Edelstein knew personally the President of Iceland, Mrs Vigdis Finnbogadóttir. Mrs Vigdis attended public meetings about history teaching, and she accepted the invitation to a conference in the island Videy, Reykjavik that was held as a tribute to Edelstein in relation to his 60th anniversary in June 1989. The support of Mrs Vigdis is important since she is not only highly respected among the Icelandic public but also known for her rather sentimental patriotic rhetoric. With her presence, Mrs Vigdis gave the social studies work credibility that was used in private debates.

SUMMARY

The social studies curriculum project is a primary site of the production of Icelandic curriculum theory. By this I mean that the social studies project represents a complex intersection where discourses and ideas merge. Discursive themes that include elements of sociology of education, scientific curriculum theory, developmental cognitivism, child-centered points of view, and progressivism have woven a web of discursive principles that is an integral part of the reform in elementary education.

These discursive principles, however, have their specificities compared to other sites in education. These specificities include reformers' own analyses -- for instance, Edelstein's observation of the movement from mechanistic to organic model -- as well as Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's observation of increasing pluralism. The argument that there have been stages in the development of the social studies curriculum theory, now when it has been taken forward by Thorsteinn (see also ch.5.1), seems to be more and more

promising to capitalize on. Other important specificities relate to group members' research projects. In particular, Kohlberg's moral-cognitive stage theory has been developed by Edelstein, Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir, and others. The position of Edelstein as a leader of the reform and a special advisor and intellectual leader of the social studies team is also important in this regard.

THE NEW BIOLOGY CURRICULUM

The new biology curriculum project provides an example of a curriculum project in the natural sciences. The biology project signifies a radical reconsideration of teaching practices: it is an important reconstruction of school subject matters that previously had not been integrated, as well as the new biology curriculum requires equipment unheard of in most schools prior to the reform (lab-equipment). The project has involved a few progressive educators (e.g., Ornolfur Thorlacius; see ch.6.1) and trained a few reform leaders (e.g., Hrolfur Kjartansson; see ch.2.2), even though by far less influential in this regard than the social studies project.⁴⁾

The discussion here will be geared to the following purposes. First, I consider how the biological project departed from the pre-reform subject matters. Second, I discuss the question of potential discursive rifts in the reform movement along ideological and epistemological lines. I do this by evaluating the similarities and differences of the biology ideas with the pedagogy of the 1983 syllabus draft (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1983) and the social studies project. Finally, I discuss the discursive difference between ecological and scientist foci in the biology project and place this contrast in the larger picture of discursive rifts in the reform.

The use of curriculum theory: The biology project seems to have been more to the strict book of curriculum theory and the notion of empirical science than the social studies project. DERD never published a syllabus in biology, but an early document toward a syllabus (Reynir Bjarnason 1977, 2-4) builds upon the notion of "the most active students" and the need to "strengthen [their] cognitive development." This document further speaks about "observations and experiments," "the methods of geology," and the "scientific method" as teaching techniques, and it suggests that emphasis is placed on "transferable knowledge" from as many domains of biology as viable.

A 1983 draft toward a biology syllabus (**Namskra i liffræði** 1983) uses categories

from the Tyler rationale. This draft elaborates the importance of the academic disciplines, the community/society, and the student as sources to consider when curricular decisions are taken. This draft relies on developmental cognitive psychology to explain children. The use of these theories (the Tyler rationale, psychology) seems to be more mechanistic than in the social studies documents and the 1983 syllabus draft. Given the social studies' early reliance on rigid use of curriculum theories and other similarities, one has to be careful not to overinterpret the significance of this difference.

Integration and new contents: The new biology integrates subjects such as botany, human physiology, and zoology that previously had been separate subjects in school. In the new biology project, "updated scientific knowledge" (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1982a, 12) is taken for granted as a guide for how to select topics, different from the orthodox descriptions of body parts, plants, and animals in the older subjects. In grades 2-4 (previously grades 1-3), biology should not be taught separately. In grade 5, common characteristics of living beings was selected as a topic. In grade 6, projects such as life in fresh water, life in the ocean, and life on land were proposed. The anatomy of humans is the topic for grade 7. For grades 8-10, translations and adaptations of the BSCS molecular biology (Biological Sciences Curriculum Study and Welch 1973) were primarily used (for a further description, see Hrolfur Kjartansson 1982, 11-14).

The basic difference between the content of the new biology and the old subjects lies in the introduction of scientific discoveries of knowledge not touched upon in the old books. The new books focus on life processes as opposed to classification exercises common to the old books. The new books explain how life is constituted from molecules that build up humans and other living creatures; the old books were based on an ancient knowledge base that had found its way into school books a long time ago and not been updated in accordance with the work of scientists who were advancing the biological knowledge.

Activity pedagogy and group work: It was not the biology's only goal to revolutionize the biology content but the teaching methods as well. The biology reformers share the belief in activity with the social studies reformers. As stated by Hrolfur Kjartansson (1982a, 12), "the biology project hoped to change the teaching and learning toward inquiry." The curriculum guides in biology, Hrolfur continued, were, "on the whole, process-oriented ..." The 1977 draft towards a biology curriculum (see

above) emphasizes discovery learning (Reynir Bjarnason 1977, 11).

The biology followed the example of DERD's first natural sciences curriculum project, i.e., the physics and chemistry project, in emphasizing group work. These groups were supposed to work on lab-experiments, observations, and other projects.

Subject specialization of teachers: In the upper grades of the elementary school (grades 8-10), biology is most often taught by specialized teachers in specialized classrooms, sometimes by the same teacher as physics and chemistry. Even in grade 7, otherwise a grade that usually has a classroom teacher, these subjects are taught by (a) different teacher/s. In conjunction with the use of specialized classrooms -- in smaller schools often the same classroom as for physics and chemistry -- this "specialization" contributes to the image of the lab-based biology as a superior subject. Meanwhile, most other subjects -- in particular, social studies whose lessons often are used as fillers for teachers' timetables -- are taught by any teacher. Other subjects that commonly have a special status in this regard are the foreign languages (Danish, English), but mathematics, Icelandic, and social studies often remain to be taught by a classroom teacher, at least in grades 8 and 9.

The implementation of the biology curriculum: Most biology teacher guides were not as elaborate as the social studies, math, or Christian studies guides. Nonetheless, the teacher guides caused delays and confusion. Hrolfur Kjartansson (1982a, 37) reports that teacher guides had only been written for grades 5-7, but for the BSCS materials no teacher guides were written. Hrolfur describes in detail how the ambitious plans of writing and revising BSCS fell apart (1982a, ch.3), and he admits that the engineering model, the Critical Path Method, did not work in reality (62). The work was difficult and too time-consuming. In addition, delays in publications, the untimely death of a key person (see endnote 4, ch.4), competition with other projects over the resources, and many other factors contributed to the slow pace of the project (yet it was not quite as slow as the social studies).

Science focus or ecology orientation: Thorvaldur Orn Arnason reports a disagreement over the selection of the BSCS curriculum. In the early 1970s, Gudmundur P. Olafsson had written a manuscript of a textbook for grades 8-10, entitled "Life and Environment." This manuscript was rejected, according to Thorvaldur Orn Arnason (1987, 8). Thorvaldur speculates about why it was rejected. One of the reasons

is that Reynir Bjarnason, the project's new inspector, thought it would save resources to translate and adapt some materials, rather than start from scratch for all grade levels. Whatever the reason was, this decision seems to have structured out the ecological and environmental foci that Gudmundur suggested. Whether or not remaining biology personnel believed that these concerns were important, they are virtually non-existent compared with scientist and activity-oriented discursive themes.

It is in the context of a struggle between the science focus and ecology orientation that I want to examine the notion of activity pedagogy in the biology project. The biology project's notion of activity seems to be more technologically oriented than the social studies notion of activity. Action in natural sciences in schools is often confined with "doing" experiments. Even though individual teachers have taken their students to the outdoors, indoor lab-work has become connotational for the new natural sciences. It is also my hunch that biology outdoor activities tend to be lab-oriented (e.g., collecting samples) rather than environmentally and ecologically oriented. In this sense, biology has not been integrated with social and political foci. There are notable exceptions in textbooks, however (see, e.g., Gudmundur P. Olafsson n.d.a,b). These exceptions may even be used as an excuse not to deal with other political foci; such lip-service to ecological and social problems may hide the political nature of the ecological problems. In this sense, the biology project -- in spite of a now-decreasing focus on molecular biology -- reinforces the overall technological appearance of the reform.

The struggle between the science and ecology foci has even found its way into labels. Proceedings from a conference on biology education, held in Menntaskolinn vid Hamrahlid, October 1982, recommend communication between the "greens" (græningjar) and the "white gownies" (hvitsloppungar) (Liffræðifelag Islands 1982). According to Thorvaldur Orn Arnason (1990), the term white gownies most likely refers to biologists who specialize in molecular biology and physiology, often related to the National Hospital and to research. The meaning of the term greens is less clear; it could refer to those who want to emphasize the study of living plants and animals as well as to those who wish to emphasize ecology and environmental education. Not many of those who were involved seem to remember this debate or the terms; therefore, I have to conclude that these debates were not hostile. Nevertheless, the terms indicate the tension between the lab-orientation and the ecological interests.

Conclusion: The biological sciences curriculum project departs from the pre-reform practices in various ways. First, the new biology is an integrated project while the pre-reform tradition divided biology into separate subjects such as botany, human physiology, and zoology. Second, the new biology focuses on life processes, and to some extent ecology, as opposed to the traditional classification exercises. Third, the new biology is taught in subject-specific classroom with a lab-orientation, whereas almost no schools emphasized such teaching prior to the reform.

The biological sciences project has less emphasis on democratic themes than the social studies project. This difference is a matter of degree rather than that this difference should be considered a qualitative difference. The biology project's orientation is also technological in the sense that it uses taxonomies and it adapted one U.S. curricular project for grades 8-10. The use of specialized equipment in biology as well as physics and chemistry classrooms is also important in the sense that it gives a technological appearance to the reform.

At the beginning of the 1990s, there seems to be emerging a greater diversification in the natural sciences (which is now the official name of a school subject that includes both biology and physics and chemistry, see *Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989). The BSCS books are undergoing a revision, and other materials, including environmental education and integrated physics and biology materials, are considered. Science for grades 1-4 is also considered (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989, Macdonald 1987a) which are grades that traditionally have been more child-centered in Iceland so this change, in itself, could pull more child-centered discursive themes into the natural sciences school-subject discourse. With the removal of policy making and textbook writing to sites where social studies and biology curriculum planners do not necessarily sit side by side in tiny rooms as they did in DERD, it seems more likely than before that the natural sciences will become an interesting site where its own internal foci will be contested.

The new biology -- with its original emphasis on molecular biology -- has, as a part of the natural sciences, the potential to be at a one side of a discursive rift, whereas the social studies project has the potential to be on the other side. The natural sciences side is technological and scientist; the other side signifies more progressive elements. Because of the similarities between the biology and social studies projects, however, this "rift" does not seem to have been actualized to date in open struggles (see also ch.5.3).

Instead, the DERD reform projects have built a block that stands in a discursive conflict with the pre-reform tradition. This discursive block used the notions of activity, process, and integration -- all well evident in the otherwise apolitical technological subject of biology.

4.2 Discursive Themes in Sites outside DERD and in Public Debates

This subchapter is divided into three sections: the first deals with the sites of teacher education, the second treats debates concerning several educational issues, and the third is on the emergence of the school policy of the Teacher Union of Iceland.

REFORM THEMES IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The College of Education and the University's Division of Pedagogy are the chief teacher education institutions in the country (hereafter I use the Icelandic abbreviations, KHI for the College and HI for the University). These two sites are the major sites where reform ideas were brought to pre-service teachers. These institutions have also been largely responsible for in-service teacher education: KHI was responsible for in-service education for elementary school teachers from the 1970s, and both KHI and HI provide summer courses to certify elementary and secondary school teachers. In addition, the youngest generation of textbook authors (for instance, Torfi Hjartarson (1988, 1990) and Bragi Gudmundsson (see ch.7.1)) are educated in KHI and HI.

I investigate what was taught in the pedagogy classes in KHI and HI, with a special focus on developmental psychology. By "what was taught" I mean that I examined syllabi from KHI and HI and classnotes from HI from the end of the eighth decade. I discuss these contents to shed light on how the knowledge available to students at this time may have structured the credibility of the reform discourse. I emphasize the relations of the discursive themes in teacher education with themes in other sites. These institutions (KHI, HI) are also important because individuals in both sites tend to define the credibility of their own themes and practices in relation to the other site (see ch.6.2).

THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

First, I discuss developmental psychology. Second, I investigate the so-called "theme study" that was introduced in KHI in 1978 as an example of the democratic, child-centered themes. Third, I consider the stronghold of the pre-reform themes and "national values" in KHI.

Developmental psychology: In developmental child psychology in KHI, Piaget's

theories are the most influential. In 1976, a young psychologist, Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir who had just returned home from France, was hired as an Assistant Professor to teach developmental child psychology. When Hrafnhildur began her teaching, the tradition of developmental psychology in Iceland was very young. The 1978 syllabus for Hrafnhildur's class provides an example of the goals of teaching developmental psychology in KHI:

[In the **f]all term ... [s]tudents acquaint themselves with the major theories about normal development of the cognitive (intelligence, language development, concept formation), affective, social relations, and moral [domains]. The implications of the various theories of developmental psychology for upbringing and schooling will be explored.**

In relation with the theories, students should gain an insight into the major methods of developmental psychology.

[In the **s]pring term ... [the major topic is the p]syche of the individual in each age period as well as the major reasons for abnormal development. Emphasis will be placed on attempts to connect knowledge of the psyche of the individual in each age period with the appropriate pedagogy and curriculum selection for the respective age period (Kennarahaskoli Islands 1978).**

Syllabi from other academic years are similar in content (e.g., **Namskra uppeldisgreina** 1982-3, 8-9).

Today, at the beginning of the 1990s, assignments for the classes in developmental psychology and the teaching methods classes in reading and mathematics for beginners are coordinated through cooperation between the instructors of these classes (Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir 1990). Through this coordination, developmental psychology has gained a little more space than the 2.5 credit special course (of 90 credits total for the B.Ed. degree) in developmental psychology indicates. In addition to this, former social studies inspectors (Erla Kristjansdottir, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson) and others who one might suspect that are influenced by the developmental psychology of Piaget, Kohlberg, and Selman now teach in KHI. Developmental psychology seems to have come to stay in KHI.

Scientism: Anna Joelsdottir (1985, 47-8) who studied in KHI in the mid-1970s (chs.2.2,7.1) reports that prospective teachers going through KHI learned that they didn't know everything and would never know everything. However, it seems that the students participated in a search for magic formulae; indeed the new child science and

curriculum theories are based on the assumption that we can know the child and the world and the relations between them. In spite of these scientist assumptions, KHI graduates were not taught "that knowledge can be questioned ..." (Anna Joelsdottir 1985, 48). This kind of scientism seems to confirm the technical aspects of curriculum theory and developmental psychology.

Theme study: In the mid and late 1970s there was a turmoil in KHI over curricular emphasis and teaching methods (e.g, Runar Sigthorsson 1978, Birna Sigurjonsdottir 1990). The first Primary School General Syllabus, prepared by DERD (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1976-7), and the Primary School Act of 1974 (Log um grunnskola 1974) provided a platform to request changes and a vision for what kind of changes to demand (Bjorn Thrainn Thordarson 1978, 41). This turmoil spread into the ranks of the faculty as well. In brief, beginning by fall 1978, the first semester of study was mostly integrated as theme study entitled "School and Society" and was headed by social historian Loftur Guttormsson who had been involved with the DERD social studies project from its initial stage.

The theme study was a radical restructuring of the first semester of KHI. The teachers met to plan together, and they attended each other's lectures. In an article, Loftur Guttormsson (1978, 14) discusses various approaches to thematic learning. Loftur places thematic approaches on a line from integration that relies on the spontaneous interests of students as the starting point to an approach where teachers simply cooperate and team-teach non-integrated subjects. If placed on this line, the School and Society-theme study, wherein the instructors determined projects and themes prior to the study (Asgeir S. Bjornsson et al. 1979, 3), is one step away from using the spontaneous interests of students as a starting point.

Group work: One of the goals that the 1978 student movement in KHI fought for was to have opportunities to work together with peers. Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990) -- a Central Board member of the Teacher Union of Iceland and a 1978 graduate of KHI -- recounts how she and Anna Joelsdottir had to fight for being allowed to submit a B.Ed. thesis that they had worked on as a team. In classes, group work and group discussions were uncommon when Birna was in KHI, and the practice of sending students to teach practicums in teams had just begun.

In the School and Society-theme, 17 of 21 lessons were used for discussions and

group work (Asgeir S. Bjornsson et al. 1979, 4). This emphasis is consistent with recommendations in the syllabus draft of 1983 (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983, see ch.4.1). Recent graduates of KHI with whom I have spoken complain about the immense amount of group work yet they admit that it had been good for them when they were finished with school and needed to work with other teachers. For instance, writing B.Ed. theses in pairs became common. One of Anna Joelsdottir's (1985) interviewees -- an anonymous teacher, "F," born 1955 who began her/his studies in KHI in 1978 (the first year of the theme study) -- recalls:

[W]e were simply **ordered** to talk .. to discuss, to criticize .. we were to argue, speak out .. ask .. never told to be quiet .. no one was used to this .. we became a very cohesive group .. did a lot of group work, three or four together .. we had to present our work, explain and defend it .. this was great fun .. but I must admit I am not quite sure what I learned .. in theory .. I mainly learned to work with others and how to work .. (53, Anna's omissions).

If we can assume that such methods of teaching -- even though the students were "forced" to participate in the discussions -- gained momentum not only in the first semester theme study but were more widespread in KHI, such recollections support the argument that the theme study and group work are trademarks for KHI in the educational discourse.

Pre-reform themes and national values: KHI faculty members believe that the institution has maintained ties to a national tradition of public education. Therefore, an investigation of discursive themes related to the pre-reform pedagogy is necessary to place the specific connections of themes in KHI in a proper perspective.

The subjects Icelandic and physical education were not included in the first-semester theme study (Bjorn Thrainn Thordarson 1978, 44). The fact that the teaching of Icelandic was in part separate from the theme study signifies the perspective that keeping Icelandic as a separate subject is essential for the preservation of the Icelandic language and culture. Moreover, Icelandic is the only subject that KHI requires entering students to have a minimum grade in (Kennarahaskoli Islands 1986, 60). There is also a difference, of significance for the special status of Icelandic, represented in the fact that from the late 1970s DERD people taught teaching methods classes in many subjects, in particular the methods in the natural sciences (biology, physics and chemistry), social

studies, and mathematics (e.g., Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990b, 1991a), but teaching methods in Icelandic were taught by KHI faculty.

The symbolic and discursive emphases on Icelandic, the emphasis on the practical level of keeping it a separate subject, and the practice of requiring a minimum grade in Icelandic help to maintain and develop the myth that KHI is capable of preserving Icelandic culture by linking together traditions and modern educational inventions -- in brief, by "integrating the old with the new" (Fox 1990, 18). Sigurjon Myrdal (1989) -- KHI's Dean of Academic Affairs (ch.2.2) -- argues that KHI is "rooted in the old popular culture of the nation ... The College has occasionally been called 'the popular academy' ['haskoli althydunnar'] ..." (84). Sigurjon observes a "hidden" ideological tension between KHI and DERD and that KHI "seems to have isolated itself from the OECD paradigm on education [that is, human capital theory and scientific educational theory] and kept its traditional discourse ..." (90-91). Sigurjon places this in the context of a tension between national and international discourses, and he calls it a "surprising fact" that only a few KHI faculty became involved in the activities of DERD in the early 1970s, "in spite of the proclaimed [e.g., by Edelstein] dearth of experts in the country at that time" (90). Sigurjon also points out that the University has historical links to the urban elite in Reykjavik, as opposed to the Teacher Training College which always recruited many students outside Reykjavik "and still draws a relatively high portion of its student body from the rural areas" (84). A similar view toward the nature of the KHI roots in public education as opposed to the roots of the University of Iceland in "elitism" was expressed by Olafur Proppe of KHI in a talk at KI's pedagogical convention in Reykjavik in August 1990 (concerning this issue, see also Olafur J. Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson in progress).

It is not the actual validity of the claim that KHI is a "popular academy" which matters; what matters is the discursive theme that KHI -- because of its historical relationship to the education of the public -- is an institution which is capable of making sense of foreign theories by screening them through the criteria of "national values." Since neither DERD nor the University's Pedagogy Division, headed by DERD's first director, have highlighted that they are such institutions, KHI faculty members put even more pride into this task as their role.

KHI faculty worried that too sudden change in the curriculum of the College could

decrease the status of national values. Runar Sigthorsson's (1978) bleak description of the pre-theme study teaching in KHI can be cast through such a lense:

The dominant teaching method is lecturing. Independent work and group work are at the minimum ... The part of the studies (i.e., the core) that should prepare for general classroom teaching are courses that are taught in a complete isolation from each other. Often ... [these courses] are a direct review of the gymnasium subject matters.

The study in the elective subjects (valgreinar) is [taught] in the same manner. They are taught as academic disciplines with regard to the University ... Subject-related curriculum theory is just as far away as [curriculum theory] from the core, even though that varies in different disciplines ... (11).

In the article, Runar is especially critical of Christian studies' status in KHI. He points out that in the academic year of 1977-8, third-year students in KHI had to spend three weekly lessons in Christian studies for the year compared with only two weekly lessons in social psychology for one term and two weekly lessons in personality psychology for another term (11). Runar contends that there is strong "blowing" from "some chairs in the KHI teacher lounge, not least those that stand higher" (9), against change. ⁵⁾

Christian studies still occupy 1.5 credit (only one credit less than the course in developmental psychology) in the core curriculum for the B.Ed. degree in KHI (**Kennsluskra fyrir almennt kennaranam** 1990). Teaching about other religions is only 0.75 credit, and ethics are taught in a course of one credit. Besides this, Christian studies is also an elective subject.

Summary of the discursive themes in KHI: Group work and integration are both integral reform themes that students became familiar with in KHI through the institution's emphasis on such work. The theme study has become a source of esteem for KHI graduates in the field of educational reform. Developmental psychology has also gained more discursive notoriety as more individuals have acquired knowledge of at least its basic terms through the acquaintance with it in KHI (and HI). To conclude: in KHI in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, there can be seen a combination of democratic, child-centered themes, and scientist themes similar to those presented by DERD. The most specific theme to KHI, on the other hand, is the idea that KHI is the social conscience of the contemporary Icelandic society's identity struggle in implementing modernity. I call this national values capital or "ties-with-the-past" capital. This

perspective has been used to justify a cautious approach to change. However, the hiring of many new faculty members in the 1980s -- some of whom were previously involved in DERD projects -- may have an impact on this view.

Most of the above discussion was geared to capture the KHI discourse around 1980. Since then, KHI has begun many new programs and enhanced other programs. This has diversified the institution and is likely to have an impact on the struggles over values there (as I discuss in ch.6.2). An overview over KHI's courses of study in the academic year of 1990-91 appears in Appendix V.

THE UNIVERSITY'S DIVISION OF PEDAGOGY

In this subsection I investigate what was taught in the Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program (the so-called UK program). The UK program provides an example of how important reform themes were introduced in the context of an academic subject, that is, pedagogy. I identify the discursive themes of the reform that were put in (discursive) use through this program. They include developmental psychology, behavioral psychology, research-based egalitarianism as well as progressive themes. These themes are also signified by beliefs in (and the use of) certain teaching techniques and strategies, by the vision behind these strategies, and by investment in curriculum theory as an academic subject. The discussion here is based on an investigation of assignments sheets and syllabi from the respective instructors (Haskoli Islands 1977-80) and my classnotes (Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1977-80), as well as on conversations with friends who attended pedagogy classes in a period of years around 1980. Required readings are reported in Appendix 2 to the References, and in Table 2 (see Appendix I) I list the classes I attended in the UK program. (At least Icelandic readers will quickly notice that the discussion on the Pedagogy Division is more complete than the discussion about KHI. This is so for at least two reasons: I was a student of the Pedagogy Division for many years and know the program very well; it is also smaller and less complex than KHI.)

Child psychology with a focus on developmental psychology: Two classes, "Child and Adolescent Psychology" and "Developmental Psychology," presented the psychology of the child. In these classes, taught by then-Assistant Professor Gudny Gudbjornsdottir, an educational psychologist educated in Britain who had recently

returned to Iceland, ⁶⁾ we were to learn about "normal development of a child" in regard to motor skills, perception, intelligence, motivation, needs, emotions, play, creativity, social relations, books and the media, "teen problems," and personality. We were also to learn about various types of disabilities and their causes. Finally, we were supposed to be able to use this knowledge to perform two observations of young children's behavior and write them up. The developmental psychology class was almost entirely devoted to teach Piaget's psychology and Kohlberg's cognitive moral developmental stages. The theories of other theorists (e.g., Noam Chomsky, B. F. Skinner, Alexander Luria, and Basil Bernstein) were presented briefly but in the context of how their ideas relate to those of Piaget. In most other classes, in particular those taught by former DERD director, Professor Andri Isaksson, the belief in Piaget's theories was equally strong. In fact, it may have been virtually impossible to pass the UK program with adequate grades without learning at least the slogan system of Piaget's developmental theory.

Behavioral objectives: In two or three classes we were taught how to write behavioral objectives. We were also taught programmed learning in a month-long course by a behaviorist, part-time lecturer Ragnheidur Briem with a Ph.D. degree from the U.S. In her course, we were to write a short step-by-step text in compliance with the rules that she taught.

Other scientist psychology theories: The class "Psychology of Learning," taught by Jon Torfi Jonasson, dealt with theories of learning, memory, perception, mastery learning, programmed learning, behavioral modification, concept learning, problem solving, Gestalt, various models, computers, and artificial intelligence. In the class, the criticisms of David P. Ausubel (1968) on discovery learning were also presented. At this time, Jon Torfi was a part-time lecturer. A year later he was appointed to the post of an Assistant Professor and is now an Associate Professor (see also ch.6.1).

Research-based egalitarianism and progressive themes: In the "Sociology of Education" class, taught by Gudny Gubjornsdottir, we were introduced to a number of statistical surveys that showed various kinds of gendered, classed, and regional inequalities in Iceland. In this context, we were also introduced to recent criticisms on the role of schooling as well as to alternative approaches. These included deschooling ideas, such as Nils Christie's and Ivan Illich's, and the ideas of Jerome S. Bruner, Paulo Freire, James Herndon, John Holt, Herbert Kohl, A. S. Neill, and many others (see

Appendix 2 to the References, Sociology of Education-class). Students gave seminars on such issues and, as an example, changes in education and political socialization in China after the fall of the "gang of four" was accepted as a seminar topic.

Teaching techniques and a democratic vision: Teaching in the Pedagogy Division was often different from teaching in other University subjects. Teachers used teaching strategies that most students had little experience of or had never heard about before. Informative lectures, followed by small group discussions and reporting back to the whole class, was a common practice. Student presentations took a substantial part of class time, and small-group assignments were frequent. In each of her classes, Gudny Gudbjornsdottir gave us a half of the final examination one week in advance. It was a comprehensive question that we could prepare for. In many cases, class members met to prepare the answer.

Olafur Proppe taught the class on evaluation a few times. From conversations with his students, it appears that his views may have been more in line with the syllabus draft of 1983 than the multiple choice testing methods and statistics presented in the "Testing Science and Evaluation" class that was taught by Andri Isaksson and two part-time instructors when I attended the class in the spring of 1980.

The teaching practice course included a few weekend classes and workshops (ca. 20-40 hours) in study techniques, group dynamics (hopefli), and educational technology. The technology course, taught in KHI by KHI instructors, included teaching how to operate an overhead projector, how to prepare transparencies, and other practical tasks. Group dynamics was, when I attended that course, a whole-week workshop. The Icelandic name, "hopefli" which has a connotation of empowering, is an obscure name that no one who had not attended a group dynamics workshop understood. Therefore, attending this workshop gave the impression that one was now consecrated into an elite group; those who had attended such a workshop could, at least discursively, distinguish themselves from those who had not attended the workshop (see also ch.5.1).

The teaching methods in the Pedagogy Division and the UK program made many students enthusiastic about educational innovations. Through the use of small group discussions and student presentations, students achieved a feeling of having an input. Teaching strategies, such as group discussions and the practice of giving out the examination questions in advance, were adopted by Pedagogy Division graduates in their

own teaching, at least on a small scale. Most important, these methods and the talk about them had a considerable distinctive value in teacher lounges and elsewhere. Teachers who did not go through the regular UK program did not rely on the same discursive themes (see a discussion in ch.7.1 concerning pedagogy as a social strategy of young historians).

Curriculum theory as an academic subject: The goal of the class "Curriculum Theory" (literal transl. is Practical Curriculum Theory), taught by Andri Isaksson, was to familiarize students with "the major modern theories that are used for defining objectives and creating curricula" (Haskoli Islands 1977-80) as well as discipline-specific curriculum theory. We were to be able to take a reflective position toward which teaching methods might be the most successful under given circumstances. At the outset, we were introduced to the Tyler rationale and behavioral objectives. Then we went through the theories of various theorists: Bloom, Bruner, Taba, etc. The DERD curriculum projects were introduced to us in class time. The major assignment was to create a comprehensive unit in a subject or a discipline of students' choice. I remember leaving this class with pockets full of both scientist and child-centered arguments for my radical curricular visions. Andri Isaksson also taught "History of Education" where the curriculum theories were placed in an historical context among academic traditions.

Changes in the program: In the beginning of the 1980s, the UK program was changed a little. Curriculum theory and the teaching practice-related courses were given the two credits from programmed learning. Moreover, five three-credit courses were combined into three courses with an increased focus on psychological theories of learning that now have a five-credit course, entitled "Learning and Learning Motivation," while "Education and Society" -- the replacement for the "History of Education" and "Sociology of Education" classes -- and "Development of Children and Adolescents" -- the replacement for the two child psychology classes that Gudny Gudbjornsdottir taught -- have five credits each.

Thordur Gunnar Valdimarsson, a critical theorist educated in West Germany, was hired to teach "Education and Society" and a few classes in the BA program as a lecturer (from 1978) and, during Andri's advisor tenure for UNESCO, as an Assistant Professor (1980-83). Thordur Gunnar offered students in the Pedagogy Division a notion of radical educational theory from a different perspective than Piaget's progressive

developmentalism. Thordur Gunnar's tenure lasted only a few more years, and Andri Isaksson, Gudny Gudbjornsdottir, and Jon Torfi Jonasson as the permanent faculty members have led the Pedagogy Division's policy.

With the exception of Thordur Gunnar's teaching, these changes signify a stronger hold of psychology which is consistent with the fact that most of the instructors have their highest degrees in psychology (see a further analysis of the Pedagogy Division's current faculty in ch.6.1). The most recent change, however, in 1988, is the establishment of discipline-specific curriculum theory courses for Icelandic, history, sociology, foreign languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences (Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir 1988, 3). This is due to an increased interest in teacher education on the behalf of many Professors in the humanities (i.e., in the Faculty of Arts) and elsewhere. For instance, there has been established a two-year program toward a M.Paed. degree in Icelandic, consisting of one year of course work in Icelandic and the UK program. This is likely to help maintaining the stronghold of the academic disciplines, in particular if other disciplines follow the example of the Division of Icelandic.

Cohesion and fragmentation in the UK program: The impression of this investigation of my classnotes and syllabi is that teaching in the Division of Pedagogy was based on a mixture of fragmentation and cohesion. What made the program most cohesive was the way in which the theories were presented. If not explicitly, then at least implicitly, the theories were taught as the truth about education and teaching. We were instructed to read "safe" interpretations of Piaget and Kohlberg, and the instructors were ready with counter-arguments in the event that they offered criticisms on the "Gods."

The fragmentation takes over in the way most instructors broke down the contents into formulae-like descriptions of how the Piagetian, Kohlbergian child thinks, in the way pros and cons for teaching methods and other ideas were listed, in the number of separate classes, and so forth. Lectures stressed arbitrary grouping and detailing of concepts in scientist psychology and curriculum theory. Process learning was presented as a process for the sake of a process. The teaching was largely ahistorical or -- when historical perspectives were offered -- they were characterized of ahistorical historicism. Theoretical differences that in retrospect seem rather trivial were extensively discussed. No epistemological, holistic criticism was offered. For instance, neither in the readings nor in my classnotes do I find epistemological discussion on developmental

progressivism that places this tradition in an historical and socio-political context.

Tensions against pedagogy: The Pedagogy Division held several summer courses for secondary school teachers who had to take the 30-credit UK program to be eligible to receive a teaching certificate. In addition, many students in the regular UK program had already taught in the upper elementary school or secondary school; some students were attending University classes with half-time or even full-time teaching load. Many of these individuals were highly critical of the allegedly theoretical emphases of the program; they felt the program was not "practical." This feeling had an impact on the status of pedagogy. Pedagogy was resented, publicly and privately, as a bother: we could choose whether we wanted to learn history, sociology, geography, biology, English, or Icelandic, but had to study pedagogy and curriculum theory if we were to teach. However, these tensions intensified the specificity of pedagogy; they helped those who were interested in pedagogy and curriculum theory as disciplines to separate themselves from others by capitalizing on these interests.

Conclusion: The emphases in the Pedagogy Division and the UK program were on scientific theories such as developmental psychology *a la* Piaget and Kohlberg and curriculum models *a la* Tyler, Bloom, Bruner, and Taba. Group discussions and integration of subjects were recommended along with various other reform practices. The psychology background of the Professors did not prevent them from having democratic visions visible in their teaching (see also ch.6.1). Thus the foci of the discursive themes in the Pedagogy Division appear largely identical to the DERD themes, that is, democratic, child-centered themes and scientist themes.

HI's Division of Pedagogy offered these new disciplines (in the Icelandic context) academic credibility -- in spite of the struggle over the souls of the students who were "forced" to attend classes to receive a teaching certificate. I believe that the teaching in the Pedagogy Division may have been more sophisticated, academically, than in most other disciplines throughout the University, in spite of little academic capital of pedagogy. Many of the readings were brand new (see Appendix 2 to the References), even published the year when we read the books and articles, and most of them were in foreign languages that may have been imperative in preparing those of us who later went overseas for graduate studies in the field.

The academic credibility of curriculum theory in the Pedagogy Division is

undermined by various factors, however. One of these factors is the low status and young age of all social science disciplines in the country. Another factor is the heavy teaching load in the division. In addition to a heavy teaching load in the University in general, in particular in new disciplines that do not have a routine for the Professors to rely on, the duty to teach summer courses in the UK program was an extra burden that kept faculty busy while faculty in other disciplines were doing research or planning. In fact, many critics view pedagogy primarily as occupational training, not as an academic discipline. From that perspective, a heavy teaching load must be perfectly all right.

These factors have not prevented that many individuals have been able to employ pedagogy and curriculum theory as social strategies (e.g., young historians, see ch.7.1); the ambiguous nature of these disciplines (relative sophistication in many respects yet little academic capital) makes pedagogy and curriculum perfect candidates for a reconversion site of capital.

SUMMARY OF REFORM THEMES IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The exploration in this section suggests that scientism, developmental psychology, and child-centered perspectives are central elements in the teacher education programs in KHI and HI in the latter half of 1970s and the early part of the 1980s. Knowledge made available to students was technological knowledge (curriculum models, formulae for teaching) but the social vision of Professors and students also played a significant role in structuring the credibility of the theories that were taught.

One of the obvious messages is that developmental psychology was considered important, and it continues to occupy significant spaces in both KHI and HI through the emphases that is placed on it in various courses. In my opinion, Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir in KHI and Gudny Gudbjornsdottir in HI have been the most influential interpreters of Piaget's developmental psychology in the country by being its chief presenters to prospective teachers. Whether their interpretations differ from the DERD and Edelstein interpretations is less relevant; what matters is the credibility given to developmental psychology as a strategy to understand children by incorporating them into university programs.

Some of the reform-recommended teaching practices were indeed implemented in KHI and the Pedagogy Division, such as group discussions. Group assignments were

also highly regarded in KHI and quite a bit in the Pedagogy Division. Integration from a child-centered perspective was emphasized, in particular in KHI, as well as the theme study was based on integration. These practices helped students interested in changing the school tradition that they had suffered from to feel "empowered" in these programs; consequently, these teaching practices had an impact on the legitimacy of group work and integration as discursive themes.

Nothing of the above is much unlike the DERD themes as they appear in the syllabus draft from 1983 (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983). It has to be noted, however, that neither HI or KHI is a "clean" reform institution in regard to the discursive themes of the reform: KHI in many ways signifies a stronghold of traditional pre-reform pedagogies; in HI the disciplines of the humanities and the natural sciences and their methods are still dominant compared to curriculum theory (ch.6.2).

DEBATED ISSUES

During the reform period (more than two decades), various educational issues have surfaced in public debates. Some of these issues have been important elements in the reform discourse, and some of these discussions have been important in developing the credibility of the reform and in establishing a field of educational reform.

In this section, I discuss a few such issues briefly. These issues are open schools and open weeks, school syllabi, mixed ability grouping, education for the talented and gifted, and private schools. I focus on how these issues emerged as themes at conferences and in disputes in the early and mid-1980s. These issues are not "covered" here in any sense but presented as to illustrate the importance of them as discursive themes.

OPEN SCHOOLS AND OPEN WEEKS AS A DISCURSIVE THEME

Discursively the term "open" refers to various different practices that range from the work of Fossvogsskoli (established in 1971), which is structured in the Open Education fashion, to the practice of temporarily abandoning the timetable for a week or so, often in the spring, commonly called open weeks. The term "half-open" is frequently used, too, and seems to refer to schools with less orthodox Open Education structures. All these practices and labels were celebrated by reformers as they were considered leading to

genuine change or at least capable of breaking cracks into the pre-reform conservative pedagogy and classroom structures.

Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (1983) discusses the value of the "open" practices in settings such as in whole schools, parts of schools, or single classrooms. He translates Open Education as flexible schooling (*sveigjanlegt skolastarf*) and cites experiments in Fossvogsskoli, Vesturbæjarskoli, and the Teaching Practice and Experimental School of the College of Education (*ÆTKHI*) in Reykjavik, Grundaskoli in Akranes, West Iceland, and the Kopasker Elementary School, North East Iceland (see also Petur Thorsteinsson 1984a). Ingvar believes that between 20 and 30 schools in the country have what he calls "open areas," and he points out that many teachers are establishing open classrooms in otherwise traditional schools (389). Ingvar explains that open schools, areas, or classrooms are usually characterized by a non-traditional arrangement of desks. In these settings, resources are available for students and teachers, and these places are more decorated than traditional classrooms tend to be (389-90). The open-school philosophy emphasizes students' responsibility for their own learning and independence (392); the idea is that children learn the methods and skills to achieve knowledge and evaluate knowledge (see also Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1982, 24-5).

Open weeks -- or temporarily breaking up the timetable to work on projects in a non-traditional manner with various names such as "work week," "happy week" (*sæluvika*), "big week," "open days," or "spring days" -- gained popularity in the 1970s. Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (1983) cites teachers who had to force their students to leave the school building at the end of day during such weeks (390), and by the early 1980s almost all secondary schools broke up their timetable for a few days each school year (e.g., *Thorravaka* in *Menntaskolinn vid Sund*).

"Open" refers to practices that were begun before DERD was founded. For instance, teachers in *Oldtunsskoli*, *Hafnarfjordur* were "opening up" in the early 1960s. They conducted open weeks and let students work in groups (Ragnar Gislason 1978a,b) and used the school library as a resource to support these activities (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990b). In fact, DERD recruited a number of teachers from *Oldtunsskoli* as curriculum workers (at least 14 teachers who at some point in their career worked in *Oldtunsskoli*; see also ch.6.1 and Table 4, Appendix I). *Fossvogsskoli* was also founded as early as 1971, or before most of DERD's work was performed. When the official reform

documents, such as the Primary School Act of 1974 (*Log um grunnskola 1974*) and the first General Syllabus prepared by DERD (*Adalnamskra grunnskola 1976-7*), appeared, they further sanctioned "open" ideas to be tried (e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1983, 393); such ideas were indeed favored in these documents and later elaborated in the 1983 syllabus draft (*Adalnamskra grunnskola 1983*).

Evidence suggests that the Primary School Act and the 1976-7 syllabus may indeed have had the greatest impact on teachers in open schools. Arthur Morthens (1986, 22) documents a teacher's response: "Yes, it [the 1976-7 General Syllabus] is always a reminder. The principal often reminds us of it. This general syllabus is very dear to her [the principal], and she puts pressure on us to work in accordance with it" (see also a discussion on open schools as a social strategy, ch.7.2). Most likely, the principal who Arthur's respondent is talking about is Kristin G. Andresdottir of Vesturbæjarskoli. Kristin, who is a 1975 graduate of KHI, was a teacher in Fossvogsskoli when she argued that "[t]he eminence of the open system is unquestionable and that should be enough for everyone or almost everyone to aim for the open school practices" (1978, 13). The evidence from Arthur's study highlights the relationship between the credibility of reform ideas and open schools; Kristin's statement highlights the discursive, almost conceited, emphasis placed on publicizing what was perceived as success of these schools' teaching methods.

Open and half-open schools and other schools are sites to which reformers in leading institutions looked to find evidence to "prove" that reform ideas work in practice. Open weeks further indicated to reformers that it was possible to make small-scale, rewarding changes that empowered both students and teachers -- in turn, supporting a belief that "progress" is, after all, possible. "Open," therefore, seems to refer to reform ideas in practice. For reformers, it was important to be able to point out that there were real teachers, practicing in the spirit of the reform with real children in normal school settings. Furthermore, it was important to know and to be able to point out that children and teachers in these innovative settings were indeed doing well or even better than children in traditional settings. The perception of the success of open practices strengthened the discursive thrust of the arguments and helped this particular theme to gain an increased visibility in the educational discourse and, ultimately, to have an impact in the struggle over legitimacy (see ch.5.1).

INTERACTIVE SCHOOLING AND SCHOOL SYLLABI

A recent catch term in the reform discourse is "school syllabus" (*skolanamskra*, could also be transl. as "school-based curriculum"). Before I discuss the implications of school syllabi, I look at in-service workshops for teachers held in the early 1980s, entitled "interactive schooling" (*samvirkt skolestarf*). These workshops, which were held by the College of Education, were staff-development workshops normally attended by all faculty in a school, often during the academic year. As an indication of the popularity of the workshops and the promise they might hold Ingvar Sigurgeirsson notes, that in the summer of 1983, more than 200 teachers attended (1983, 390).

One of those who gave the interactive schooling workshops is Hrolfur Kjartansson of DERD. He is both a personal advocate for interactive schooling and an institutional figure in the strive for school syllabi. Hrolfur explains that "[t]he workshop is not bound with subject matters; rather it deals with communication in schools, [and] staffs' assessment of their work and workplace ... (1983b, 1)" and that "[i]nteractive schooling is an experiment to deal with schools and school work in a more holistic manner than in other recent school reform [proposals]" (1983b, 1). He argues that teachers need to realize that "[s]chools' work is constantly developing" and that "[n]o teacher can learn a teaching method or a content that will last all her/his professional life" (1983a, 105). He goes on to say that "[c]hanges that are originated inside a school and tailored to the conditions there are, other things equal, more durable and realistic than changes pushed from the outside" (1983b, 3).

The emphasis on school syllabi is a continuation of the interactive schooling workshops. Hrolfur Kjartansson argues, for instance, that the making of a school syllabus is a "process" that is good for teachers to go through (1990a, 10; see also 1985). School syllabi are highly recommended in the new Primary School General Syllabus (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989, 183), and there seems to be a considerable push toward establishing school syllabi from the Ministry of Culture and Education (DSD, DEE) and some of the District Offices of Education (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990a, 12). In the current initiative, each school is supposed to develop its own syllabus, but DEE and DOEs offer assistance in developing a school syllabus.

I asked two leaders of the Teacher Union of Iceland, Central Board member Birna Sigurjonsdottir and chairwoman Svanhildur Kaaber, how they assessed the official push

for school syllabi. Birna responded that the school syllabi initiative confirms the perspective that schools should have flexibility and space to take their own pedagogical decisions. Birna said also that a school syllabus will, regardless of its originality, serve as an information brochure for parents and, thereby, underline the parents' right to know more about the school work. On the other hand, Birna pointed out, nothing can prevent these syllabi from becoming merely "mini-versions" of the General Syllabus for Primary Schools (Birna Sigurjonsdottir 1990, *Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989). Svanhildur Kaaber expressed a similiar cautionary approach. She said

that various such hocus-pocus tricks are floating around, such as "development" (throunarstarf) and "professional skills" (starfsleikni). These "concepts" tend to be ill-defined and people understand them differently. Those who use them most are also not those who work in the field but those who stand "above" regular classrooms. Furthermore, these concepts tend to be presented as final solutions to all educational problems. What is worst is that these "solutions" draw attention away from the real problems in education in the country; that is, inadequate conditions in schools that are closely related to the economic constraints that schools suffer from.

Svanhildur said this may sound negative, but, as she continued to argue, the point is that that

skilled teachers, interesting projects (throunarverkefni) and good school syllabi do not increase the number of taught lessons, improve physical conditions in schools, bring young children an unchopped, unfragmented school day, add to the variety of curriculum materials, or add up for cuts in teaching time (1990).

One of the principals who already had launched a production of a school syllabus in his school, Benedikt Sigurdarson of the Akureyri Elementary School, was also sceptical of documents produced by a Ministry initiative (private conversation, July 25, 1990). He does not think they will democratize education substantially; such production can become a "canned" process.

Interactive schooling and school syllabi, however, represent a belief in the possibility of democratizing education. These are meant to be processes of participation among teachers. The interactive schooling workshops in particular were "tools" for teachers to do that job. In short, I consider these two phenomena (interactive schooling, school

syllabi) democratic themes, as well as the workshops represent a belief in that that a democratic process can be taught.

MIXED ABILITY GROUPING

By the 1970s, children were no longer supposed to be divided into classes A, B, C, D, E, F, and so on, on the basis of their (reading) grades in first grade as was done previously. The derogatory words "tossi" and "tossabekkur" (tossi-class) had virtually disappeared from children's vocabulary by 1980. I never heard "tossi" when I taught in the third largest elementary school of the country (Breidholtsskoli, with over 1000 pupils, located in a mixed, mostly blue-collar neighborhood in a new suburb of Reykjavik), and veteran teachers I questioned about the matter claimed the "tossi" concept was "dead." But "ability grouping went on," according to Olafur J. Proppe (1983a, 296), "with special classes or tutoring ..." This segregation, Olafur argues (309), was less visible in the late 1970s and early 1980s than in its heyday in the 1950s. For instance, eighth graders might be divided into two groups of high and moderate achievers and four groups of moderate and low achievers. All in all, it is safe to say that ability grouping had been substantively decreased, even though it had not disappeared from classrooms or discussions in teacher lounges.

Rhetorically, mixed ability grouping is an important theme for reformers; it signifies equality. In 1981, about 300 teachers and educators from all over the country attended a conference called "School For All Children," held by the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI). The speeches, which later were published (*Skoli fyrir öll born* 1982), provide a source to analyze reformers' discourse on the issues of ability grouping and education for children with "special needs."

In the opening speech, the chair of KI, Valgeir Gestsson, recounts the policy declaration of KI that "demands" a ban on ability grouping and that teachers are given more time for each student (1982, 2). The main speaker at the conference, Professor Andri Isaksson (1982), points out that ability grouping is a twentieth century invention which was supposed to help all children to learn. He cites international research that reveal that "[w]hen ranked in classes, the children of the [economically and socially] deprived tended to be placed in the lower classes. And the longer they were in school, the more did the gap between children in high and low achieving classes increase" (11).

Andri discusses the difficulty of implementing mixing: "Teaching to a mixed ability group demands much of quality preparation, probably more than teaching to an ability-grouped class" (11), as well as more "flexibility in teaching methods and work structures" (11). Andri concludes that the dispute of whether mixed or ranked ability grouping is "better" is an arbitrary matter; these arrangements "work" under different circumstances (12). Most important, Andri argues, mixed ability grouping is a worthwhile challenge for teachers; on the other hand, ability grouping is no challenge (13).

Gunnar Arnason (1982), a social psychologist and an Assistant Professor at the College of Education, argues that one of the goals of schooling is to prepare students for being sociable. Gunnar believes that this goal will be better fulfilled with mixing than ranking so that students who would be selected on an arbitrary basis into classes would not be prevented from reaching their potential by socializing with anyone. Gudfinna Inga Gudmundsdottir (1982), a 17-year veteran teacher at Hlidaskoli, Reykjavik, points out that soon after mixed ability grouping was begun in 1965 "it appeared that low and medium achievers learned from being with high achievers in the same class, in particular in [dealing with] human relationships. On the other hand, the latter seem to do as well [as before] regardless of whether they are in ranked or mixed classes" (41).

Two speakers spoke about the education of students with special needs (Gudfinna Inga Gudmundsdottir 1982, Sylvia Gudmundsdottir 1982). They argued that the country needs both special schools for students with special needs and the integration of them into mixed ability classrooms -- in short, more teachers, classes, schools, and education for students with special needs. The third speaker spoke about mixed-age grouping in the ÆTKHI where she, with two other teachers, had taught a group of 70 students in grades 8-10 (Ragnhildur Bjarnadottir 1982).

Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (1982) spoke about alternative types of grouping, such as grouping students temporarily in individual subjects (23). He emphasizes the idea of individualized learning in the Open Education style as a viable alternative if most of the existing curricula were not so badly suited for that method (23). Ingvar also observes considerable revival of the interest in ability grouping among educators and the public. He says that this is a result of the fact that too many pupils are in each class for successful mixed ability grouping. For instance, in Gudfinna Inga Gudmundsdottir's class there

were 27 students, including three physically disabled students (Gudfinna Inga Gudmundsdottir 1982, 41-2). Other reasons Ingvar mentions include that each teacher is assigned to too many lessons to be able to prepare well and that social problems are increasing (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1982, 23).

It seems to be a shared concern among the individuals who spoke at this conference that the necessary presuppositions for mixed ability grouping had not been met. The 1983 syllabus draft (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983, 69) indeed concludes that "the results of teaching in a mixed ability class depend on the methods used and the conditions and materials available." When mixed ability grouping was criticized for decreasing the knowledge level of students because teachers could not teach at the "same level" to everyone in the class, reformers responded that presuppositions, such as decreasing the class size, had not been met. Instead of giving up mixed ability grouping as a discursive argument, reformers linked it with better work conditions for teachers and the equality of all children. But even more was at stake in the eyes of those sceptical of mixed ability grouping: Do the high achievers (what really is meant by "high achievers" in this type of rhetoric is the economically and socially better-off) suffer from mixed ability grouping and integration of students with special needs into regular classrooms? Reformers did not have much Icelandic statistical data to support that the low achievers actually learned more or became more sociable in mixed ability classes -- by which the practice of having high and low achievers in the same class was justified. How could reformers, then, try to tell critics, who claimed that the high achievers learned less in mixed ability classes, that that claim could not be just as true? Reformers also knew that references to international research are not always helpful in public Icelandic discourse; for instance, Gunnar Arnason (1982) reminds us that research results remain largely hypothetical in the Icelandic context. Gunnar also asks the question what kinds of schools, egalitarian or elitist, we want. It is in a context like this that the issue of special educational programs for the talented and gifted became a contested issue, too (see below).

Mixed ability grouping and equal access for everyone to develop her or his talents will continue to be an important discursive theme in the field of educational reform and a justification for educational change. And it is no wonder that egalitarian-minded reformers focus on the economically and socially worse-off when they want to equalize access.

EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR TALENTED AND GIFTED STUDENTS

At the beginning of the 1980s, Bragi Josepsson -- then an Assistant Professor of the College of Education and a social democrat member of the Education Board of Reykjavik -- initiated discussions about education for children who needed more academic challenge than regular classrooms offered them. Committees discussed and researched the issue which did not get far. In 1984, however, when the city of Reykjavik and the Ministry of Culture and Education were governed by the Independence Party, the issue got a boost. In 1985 a preparation of programs for the talented and gifted began in cooperation between the Education Board of Reykjavik and the College of Education, which loaned a space for a secretary, but the Teacher Association of Reykjavik (Kennarafelag Reykjavikur) declined from participating in committees to prepare these programs (Hannes Olafsson 1987, 7). In early 1986, a program for talented and gifted students was begun with 16 participating students.

Education for the talented and gifted -- in the way Bragi Josepsson has initiated it at least -- is not liked by reformers and teacher leaders. These programs are considered elitist and capable of taking money away from more important needs. The chairwoman of the Teacher Association of Reykjavik, Sigrun Agustsdottir, pointed out that this interest is focused on children who have talents for the academic subjects. She argued that the need for special programs is even greater for children with special talents in art, the sports, or the crafts, and that there is too little money available to attribute a part of it for programs for the talented and gifted (cited by Hannes Olafsson 1987, 10). Special education teacher Bergthora Gisladdottir argued that comparing resources allocated to "talented" students and to students with learning disabilities, which advocates for Bragi's programs sometimes did, was just not fair. Students talented in the academic disciplines, Bergthora argued, could choose from all the stimuli that were available in school and society; disabled students need special resources to be able to take care of their basic needs (cited by Hannes Olafsson 1987, 12). Psychologist Gretar L. Marinsson, who served on one of the committees to prepare the programs, was critical of the programs, even though he supports the concept that the talented and gifted have special needs. He accepted the argument that Sigrun Agustsdottir made, that is, that this was to begin at the wrong end. Furthermore, Gretar said that this initiative was out of tact with schooling in the country (cited by Hannes Olafsson 1987, 13).

In conclusion, educationists and teacher leaders emphasized that educational programs for the talented and gifted are in a sharp contrast with the egalitarianism mandated in the Primary School Act of 1974 and the Primary School General Syllabus of 1976-7. Even though the concept itself (special education for the talented and gifted) was not so much challenged, many reformers argued that it was more important to meet the special needs of children with learning disabilities. In short, the debate represents democratic and egalitarian interests and discourse on behalf of reformers.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

With rare exceptions, the education of Icelandic children and adolescents takes place in public schools. These exceptions include, on the elementary level, a few small parochial schools and the School of Isak Jonsson, an elementary school that has a pre-school class for five-year-old children and classes for grades 1-3. On the secondary level, the primary exception is the Icelandic School of Business (Verzlunarskoli Islands). The state pays teachers' salaries in both these schools.

In 1985, two young teachers, Margret Theodorsdottir and Maria Hedinsdottir, initiated a new private school, Tjarnarskoli (see *Midlun*, July 1985). It is a publicly-funded middle school (grades 8-10) where parents have to pay extra fees. When Tjarnarskoli was founded in 1985, the monthly fee was 3200 Icelandic Kronas per child. Due to inflation, the fee in 1989-90 was 11900 Kronas, and in 1990-91 it is 14200 Kronas (roughly 250 U.S. Dollars) a month. These figures amount to more than 20 % of the lowest monthly pay rate of workers in the country. The Minister of Culture and Education, Ragnhildur Helgadóttir, agreed that the state would pay teachers' salaries (there is a clause in the Primary School Act that allows this), and her party-brother David Oddsson, Mayor of Reykjavik, offered a space in an old school building in downtown Reykjavik free of rent. Many opponents refuse to call Tjarnarskoli a private school (e.g., Kari Arnorsson 1985, Birna Thordardóttir 1985, Thorbjorn Broddason 1985); rather, they like to call it a "publicly-funded private school" and picture it as an elite school because of the fee that parents have to pay for having their offsprings attend the school.

In 1989, Bragi Josepsson of KHI, Otto Michelsen of the Icelandic branch of IBM, and others tried to establish Midskolinn for grades 5-7 (see *Midlun*, August 1989). The proposed parent fee was 12000 Icelandic Kronas (near 200 U.S. Dollars) per child per

month. Mayor David Oddsson promised Midskolinn a space in the same building as Tjarnarskoli. But, in short, the socialist Minister of Culture and Education, Svavar Gestsson, refused to grant Midskolinn a permission to admit students. His decision was supported by the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI). In fact, Svavar relied on the KI school policy when he interpreted the Primary School Act's egalitarianism (see, e.g., *Mbl.*, August 19, 1989; cited from *Midlun*, August 1990).

The refusal to grant Midskolinn a permission to work can be attributed to two facts: First, the Independence Party had lost the Ministry of Culture and Education, and the new Minister relied on policy interpretations of leading educationists and teacher leaders. Second, and equally important, the young teachers who initiated Tjarnarskoli were respected as educators by those who knew them personally. Meanwhile, there is little sympathy for Bragi Josepsson's actions among leading educators in the country, and his institution, KHI, publicly distanced itself from Midskolinn.

To say the least, egalitarian-minded reformers have not liked the idea of founding private elementary schools. The reasons are many. A newspaper article by Kari Arnorsson (1985), principal of Fossvogsskoli, illustrates the issues that surfaced in the debate about Tjarnarskoli. Kari focuses on the lack of funding for the public school system. Classrooms commonly house two different classes (one in the morning and one in the afternoon) and in some cases three different classes. Kari says that the Primary School Act of 1974 is adequate; the problems in the elementary education system relate to funding what the Primary School Act mandates, rather than changing the law. Kari emphasizes that "[m]oney to improve the conditions of schools [to provide quality-education] must not depend on the financial status of individual parents." He suggests that the public funding provided to Tjarnarskoli must result in financial suffering of other educational projects. Other critics, such as Associate Professor of sociology at the University Thorbjorn Broddason (1985), doubt that the Tjarnarskoli principals will, in pedagogical terms, do anything different from what other schools could do if they were properly funded.

The 1989 debates centered around the same basic issues; that is, the lack of funding for public schools and the inequality involved in charging a substantial parent fee to pay for supposedly better education. A young historian, Olafur Asgeirsson (1951-1990), added the interesting point that a system of private schools could put our independence in

danger (Olafur Asgeirsson 1989). He referred to the example of Newfoundland which fell bankrupt during the Great Depression. Newfoundland had a large private school system, and the upper classes, educated in that system, did not place enough emphasis on public education. Poor education for the public, Olafur claimed, contributed to Newfoundland's economic trouble. Only after Newfoundland was annexed to Canada in 1949, a public school system was institutionalized in the new Canadian province of Newfoundland. Whether or not Olafur is right about the relationship between education and independence, his point is clear: don't let this happen in Iceland. This point, although not from a professional educational reformer, adds a new dimension to the discursive power of egalitarianism. To refer to nationality and independence issues always has an immense discursive strength in public debates in Iceland.

In sum, the debates about Tjarnarskoli and Midskolinn clearly illustrate the power of democratic and egalitarian ideals in the discourse of reformers.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE ISSUES

All these issues, open schools and open weeks, mixed ability grouping, education programs for the talented and gifted, and private schools, indicate that the discourse on education was becoming more and more structured by the discourse of educational reform. In all instances, the supporters of reform-minded egalitarian and child-centered ideas seem to have the upper hand among the educationists -- as opposed to proponents of the pre-reform practices. This is true about open schools, open weeks, and interactive schooling which provided "proofs" for that the child-centered ideas of the reform work in practice.

The other three issues that were discussed in this section -- mixed ability grouping, education for the talented and gifted, and private schools -- point even more strongly to the egalitarian, liberal/radical, democratic aspects of the reform discourse. On a societal level, these issues are related to the struggles between the better-off and the worse-off in society and the struggle between the right and the left in politics. For instance, if money was to be allocated to special programs for the talented and gifted (read: the economically better-off in society), would not that money be taken from underfunded special education programs? And why provide public money, taken from an underfunded public school system, to establish private schools where parents have to pay extra fees for their

children? These three debates represent the egalitarian themes in the reform and highlight themes from the DERD discourse.

The discussion in this section which concerns debates taking place in the 1980s (most of them in the early and mid-1980s) shows that the reform discourse is no longer limited with official sites, such as DERD, KHI, and HI. Many educators not affiliated with any of these institutions (e.g., Bergthora Gísladóttir, Guðfinna Inga Guðmundsdóttir, Sigrún Agústs dóttir, Sýlvía Guðmundsdóttir, Valgeir Gestsson; see above) discussed these issues. This is not to say, however, that all public discussions about education had now become centered around reform themes but that the reform discourse was gaining enough legitimacy for educators not to have to be shy to use reform-like arguments at conferences and in public debates. I now turn to one such site that during the 1980s has become more and more a center site of the reform discourse, that is, the Teacher Union of Iceland.

SKOLASTEFNA: THE TEACHER UNION OF ICELAND'S SCHOOL POLICY

The last "site" to be analyzed here is the recent school policy document of the Teacher Union of Iceland (in the remainder of the section I use the Icelandic abbreviation for the Teacher Union of Iceland, KI). The first edition of this document was released in November 1987 (*Mennt er mattur* 1987, hereafter M.e.m. 1987). The third edition, which I use here, was published in the early part of 1990 (*Skolastefna* 1990, hereafter Sk. 1990; see References for full bibliographical information). The third edition includes a few minor changes from the first edition and some of them seem to bear a discursive significance.

The purpose of these publications is to strengthen teachers' occupational consciousness (*fagvitund*) and increase in them the responsibility that the profession has (Editor 1987). In 1984, KI's main convention decided to designate one of its major institutions, the Pedagogy Committee (*skolamalarad*), to the task of developing a comprehensive school policy. The Pedagogy Committee started developing arguments in brainstorming sessions. The committee also accepted a challenge, concerning teachers' responsibility to form a school policy, that Edelstein delivered in a speech at a teacher convention at the end of summer 1985 (Edelstein 1985), and it consulted with him (according to Svanhildur Kaaber 1990). Others who were consulted include former

DERD inspectors Olafur J. Proppe, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, and Erla Kristjansdottir, as well as then-principal of ÆTKHI Olafur H. Johannsson (Birna Sigurjonsdottir and Svanhildur Kaaber 1986, Svanhildur Kaaber 1990). The policy-in-making was discussed at KI's pedagogical conventions (uppeldismalathing)⁷⁾ in 1986 "to receive a wide response and participation from teachers" (Svanhildur Kaaber 1990). After these conventions, the Pedagogy Committee gathered the materials and had a draft prepared for the 1987 main convention of KI. The first draft was edited by Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir, director of studies (kennslustjori) in the University's Division of Pedagogy who in 1988 became the education advisor to the Minister of Culture and Education. The document was approved of as the school policy of KI at this convention (much of the process is explained in detail by Birna Sigurjonsdottir and Svanhildur Kaaber 1986). About 2000 teachers and many others had discussed the school policy prior to the 1987 release (Editor 1987). The actual document, however, is compiled by a relatively small group of people.

The following discussion is aimed at answering in which way the KI school policy differs from the official school policy, primarily the DERD discourse, as it appears in documents, projects, and debates analyzed earlier in this chapter. How the KI school policy reinforces the legitimation of the discursive themes of the reform is discussed in chapter 5.1.

I focus on two overriding discursive patterns appearing in **Skolastefna**. One pattern is an articulation of the various reform themes identified in earlier sections of this chapter. I have arranged the discussion of these themes as they appear in **Skolastefna** into four subpatterns, that is, issues that concern liberal/radical, child-centered democracy, social equity issues, scientism, and, finally, the teaching of Icelandic. The other major discursive pattern in **Skolastefna** is, not surprisingly, the role of the teacher.

GENERAL REFORM THEMES

Liberal/radical child-centered democracy: **Skolastefna** argues that "[t]he goal of schooling is to cultivate independent and critical thinking and enable students to make up their own mind, choose and reject" (M.e.m. 1987, 11; Sk. 1990, 12). The third edition underlines this as the ultimate goal of education by emphasizing how important it is "to

train students in assuming responsibility for their studies and behavior in the school and outside the school as well" (Sk. 1990, 32).

Both editions emphasize the role of student research and independent work which "demands that students have been trained in multiple study and work techniques" and that they are given an easy "access to a variety of materials. The learning environment must be neat and stimulating" (M.e.m. 1987, 11; Sk. 1990, 12). The new edition expands this focus by elaborating on the role of the school library: "Imperative is that a well-grounded teaching in how to find information and process them is conducted in the school library. The school library needs to be accessible to students outside the frame of the timetable so it must be open the whole school day" (Sk. 1990, 16-17).

Skolastefna recommends the integration of subjects to increase an "holistic perspective" (Sk. 1990, 11), and common catch terms such as activity, cooperation, and *namsmat* also appear (Sk. 1990, 32). The notion of *namsmat* is vague but seems to go in the direction toward less reliance on formal examinations and toward a broader range of evaluation strategies taken in the **Adalnamskra grunnskola** (1983) draft.

Skolastefna suggests to decentralize policy making: "The Teacher Union of Iceland believes that the power and the sovereignty of the [eight] education districts should be increased" (Sk. 1990, 46). KI further recommends that the "[m]aking of and carrying out a school policy should be in the hands of the people in the districts who should assume responsibility. The [districts'] Boards of Education should represent [the people] in these matters" (Sk. 1990, 47).

Skolastefna also suggests more autonomy of individual schools to determine curricular issues: "Important is that each school composes a school syllabus ..." (Sk. 1990, 11). This is put again in a stronger language: "Each school must set itself a school syllabus and present and argue for its practice and educational objectives to [convince] parents as well as authorities ..." (Sk. 1990, 52). There seems to be a link between **Skolastefna's** interest in school syllabi and the DSD initiative in the most recent General Syllabus for Primary Schools (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1989, 183; see also last section).

What KI's focus on decentralization and school autonomy means in terms of legitimizing the KI policy is difficult to assess. Possibly KI can gain support for other ideas -- may be smuggle them to local officials -- if KI's demands that the District Offices

of Education and the local Boards of Education will be given more decision-making authority both in terms of school policy and fiscal issues are met. The reservations of Birna Sigurjonsdottir and Svanhildur Kaaber regarding government-initiated school syllabi (see last section) underline the democratic interest of KI in this regard.

Social equity issues: **Skolastefna** discusses in detail the need for schools to take over more of the role of raising children. It is pointed out that almost every adult, women and men alike, now has a career outside the home (Sk. 1990, 2). The consequences are an inevitable increase in the school's upbringing role of (Sk. 1990, 2-3) and that "the schools must increasingly deal with students' social problems not less than learning difficulties" (Sk. 1990, 4-5). A paragraph draws attention to the emotional needs of students (Sk. 1990, 13). Gender equity, urban/rural equity, ability equity, and socio-economic class equity are discussed (Sk. 1990, 7-9) as well as special education (Sk. 1990, 19-22). In short, KI seems to have joined forces with advocates for disadvantaged groups.

Scientism: The most important sign of scientism in **Skolastefna** is the reference to developmental stages borrowed from cognitivistic psychology. **Skolastefna** deals with these stages as they were not constructs but facts (M.e.m. 1987, 28; Sk. 1990, 31). This reference is an indication of the discursive power of the Piagetian developmental psychology: whether there is such a phenomenon as developmental stages does not lead to a discussion in a teacher union policy document. **Skolastefna** also suggests that teachers have a close eye on "educational innovations, read academic research (fagrit), and participate in in-service education" (Sk. 1990, 12).

School counseling and psychology services for students must be "a taken-for-granted unquestioned factor of the school from the day [the child] first arrives to school" (M.e.m. 1987, 20; Sk. 1990, 23). The 1990 edition expands the talk about counseling and talks about prevention work (Sk. 1990, 24). This represents a belief in specialists and the good that they can do, only if there is more of them and that they work closely with teachers.

Teaching of Icelandic: While it is uncertain whether the talk about teaching Icelandic should be considered falling into a pattern with reform themes, the context of this theme in KI's policy must not be overlooked. **Skolastefna** demands that teacher education should be reorganized with special emphasis on the teaching of Icelandic in a core that

every student has to take (M.e.m. 1987, 32; Sk. 1990, 37). The 1990 edition places "emphasis on that every teacher is a teacher of the mother tongue" (Sk. 1990, 3).

The importance of teaching Icelandic and preserving the Icelandic culture is certainly not something that the author of this thesis disagrees with. It is important, however, to examine the discursive relations with other agendas in the booklet. In short, the rhetorical emphasis on teaching Icelandic appears to be related to the pre-reform legitimating principle (see ch.3.1). Therefore, it is important to consider whether KI includes this into *Skolastefna*'s rhetoric not only because the teachers who wrote the booklet "believe" in the importance of the Icelandic language and culture, but, also, because that they know that this is an undisputed claim and that the omission of it might cause an opposition to the whole document. In any case, this emphasis is likely to enhance the currency of the school subject Icelandic as a discursive theme convertible into symbolic capital.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

KI emphasizes the teacher's role. In 1986, a KI committee compiled a booklet called **Where are we? Where are we going?** (see *Hvar stondum vid ...* 1986). This booklet sets the tone that is continued in *Skolastefna*. The booklet argues that "every teacher needs to become active in the struggle" for "better living conditions and better schools" (4). It points out that "[t]eachers have the knowledge and skills that is the necessary basis for their work. Therefore it is first and foremost in their own power to deal with work conditions and the [present] conditions of educational matters" (9). The booklet goes on complaining about that the "fast-rooted tradition to view schools' troubles as a private matter of each teacher has the consequences that most teachers have difficulty in initiating ... discussions with school authorities, politicians, and the public ..." (9). *Hvar stondum vid ...* has the solution as well: "In order to gain more respect for the teaching profession, teachers must present themselves as a **professionally educated** profession (sermenntud starfsstett), as **specialists** in a larger field than in single schools" (9).

The introduction to the chapter about the "The Practice of the School" in *Skolastefna* is remarkably similar to *Hvar stondum vid ...* and is worth citing in length (M.e.m. 1987, 9; Sk. 1990, 10):

The Teacher Union of Iceland first and foremost wants that policy decisions regarding school practices (innra starf) will be in the hands of the teachers themselves. Teachers must always respond to changes in society -- and the school is a part of it -- by initiating necessary changes in schools' activities. Changes in schools' activities should basically be initiated by teachers and be grounded in their professional consciousness (fagleg vitund) and occupational education.

Each school sets its own goals and develops a policy for its practice in conformance with legislation ... and within the frame of the General Syllabus. The above items are grounded in the sense of responsibility and professional consciousness among teachers and their abilities to evaluate the effects of the work. To be able to develop school practices, teachers must strive to increase the professional consciousness of their occupation as a whole. School practices must constantly be under revision if healthy development is to take place.

Skolastefna demands much of teachers, but it also argues that teachers are those who best know what ought to be done. The belief behind this argument is that no one will do anything about education if teachers don't take the lead; therefore, teachers must start to work, and work harder and harder, and they must start no later than today! Professional consciousness and the role of the teacher as a specialist seem to be the measures that the teacher leaders (and Edelstein) use to appeal to teachers as well as to the public and politicians (see also the discussion about the teacher professionalism campaign in ch.7.2). This was acknowledged by both Svanhildur Kaaber and Birna Sigurjonsdottir -- the chair and the deputy chair of the 1984-7 Pedagogy Committee -- in conversations I had with them in August 1990 (Svanhildur Kaaber 1990, Birna Sigurjonsdottir 1990).

In **Skolastefna**, KI develops the position that "in the future, all teacher education should take place in the same institution" (Sk. 1990, 37). Before such unification happens, the College of Education should "oversee all occupational education of elementary school teachers" (Sk. 1990, 37). Furthermore, "teacher unions and teacher education institutions should ... reevaluate the skills that student teachers need to adopt and how teacher education institutions can best fulfill these demands" (Sk. 1990, 37).

The web of demands to teachers and demand for more decision-making power to teachers are discursive themes that are good prospects for becoming symbolic capital. It became an important discursive theme for teacher leaders to argue that teachers were specialists. It also became important to be able to show that they demanded much of themselves and other teachers, but did not only demand more money from the

government; through hard work, improved teaching and professionalism, teachers were also going to do their part of the job.

JONAS PALSSON'S CRITICAL COMMENTS

The observations of Jonas Palsson, the Rector of the College of Education, are important to place the reform argumentations as they appear in *Skolastefna* into a political and historical context. In a review of *Skolastefna* in *Ny menntamal* shortly after its first release (see M.e.m. 1987), he points out that the teaching occupation needs to pay attention to "the social field where upbringing and education grow" (Jonas Palsson 1987, 9). Jonas supports *Skolastefna*'s idea of expanding the school library into a "living educational, informational, and cultural center in each school" (M.e.m. 1987, 14; Sk. 1990, 16; cited by Jonas Palsson 1987, 9) but wants to go further than *Skolastefna* suggests. He suggests that "the elementary school in each neighborhood, urban or rural, organizes its overall activities as to become a community center [Jonas's own transl. for fræðslu- og menningarmidstod], where every person in the neighborhood can come for educational and cultural purposes" (9). Jonas also thinks that *Skolastefna* focuses too little on the personal characteristics and interests of the individual teacher that, in conjunction with scientific and theoretical knowledge, safeguard the teacher's job (8). Finally, Jonas argues that "the Icelandic teacher occupation (stett) has not, at least not recently, emphasized enough the preservation and rearticulation of special Icelandic traditions in upbringing and culture ..." (9). The last point is similar to the perspectives of Sigurjon Myrdal and Olafur Proppe that I cited earlier in the chapter; that is, that ties with the past must be maintained if to insure a proper teacher education.

Previously, Jonas had written extensively on the role of the teacher (see, e.g., Jonas Palsson 1977, 1978, 1983). In light of that, it is not surprising that he had something to say about *Skolastefna*. For instance, Jonas argued that

the teacher is the foundation for reform and any long time fundamental change in the development of schools and education in the country. The content of the curriculum is certainly important but the teacher as a person and as a professional (starfsmadur) is the key to the quality of education (1978, 7).

On another occasion, Jonas pointed out that teachers as an occupation were deprived of

authority. He related this observation to the status of women in society and challenged teachers to work more on the development of educational policy (1977,14).

It is a reason indeed to believe that Jonas facilitated the setting of the discursive tone that KI took up, given the influential positions he has held in teacher education in the country. He was the principal of the Teaching Practice and Experimental School of the College of Education (ÆTKHI) for eleven years (1971-82), and in 1983 he became the Rector of the College of Education where he served until retirement in 1991 (see also ch.6.1). Jonas falls into the group of educationists and reformers who have had an impact on teacher leaders with a vision of the role of the teaching occupation.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the section I asked if the KI school policy is different from the DERD discourse as that discourse appears in documents and projects analyzed in chapter 4.1. The major difference lies in that that **Skolastefna** has more discussions concerning the role of the teacher and school autonomy. This emphasis appears to conflict with "teacher-proof" curriculum guides that were promoted in the early phases of the reform but is consistent with a change in emphasis in DERD (ch.4.1, on scientist themes). Other themes and emphases in **Skolastefna** are largely identical with DERD themes: a belief in social equality is expressed, and there is a general reception of scientific inventions such as developmental stages.

An important question is, in the light of Jonas Palsson's comments, whether the emphasis on the teacher in **Skolastefna** is so crucial after all. It remains to be seen if KI and other teacher unions will adopt Jonas's more radical stance and accept to place the position of teacher into a social-class perspective. In fact, the talk in **Skolastefna** about teachers as specialists can be seen as an uncritical celebration of science and scientism. Evidence to conclude that the interest in teacher professionalism in the 1980s, represented in **Skolastefna**, stands in a conflict with the emphasis on detailed teacher guides in the 1970s is indeed vague. **Skolastefna**'s emphasis is placed on presenting teachers as "specialists," or potential specialists, in scientific curriculum theories and the ideas of Piaget, Kohlberg, and others. Thus, **Skolastefna** is, in one sense, an apolitical and technical document. This does not mean that the educators who wrote it do not have any social or political vision. On the contrary, I know that these individuals are likely to have

such a vision, but, because the document is written shortly after the heated debates on the social studies project (see ch.7.2), there was even a stronger reason than ever to censor what was to be published in the name of a teacher union.

What, then, is **Skolastefna**? Is it a kind of a general syllabus, capable of substituting for the syllabus draft of 1983? It is obviously not a syllabus in the usual meaning of that word; nevertheless, it is a platform for reform-minded teachers and educationists that seems to work in a similar way as the goal article of the Primary School Act of 1974 and the 1976 edition of the general part of DERD's Primary School General Syllabus did (**Adalnamskra grunnskola 1976-7**). In words of Valgardur Egilsson -- a medical doctor and the chair of SAMFOK (Coalition of Parent and Teacher Associations in Reykjavik) -- **Skolastefna** aims for "the perfect school" with its "list of ideals and hopes" (1987, 12). This is the same as the Primary School Act's goal article did. In interviews in August 1990, I asked Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990) and Svanhildur Kaaber (1990) if they believed that KI had, through the making of the school policy, taken up the thread where DERD was forced to leave it in the mid-1980s. Birna and Svanhildur agreed with this observation, even though Birna noted that she had not placed **Skolastefna** in this context before.

Thus, in an important sense, **Skolastefna**, is some kind of a substitute for the 1983 syllabus draft; when the heyday of government-sponsored reform documents was over, reformers started talking directly with teachers and counting on the teacher leadership to form a school policy (e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1983, 393). It remains to be seen where KI will take its policy work in terms of discursive themes, but the KI leadership seems to have the capability to be one of the primary sites for a production of discursive reform themes in the 1990s (see a further discussion in ch.5.1).

Chapter 5. Legitimizing Principles in the Historical Conjunction of Discourses in Icelandic Education, 1966-1991

The intersection of educational discourses in Iceland between 1966 and 1991 is characterized by the reform in elementary education, cultural assumptions in society, and the pedagogy that existed prior to the reform. The focus here is on the struggles and tensions between ideas -- more precisely, how discursive themes, pedagogical practices, and cultural assumptions fall into patterns that I, following Bourdieu, call legitimating principles.

Chapter 5 is the second part of a topic begun in chapter 4 through an investigation of various documents, sites, and debates wherein discursive themes were identified; chapter 5 focuses on the symbolic meaning (capital) of the themes. Questions to be examined in this chapter include, What are the legitimating principles of the reform?, How do they conflict with the legitimating principles of the pre-reform educational discourse?, Is the reform a major break with the pre-reform pedagogy and educational discourse?, Are there divisions (rifts) in the reform movement based on different types of educational and academic capital?, and, What are the spectrums of legitimating principles in the field of reform?

The chapter has three sections. First, I focus on the distinctive value of the discursive themes of the reform. I discuss the patterns in which the themes seem to be structuring themselves in a hierarchy of values that structures what counts as symbolic capital in the field of reform. The second main section deals with the discursive conflicts between the reform discourse and the pre-reform pedagogy. I examine the continuities between the reform and the pre-reform eras as well as changes in secondary education parallel to the reform in elementary education in the last 25 years. The final section lays out a map of the different spectrums and value hierarchies of capital that might be found among epistemic individuals and in the institutions investigated in chapter 6. The focus is on the emerging poles of these spectrums in relation to discursive traditions in elementary education and academic institutions.

5.1 The Hierarchy of Values in the Field of Educational Reform

The discursive themes in reform documents and debates are a body of educational and cultural capital that reformers attempt to capitalize on. These discursive themes include child-centered perspectives, mixed ability grouping, evaluation as process, open schools, local curriculum projects, student-centered teaching methods, "hands-on" pedagogy, discovery and inquiry learning strategies, group discussions, integration of subjects, scientific curriculum theory models, developmental psychology, teacher professionalism, and school autonomy. The combination of themes suggests a pattern for relying on scientist arguments for social, liberal/radical democratic and child-centered concerns.

This section focuses on three main topics. First, I focus on what counts as capital in the field of reform. Second, I discuss how open practices and Icelandic curriculum theory have been used by reformers to give credibility to the reform. Third, I consider two different routes that reform themes, initiated by DERD, have taken. On the one hand, I discuss the role of the school policy of the elementary school teachers' union (KI) in legitimizing the reform; on the other hand, I attempt to explain the absence of human capital theory from most of the reform discourse in the 1980s, a theory prominent when the reform was launched.

THE REFORM DISCOURSE AS SYMBOLIC CULTURAL CAPITAL

This subsection is to identify the themes that count as symbolic capital among reformers. The assumption is that there has been emerging a hierarchy of values -- distinctive features -- that structures the legitimacy of the discursive themes in the reform discourse. In order to accomplish this goal, I discuss briefly the distinctive value of a number of reform themes. These themes include, for instance, developmental psychology, the Tyler rationale, the Bloom taxonomy, integration, cooperative learning, evaluation as process, and anti-testing perspectives. I pay special attention to the use of scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns, and I look into the genealogy of the notion of activity and the couple of progressivism and scientist developmentalism behind this notion.

THE DISTINCTIVE VALUE OF DISCURSIVE THEMES

Child-centered attitudes are instrumental to the educational philosophy of the 1983 syllabus draft (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983) and the reform in general. It is almost impossible to separate the child-centered attitudes from any of the major themes in the syllabus draft or other reform documents. Probably no other orientation was thought by reformers to legitimate the reform more for themselves or for teachers, parents, and the public. The reason for this is the reformers' goal to improve education for every child.

Reformers used various educational theories to give legitimacy to the child-centered perspectives. Although many of these theories did not gather much support outside the field of reform, they provided distinctive value for the reformers in the field of reform. One of the most important of these educational theories is developmental psychology. As an academic discipline, developmental psychology did not have a tradition in Iceland prior to the reform. Consequently, the language of developmental psychology had a distinctive value to tell reform terminology apart from pre-reform educational rhetoric. If an individual used the jargon of developmental psychology in a child-centered fashion (e.g., by using phrases such as a child thinks in a qualitatively different way compared to an adult), there was a better chance to "succeed" in the field of reform. If graduates of the College of Education and the University's Pedagogy Division successfully integrated child-centered perspectives with developmental psychology, they gained an advantage. It is in this sense that developmental psychology got intertwined with child-centered ideas as educational capital.

Integration of subjects and the discursive interest in relying on multiple sources for curricular decisions is another set of themes derived from international educational theory. These theories (e.g., inquiry learning *a la* Bruner, the Tyler rationale for curricular decisions, the Bloom and Taba taxonomies, etc.) were introduced in Iceland through the reform. Because of their novelty in Iceland, these ideas became a valuable educational capital for professional reformers as well as students in the College of Education and the University's Pedagogy Division. In this context, the theoretical and political differences between the theories are irrelevant because the whole set was used to argue for the importance of changing from subject-based textbooks toward integrated school practices based on students' needs and interests. For instance, the language of

Tyler (1949) has a distinctive value -- whether or not one believes in his rationale -- by providing a common language. Words and phrases, such as educational objectives, sources for curricular decisions, and philosophical screens, became a part of an exclusive reform vocabulary.

Cooperative learning and the psychological language of group dynamics seem to function as an element of educational capital. As I discussed in chapter 4.1, the use of cooperative learning rhetoric in the 1983 syllabus draft is ambiguous. In the draft, cooperative learning is often presented as a learning technique to enhance the academic achievement of pupils. Nevertheless, I am confident to argue that the popularity of group dynamics courses is more due to the fact that progressive students in teacher education thought group dynamics' techniques could enhance the social goals of the Primary School Act's goal article (Log um grunnskola 1974, article 2) than it is due to the value of these techniques to enhance academic achievement. And for the creation of a reform discourse hierarchy, the value of having attended a course in group dynamics can not be overstated. Group dynamics provided a distinctive language and a pattern of practices (using group work and discussions in the classroom) that teachers who had attended could capitalize on. Reformers argued that group work and discussions had a democratic potential beyond recitational methods.

Anti-testing perspectives and the view of evaluation as process were also instrumental in establishing a vision of democratic, child-centered school reform. Anti-testing rhetoric was used to combat the prevalent learning of useless facts, and reformers claimed that they could offer more child-centered and democratic ways than tests to evaluate children's learning. Reformers stressed the creativity of the child and her/his ability and democratic rights to evaluate herself with non-quantitative methods (see a more elaborate discussion on evaluation and "namsmat" in ch.4.1). Both cooperative learning and the view of evaluation as process, therefore, helped reformers to capitalize on the social vision that these themes signify in their eyes.

The distinctive value of these themes (integration, group dynamics, evaluation as process, and so forth.) seems to rest on two major criteria. On the one hand, the distinctive value rests in how the themes support the missionary role that reformers had adopted towards improving education and increasing democracy. On the other hand, there is a considerable distinctive value found in the use of the language of various

scientific curriculum theories and developmental psychology theories.

SCIENTIST ARGUMENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC, CHILD-CENTERED CONCERNS

In the DERD discourse, scientist arguments were used to promote that democratic and child-centered points of view are imperative to improve education and society. In fact, scientism and child-centered points of view are often so interwoven in the reform documents that identifying a theme as either democratic, child-centered or scientist is a difficult task. I name this pattern scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns. In this pattern we see an "alliance" between the scientist and democratic discursive themes. On the one hand, this pattern seems to be based on the fact that the language of science has validity as an academic language and a language of modernity. In this view, scientism may be considered the means to achieve the goals defined in the Primary School Act of 1974. On the other hand, the employment of scientist arguments might also be a coding process, that is, coding of politically progressive or radical views.

Political progressivism (see endnote 1, ch.4) tends to be less explicitly articulated in the reform discourse than scientism and developmental cognitivism. In chapter 4, however, I often devoted relatively more space to the discussion of progressivism than scientism. I did this in part because it is harder to find these patterns for they are more obscure than the developmentalist rhetoric, but also because the progressivism of the reform is at least equally important as the scientist themes in legitimizing the reform internally. Progressivism and Dewey-inspired rhetoric are important means to justify the reform for many reformers themselves and to politically radical allies in society.

ACTIVITY PEDAGOGY: A BRIEF GENEALOGY OF AN INTERSECTING THEME

Activity pedagogy, signified by the Icelandic word *virkti*, seems to be the most important thread in the pattern of scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns in the reform discourse. "Virkti" has an overall importance in the 1983 syllabus draft (see ch.4.1) as well as in the social studies and biology curriculum projects and indeed in many other curriculum projects.

The notion of activity is attractive to progressive educators; it signifies creative

thinking and democratic participation. As it relates to the web of scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns, activity pedagogues argue that through a successful utilization, scientific curriculum theory can lead to a more just society. Along these lines, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson describes why student participation in decision making should be increased:

[T]he best means to cultivate a sense of responsibility is to give students a chance to assume responsibility. ... [Similarly, t]olerance grows in cooperation, critical thinking by utilizing it with fruitful (frjo) activities, and artistic qualities in creative work. These views are often supported with arguments from curriculum theories (uppeldisfrædi), in particular [from] developmental psychology, for instance, [arguments are derived from] ideas concerning that children are by nature curious and active, that they, after all, have a natural motivation to learn, that they have inherited an interest in understanding the world, and that the school's role is to spark and support these ever-active desires for knowledge instead of repressing them (1983, 392).

The Icelandic reformers didn't invent the activity pedagogy; the 1983 syllabus draft, the social studies project, and other curricular discussions draw upon mainstream discussions in pedagogy, developmental psychology, and curriculum theory internationally, mainly in English-speaking countries. The focus on activity lies at the intersection of a child-centered discourse on childhood in a company with a discourse on liberal/radical, participatory democracy and the discourse on progress and science as it has been brought to Iceland primarily as developmental psychology and North American curriculum theories. In his essay published in 1988, first delivered as a paper to the DERD staff in 1981 (see ch.4.1, social studies), Edelstein (1988/1981) explains that the educational policy of OECD and the so-called "third factor" theories

appear in a mixture with **humanism** (mannudarstefna) in education that aims at considering the needs of different students, more fruitful learning, and more active interactions [in the school]. Half-a-century old progressivism (umbotastefna) in education takes off when Keynes's educational economics and H[ighly] Q[ualified] M[anpower] goals lead to that politicians begin taking the school system seriously as a significant factor in nations' well-being (84).

Edelstein continues: "The goal of education is sanctioned by views of the quality of the labor force (HQM); educational policy decisions try to equalize the opportunities of

students and their families to succeed in learning" (85). Furthermore, "[t]he Primary School Act (1974) in Iceland is a logical consequence of the fact that the views of [Keynesian] welfare economics now have decided to support humanism in education" (85). Finally, Edelstein argues that "Bloom joined the team of reformers (umbotamenn), lended them a valuable tool that sharpened their sight besides shedding light on the way to go" (93).

In the essay, Edelstein did not question the idea that technical tools, such as the Bloom taxonomy, can help to bring about progressive social change. He argued that it was possible to find better ways to bring across the desired changes, such as the organic model that the social studies team was trying to implement (see ch.4.1, social studies). A British scholar, Valeri Walkerdine (1984), disputes the very idea that technical tools and specific theories (such as Piaget's) can simply be "applied" to progressive causes (176-7, 188-90; see also Venn and Walkerdine 1978; Walkerdine 1986, 1987, 1988). Walkerdine argues "that developmental psychology and the child-centred pedagogy form a couple: the apparatuses of the pedagogy are no mere application but a site of production in their own right" (1984, 162). She describes "the insertion of Piaget into early education" (the article's subheading) in England and points out that "Piaget's liberal/radical political position is taken as an indication of the usefulness of his work to the possibility of a radical pedagogy" (189). She claims that there is nothing inherent in Piaget's developmental psychology that insures any particular effects, "radical or otherwise" (189), on educational practices. But "[i]n the sense that Piaget's work was inserted into radical critiques of the *status quo* at any one moment [in the 1960s and 1970s], we can assert that it has had radical effects" (189). These "effects," however, are nothing but simple consequences of what progressive educationists wanted to happen; alongside Piaget's work there is "a whole network of other practices and discourses" (189).

Walkerdine's genealogy of the couple of child-centered perspectives and developmental psychology in England is a sign of the arbitrariness of trying to separate between ideas that have already evolved into a sophisticated, self-productive argument, that is, that scientist, "technical" solutions lead to progressive social change. Walkerdine's argument is also a reminder of that no one "forced" developmental psychology and other scientist themes upon the Icelandic reformers; in contrast, they

"selected" them because they were easily available means for reformers' purposes of child-centeredness and egalitarianism. Documents such as the 1983 syllabus draft and Edelstein's paper (1988/1981), both produced in relation to DERD's work, indicate that DERD is an important site of a continuous production -- not a mere application -- of the couple of child-centered, liberal/radical democratic perspectives and scientific curriculum theory with developmental psychology as a central component.

WHAT DO REFORMERS THINK THAT LEGITIMIZES THE REFORM?

In this subsection, the discussion turns from the focus on the internal legitimacy of the discursive themes to a focus on what reformers did, discursively, to reverse the hierarchy of values in the larger field of education and in society by arguing for the credibility of the reform work. I discuss the relationship between what counts (has distinctive value) in the field of reform and what reformers think that counts as (symbolic) capital in the larger arena. I focus on two strategies that reformers employed: one strategy is to point out what "worked" in schools (in particular open practices); the other strategy that is discussed here is signified by the argument that the production of the reformed curriculum theory is "genuinely" Icelandic as opposed to imported and merely applied.

THROUGH TALK OR ACTION?

Although I have to this point focused on how the discourse constitutes the capital of the reformers, it does not mean that what took place in schools has nothing to do with the sense of logic behind the reform's legitimating principle. There is a complex relationship between pedagogical actions and discursive themes, and actions and events that signify the discursive themes of the reform are important when to consider the role of a certain theme in justifying change. Some of the actions and events support the reform; other actions and events have delegitimizing effects. But in all cases, the talk about these actions and events is imperative in determining the impact on the struggle over the hierarchy of values; the actions themselves bear little meaning as capital other than that that is given to them through a "working-in-praxis" rhetoric.

The most successful talk-about-action for legitimizing the reform is related to the practice of "opening up" in the form of open weeks, open classrooms, interactive

schooling, and open schools (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues). Schools, such as Fossvogsskoli and Vesturbæjarskoli in Reykjavik, Snælandsskoli in Kopavogur, Grundaskoli in Akranes, and the Kopasker Elementary School, have become paradigmatic. Teachers who have taken up the physical arrangement or teaching methods of the open school in their classrooms are also approved of by reformers and it is referred to them in the discourse as examples of the credibility of reform ideas (e.g., Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1983, Heimir Palsson 1985). Most widely approved of, perhaps, is the practice of open weeks. Virtually no one opposes practices of that kind, and many secondary schools have adopted the idea of having open days as well. In turn, reformers have also referred to open weeks as indicative of the credibility of the integration of subjects and cooperative learning, but such practices are typical for projects performed during open weeks.

The publication of local curricular projects, notably **Heimabyggdin** (see ch.4.1, democratic themes, social studies) was supposed to help the open-week practices and indicates reformers' commitment to progressive school practices. Other publications reflect this emphasis as well. One of them is Ingvar Sigurgeirsson's **Skolastofan** ("The Classroom," 1981) which, for example, two teachers in Akureyri have reported how helped them to change their classroom practice into a more open classroom (Svanfridur Larsen and Elin Stephensen 1983). Participation in interactive schooling workshops has also been used to show that teachers are interested in open practices (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1983, 390; see also ch.4.2). Furthermore, teacher periodicals frequently publish reports about local studies projects (e.g., Gudjon Th. Kristjansson 1990).

My conclusion is that open schools, open classrooms, and open weeks -- in short, everything that fits under the umbrella word "open" -- provides credibility to the reform when such practices and prototypes are treated as a discursive theme. These practices are perceived to signify real educational change because they refer to actual actions in schools, and reformers highlight this to show that reform ideas actually work.

THE VALUE OF A DOMESTIC PRODUCTION OF CURRICULUM THEORY

The reform in elementary education in Iceland is sometimes accused of being loaded of non-applicable ideas. The non-applicability argument is often intensified by nationalistic arguments that fear imported ideas. Later in this thesis (ch.7.2), I discuss

some of the debates wherein the reform ideas were challenged. For now, I want to investigate the idea that there is a domestically produced curriculum theory, an idea that reformers and researchers have recently begun to capitalize on as a discursive theme. Indications of this theme are to be found in the 1983 syllabus draft from DERD, in the work of the social studies team, and elsewhere. Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's (1990) suggestions that the Icelandic story-telling tradition can be successfully integrated with the reform's local curricula and new history textbooks also seem to be suited to increase the credibility of the reform discourse.

Andri Isaksson (1984, 9; see also ch.4.1) has pointed out that the 1983 syllabus draft is "a considerable Icelandic contribution to curriculum theory." In the draft, which draws upon more than a decade of curriculum work in DERD, the beliefs of the reformers are placed into a mosaic of patterns that are arranged toward the goal of democratizing education. The primary moment of production is the notion of mental and physical activity (*virknir hugar og handar*), sanctioned by the interest in democracy and the reliance on developmental psychology and other curriculum theories. The fact that the syllabus draft never became an official policy document only enhances its symbolic value as a theoretical production.

The argument that this theoretical production is Icelandic is important for the field. To claim the Icelandicness of something is a powerful way to achieve credibility in political debates because of the common fear with imported ideas that appears in public debates. If the claim that a curriculum theory idea is Icelandic -- or at least developed and used creatively in Iceland, as opposed to imported "raw" -- can be substantiated in debates, the possibility to capitalize on an idea increases. In turn, any "Icelandic" idea that can be portrayed as an integral part of the reform tradition can be used to argue for the case of the reform in general.

The project of social studies was a major site for the evolution of domestic, scientific curriculum theory wherein educators have identified a potential for facilitating progressive social change (e.g., Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990). Meanwhile, the biology curriculum and many other projects were much more to the "book" of the imported scientific curriculum theories. However, both biology and social studies seem to share the central notion of activity pedagogy. As vicious as the debates on the social studies in 1983-4 were, these debates also placed the social studies curriculum theory under a spotlight and

perhaps drew out the arguments of reformers that the Icelandic social studies curriculum theory is of an international caliber.

The argument, the belief, that social studies are prominent offers a significant legitimacy for the reform. Social studies materials have indeed received an acknowledgement from the United Nations for including "remarkably progressive" measures in combatting racial stereotyping and discrimination and that they might be capable of serving as models for other nations (see Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 325). Regardless of whether these materials deserve the praise, this acknowledgement, which was pointed to in debates, had a legitimating effect for the social studies credentials in terms of cultural and academic capital.

Edelstein has emphasized the evolution of the Icelandic (social studies) curriculum theory (see ch.4.1). Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, 305; see also ch.3.1) has taken the issue further and argued that the work of historian Gunnar Karlsson is a beginning of a new synthesis of reform and pre-reform traditions. The calls of Edelstein, Thorsteinn, and others for building bridges between the old and the new provide an evidence of that that the use of this discursive theme is increasing. The writing of Ph.D. and Master's theses concerning education and curriculum in Iceland (among others, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson in progress) are legitimacy-claiming actions as well.

The fact that there is evidence to suggest that a synthesis is taking place in curriculum theory in Iceland, is, of course, important. Yet it is the belief in the synthesis -- and how smart the believers are in holding up the flag of this synthesis -- that counts in the struggles for legitimating curriculum theory. This belief signifies an intersection of reform and pre-reform ideas, enveloped in the language of linearity and continuity (that a progressive synthesis is possible), on the one hand, and patriotic nationalism, on the other. Curriculum theory as an academic discipline, the belief in the potential of local curricula to democratize and equalize education, and nationalistic ideas have been discursively reconnected.

DIFFERENT ROUTES OF LEGITIMATION

In the remainder of chapter 5.1, I discuss two different routes that the reform themes initiated by DERD have taken. First, I discuss the role of the school policy of the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI) in legitimizing reform themes. I argue that the KI school

policy (see **Mennt er mattur** 1987, **Skolastefna** 1990) is currently a primary site of legitimation of reform themes. Secondly, I discuss the absence of human capital theory rhetoric from the reform discourse in the 1980s. These discussions are aimed at a further understanding of what constitutes the hierarchy of values in the field of educational reform.

THE ROLE OF SKOLASTEFNA AND TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM

In chapter 4, I argued that the KI school policy took up the threads that were left unwoven or half-woven when DERD was terminated. A number of leading reformers (e.g., Edelstein, Erla Kristjansdottir, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Olafur Proppe; see ch.4.2) contributed to the initial development of KI's school policy; thus, it is not surprising that there are similarities between the DERD and KI themes. In brief, the KI school policy emphasizes certain aspects of the reform, such as child-centered issues and developmental psychology (see ch.4.2), and constitutes "the teacher," dressed in the language of professionalism, as an additional element to the reform themes. The question under consideration here is how the addition of "the teacher" has an impact on the legitimation of the reform discourse.

Skolastefna emphasizes the scientist and technical aspects of the reform by a relative absence of liberal/radical democratic arguments. Even though **Skolastefna** discusses egalitarian issues, often it does not go as far as many DERD reformers in terms of progressive rhetoric. Furthermore, the similarities between the teachers' school policy that partly relies on scientism, on the one hand, and the DERD beliefs in scientism, on the other hand, are important in establishing scientism as central to the reform discourse. Teacher leaders' rhetoric concerning increased autonomy of schools and teachers to form a school policy may indeed have a minor impact against the stronghold of scientism in the reform. By taking many of the reform beliefs for granted and by placing these themes into a context of talking about teacher autonomy and school autonomy, **Skolastefna** strengthens the reform's overall credibility and ties together its principle of legitimation. This is not to suggest, however, that by **Skolastefna**, technical and scientist issues now stand on the top of the hierarchy; rather, I wish to argue that scientism continues to parallel the social goals of equality and the democratic, child-centered perspectives of many reformers in similar ways as scientism did in most of the DERD documents.

The KI school policy doesn't only seem to be in a harmony with previous reform documents but appears to have an impact on decision making. Minister of Culture and Education Svavar Gestsson explicitly referred to KI's interpretation of the official elementary education legislation in the private school debate in 1989 (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues). In fact, because of its largely apolitical and technical rhetoric, **Skolastefna** says little beyond the law of the land, making it possible for Svavar to refer to it. In the context of possible influence of **Skolastefna**, it is, of course, relevant to note that Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir, the draft editor of **Skolastefna** in 1986-7, is Svavar's education advisor as well as the coordinator of the Ministry's efforts to establish a school policy and plan for action in the 1990s (e.g., **Til nyrrar aldar** 1990). By using **Skolastefna** as he did, Svavar has contributed to the credibility of the KI school policy and, consequently, to which discursive themes may become viable as symbolic capital in the educational debate in the 1990s.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL THEORIES?

In the 1960s, politicians and educational theorists (e.g., Gylfi Th. Gislason 1966, Edelstein 1967; see also ch.1.2) brought forward arguments derived from the so-called human capital theories. OECD, which initiated the foundation of DERD, relied much on human capital theory arguments to support the need for changing Iceland's underdeveloped economy and schools. The OECD experts believed that Iceland needed to broaden its economic and industrial base by relying not only on fishing and fish industry. Iceland also needed to provide more diverse educational opportunities and concentrate its human resources to increase productivity (Eirikur Hilmarsson 1989).

After 1967, most reformers do not seem to have highlighted human capital theory arguments. Rhetorically, these ideas do not fit well with child-centered, liberal/radical notions of education, even though they originally seem to have cohabited peacefully (for instance in Edelstein's early speeches). The arguments in the **Adalnamskra grunnskola** draft of 1983 that are closest to human capital theories concern reformers' beliefs in progress and growth. It seems safe to argue that "the couple" human capital theory and developmental psychology quietly separated. Sigurjon Myrdal (1989) also claims that the College of Education never was particularly interested in the OECD paradigm (see ch.4.2). If this is correct, there was at least one important place in the

reform field where human capital theory arguments always had less momentum. Furthermore, human capital theory had its heyday in the international discourse on education in the 1960s.

The absence of human capital rhetoric from the discourse on reform in elementary education seems to be one more indicator of the power of egalitarian, child-centered points of view as capital. In short, human capital theory didn't count as symbolic capital among reformers, despite the original rhetoric of Edelstein in 1967 and 1981 speeches. ¹⁾

CONCLUDING REMARK ON THE REFORM HIERARCHY OF VALUES

The field of educational reform attempts to legitimize itself by arguing that measures proposed in the reform can indeed improve society and the living conditions of everyone, especially of those with the greatest needs. The scientist discursive themes and the egalitarian child-centered themes, along with perceptions of actions, have been capable of structuring the reform discourse, and they constitute what I call the legitimating principle of the reform discourse. Catch words and phrases, such as integration, open schools, open weeks, and activity, indicate the educational and cultural capital of reformers that now has begun to symbolize the field of educational reform. The structuring out of human capital theory rhetoric and structuring in of egalitarian discursive themes with an apolitical, technical flavor further sanction the way in which the reform attempts to be legitimized. Human capital theory and political criticisms such as Jonas Palsson's (see ch.4.2) would have made the reform less presentable than do the child-centered attitudes with scientist arguments (see also Gestur Gudmundsson's criticisms, discussed in ch.5.2).

On the other hand, the reform discourse has not achieved all the legitimacy it seeks compared to the pre-reform discourse in education (that is, it has not completely reversed the hierarchy of values in the larger field of education), despite all the efforts to distance itself from pre-reform ideas and practices and challenge these traditions. In next section, I contrast the discursive themes -- the legitimating principle -- of the reform with the discursive patterns and cultural assumptions that rest under the legitimating principle of the pre-reform pedagogy.

5.2 The Reform: A Rupture in the Educational Discourse in Iceland?

In this section, I locate points of intersection in the conjuncture of educational discourses in Iceland during the last 25 years. I do this by mapping the ways in which the reform discourse breaks with pre-reform pedagogical ideas and practices. Second, I reveal points of continuities between the reform and pre-reform ideas and practices. Third, I explore the interrelationship between the reform in elementary education and changes in secondary education. Finally, I suggest that the reform provides a new principle of legitimation that -- in spite of similarities with the pre-reform tradition -- presents itself to be capable of democratizing and scientifically modernizing education.

DISCURSIVE CONFLICTS: ACTIVITY PEDAGOGY VERSUS THE TRANSMISSION OF ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE

The pedagogical ideas that compete for credibility are not "systems" of coherent ideas. Rather, these ideas are fragments -- discursive themes -- and when they are observed in patterns, they reveal points of discontinuities. In this subsection, I lay out discursive conflicts that have taken place in the reform period. By a "discursive conflict" I mean open confrontations wherein it has been fought over the reform ideas.

This discussion centers in part around criticisms that were begun in debates about the social studies project (for overviews, e.g., Gunnar Karlsson 1984, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990; see also ch.7.2). The critics often used conventional public views and cultural assumptions concerning knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement (see ch.3.1), to make their points. These criticisms also indicate a perception of the reform as radical and dangerous to the national identity. In these debates, the critics played on feelings of cultural superiority and xenophobia, for instance by referring to the reform theories as "imported commodities" (Gudmundur Magnusson 1984a, cited in Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 225) or by asserting that "many of them [ten-year-olds] are about to vomit when the Third World is mentioned [because of the use of Tanzania in a social studies textbook for nine-year-olds as an example of how people in warm countries live]" (Arnor Hannibalsson 1983, cited in Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 204). I shall refer to these critics as traditionalists, following Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990).

To contrast to the pre-reform, reformers highlighted their notions of knowledge as process and learning as an active inquiry on learners' behalf. Reformers argued that activity is no less a mental inquiry than it is a physical action. Traditionalists, on the other hand, argued that reformers suggested that the traditional perspectives to knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, were no longer viable in the school. They pointed out that the discovery orientation of many reform projects could threaten the necessary cultural knowledge base of children and adolescents. They thought that activity pedagogy merely suggested mindless busy work under a mask of psychological jargon.

The notion of action lies at the center of the discursive conflicts. These conflicts are, at one level, between different conceptions of the child; that is, views of the child as an active creature who needs access to multiple methods to learn effectively versus views of the child as something that the correct knowledge needs to be deposited into. At another level, the conflict is between democratic views wherein plurality is encouraged and the non-democratic views of the traditionalists who proposed that indoctrination of the conventional topics in Icelandic history and other subject matters was the right way to go in education. The debates have been characterized by the fact that neither group was ready to discuss the arguments of the opposite group on the ground the arguments were put forward (see, for instance, a debate between Edelstein (1988b) and Kristjan Kristjansson (1988, 1989) in *Ny menntamal*). On the subsequent pages, I discuss further a few aspects of these conflicts.

Teaching methods versus a knowledge base: Reformers suggested that the school should utilize learning methods that suited everyone's interests and abilities, and they used psychological and pedagogical theories to make their case. This was controversial; for traditionalists, pedagogical discussion is not a relevant topic, indeed a harmful topic (see Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 234, 274). In short, traditionalists argued that psychology and pedagogy is a bulk of nonsense, at best, and a leftist subversion aimed at destroying Icelandic nationality, at worst. The traditionalists argued that all that was needed was a sound nationalistic knowledge base (e.g., Arnor Hannibalsson 1986). In this view, everything concerning methodology of teaching diverts attention away from serious learning. Group work was also thought of as a sign of collectivism (read: communism) that would undermine the individual child's abilities (read: the abilities of

the "intelligent" child). In contrast with offering multiple methods, the teaching methods offered by traditionalists were monotonous teacher centered lessons, "joyless like the Icelandic Lutheran Church services" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 274).

Given the stature of fragmentary, cultural literacy-type knowledge in Icelandic society, and the strength of the couple of nationalism and objectivism in the school curriculum (that is, nationalistic knowledge base stripped of explicit values, see ch.3.1), it is easy to understand how difficult it was to introduce the idea that the ability to democratically cooperate and the skills to gain information through inquiry can be more important than memorizing. Other child-centered points of view and practices, such as mixed ability grouping and the opposition to the educational program for the talented and gifted (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues), must be placed in this context, too.

Developmental stages: Reformers highlighted the importance of the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg. In these theories, it is, among other things, presumed that school activities need to be just above what is easy for a child to comprehend (see a quotation to the 1983 syllabus draft in relation to the discussion about Kohlberg's stages in ch.4.1). Nevertheless, critics bluntly argued that the new curricula were indulging children's laziness by engaging children in bungling and play (e.g., Gudmundur Magnusson 1984a, Jonas Kristjansson 1984). This charge caused a great difficulty for the reform projects to achieve credibility in society.

Integration versus academic disciplines: The organization of many of the new subjects -- that is, integration of previously separate subject matters such as history and geography, zoology and botany -- signifies a major point of departure from the pre-reform curricula that had been, by and large, structured around academic disciplines (see, for instance, Arthur Morthens 1987b, 2). It seems to me though that teachers may be easier to "win over" in this regard than the University Professors and other academics. For instance, historians and geographers were critical of the alleged lowering of status of their disciplines in the social studies curriculum, in part because they worried about job opportunities for historians and geographers (and other University graduates) as teachers in upper elementary schools (grades 8-10).

As I pointed out earlier, criticisms of subject-focused schooling are due to the power of the academic disciplines as a foundation to these school subjects, and reformers attacked them for they saw their status as a fundamental obstacle to change. Talk about

the need of society or the need of the child as criteria for selection of contents upset the tradition. When, in addition, reformers overtly used imported models (the Bloom taxonomy, the Taba spiral, the Piaget psychology, etc), it is not surprising that there was a conflict at this frontier.

The schools' knowledge base had been caught in the web of nationalism, congregation pedagogy, and "objectivist" testing practices (ch.3.1), and there is a reason to believe that any criteria that would challenge the conjuncture of practices and ideas within the web that the knowledge base is woven of would have a serious difficulty in getting accepted, whether it is the Taba spiral or a less sophisticated model. Ingvar Sigurgeirsson's study (in progress, see ch.2.2) shows that the content of the "[m]ost successful new materials in Icelandic schools ... does not, to any large extent, differ from the materials they replace" and that these materials "share a moderate amount of novelties ..." (1989a, emphasis omitted). Therefore, textbooks that do not take the knowledge base to task and deal with familiar topics -- even reform textbooks such as **Landnam Islands** (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1985/1982) -- have indeed become popular. Torfi Hjartarson's (1988, 1990) recent geography books -- less "orthodox" as reform books -- comply with the traditional knowledge base in geography, too. In a similar vein, open weeks -- because they have only been used to supplement other tasks of the school -- do not conflict with the knowledge base.

Knowledge as process or knowledge as fixed: The notion of knowledge as encyclopaedic fragments conflicts with the view that knowledge is an interactive social construction (process), and the notion of inherited intelligence conflicts with the idea of "every child as an intellectual," promoted by reformers. The traditional Icelandic view to knowledge is in part revealed in the tendency to admire "intelligent" intellectuals and celebrate historical figures (men) from the country's past (ch.3.1). This traditional view sees intelligence as a trait, and this view is represented in the common cultural habit to consider some families more intelligent than others -- only because they happen to be the ancestors of someone viewed as intelligent. A dialectical, interactionist view toward knowledge, screened through theorists such as Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer (1972) -- through Karl Marx in the case of many leftists who support the reform (see also ch.7.1) -- conflicts with such a view. The myth of intelligence as a biological trait seems indeed to be an important factor in the difficulty of interactionist views toward knowledge

to be accepted in Iceland. Edelstein comments on this conflict as "prejudice (hleypidomar) or traditions about intelligence;" he argues that people presume that intelligence determines certain behaviors and processes and if we don't follow these assumptions, "then we don't do our job" (an excerpt from a roundtable discussion, *Skoli fyrir oll born* 1982, 52).

Traditionalists ridiculed the notion of knowledge as process by pointing out that facts are always facts (Gudmundur Magnusson 1984a, cited in Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 225). What these critics chose to neglect is the notion that people's views to "facts" and knowledge vary. The views to knowledge do not only vary from time to time, as apolitical, scientist reform rhetoric would emphasize; they also vary between different social view angles because these views are socially and historically constructed. Neither the notion of knowledge as changing from time to time nor the notion that knowledge is socially constructed was acceptable to the traditionalists.

Conflicts about testing: Testing has been a powerful practice in Icelandic schools and still is. Written tests have been the most important means to evaluate children's knowledge since the 1920s (ch.3.1). More diverse and comprehensive methods of evaluation *a la* Edelstein's organic model (ch.4.1, social studies) of curriculum planning conflict not only with the uncritical transmission of the nationalistic knowledge base but also challenge the accountability that written tests supposedly gave schools. Child-centered ideas of evaluating the child's progress by comparing the progress to her/himself indeed made it into the Primary School Act of 1974 (Log um grunnskola 1974) which defined it illegal to use tests to search for the most "intelligent" child in the class.

These anti-testing mandates in the Primary School Act of 1974 were contradicted with the fact that the public and many teachers confused the use of the normal curve, new in the Icelandic context, with other perspectives, identified by the term *namsmat* (ch.4.1; see also Olafur J. Proppe 1983a, 211, cited in ch.4.1). The normal curve and the non-quantitative stance of the reform towards evaluation were equally disliked by the traditionalists who questioned these phenomena as imported ideas and jargon unable to fit with the Icelandic culture. The non-quantitative stance, by dismissing factual testing, was depicted as a celebration of stupidity and laziness on the behalf of reformers, and the normal curve, by not giving "absolute" grades, was criticized for giving inaccurate

information about children's progress. For instance, journalist-columnist Gudmundur Magnússon argued that parents have the right "to receive information about where their children stand **in comparison with other children**" (1989b, original emphasis). Perhaps the essence of the traditionalists' arguments is expressed by Kristjan Kristjánsson, a philosophy-educated teacher at the Akureyri Gymnasium: "examinations are the most normal thing in the world" (1986, 35). The traditionalists were simply satisfied with status quo.

Concluding remarks on discursive conflicts: These conflicts show that many of the reform's chief ideas (discursive themes) have been seriously contested. In an ironic way, the contest with the traditionalists may have helped the reformers to capitalize on the theme that the reform is fundamentally different from the allegedly non-democratic tradition -- which is important to justify the reform. After all, the reform was directed against an old system that was thought to be unsuitable for education for a democratic and scientific modern society. Consequently, the pro-tradition criticisms may have been to some extent positive for the political process of claiming credibility for the reform as based on a different sense of logic than traditional school practices, that is, democratic, child-centered, scientifically informed logic.

CONTINUITIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL TRADITION

The reform does not only break with pre-reform ideas and practices; there are also continuities between the reform's discursive themes and the pre-reform pedagogy. I focus on two types of continuities: what is similar in the reform and pre-reform traditions, and the fact that the reform draws upon traditions which had not become mainstream ideas or practices. The teaching of Icelandic and Christian studies are examples of the former; progressivism in Austurbæjarskóli in Reykjavík, open weeks, and child-centered practices in the lowest grades are examples of the latter.

SIMILARITIES

Christian studies: Christian studies is an example of how little epistemological differences or earlier discursive conflicts matter in the formation of alliances in the reform era. For instance, the scientist notions in the reform contradict with the religious elements in Christian studies if we speak in epistemological and historical terms. Both

liberal and Marxist versions of science were created in struggles with religion, and moral problems, previously dealt with by religious authorities, were converted into scientific problems dealt with by the state and its experts (Walkerdine 1984, 169). In the Icelandic contemporary context, however, Christian studies seem to lead a comfortable life side by side with scientism and activity pedagogy. The historical links between the Church and the state in Iceland and the status of Christian studies in elementary schools (see ch.3.1) may explain to a large extent why Christian studies were given almost unchallenged room in the reform. Social networkings among the subject inspectors in DERD are also important in this regard.

The teaching of Icelandic: In the field of reform, no one seems to have wanted to challenge the importance of teaching Icelandic language and literature. For instance, the College of Education has kept Icelandic partly separate from other subject matters and continues to place a strong emphasis on it in its curriculum (**Kennsluskra fyrir almennt kennaranam** 1990; see also ch.4.2); the new General Syllabus for Primary Schools (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1989) emphasizes the teaching of Icelandic; and I have noted how the recent school policy document from the Teacher Union of Iceland (**Skolastefna** 1990; see also ch.4.2) highlights it as well. On the other hand, Professors of Icelandic grammar in the University's Faculty of Arts have questioned the traditional practice in grammar teaching (ch.3.1). But they agree that teaching of Icelandic is important; it is indeed the only subject in which the University offers a teacher education oriented Master's degree (M.Paed; see ch.4.2).

While there is a consensus on the importance of teaching Icelandic, it is less certain what will be the contents of the elementary school curriculum. Reformers have been able to put to use a few innovative textbooks that deal with the creativity of the language. For instance, a series of such textbooks for grades 8-10 by Indridi Gislason of the College of Education and DERD, entitled **Malvisi** (Indridi Gislason 1974-6), places an interesting emphasis on the use of metaphors and synonyms. In **Malvisi**, the traditional subject of analyzing sentence structures is also approached in ways different from the traditional methods. In spite of these efforts, recent reports (e.g., **Skýrsla yfir tillogur um nytt og endurskodad namsefni** 1990) and the 1989 General Syllabus for Primary Schools (**Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1989) indicate that the traditional knowledge base in grammar, literature, and spelling still has the upper hand in the curriculum. These

documents, nevertheless, also indicate that the contents of the curriculum in Icelandic in elementary schools might be contested in the future. Graduates of the M.Paed. program, armed with generative linguistics *a la* Chomsky taught in the Division of Icelandic, may also become likely contestants.

EARLIER WAVES OF REFORM-LIKE IDEAS AND PRACTICES

Earlier waves of progressive pedagogy: In the 1930s, there was a turmoil among progressive educators in Austurbæjarskoli, Reykjavik. Principal Sigurdur Thorlacius (1900-1945) and other teachers there were trying new ideas with little interest on the behalf of the Reykjavik elite. For instance, **Morgunblaðið** attacked them (Sigurdur Runolfsson 1984; Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 48-9, 261). Sigurdur Thorlacius also wrote about education. His publications include a booklet on testing and grading practices (1932) and numerous articles on the relationship between education and democracy and on public education in Iceland (e.g., 1933, 1935, 1937).

In Sigurdur Thorlacius's writings, the pattern of scientist arguments for democratic concerns is clear. In a series of talks on the National Radio in 1932, published in the teacher periodical **Menntamal** (Sigurdur Thorlacius 1933), Sigurdur contrasts "the new school" or "the experimental school" (his transl.) with the old school (33) in a way that reminds on the reasoning of reformers in the 1970s and 1980s. He said:

[T]he old school builds its opinions on philosophical speculations, which in themselves can be more or less sensible, but have that in common that they are not based on research of reality (49).

In contrast, the new school builds its opinions on research of reality, research on the nature of children. It takes science into its service and adjusts its work to the results [of science] as much as possible (50).

In addition to the overt scientism in the citation, Sigurdur also explained the particular importance of child psychology (36), the whole language approach (38), the "project method" (65), and he argued that children have a natural need for playing (39-41). The old school methods, with a teacher who acts like a dictator, "are not suited to build among the public the atmosphere of critical thinking and cooperation that is necessary for democracy" (1935, 5). Sigurdur was politically active as well: he was on the Central Board of the Union of Icelandic Teachers of Children (SIB) for more than a decade and its chair for five years, and he was the first chair of the Federation of State and Municipal

Employees (BSRB) from 1942 when it was founded to the date he died (1945) (Sigurdur Runolfsson 1984, 27).

Sigurdur Runolfsson (1984), who taught at Austurbæjarskoli from 1931 to 1976, reports that when Austurbæjarskoli was founded in 1930, 17 of the school's 32 teachers had just been graduated. With these teachers, Sigurdur Thorlacius developed a renown model school that was much visited by other teachers and student teachers. The teachers, who routinely worked in cooperative teams, developed projects for their students to work on and workbooks to use.

Interestingly, only four of the more than 160 educators who worked for DERD as inspectors, textbook writers, and consultants have ever taught at Austurbæjarskoli. Of these four, only one has had a long career there, teaching music from 1976. Of the other three, one was a substitute teacher for two years, one was a music teacher for one year, and one was a part-time teacher for two years while she also was an inspector for DERD and DSD. This low level of involvement on the behalf of Austurbæjarskoli's teachers is in part due to the time lapse between Sigurdur Thorlacius's work; in the 1960s, other schools such as Hlidaskoli and the Teaching Practice School, Reykjavik and Oldutunsskoli, Hafnarfjordur had also taken on leadership roles and provided curriculum workers (ch.6.1).

Earlier waves of child-centered practices: Open weeks and group work (here a transl. for "flokkavinna") certainly began prior to the reform (ch.4.2, Debated Issues). Ragnar Gislason (1978b, 31) -- a teacher in Oldutunsskoli (1971-81), DERD part-timer (1975-81), and NCEM staff member (1981-5) -- argues that the teachers in Oldutunsskoli, which was established in 1961, were first to "lay the base for the first comprehensive integration of subjects in an Icelandic school." Examples of activity pedagogy have also been observed. One such example is Marino L. Stefansson's teaching in Breidagerdiskoli, Reykjavik during the 1950s and 1960s, which he called "starfræn kennsla" (activity-oriented teaching). **Ny menntamal** which recently published an article by Marino who then had retired (Marino L. Stefansson 1985, 10-14) introduced it as "an invaluable source about work arrangement, adopted by progressive teachers in this period [the 1950s and 1960s] with good success" (**Ny menntamal** (1985) 3, 1, 10). There were many "Marinos" innovating teaching in Icelandic schools in these years, even though their work didn't become paradigmatic. When the DERD

projects were launched, these experiments got a new source of credibility: they were placed into theoretical and discursive frameworks, practices were given new names, it was argued for them with scientist arguments coherent with the modernizing movement in society, and so forth.

Attention must also be paid to home studies (atthagafrædi) in the lower elementary school (grades 2-4, grade names changed here to current names), influenced by child-centered, Pestalozzian ideas (thanks to Thorsteinn Gunnarsson for initiating me to develop this point). This tradition made it easier for teachers to adapt the new child-centered materials to these lower grades than to other grades as they could enhance existing practices by using reform textbooks written by the social studies team and others. In this context, the special questioning of implementing reform practices for children older than ten years makes sense; many critics and even reformers consider child-centered reform practices, such as play, social studies, integration of subjects, or evaluation (namsmat) without tests, to be all right for the youngest school children whereas these practices might rob older children of serious learning if too much infused into the upper grades curricula. This questioning of child-centered practices for older children highlights reformers' need to emphasize that such practices work in the lower grades.

Knowing that the "stagnation era" or "dark decades" prior to the reform indeed had spots of light was important for reformers who realized that the scientific arguments alone would not legitimate all reform practices. In light of this, it seems clear that the quiet tradition of child-centered practices in grades 1-4 is not only continued by the reform emphases on child-centered practices, but that this tradition also provides an important continuity that legitimates reform-like practices to be used with the youngest children.

PARALLEL CHANGES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The reform in elementary education was paralleled by changes in secondary education. These changes include the founding of new gymnasia in the 1960s (in particular, Menntaskolinn vid Hamrahlid in Reykjavik) and the invention of comprehensive schools in the 1970s and early 1980s. These changes are important when researching the reform in elementary education because no change takes place in an isolation; the changes at these two school levels are interwoven. But there was much less

talk about the changes in secondary education. Only as late as in 1988, the Secondary School Act (Log um framhaldsskola 1988) was passed in the Althingi when most of the comprehensive schools had already been established by local authorities across the country without a legislation or a general syllabus but, of course, authorized by the Ministry of Culture of Education in Reykjavik.

The new comprehensive schools have made it possible for virtually everyone to attend secondary education and therefore they challenge elitism; these schools were from the beginning credit based which is a fairly recent arrangement in Iceland; they offered a greater selection of various academic and vocational courses of study than were offered in the gymnasia and the traditional vocational schools; they increased the demand for teachers which, in turn, strengthened the University's Pedagogy Division as well as the certification program for secondary school teachers at the College of Education (the so-called UF program); and many of them had open weeks every year. The reform has also almost certainly helped to sanction the pedagogy and psychology courses of study in the secondary schools. On the other hand, the bulk of pedagogical practices in secondary schools remained discipline based but did not become integrated, and there was considerable resistance toward the University's UK program among secondary school teachers. The new secondary schools signify the public concern about access to schools -- as opposed to a focus on the content of the education that was offered in classes in these schools.

Whether the changes at the secondary school level support the discursive themes of the reform in the struggle for obtaining credibility or work toward their delegitimation is ambiguous. The fact that these changes were rapid, supports the view that change signifies progress and contributes to an overall movement toward changing education in the country. But, on the other hand, if these changes to some extent go against reform agendas, does not that have a negative effect on the reform? In short, these parallel changes fall into patterns that both support and contradict the reform's principle of legitimation. 2)

THE CREATION OF A NEW PRINCIPLE OF LEGITIMATION IN EDUCATION IN ICELAND

We have now seen two patterns where one pattern reveals strong, even hostile,

discursive breaks between the reform discourse and the pre-reform educational ideology and cultural assumptions and also a pattern of similarities and continuities in the educational discourse. Then, what makes the reform special? On the following pages, I argue that presenting the reform as departing from the pre-reform tradition is the most distinctive feature in enabling the reform to become a new legitimating principle.

TO CLAIM DIFFERENCE

To enhance the symbolic value of the reform, it had to be presented as distinctive from existing educational ideas. How much the reform actually is different, matters less. My investigation of the introduction of child-centered pedagogy, developmental psychology, and scientific curriculum theory was to explore these sets of reform ideas as discursive themes, not as essential entities. Thus, I have interpreted the reform ideas as educational and cultural capital that had to be converted into symbolic capital to count in the struggles between the reform and pre-reform traditions over the hierarchy of values in the educational discourse.

The political process of being presented as new and different from the tradition is common to all reforms. Previous reform-like practices or ideas had never before managed to have much impact on the value hierarchy in the educational discourse in Iceland. Closest to exception from this seem to be the writings on progressive pedagogy and developmental psychology by Sigurdur Thorlacius and others in the 1930s (see above). Now, in the last 25 years, however, the situation has been different; the government agency DERD took over the leadership and presented progressivism and scientism in conjunction with human capital theories and "dominated" the educational discussion with the first major "modernity" intervention in the Icelandic school system.

CRITIQUE FROM THE LEFT

Continuities from the pre-reform pedagogical practice to the reform proposals are hidden in the background of the noise of the discursive conflicts. For instance, the Open Education arrangement (open schools), for instance, does not suggest a significant change from the reliance of individual work. On the contrary, by individualizing the curriculum, the open school does not question the characterization of work in a modern, capitalist society nor does it challenge the individualization of the older tradition. Open

schools do not necessarily involve an open inquiry nor do they necessarily emphasize collective work. Open Education methods, however, if successful, may "produce" individuals capable of exhibiting more independence and creativity in their work habits than most traditional schools emphasize. This is indeed good for employers in a computer age who want employees capable of completing various tasks on their own.

Whatever open schools and open practices are capable of, they have contributed to producing a symbolic difference with the tradition and have been celebrated by reformers on the left as well (see below). According to Rachel Sharp and Anthony Green (1975, vii), "[t]he child centred teacher sees him, or herself as engaging in a radical critique of the authoritarian-élitist assumptions of the more formal, traditional approaches to education." Sharp and Green, often more critical of teachers than educational policy, underline the symbolic and rhetorical elements embedded in Open Education and the progressive tradition (as different from the non-democratic, pre-scientific tradition) and suggest that "the educational ideology of child centred progressivism fails to comprehend the realities of ... a stratified society where facilities, prestige and rewards are unequally distributed" (226).

Radical social theorist Gestur Gudmundsson (1981) analyzes the contributions of socialist educationists to the process of establishing a "progressive" tradition in Iceland. He argues that socialist educationists by no means behave or argue differently than other progressive (*framsæknir*) educationists. He discusses recent work of eight individuals, most of whom affiliated with the People's Alliance, as well as the noted 1966 speech of Edelstein (1967; see also ch.1.2). Of these nine people, two worked at the time for the College of Education (Loftur Guttormsson and Jonas Palsson), two for DERD (Hordur Bergmann, Wolfgang Edelstein), one for the Hamrahlid Gymnasium (Stefan Briem), one for the Hamrahlid Gymnasium and the University's Pedagogy Division (Gudrun Fridgeirsdottir), and three for three different faculties of the University. Two of them are leading Professors, a Professor of philosophy in the Faculty of Arts (Pall Skulason) and an Associate Professor of the history and philosophy of science in the Faculty of Engineering and Natural Sciences (Thorsteinn Vilhjalmsón). The third University person was a lecturer in sociology and anthropology (Gisli Palsson). The articles Gestur analyzed appeared in **Thjodviljinn**, the daily newspaper of the People's Alliance, **Timarit Mals og menningar**, a leftist cultural journal (where Gestur's essay is also

published), and other publications in 1977-8 (see Appendix 4 to the References).

Gestur criticizes these socialists for drawing the watershed-line in school politics between the arch-conservative stance of **Morgunbladid** with its "banking education" perspectives, on the one hand, and progressive forces of educationists (skolamenn) who want to develop students' personalities, on the other hand (1981, 94-5). Gestur argues that the socialist educationists "run non-socialist school politics" (92) and believes "that the possibilities for a socialist movement in schools lay in a struggle against the school development and in that that this struggle is connected with other struggles against the capitalist evolution" (95). He points out that the progressive perspectives of the Icelandic socialist educationists rest on a "naive belief" (trollatru) in schooling (95). In his essay, Gestur finally outlines a socialist school critique (96ff).

Gestur's observations support the argument that reformers set up a distinction that suited their purposes as experts in education and kinder to children than their opponents, remarkably the editors and columnists of **Morgunbladid**, who are considered wanting to force children to deal with oppressive materials. Thus, it can be said that the socialist reformers invented the theme that the main contrast was between "progressive" and liberal views, on the one hand, and conservative views, on the other. In short, socialists greatly contributed to the production of difference between the reform and pre-reform traditions. This is not to say that practices stemming from the reform are not different from the pre-reform practices but to say that reform measures, discursively, must also be presented as different to establish a new hierarchy of values with its own legitimating principle.

Critique from the left would delegitimize the reform themes much more than critique from the right. Critique from a leftist perspective challenges the very assumption that the reform is based upon, that is, the belief that schooling can contribute to changing society, and -- by stressing the similarities with the tradition (for example, the focus upon the individual learner) -- such critique places the reform beliefs and assumptions within the liberal humanist tradition. Furthermore, critique from a leftist perspective would attempt to touch the "taboo" issue (ch.4.1, democratic themes) concerning the class division of society. Such critique might threaten consensus among reformers. In short, critique from the left is not sought after.

THE TRADITION OF POLITICAL CONSENSUS CONCERNING EDUCATION

The reform pattern of scientist arguments for democratic concerns (ch.5.1) and the leftists' reliance on developmentalism and open schools (see above; see also ch.7.1) is very much in tact with the tradition of consensus concerning education among the four traditional political parties in the country (i.e., the Independence Party, the Progressive Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the People's Alliance; see also Appendix II). These parties have tended to treat schools as a non-political issue, and there used to be little political discussion concerning the nature of school pedagogy. Exceptions include **Morgunbladid's** attacks on Sigurdur Thorlacius in the 1930s (see above) and former Minister of Education Jonas Jonsson's criticisms on the 1946 school legislation (e.g., *Log um gagnfræðanam* 1946; see also Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1984/1983, ch.7).

By hiring specialists in the 1960s, Minister of Culture and Education Gylfi Th. Gislason continued to treat education as a non-political issue. He also threw in a treatment of education as a technical issue. He and his successors in the Ministry of Culture and Education from other centrist or left-of-center parties did not intervene in the policy making. That "hands-off" practice and, therefore, the party-political consensus was ruptured by Ragnhildur Helgadóttir in 1983-5 and the two subsequent Ministers from the Independence Party, Sverrir Hermannsson (1985-7) and Birgir Isleifur Gunnarsson (1987-8). In contrast, current Minister, Svavar Gestsson from the People's Alliance, has emphasized the goal of rebuilding the consensus. In the preface to the 1989 edition of the General Syllabus for Primary Schools he says that

the Minister of Culture and Education [i.e., Svavar himself] has chosen to ask the cooperation committee [consisting of representatives from parents, teacher unions, the University, and the College of Education] and the Department of School Development to decide upon all major issues. This is done to insure and emphasize the professional perspectives (*fagleg sjonarmid*) that a general syllabus must be based on as well as to remove [from decision making] as much as possible the political executive power, even though the Minister is, in accordance with tradition, responsible for the work ... in the end. Hopefully, this position will guide the revision of the syllabus in the future (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989, 4).

There is little doubt that the last sentence refers to the political storms that the Independence Party and **Morgunbladid** had initiated.

It is interesting to note that Gudmundur Magnusson in a series of articles in *Morgunbladid* in April 1989 (Gudmundur Magnusson 1989a,b) agrees with Svavar Gestsson that the 1989 edition of the General Syllabus (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1989) is not a leftist document, in spite of some critical remarks that Gudmundur also wrote. Gudmundur argues that the syllabus "represents the surrender and defeat of 'leftist pedagogy theorists' (vinstri uppeldisfræðingar) in many areas of educational discussion in recent years" (1989b). In fact, Gudmundur had, as the political aid to Birgir Isleifur Gunnarsson, participated in editing one of many versions that eventually ended up as the syllabus that Svavar signed on April 28, 1989.

The potential return of human capital theory (see endnote 1, ch.5) and the technological view toward education that appears in the consensus-building approach go hand in hand toward strengthening the technological flavor of the reform. This I discuss further in chapters 5.3 and 6.2.

DISCURSIVE OR EPISTEMOLOGICAL BREAK?

The break between the two legitimating principles -- the one of the reform and the one of the pre-reform tradition -- may stem in part from epistemological differences; that is, transmission of knowledge as fixed versus interactive models of knowledge acquisition, testing of facts versus evaluation as process, pre-scientific knowledge of the child versus scientific knowledge of the "learner," and so forth. But epistemological differences never turn automatically into discursive conflicts; epistemological differences only become discursive conflicts because of political conditions. Therefore, if the reform is a rupture with the pre-reform tradition, it is much more a political rupture, which is "produced" by those who believe they can benefit from reversing the educational value hierarchy, than it is an epistemological break.

Reformers tried indeed to establish the argument that the reform policies were different and more powerful to facilitate change than previous educational practices were. What undermines their argument is that various themes and practices, such as less emphasis on testing and more on interactive pedagogy, had been presented earlier without becoming mainstream ideas, and other elements of modernist thought (testing) can be identified in the pre-reform principle of legitimation.

To conclude: the reform rests on a new principle of legitimation which functions to

separate itself from as many of the existing practices and principles as possible, regardless of whether these pre-reform principles can be identified as elements of scientism, nationalism, or Lutheran Protestantism. Thus the reform signifies a political and discursive break in educational politics.

5.3 Emerging Poles in the Field of Educational Reform

This final section of chapter 5 investigates how the discursive conflicts, nuances between different reform themes, and discursive alliances may be seen as the "poles" of different spectrums. These spectrums include, in the first place, a spectrum within the reform discourse with a progressive pole and an opposite technological pole. In the second place, there is a spectrum where the reform and the pre-reform principles are at each pole. The third spectrum I consider concerns academia where traditional academic disciplines (biology, history, Icelandic literature, linguistics, and so forth) are at the top of the hierarchy. However, in relation to the field of educational reform, educational theory, legitimized by its own reform-like hierarchy of values, signifies an emerging pole that contrasts with the pole of the traditional academic disciplines.

These three spectrums are the major focal points of conflicts in the field of educational reform today. The discussion in this chapter is a pilot discussion of the subject and will be continued in subsequent chapters.

THE NUANCES OF THE REFORM AND THE FINDING OF A COMMON GROUND

Earlier in the thesis (e.g., in ch.4.1, biology), I speculated about how the discursive themes might reveal ruptures and nuances in the reform discourse and in the reform movement. Here I consider the question whether such differences in the reform discourse constitute two separate systems -- hierarchies of values, principles of legitimation -- or if the differences are merely nuances of one system.

There are theoretical and political possibilities for certain differences in the reform to become two separate systems of legitimation. One of the possible rifts that also has epistemological grounding is a rift between beliefs in Piagetian developmentalism and liberal/radical democracy, on the one hand, and behavioral objectives and strict taxonomies *a la* Bloom, on the other hand. Another possibly significant rift is between the interest in radicalizing and empowering teachers, as opposed to the patronizing and detailed teacher guides.

Before anything can be concluded, it must be investigated whether such possibilities

refer to actual groupings in institutional sites. In other words, is the distinction between the belief in liberal/radical democratic, child-centered points of view, on the one hand, and the belief in positivistic, behavioral versions of scientific curriculum theory, on the other hand, just an arbitrary division that bears no meaning when it comes to actual social struggles? Is there anyone in the field of reform who capitalizes on Jonas Palsson's interest in radicalizing the teacher (ch.4.2)? Is there anyone who is willing to stand firmly behind detailed teacher guides?

The focus on teaching and learning as a process and an emphasis on providing opportunities for hands-on experiences -- referred to here as activity pedagogy -- appeals to those who believe in the power of science to facilitate improvements in public education. Others may view the process and hands-on orientation of the reform useful for promoting radical social change; they see the possibility that children in the reformed school learn useful skills for democratic participation in society. Similarly, many educators see Open Education as a valuable learning technique to enhance academic achievement of individual children; others view it as an opportunity to democratize schools. Thus, activity pedagogy and open schools became a common ground for reformers, and the potential fissures have not become actualized in open struggles.

It should not be surprising that the differences within the reform ideas have not yet been actualized in open struggles; members of a new and emerging, academically and politically vulnerable field can not afford to open struggles among themselves. Their personal academic capital at this point (after only two decades) depends more on the success of the field of educational reform than their individual success in the field. Furthermore, epistemological differences between reform ideas have been overshadowed by earlier discursive alliances (see the genealogy of the notion of activity, ch.5.1) and the fact that historically and epistemologically diverse curricula, such as social studies, biology, Icelandic, and Christian studies, were put forward by the same institution, DERD. This is not to say that there are no cracks within the reform; but these cracks have not yet polarized the field as much as struggles based on other value differences (in ch.6, I discuss how epistemic individuals connect with the poles and focus on the alliances that cross over what appear as discursive boundaries).

In short, there is an emerging hierarchy of values in the field of educational reform. Near the top of this hierarchy are discursive themes that concern open schools and open

practices, activity pedagogy, and the technological orientation appearing in the natural sciences (the new biology and the physics and chemistry projects) and partly in KI's school policy. However, social studies followers, the "greens" (see ch.4.1, biology), and other progressivists might be able to develop a separate hierarchy, drawing upon the discourse about open practices and activity pedagogy as weapons in a battle with the technological "lab" oriented views in the natural sciences. Such a pole, which I label the "progressive pole," will, most likely, challenge the deep-rooted individualism in the reform, appearing in the developmental focus of the psychologically based curriculum models (even the social studies models). It is still premature to speculate about how these poles, the technological and the progressive, might become actualized in other school subjects than in the natural sciences where a difference between the greens and the white gawnies has only surfaced but not become seriously contested.

OTHER EMERGING POLES

Even though the reform's hierarchy of values is the primary principle of legitimation in the field of reform, the pre-reform tradition still has its strongholds, most importantly in the College of Education (KHI). The College faculty call this the tension between international and national discourses (e.g., Sigurjon Myrdal 1989; see also ch.4.2). By emphasizing that DERD and the University of Iceland have subscribed to international discourses, the College people utilize a hierarchy of values, derived from cultural assumptions of society, to claim the credibility of KHI's work.

The work of Gunnar Karlsson and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (see chs.3.1;4.1, social studies) also needs to be viewed in the light of the legitimacy battle between the pre-reform and reform principles. Their searches for syntheses between "imported" curriculum approaches (such as some of the social studies notions) and domestic traditions (such as the story-telling tradition) is structured in part by the sense of logic behind the pre-reform principle. Therefore, I conclude that two different systems of legitimation are producing the focus on the value of domestically developed curriculum theory. It remains to be seen if (discursive) work toward a synthesis will help the reform to reverse the hierarchy of educational values.

The third spectrum under consideration here concerns educational theory and the academic field. To some extent, developmental psychology has an easier access to the

academic field (because it is psychology) than curriculum theory which is not a part of a longstanding academic tradition. Of course, this is also true in the international context, for instance in the United States academia. To understand the trouble of educational reform theories in Iceland -- whether psychology or curriculum theory -- in the academic field, we must also keep in mind the low status and relatively brief tradition of social sciences in Iceland (see ch.3.2).

With an increasing number of individuals who return to Iceland with a Ph.D. degree in educational theory (pedagogy, curriculum theory, discipline-specific curriculum theory, etc.) this may change and educational theory become a pole at a spectrum where the traditional academic disciplines' sense of logic is at the other pole. Interviews and inquiries indicate that this is already happening -- that is, that educational theory refuses to bow to the traditional principles -- and Olafur J. Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson (in progress) report that "an increased emphasis on pedagogy and curriculum studies (as distinct from, e.g., psychology and sociology) as international fields of study ..." has surfaced in relation to teacher education in Iceland. I call this "curriculum theory capital;" the other pole of this spectrum is "traditional academic capital." ³⁾

Establishing curriculum theory capital is also an attempt to legitimize the work of teacher educators as academic work, as opposed to "occupational training" for a certain job. Teacher education and curriculum theory as academic disciplines struggle with views that demand teacher education to be "practical" (see ch.4.2). But nothing prevents curriculum theory from incorporating the discourse of "teaching as care" or the discourse of "teaching as art." For now, curriculum theory capital refers to curriculum "science," based on democratic, child-centered concerns, which competes with the traditional academic disciplines and the notion of the "practical."

In contrast with the views that have paved their way into the struggles in the field of reform, views based in continental Marxist thought, such as Gestur Gudmundsson's criticisms (1981; see ch.5.2) and views similar to those of Thordur Gunnar Valdimarsson of the Pedagogy Division (ch.4.2), have not proved valuable ideas to capitalize on in the field of educational reform. Partizan affiliations with the People's Alliance or other leftist groups have indeed been "overruled" by the belief that democratic classroom practices (such as cooperative group work and inquiry questioning strategies) and local curriculum projects will make a difference for the future of students and society. This is not to argue

that radical leftists lost their convictions about the capitalist society by participating in the reform; this is only to say that economist Marxist interpretations have not gained symbolic value in the field of reform.

CONCLUDING REMARK

The conjuncture of discursive themes -- continuities and conflicts, nuances and differences -- in elementary education in Iceland in the 1970s and 1980s is produced in political struggles; that is, the field of educational reform is historically and socially structured. At the same time, this field attempts to structure other social fields, demand a space in the field of power, in Iceland. In this context, I now turn to an investigation of examples of how reformers -- (epistemic) individuals and groups in actual sites -- employed social strategies to convert the discursive themes -- the educational and cultural capital -- into symbolic capital. In the subsequent chapters, I investigate how these principles refer to actual groupings: chapter 6 explains the institutional sites where these struggles take place; chapter 7 explains examples of specific social strategies that reformers in these sites employed.

Chapter 6. Social Networkings and Discursive Polarization

In chapter 3.2, I introduced six institutional sites of educational reform, i.e., DERD (that was transformed into the Department of School Development, DSD), the College of Education (KHI), the University of Iceland's Division of Pedagogy (HI), the National Center for Educational Materials (NCEM), the District Offices of Education (DOEs), and the two major teacher unions in the country. In chapter 4, I described examples of the discursive themes in four of these sites, i.e., DERD, KHI, HI's Division of Pedagogy, and the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI). This chapter attempts to capture social dimensions of the emerging field of educational reform by investigating the faculty in these sites. Among the specific questions examined in this chapter are, Is cultural and social capital in the field of reform related to different principles of legitimation (hierarchies of values)?, and, How do different kinds of educational and cultural capital relate to different groupings and institutions?

The institutions and individuals that I focus on are means to investigate how different kinds of capital structure -- and are structured by -- different kinds of groupings. I call this social networkings. The assumption is that a study of social networkings and institutional politics contributes to an understanding of the "logic" of how the field of educational reform is structured. In this context, I discuss how social networkings have an impact on the discursive polarization of the field of educational reform.

The concept of social networkings refers, roughly, to the concept of social capital used by Bourdieu but is broader in the sense that not all networkings may be convertible into another form of capital (symbolic capital) as the notion of "capital" implies. The term "networkings" refers to the process of individuals becoming involved in the reform; that is, becoming involved in specific practices wherein educational, cultural and social capital circulates on the day-to-day level in interactions between individuals. The term networkings also draws attention to the mapping of empirical relations between the individuals who were involved in the reform -- not only with each other but with different kinds of capital, first and foremost educational and social capital.

Reporting the social networkings is trickier than documenting a discourse, and the investigation here will be limited to sites and moments related to the six institutions that I

have identified. This method leaves out several individuals who are important figures in the reform movement. But of a greater concern for the approach of epistemically constructing the individuals is that patterns of social networkings are not well visible in some of these institutions, and the patterns and trends that I identify are indeed often subtle.

Chapter 6 concentrates on the empirical description of epistemic individuals, and, by identifying the social networkings' trends and the epistemic relations in different sites, the chapter lays the groundwork for discussing examples of social strategies in chapter 7. In chapter 6.1, I analyze the staff of DERD. The DERD group is the largest group, and many DERD inspectors, textbook writers, and consultants now work for the other institutions. I assume that in DERD, in particular among the inspectors, other "insiders," and social studies team members, the way of becoming a reformer (the reform habitus) is shaped -- if such a way is indeed shaped anywhere (see a further discussion on the "reform habitus" in ch. 7.1). In subsequent sections I investigate the faculty of KHI, KI, seven DOEs, DSD, NCEM, and HI's Division of Pedagogy. Thereafter I report where DERD individuals are now as well as I discuss various ways of social networkings. Interwoven into all sections are examples of family backgrounds and other interesting social relations that reveal patterns of social capital, such as inherited capital in education and educational reform (family capital in education). Chapter 6.1 is concluded with a discussion on the relationship between the sense of logic of discursive themes and social competence. Chapter 6.2 focuses on how the social networkings' trends and patterns of epistemic relations in institutional sites relate to the emerging poles in the field of reform.

6.1 Networkings' Trends and Epistemic Relations in Reform Institutions

This section focuses on, site by site, who the reformers are and how they network. For each institutional site, I collected information about the individuals who were involved in certain tasks or at a given moment worked for that institution. I focus on the education and professional career of the individuals. This information makes it possible to explore the movements of individuals between institutions as well as social relations (such as schoolmate connections).

In this investigation, I rely on the notion of epistemic individuals (see ch.2.1) who bring the experience of their origin, education, career, and gender into the field of reform. In this view, proper names and biographical relationships do not matter as such and are reduced to epistemic positions in a field of relations. I make visible the social networkings' trends and discuss examples of epistemic relations within each group. By "epistemic relations" I am referring to the possibility for habitual involvement with certain kinds of discursive themes (e.g., reform themes, progressive themes, academic capital themes). For instance, what does it mean that an equal number of men and women graduated from Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik (MR) worked for DERD (when, in general, more men were graduated from MR)? What does it mean that among Menntaskolinn a Akureyri (MA) graduates, the number of men who worked for DERD was double the number of women? What do these two different patterns among MR and MA graduates tell us about what kind of individuals became involved in the reform? These questions and other similar are discussed below.

The analyses in this section differ from those of Bourdieu in **Homo Academicus** (1988a; see also ch.2.1) in the sense that the positions and movements of individuals are not systematically calculated by the opinions and stances that the individuals actually held. I assess the (epistemic) positions and relations of individuals from studying the possibilities that they (as biographical individuals) seem to have had to acquire certain types of capital (discursive themes, social networkings) by being in a certain site at a certain moment and by simply counting the individuals who have been in these sites at these critical moments. For instance, that a relatively high number of MA graduates,

compared to MR graduates, worked for DERD reveals that they might have found curriculum reform, an ambiguous "discipline," a suitable strategy to obtain either educational or social capital to convert into symbolic capital. This observation is supported by the fact that no post-1969 MR graduates worked for DERD. In contrast, two newly established gymnasia in Reykjavik, Menntaskolinn vid Hamrahlid (MH) and Menntaskolinn vid Tjornina (MT), provided quite a few DERD curriculum workers in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Below I use a few terms and abbreviations that need to be explained. These include kpr. (kennaraprof) ¹⁾ for teaching certificate graduates of TTC (the Teacher Training College), B.Ed. for graduates of KHI (the College of Education), sergrkpr. for teachers graduated to teach physical education, music, the art and crafts, and various other subjects, and studentsprof MR (matriculation examination from Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik), studentsprof MA (Menntaskolinn a Akureyri), and so forth for the graduates of the respective gymnasia. Many individuals have both studentsprof and kpr.; studentsprof graduates only needed one year to obtain kpr. in the Teacher Training College (two years for those admitted in 1969 and 1970, the two last years of TTC's existence). Unfortunately, the sources that were used usually do not discriminate between gymnasia divisions.

For a mere convenience of making sense of social networkings' trends and the potential of epistemic "production" that might have occurred, I have "labelled" 13 schools as "progressive" or "open" schools. This list arbitrarily excludes many good schools and is not intended to be a list of all Icelandic schools that have experimented with innovations. These schools are Fossvogsskoli, Austurbæjarskoli, Vesturbæjarskoli, and Hlidaskoli among public elementary schools in Reykjavik. In Reykjavik, I have also included the School of Isak Jonsson (called Isaksskoli), ÆTKHI (the Teaching Practice and Experimental School of the College of Education), and MH which is the only secondary school among the 13 schools. Furthermore, I have selected the urban Snælandsskoli in Kopavogur and Oldutunsskoli in Hafnarfjordur, the semi-urban Grundaskoli in Akranes, and three rural schools, the Kopasker Elementary School and Stortjarnaskoli in the North East region and the Hallormsstadur Elementary School in the East.

Lists with the names of all individuals who are analyzed in this chapter are in

Appendix IV, and statistical information related to the chapter is summarized in Appendix I: Table 3 provides a summary of the numbers counted in various institutions; Table 4 provides information concerning the teaching experience of the DERD curriculum workers in selected schools.

NETWORKINGS AND EPISTEMIC RELATIONS AMONG DERD STAFF

Over 160 people worked for DERD during the 1970s and early 1980s, according to staff lists that I was able to obtain (see Appendix 3 to the References). Thirty-six are classified here as "full-timers." They are subject inspectors, department heads and permanent advisors. The rest of the group I classify as "part-timers." They are textbook writers and consultants in the 1970s and the 1980s, teaching advisors in the early 1980s, and others. Of course, some of the part-timers had much stronger ties to DERD than others, but there is no accurate method of assessing who should be classified as an "insider" except on the ground of hiring status. In fact, I could name 20 or 30 part-timers that played a greater role in DERD than some of the inspectors who only stayed with DERD for one or two years and then left the field.

Below I discuss the patterns in which the education and careers of these more than 160 individuals can be observed. In order to have a larger group of people, I do not discriminate between full-timers and part-timers in this analysis and usually refer to them as staff. When relevant to highlight certain tendencies, I note the specific patterns among the full-timers.

EDUCATION AND ORIGIN

Division between gymnasia. For the 163 DERD reformers who are on the list I compiled, I do not have information about the education of 14, and five finished secondary education in other countries. This leaves a group of 144 individuals to be analyzed. Of these 144 individuals, 84 have finished studentsprof. Of these 84, 33 were graduated from MR (excluding two with an unidentified studentsprof that most likely is from MR), 30 from MA, five from Menntaskolinn a Laugarvatni (ML), and 14 from other schools. The number of MA graduates to enter DERD work catches the eye, but MR was by far a larger and more influential institution in the 1950s and the 1960s, when most of these people were graduated, than MA ever was (see ch.7.2). The gender

division is also striking: about equal for the MR graduates (16 men, 17 women), but 21 men and nine women with studentsprof MA. One third of the MA graduates went on to TTC to obtain kpr., but half of the MR graduates did. Twelve of the 17 women with studentsprof MR went on to obtain kpr. and seem to have entered the DERD work as elementary school teachers. The equivalent numbers for studentsprof MA women are seven of nine, and they also entered the DERD work as elementary school teachers. In addition, two studentsprof MA women later obtained a B.Ed. degree. Meanwhile, only eight of the studentsprof men entered DERD work after finishing kpr. or sergrkpr.; most of the others entered DERD work with university education.

As my information does not indicate the date or the position of each individual when s/he begins to work for DERD, it is often difficult to see from where an individual enters. Moreover, many individuals changed positions while working for DERD; for instance, many studentsprof graduates who taught at a middle school level when they were first hired by DERD, became secondary school teachers in the 1970s during the expansion of the secondary school system. This is particularly true about many of the men. I shall, however, interpret the patterns in which the studentsprof graduates approached DERD and the field of reform.

I see the trend that studentsprof MA men and women and studentsprof MR women pursued reform work as a career. Women with studentsprof from MR or MA in most cases had obtained kpr. from TTC before they entered DERD work, rather than entering DERD work on the ground of university education, and the majority of men with studentsprof MA entered DERD work as middle school teachers with university preparation. Other studentsprof MA men entered DERD work as secondary school teachers, teacher educators or university instructors. In comparison, there was a greater tendency for studentsprof MR men to enter DERD work as university professors, MR teachers, or specialists than it was for for studentsprof MR women or studentsprof MA men and women. There is even a reason to believe that the number of MR graduates who entered DERD work as specialists is indeed higher; most likely, the majority of the eleven men whose education I do not have information about are MR graduates who were consulted as specialists. (These individuals may be excluded from **Kennaratal** because they do not consider themselves to be teachers and therefore they did not furnish information to the **Kennaratal** publishers.)

Gymnasia graduates in the post-1971 period: If I divide time into two periods, before and after approximately 1971 or 1972, interesting trends among the studentsprof graduates appear. For instance, no one graduated from ML after 1968, no one graduated from MR after 1969, and only two from MA after 1971 (one was graduated in 1973 and one in 1975) worked for DERD. In contrast, the 14 studentsprof graduates I have not accounted for yet were graduated from new or alternative studentsprof schools, i.e., MH and MT in Reykjavik (a total of eight), Verzlunarskoli Islands (one), Flensborg School in Hafnarfjordur (one), and KHI (two). I do not have information about where the remaining two finished their studentsprof (in 1975 and 1978), but there is a reason to believe that it was not from MR or MA. These 14 people are all graduated in 1971 (one) or 1973 and later (13). Ten of these 14 have finished B.Ed. from KHI. One of these four is a music teacher who worked for DERD for a long time as a part-timer and another holds a Master's degree in Education. Because of the relatively late entry of these individuals, most of them have not been among the most important players in the DERD work. Nothing prevents these individuals, however, from having an impact in the reform field in different ways, and some of them are now active in teacher unions and other sites.

The tendency that almost no post-1971 MR and MA graduates were hired to DERD reveals that people interested in a career in education, or those who take refuge in such a career, had also chosen the new avenues that became available for obtaining secondary education, or they had gone to these new institutions for reasons related to their social origin or their grades in elementary education. This tendency has also to do with what kind of people existing DERD staff members recruited, as well as who was available to be hired by DERD. While in most cases **Kennaratal** does not contain information about from which gymnasium division (mathematics, languages, natural sciences, social sciences, etc.) reformers were graduated, I, incidentally, know that the only DERD individual graduated from MA after 1973 was one of the first-year graduates of MA's social sciences division (1975). This example seems to highlight the epistemic relationship between what was available in secondary education and what previous DERD staff wanted to add.

This tendency seems to continue. All post-1972 studentsprof graduates on the KHI faculty are graduated from schools other than MR and MA. In some of the other sites are

individuals graduated from MA or MR after 1970, but they are very few compared to those graduated from other secondary schools in the 1970s.

Teachers with kpr. or sergrkpr.: The remainder of the DERD reformers that I have information about are 39 teachers with kpr., 16 with sergrkpr. and three with both kpr. and sergrkpr. Teachers with a prior studentsprof are excluded from these figures, but the total of DERD staff members with kpr. is 69 and the total of DERD staff members with sergrkpr. is 23. Some of these kpr. and sergrkpr. teachers have finished further education, such as studentsprof from TTC, a degree from HI, or studies in teacher colleges or universities in the Nordic Countries, the United States or elsewhere.

The number of men and women with kpr. and sergrkpr. is almost equal. Among the kpr. people with a prior studentsprof, however, the women defeat men in numbers (18 to nine). In the next round, so to speak, i.e., education after kpr., a non-systematic counting seems to favor the men but not by a great margin as quite a few of the women in the group have also sought further education.

Social networkings in secondary education: Being educated in an institution does not bind a person to any specific epistemic position. But being in a certain place at a certain time (for instance, in a secondary school as a student or a teacher) provides an individual with possibilities for certain experiences; that is, the individual may be able to gain access to a discursive theme or become involved in a social networkings' relationship.

It seems appropriate to investigate who were graduated with the individuals who served as the heads of DERD, Andri Isaksson and Hordur Larusson. Andri was graduated from MR in 1958. Only one DERD part-timer was graduated that year. In 1959, four DERD reformers were graduated from MR, including one of the inspectors, Reynir Bjarnason (ch.4.1, biology), as well as textbook writer and now secondary school principal Adalsteinn Eiriksson. Hordur was graduated from MA in 1956 with three other reformers. In 1954, one of the inspectors, Kristin H. Tryggvadottir, textbook writer (ch.4.1, democratic themes, social studies) was graduated from MA. In 1955, elementary school teacher Edda Eiriksdottir, who was a member of the social studies and biology teams was graduated from MA. In 1957, Loftur Guttormsson, a social historian and an Associate Professor at KHI, was graduated from MA. Finally, in 1958 one textbook writer, Haukur Sigurdsson, an historian and teacher at MR, was graduated from

MA. A similar investigation reveals that quite a few influential DERD reformers (full-timers and part-timers) obtained their kpr. in TTC around 1966 when Hrolfur Kjartansson, head of DSD, was graduated. In fact, as many as 13 DERD reformers, including two other inspectors (Gudmundur Ingi Leifsson, social studies, now a superintendent; Olafur Gudmundsson, physics and chemistry, an ÆTKHI teacher) were graduated from TTC in 1965-7. This figure also includes at least six other individuals who all have worked in at least one other reform site than DERD.²⁾ In addition to these people, DERD inspector Olafur Proppe (see ch.2.2) was graduated from TTC in 1964.

I know less about who taught whom in these institutions. For instance, Hordur Larusson taught in MR from 1959 to 1971 while at least three of his co-staff in the development of the math curriculum were graduated from MR, including one of the later math inspectors (Anna Kristjansdottir). I do not, however, have access to information indicating whether Hordur taught these individuals.

Social origins: While I have not systematically examined the socio-economic origins of the DERD staff nor the division between a rural, coastal or urban origin, the relatively high number of MA graduates indicates that individuals with a rural origin seek to go into school reform, possibly because it was left open by the studentsprof MR men who had a greater access and more (epistemic) interest in other career avenues (see a discussion on family capital versus acquired capital below). There has also been observed a tendency for rural Icelanders and others not born into the elite to attend TTC because they could not get into the gymnasia in the 1950s and 1960s because of limited spaces (and elitism in relation to the admission policies) in these schools (see, e.g., Sigurjon Myrdal 1989, 84; Olafur J. Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson in progress).

Accounts of the social origins of "successful" individuals provide examples of real people (biographical individuals). These examples, which are only examples, reveal tendencies for children and grandchildren of educators to become involved in the reform. I call this kind of inherited capital "family capital in education." For instance, DERD's first director, Professor Andri Isaksson (1939-), is the son of teachers. His father was Isak Jonsson (1898-1963) who founded his own experimental school, the School of Isak Jonsson, wrote reading textbooks and was a leading educator in the country for decades. Andri's mother, Sigrun Sigurjonsdottir (1913-1978) was a teacher at Isaksskoli as well (1936-53) and the schools' principal for a year (1951-2). Andri is, therefore, of the

second generation not only of teachers but of educational reformers. His family is a family of educators: his sister, Elinborg Isaksdottir (1944-), and his wife, Svava Sigurjonsdottir (1942-) are teachers; his brother-in-law (Elinborg's husband), geographer and son of a principal Karl Kristjansson (1942-), has been the deputy principal of Laugalækjarskoli, an upper elementary school, in Reykjavik (1976-9), the Konrektor of Armulaskoli secondary school in Reykjavik (from 1979) and now works for the Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Culture and Education; and his (Andri's) daughter, Sigrun Andradottir (1965-), is an Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Andri has worked for UNESCO, on and off, since 1980.

Sigrídur Jonsdóttir (1933-), inspector of social studies and early childhood education for DERD and DSD (from 1978), is married into a family of educators and she has inherited social capital. Her husband is Asgeir Gudmundsson, the director of NCEM. He is of the second generation of educators (see below). Sigrídur's grandfather (Thorarinn Jonsson, 1870-1944) was a teacher at Holaskoli agricultural school for a short period of time and a member of Parliament for 13 years. Sigrídur's father, Jon Loftsson (1891-1958) also provides her with inherited social capital, although not in the field of education; he was a business man in Reykjavik. Sigrídur's uncle, Hjalti Thorarinnsson (1920-) is a Professor of medicine at the University of Iceland. At least two of Sigrídur and Asgeir's three daughters are teachers, Brynhildur Asgeirsdóttir (1954-) and Ingibjörg Asgeirsdóttir (1958-).

Anna Kristjansdóttir (1941-), Associate Professor at KHI (from 1981 who also taught at MH (1968-9, 1972-6) and was an inspector of mathematics in DERD (1975-81), is the daughter-in-law of Gudmundur Arnlaugsson, first Rector of MH. While this family relationship certainly has not hurt Anna's career options nor habitual involvement in the reform, her qualifications (e.g., cand. pæd. from the Teachers College of Denmark) seem to have been more important than family capital in securing her positions. In addition, Anna's grandfather, Kristjan Andresson (1851-1941), was a home-based navigation teacher for a while (ca.1884-91), and her sister, Helga Kristjansdóttir (1929-), is also a teacher.

Andri, Sigrídur and Anna are all from Reykjavik, they are graduates of MR and have close family relationships with other reformers and leading educators. In contrast,

Hordur Larusson (1935-), DERD's head from 1973-84 and now the head of the Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Culture and Education, and Hrolfur Kjartansson (1945-), DSD's head and now the DEE's head, do not have family relationships with other reformers. Furthermore, Hordur and Hrolfur are rural men, graduates of other institutions than MR and were promoted to top-positions only after a number years in DERD. Hordur is married into a family of educators and political leaders, and his wife, Ingunn Tryggvadottir (1933-) has been a secretary for the National Board of Examination that was closely associated with DERD and DSD. Ingunn's father, i.e., Hordur's father-in-law, Tryggvi Sigtryggsson (1894-1986) had a brief career as a teacher. Ingunn's uncle was the first principal of Heradsskolinn (rural lower secondary school) of Laugar, North East Iceland, Arnor Sigurjonsson (1893-1980), also known as a historian. Another of Ingunn's uncles is Bragi Sigurjonsson (1910-), a school teacher, member of Parliament (1967-71, 1978-9) and a minister in the cabinet of Benedikt Grondal in 1979-80. Ingunn's aunt was Halldora Sigurjonsdottir (1905-) was a teacher (1930-46) and principal (1946-66) of the Laugar School of Home Economics. Ingunn's brother is Ingi Tryggvason (1921-), teacher at Heradsskolinn of Laugar (1949-70), a member of Parliament (1974-8), and the chair of the Union of Farmers (Stettarsamband bænda) from 1981 (information as of 1988). All this is important social capital in the state bureaucracy. Hrolfur's uncle, Oli Kr. Jonsson (1925-) was a deputy principal in an elementary school in Kopavogur from 1965 and the principal of that school from 1977. Important in relation to acquiring social capital in the field of educational reform, Hordur and Hrolfur were graduated from their respective secondary schools with a group of reformers (see above), and Hrolfur worked in Hlidaskoli with Sigridur Jonsdottir and Asgeir Gudmundsson for nine years. Hrolfur has also acquired a Master's degree in educational theory in the United States (ch.2.2), but Hordur's Master's degree, also from the U.S., is in mathematics and physics (1966).

CAREER PATTERNS

I examined how many individuals among the DERD staff members taught in 13 selected progressive and open schools (see above) prior to, concurrently with, or after they worked for DERD. None of the 163 individuals that I have confirmed that worked for DERD seems to have worked for Vesturbæjarskoli, Fossvogsskoli, the Kopasker

Elementary School or the Hallormsstadur Elementary School.³⁾ Six people worked for Snælandsskoli, Grundaskoli, and Sturutjarnaskoli, none of them a full-timer or a key player in DERD's work. Of the remaining schools, only four people worked for Austurbæjarskoli, three of them only as substitute teachers or for a very short time (one or two years). This leaves us with five schools from the selected list of schools to investigate, i.e., Hlidaskoli, Oldutunsskoli, Isaksskoli, ÆTKHI, and MH. In addition, I investigated who had worked for MR, two middle schools (grades 8-10) in Reykjavik, Hagaskoli and Rettarholtsskoli, one lower grade elementary school (grades 1-7) in Reykjavik, Melaskoli, and the schools in the town of Seltjarnarnes, near Reykjavik, Myrarhusaskoli and Valhusaskoli.

In short, 55 of the 143 that I have sufficient information about worked for the five progressive schools that I mentioned above (i.e., Hlidaskoli, Oldutunsskoli, Isaksskoli, ÆTKHI, and MH). If the individuals who worked for MR, the three "traditional" schools in Reykjavik mentioned above (i.e., Hagaskoli, Rettarholtsskoli, and Melaskoli), or the schools in Seltjarnarnes are added, the figure is 81 (56.7 % of 143). This is a significant percentage from only eleven schools, given the fact that elementary schools in Iceland were over 200 and secondary schools around 30.

Progressive schools: To account for the impact that these schools have had on DERD's work, I counted the total number of years DERD staff members taught in each school prior to the school year 1984-5 (the school year when DERD was transformed into DSD). I compared these figures and drew the conclusion that the higher the number of years, the greater the impact would tend to be in terms of social networkings or epistemic relations. I discovered that many individuals had taught in more than one of these schools. To give a sense of this overlapping, I subtracted the number of years worked for the other schools. For instance, 14 DERD reformers taught 120 years at Oldutunsskoli. Six of them taught for 22 years at Hlidaskoli, Isaksskoli, ÆTKHI or MH. This leaves Oldutunsskoli with 98 "impact years." In comparison, 19 DERD reformers taught for 145 years at ÆTKHI. Six of them taught 62 years at Hlidaskoli, Oldutunsskoli or Isaksskoli. This leaves ÆTKHI with 83 impact years. Furthermore, seven DERD reformers taught for 128 years at Isaksskoli. Three of them taught for 95 years at ÆTKHI or Oldutunsskoli. This leaves Isaksskoli with only 33 impact years (the figures are summarized in Table 4, Appendix I).

These figures suggest that Oldtunsskoli and ÆTKHI may have had a greater impact on DERD's work than Isaksskoli. With further investigation, we also see that a higher number of key figures in the reform (primarily inspectors) worked for Oldtunsskoli and ÆTKHI than Isaksskoli (two inspectors for Oldtunsskoli, five for ÆTKHI, one for Isaksskoli). However, it should be noted that the historical relationship between Isaksskoli and TTC does not allow a dismissal of Isaksskoli's implication in educational reform. It also needs to be kept in mind that Isaksskoli is the smallest of these schools and has the fewest grades (only grades K-3).

Hlidaskoli and MH have lower numbers of total years than the three above schools. However, four of the inspectors worked for Hlidaskoli and four for MH, and both these schools have higher numbers of impact years than Isaksskoli. Eleven DERD reformers worked 62 years in Hlidaskoli. Five of them worked for Oldtunsskoli, ÆTKHI or MH, a total of 13 years. In fact, most of these individuals had only a short career at Hlidaskoli because two teachers taught there for 17 and 18 years. Thirteen DERD reformers have worked for MH, a total of 77 years, and only two of them for Hlidaskoli or Oldtunsskoli, a total of 5 years. The DERD reformers who worked for MH are, in addition with the four inspectors (one of them is MH's current Konrektor, Sverrir Sigurjon Einarsson, who was an inspector for a short period of time while on leave from MH), both Rectors of MH (Gudmundur Arnlaugsson, Ornlafur Thorlacius), and Johann S. Hannesson who went to MH when he left DERD as an advisor. Others are rather marginal figures or taught there mainly after 1984.

Other schools that provided many DERD reformers: When studying the career information, I discovered that two middle schools in Reykjavik, Hagaskoli and Rettarholtsskoli, provided many DERD staff members. Four inspectors and four other DERD reformers worked for each of these schools. Of these two schools, the number of total teaching years in Hagaskoli is higher than the Rettarholtsskoli number. In fact, Rettarholtsskoli's numbers (33 years there, two years in Hlidaskoli) consist of a 20-year career of one individual who only worked for DERD for one year as an inspector and then left a career in education. The other three inspectors who had taught in Rettarholtsskoli, while influential in the reform, only taught there shortly. The Hagaskoli years are spread a little more evenly. One DERD social studies team member, Haraldur Finnsson, now on the staff of the Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry of

Culture and Education, was the deputy principal of Hagaskoli from 1971-81 when he became the principal of Rettarholtsskoli.

The schools in Seltjarnarnes (i.e., Myrarhusaskoli and Valhusaskoli) are also interesting sites to examine. Twelve DERD reformers worked for these schools the total of 78 years. Only two of them worked for MH or ÆTKHI for twelve years, leaving us with 66 impact years for the Seltjarnarnes schools. Two of these people were DERD inspectors for a while and one became a DSD inspector for social studies from 1985-9 (Sigthor Magnusson, see below in the section on teacher leaders). The Melaskoli people are too few (i.e., six) to draw strong conclusions concerning impact years (see Table 4, Appendix I), but considerable trial-teaching took place in Melaskoli.

Surprisingly many DERD reformers worked for MR, or ten individuals. The total of teaching years is 76 (only one fewer than MH). After subtraction, however, the number is 33 impact years taught by three individuals in MH. MR's impact on the reform can not be dismissed as four inspectors have taught there, including Hordur Larusson who taught in MR for 13 years (1958-71) and Reynir Bjarnason who taught there for eight years (1966-74). In addition, there is a reason to suspect that quite a few of the men that I have no career-information about have taught at MR, at least shortly. What undermines MR's impact, however, is the fact that both Rectors of MH taught in MR before MH was founded. This undermines MR's impact because both men were with MH, a more innovative institution than MR, when they became involved in DERD work. The fact that after 1976 only one DERD textbook writer was a full-time teacher in MR (in addition, one of the inspectors, Sigurdur Palsson of Christian studies, taught part-time in MR from 1979-82 while he was a DERD inspector) also undermines MR's impact.

This investigation also revealed that almost exclusively men came from MR and the middle schools (Hagaskoli, Rettarholtsskoli). This pattern can in part be explained by the fact that in the early 1970s much fewer women taught at the middle and secondary school levels than today. Only one DERD female reformer (Anna Kristjansdottir, see above) had worked in any of these schools (Hagaskoli). The investigation did not reveal, however, what kind of capital they acquired in these schools or if it is different from the capital that was acquired in sites that more women came from.

The epistemic impact of progressive schools versus the impact of social networkings in progressive schools: The impact of the schools that DERD reformers worked in prior

to or concurrently with working for DERD intersects with many other issues. That DERD reformers came from cluster schools (most importantly Oldtunsskoli, Hlidaskoli, and ÆTKHI) -- rather than from open schools -- undermines the idea that open schools have had habitual or epistemic impact on the DERD discourse. By habitual or epistemic impact, I mean that the DERD reformers did not bring in personal experience of the open school arrangement. This does not mean that discursive themes concerning open schools had no impact on the reform discourse. In contrast, as I argued earlier (ch.5.1), the open school arrangement was an important argument in the struggle for the credibility of the reform hierarchy of value as the umbrella word "open" refers to reform ideas in practice. Furthermore, teachers from open schools are now influential both in the KI leadership and in NCEM (see below).

This is also a question of different generations of progressive schools. In the 1960s, teachers in, for instance, Oldtunsskoli were doing innovative work (chs.4.2,5.2). The same may be said about Hlidaskoli. In the 1970s and 1980s, the new open schools, such as Fossvogsskoli, Grundaskoli, and the Kopasker Elementary School, have taken on leadership roles in innovative work. As with the disappearance of the leadership role of Austurbæjarskoli that led implementation of reform-like ideas in the 1930 and 1940s, the 1990s may bring one more generation of innovative and progressive schools.

Social networkings in relation to Oldtunsskoli and Hlidaskoli and other schools, such as ÆTKHI and Hagaskoli, have also had an impact on who was asked to work for DERD. There is no objective way, however, to assess whether social networkings or epistemic relations (concerning the Oldtunsskoli generation of progressive schools) have had a greater impact on the DERD discourse. I can only argue that discursive themes concerning open schools must have had other ways to get into the reform discourse than through epistemic relations with DERD.

AMBIGUOUS GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS

One of the trends reported in the section thus far is that DERD was staffed by a diverse and "ambiguous" group of people. By ambiguous I mean that the group consists of relatively many non-traditionally educated individuals. This was indeed one of the my assumptions prior to the beginning of the research.

A closer look at the 36 full-timers in DERD emphasizes the ambiguity of DERD

individuals, at least in terms of secondary and higher education. Eight of 32 individuals (excluding two who were graduated from foreign secondary schools and two that I have no information about) were graduated from MA as opposed to five from MR. This difference may not be statistically significant; however, when it is taken into account that the numbers are almost even for the whole group (in fact, the MR number is slightly higher), it is at least an interesting trend that MA graduates do more than even with MR graduates in the full-timers' group. Seventeen (of 32), more than 50 %, have kpr., sergrkpr., or both. Moreover, most of the kpr. and sergrkpr. graduates and a few of the studentsprof graduates (a total of 17) have gone overseas for further studies in pedagogy or related areas. Not all of them have finished a degree, and some of them are writing a dissertation toward a further degree.

About 60 % of the whole group of the DERD staff were men and 40 % were women. In contrast, 25 of 36 full-timers were men. This is an epistemic trend which coincides with the male governance in DOEs where the majority of the "subordinate" staff is female (see below). Nevertheless, many women have pursued a career in educational reform through a beginning in DERD, and the eleven women among the full-timers have had as distinguished career in relation to the reform as the male full-timers.

It is safe to conclude that ambiguous people who were less bound to the conventions of traditional academic disciplines flocked together in DERD. Very few of the full-timers had "conventional" academic education and those who had such education left DERD relatively soon (for instance, two inspectors of Icelandic who both hold a Master's-equivalent degree in Icelandic). Part-timers with conventional academic education did not become too attached to DERD either -- in contrast with those who had studied the social sciences and received academic stimulation in that area in DERD.

By being a primary site of pedagogical discussion, DERD seems to have been an excellent site to obtain educational capital by "picking up" the discursive themes of the reform. DERD also became a place to meet other reformers and obtain social capital in the field of reform through social networkings. In the subsequent sections of this chapter, I examine the faculty of other reform institutions in relation to the social networkings' trends that have been observed in DERD.

THE ACADEMIC FACULTY OF KHI

The second largest group to be investigated in this chapter is the faculty of the College of Education (KHI), 60 individuals. KHI is a site in expansion as opposed to DERD that does not exist any longer. KHI is a site to look for indicators as to how social networkings' trends, epistemic relations and the discursive poles of the field of reform will become structured in the near future.

EDUCATION AND CAREER PREPARATION

Background in secondary education: Of 56 people about whom I have information concerning education and careers, 31 have studentsprof (excluding an individual with foreign secondary education). In addition, there are four individuals that I have no information about who most likely have studentsprof. Moreover, there are two individuals with a B.Ed. degree that I have no studentsprof-information about but almost certainly have studentsprof. Thus, almost two thirds of the KHI faculty have studentsprof compared with the 22 kpr. and sergrkpr. graduates on the faculty. Of the 31 individuals with studentsprof, 15 have studentsprof MR, nine have studentsprof MA, and eight were graduated from other institutions.

These figures may be too low to conclude that the studentsprof MR is stronger in KHI, epistemically, than the MA studentsprof and other secondary education and academic preparation is. The studentsprof MR figure, however, is in line with what principal Jonas Palsson of ÆTKHI argued in 1978; that is, that TTC/KHI "has usually got most of the teaching staff from the gymnasium people." Jonas argued that this pattern has severe implications for KHI because "exactly in the gymnasia is the school system's strongest distaste for psychology and pedagogy" (1978a, 8).

KHI currently has only three of its own B.Ed. graduates on the faculty (one of them added B.Ed. to his earlier kpr.). This may soon change as more B.Ed. people seek further education. Furthermore, seven B.Ed. people are now among the 19 teaching practice teachers in ÆTKHI, and the principal of ÆTKHI, Steinunn H. Larusdottir, is a KHI graduate as well.

Higher education: Of the 32 studentsprof graduates (including the one individual with foreign secondary education), eleven have studied a traditional academic discipline (including psychology), eleven have studied pedagogy or curriculum theory (including

discipline-related curriculum theory), seven have studied both a traditional academic discipline and pedagogy (in this group are some of the psychology-educated people, such as Rector Jonas Palsson), and it is unclear how to group three individuals in this respect (they have studied physical education, music education, art education, and various other subjects). Of the 22 kpr. and sergrkpr. individuals, eleven have studied some kind of pedagogy, one both pedagogy and an academic discipline (sociology), six or seven are in the "unclear" category, and other three or four seem not have obtained formal education beyond sergrkpr.

Nine of the KHI current faculty hold doctoral degrees from eight institutions in Iceland, Sweden, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. Four of the doctoral degrees are in educational theory, one in psychology, and four in traditional academic disciplines, such as history and zoology. At least four additional doctoral degrees are under way with partly written theses, two of them in educational theory. In addition to those with doctoral degrees, there are individuals on the faculty who hold degrees or have received part of their formal education in at least five other countries, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, East and West Germany, and Norway.

It is expected of Professors at KHI that they have finished a diploma in pedagogy and curriculum theory or have other sufficient preparation in educational theory (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1988, article 32). Nevertheless, it appears that KHI often hires people largely on the ground of traditional academic qualifications, and a grace period is given to those who are considered lacking sufficient knowledge in educational theory to take classes in that area.

Career: The career paths of KHI faculty members seem to be even more diverse than their formal education preparation. These career paths, however, fall into patterns that I describe below.

Eighteen people who were involved in DERD work are now on the KHI faculty. Of these 18, at least seven taught at TTC, KHI, or ÆTKHI prior to their involvement with DERD. Many of the remaining eleven DERD people obtained further degrees in educational theory overseas before they were hired by KHI or were working on such degrees when they were hired.

In contrast, very few among the KHI faculty has taught in any of the so-labelled progressive schools (except ÆTKHI). The number of those is only five, and it includes

two individuals who also were DERD inspectors. This undermines the possibility of epistemic relations between progressive education and KHI (see also ch.6.2). If the 19 teaching practice teachers (æfingakennarar) at ÆTKHI, who also teach teaching methods courses in KHI, and ÆTKHI's principal are added to the group, four more KHI-associated teachers have taught in progressive or open elementary schools (other than ÆTKHI). Two of them only taught one year in such a school, however.

About one fourth of the KHI faculty on the 1990 faculty list (at least 14 individuals -- and perhaps some of the four that I have no information about, too) has two years or less of experience as teachers in elementary or secondary schools. This stands in a sharp contrast with the teaching experience that the DERD staff members had. This seems to underline the strength of academic qualifications in relation to hiring decisions in KHI. This fact is also a part of the reason for that so few teachers from progressive schools have been hired by KHI: the numbers of DERD reformers and people with degrees in traditional academic disciplines on the faculty are simply too high to leave much room for hiring individuals that have taught in progressive schools.

In sum, DERD reformers and individuals with degrees in traditional academic disciplines constitute the largest groups of the current KHI faculty. Together, members of these groups (which are not mutually exclusive) are well over half of the KHI faculty today, perhaps as many as two thirds if the four that I do not have confirmed information about have traditional academic education (as I believe they have). These hiring patterns seem to rest in two principles: On the one hand, they rest in the social networkings' trends and epistemic relations that have been created in association with DERD (the legitimating principle of the reform). The relations with DERD are sanctioned by the second principle, i.e., the reliance on academic qualifications. These hiring criteria not only favor people with discipline-based education but they also favor DERD people compared to teachers from progressive schools who have both less of social networkings in the field of reform and less of academic qualifications than DERD people.

Gender: The number of men and women on the KHI faculty is almost equal (32 men, 28 women). Gender patterns are equal across most categories except in positions of power where the number of men is much higher than the number of women. Exceptions in that category include one of the former Assistant Rectors (Thuridur J. Kristjansdottir, see below), current Acting Assistant Rector (Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir),

the head librarian (Kristin Indridadottir), and some of the secondary administrators. In addition, ÆTKHI's principal (Steinunn H. Larusdottir) is a woman, and 14 of 19 ÆTKHI practice teachers are women.

The Rectors of KHI: No KHI Rectors is of the Reykjavik elite, and all have been students/prof MA graduates except the newly elected Rector, Thorir Olafsson, who will take office in August 1991. The first Rector of KHI from 1971-5, Broddi Johannesson (1916-) was also the last Rector of TTC (1962-71). Broddi has a doctoral degree in psychology from Germany (1940). He may be labelled as a "non-traditional" traditionalist because of his roots in the Icelandic culture, joined with his knowledge base in the human sciences (continental psychology and educational studies). Both of Broddi's parents, Johannes Thorsteinsson (1883-1924) and Ingibjorg Johannsdottir (1886-1967), were teachers, and two of his sons, Thorbjorn Broddason (1943-), Associate Professor of sociology, and historian Broddi Broddason (1952-), were members of the DERD social studies team. Broddi is married to a teacher, Fridrika Gestsdottir (1927-).

Broddi's Assistant Rector from 1972-5, Baldur Jonsson (1923-1983) became the next Rector of KHI (1975-83). His formal education is a cand. mag. degree in Icelandic (i.e., *islensk fræði*; see ch.3.2) from the University of Iceland (1952). Baldur's uncle, Hannes J. Magnusson (1899-1972), was one of the leading educators of the country; he was a principal of the Akureyri Elementary School (1947-65) and the editor of **Heimili and skoli** (Home and school) for 27 years (1942-69). Baldur is the only one of nine Rectors and Assistant Rectors who has not received a university degree in a foreign country.

Rector-to-retire in 1991, Jonas Palsson (1922-) who in the academic year of 1990-91 is on leave, can be, as Broddi Johannesson, labelled as a "non-traditional" traditionalist. Jonas finished a Master's degree in psychology in Edinburgh (1952) and a Master's degree in educational psychology in Teachers College, Columbia University (1966). Jonas holds various kinds of non-traditional educational and social capital: he was the director of the School Psychology Services (*Salfræðithjónusta barnaskola*) in Reykjavik (1960-71), he capitalizes on the teachers' status and respect (see ch.4.2), he comes from rural Iceland and has firm roots in Icelandic culture, he is a leftist which suggests an alliance with progressivism and democratic themes in other reform sites, and

he knows enough about psychology not to be discredited by those who want much emphasis on developmental psychology and other scientific educational theory. Interestingly, the first three Rectors of KHI, Broddi Johannesson, Baldur Jonsson and Jonas Palsson, are from the same northern district, Skagafjordur, and all three are studentsprof MA graduates.

The fourth Rector of KHI will be Thorir Olafsson (1936-) who was elected to the position on March 15, 1991. Thorir was graduated from ML (1955), finished a BA degree in chemistry, physics, and pedagogy from the University of Iceland (1961) and acquired a MS degree from Stanford University (1964). In addition, Thorir was involved in curriculum work at Harvard University (1964). Thorir was a teacher in ML (1958-62, 1964-76) before he was appointed to the position of a Professor at KHI in 1976. Thorir has participated in the DERD physics and chemistry curriculum project as a committee member, consultant, and textbook writer, and he has been on the Central Board of NCEM (from 1987). Thorir's wife, Ingunn Valtysdottir (1934-), is a teacher.

Thorir's chief contestant for the position was Anna Kristjansdottir, a former DERD inspector (see above), and, at first glance, her defeat seems to signal a slowing-down of DERD's increasing influence in KHI. Her showing (33 % in the first round of the elections in February), and Thorir's involvement in DERD's work also show that the KHI paradigm and the DERD paradigm (if there were such separate "paradigms") are becoming increasingly integrated with each other. In fact, Thorir is the first KHI Rector to have been involved in developing the new curricula. Furthermore, his background in the natural sciences differs from the academic background of Broddi Johannesson, Baldur Jonsson, and Jonas Palsson that is, by and large, rooted in the humanities (see above). Lastly, Thorir is from a farm near Reykjavik which now belongs to the town Mosfellsbær, about 15 miles from Reykjavik. All these facts signal epistemic differences between him and the three other Rectors. However, Anna's epistemic relations (see above) differ more from the three first Rectors than Thorir's as she is a Reykjavik woman with a longer DERD career than Thorir.

Assistant Rectors from 1975-1991 have been Thrainn Love (1920-) (1975-9), a studentsprof MR graduate; Stefan Bergmann (1942-) (1979-83), a studentsprof ML graduate who was Acting Rector from 1981-3; Thuridur J. Kristjansdottir (1927-), (1983-7), a kpr. graduate; Hjalti Hugason (1952-) (1987-91), a studentsprof MA

graduate who is serving as Acting Rector from 1990-91; and Hrafnhildur Ragnarsdottir (1948-) (spring term 1991), a studentsprof MR graduate. Thrainn and Stefan are both educated in the natural sciences, Thrainn in the United States and Stefan in Yugoslavia; Hjalti is a theologian with a doctoral degree from Sweden in church history; and Thuridur and Hrafnhildur hold doctoral degrees in psychological theories from the United States and France, respectively.

In the 1980s, the "overhead" of KHI has expanded as new positions have been created and legally sanctioned in the College of Education Act of 1988 (Log um Kennarahaskola Islands 1988). These positions are the Dean of Academic Affairs (kennslustjori) and the position of a finance manager (fjarmalastjori). The 1988 act also mandates the creation of a number of chair positions of various faculties and divisions to be rotated between faculty members.

KHI: A BATTLEGROUND OF LEGITIMATING PRINCIPLES?

The KHI faculty seems to be slowly changing from a group with a high number of MR graduates towards a group of more diverse and "ambiguous" individuals in a similar way as DERD drew non-traditional people into its projects. The KHI faculty may still have a stronger relationship with traditionally-recognized academic capital than the DERD group had and than faculty in many other reform sites have. However, as more DERD individuals, kpr. graduates or non-MR people with doctoral degrees seek KHI positions, we should expect the legitimating principle of traditional academic capital to be contested in KHI. I have also noted that the numbers of women and men on the faculty are almost equal; this may challenge the traditional relationship between men and women and what counts as capital, in particular if women start pursuing different interests than men (see also endnote 8, ch.6). The impact of Anna Kristjansdottir's defeat in the Rector elections on March 15, 1991 is uncertain in this context. It may lead to stronger pro-feminist stances and strategies of distinction related to feminism. Yet the defeat reminds us that feminism is a minority position.

TEACHER LEADERS

In this section, I analyze a group of 36 teacher leaders and 13 principal leaders. This group of teacher leaders consists of the current Central Board of the Teacher Union of

Iceland (KI), elected in 1989 to serve for two years, as well as the Pedagogy Committees elected in 1984, 1987, and 1989. The Pedagogy Committee elected in 1984 was in charge of compiling and editing *Skolastefna*, KI's school policy (chs.4.2,5.1). Many members of the earlier Pedagogy Committees are now on the Central Board, including Svanhildur Kaaber, chair of the 1984-7 Pedagogy Committee, now the chair of KI. In addition, I analyze the two last Central Boards of the Association of Principals and Deputy Principals (FSY).

WHO ARE THE TEACHER LEADERS?

For the group of 36 teachers, I have been able to collect professional information about 35 of them, and they have taught in at least 58 schools. Seven of these teachers teach in vocational schools and other schools at the secondary school level and appear to have been elected to the Central Board and the Pedagogy Committees to secure representation of the special interests that teachers in these schools have. Of the remaining 29 teachers, 16 have kpr. (most likely, the individual that I do not have confirmed information about has also kpr.), nine have a B.Ed. degree, two have received their education in HI, and one in Norway (in addition, one of the HI educated individuals and two of the secondary school level teachers have obtained a teaching certificate from KHI through the UF program). More than half of the group of 35 has studentsprof, most of them from MA, MR, and MH. In the following counting, I focus on the group of 29 or 28 teachers (depending on whether the lack of information about one of them matters).

First, the group of 28 consists of relatively young people. The oldest person is born in 1939, and she quit working on the Pedagogy Committee in 1987 after having been on the Central Board of KI and its predecessors, SIB and SGK (ch.3.2), from 1974-84. Twenty-five of the 28 are born between 1939 and 1953, and the youngest person is born in 1960.

Second, the group of 29 consists of 21 women and eight men. Among the seven secondary school teachers are two women and five men. This proportion of women may come close to represent the actual numbers of men and women among elementary school teachers, in particular if we keep in mind the facts that the rural and coastal regions are also secured representation on the Central Board and the Pedagogy Committee and that

the number of male teachers is higher in these areas.

Third, ten individuals of the whole group are or have been principals or deputy principals. Not surprisingly, a half of them are men, and only one woman in this group has been a principal. In fact, the men who are available to take on social responsibilities for an elementary school teacher union are either administrators or so young (born 1960) that they could hardly have been appointed yet as principals (one who is born in 1953 was appointed to the post of a principal as of fall 1990). Furthermore, of the remaining two men in the group of 28, one does not work as a classroom teacher; he (i.e., Arthur Morthens, see ch.2.2) works for the Reykjavik DOE as a teaching advising specialist and department head.

Fourth, 13 of the 28 have taught in the so-labelled progressive or open schools (one started a job in such a school after he left the Pedagogy Committee in 1987). Six of these 13 have also been principals or deputy principals.

Lastly, only seven of the 28 people have worked in other sites that are under scrutiny in this thesis. Some of them have worked in more than one institution. The numbers are three for DERD as part-timers, two for DOEs, one for KHI, three for ÆTKHI, and one for NCEM (these numbers for the principals are higher, see below). More information might add a few individuals to this group -- in particular in relation to DOEs.

Nevertheless, the group seems relatively small.

An investigation of the social and academic capital that the individuals in the KI leadership have brought into the teaching profession did not reveal trends strong that are enough to confirm my assumptions concerning the relationship between family capital and "success" in the KI leadership. I had, for instance, assumed that the more inherited social capital an individual brings into the leadership, the less academic and career capital is needed to be in an important position. Nevertheless, I found interesting examples that are in line with this assumption, such as that that the two individuals on the current Central Board who have the least academic capital (the only people on the Board who do not have education beyond kpr. -- except if one individual that I do not have sufficient information about does only have kpr.) are the chair (Svanhildur Kaaber, 1944-) and the deputy chair (Eirikur Jonsson, 1951-) of the Board; they also seem to have the greatest volume of family capital in education and, in fact, good portions of other social capital, too. Both are from a family of teachers in more than one generation. Svanhildur

Kaaber's grandfather, Olafur Dan Danielsson (1877-1957), was a teacher in TTC (1908-20) and MR (1919-41) and an author of noted math textbooks; her mother, Kristin Olafsdottir Kaaber (1922-) also taught at MR. Eirikur Jonsson is the son of a teacher, Jon Thorisson (1920-), and the grandson of a principal, Thorir Steinthorsson (1895-1972). Moreover, Svanhildur's father, Axel Kaaber (1909-), was a business man in Reykjavik; Eirikur's granduncle, Steingrimur Steinthorsson (1893-1966), was Prime Minister (1950-53) and the Minister of Health, Social Services, and Agriculture (1953-6). These instances may well be mere instances of coincidences; ⁴⁾ however, it is not only coincidental that these two people, who also have, in the same order as above, been a deputy principal and a principal, are now influential in the field of reform. Their dispositions are indeed likely to bring them this "success."

Another assumption was that the youngest people in the field would tend to possess more inherited capital than others and, therefore, they would need to acquire less social capital related to their career (networkings, open school capital, etc.). I only have published information concerning the family of two of the three individuals in the KHI group who are born in 1958, 1959, and 1960. The individual born in 1960 (Jon Stefan Baldursson) is from a rural North East community, he is a studentsprof MA graduate with a B.Ed. degree and does not seem to have inherited much family capital in education. He teaches in one of the progressive schools, Sturutjarnaskoli, which now serves his community. The example of Heidur Baldursdottir (1958-) is more in line with the assumption: her father, Baldur Ragnarsson (1930-), who is a son of a teacher (Ragnar Andres Thorsteinsson, 1905-), was an inspector of Icelandic for DERD, a textbook writer, and is now a teacher at MH; Heidur's mother, Thorey Kolbeins (1932-), taught in Isaksskoli (1962-83), is now the deputy principal of the Icelandic Developmental Therapist School (Throskathjalfaskoli Islands), and a daughter of a church minister and a teacher (Halldor Kristjan Kolbeins, 1893-1964). While Heidur's family may have little to do with her teaching career and work in the teachers' movement, it seems obvious that her family capital in education has not hurt her career and that she possesses dispositions better suited for becoming a teacher leader than many others do. ⁵⁾

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DERD DISCOURSE AND THE KI SCHOOL POLICY

That the group of teacher leaders, by and large, consists of female classroom teachers, female deputy principals, and male principals between the age of 37 and 51, most of whom have kpr. or a B.Ed. degree, makes the group considerably different than the DERD group that also included a number of male specialists and MR and MA graduates. How can I then account for the discursive similarities between *Skolastefna* (1990) and the DERD syllabus draft (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983)? What are the social networkings' trends and epistemic relations that the investigation of the teacher leadership reveals? Since only three individuals in the KI leadership group worked for DERD, the relationship between the DERD discourse and the KI school policy is obviously not one in which where the same individuals have simply moved to other avenues to extend their agenda. Consequently, other possibilities for social networkings and epistemic relations must be investigated.

In the first place, many of the teacher leaders are educated in the same schools as the DERD reformers, i.e., in TTC and KHI (mainly during the transition period after 1970) as well as in MA and MR. I assume that social networkings took place in these schools, as well as there are epistemic possibilities for developing the same sets of dispositions. For instance, Svanhildur Kaaber was graduated with kpr. in 1965, the year before Hrolfur Kjartansson and a few other DERD reformers were graduated (see above). Furthermore, seven of the group of 35 are graduated from TTC and KHI between 1970 and 1972. One of them is Eirikur Jonsson. Five of DERD's inspectors were also graduated in these years and many others (see below). The turmoil period in KHI in the late 1970s also produced teacher leaders; four of the group of 35 were graduated with a B.Ed. degree in 1978, including Birna Sigurjonsdottir (see also ch.7.1). Four DERD reformers also acquired their B.Ed. degree in 1978 and three in 1977.

Secondly, 13 of the 35 teacher leaders have taught in progressive or open schools. In contrast with the DERD people who mostly came from an older "generation" of progressive schools, six of these 13 teacher leaders have taught in Fossvogsskoli, Snælandsskoli, Grundaskoli, and Sturutjarnaskoli. This stems in part from the fact that I am investigating a group of people who have been active in the late 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s -- as opposed to the DERD group that was existing from the early

1970s through the early 1980s. Seven of these 13 teacher leaders have taught in Hlidaskoli, Oldtunsskoli, Isaksskoli, and, at last but not least, in ÆTKHI.

Unfortunately, I could not count the years of teaching in each school because of gap in the biographical data after the early 1980s (see ch.2.2).

The relationship between the new wave of progressive schools (i.e., Fossvogsskoli, Snælandsskoli, Grundaskoli, Stortjarnaskoli) with the leadership of KI seems to be an instance of epistemic relations between the discursive theme of "open" and the (epistemic) individuals in the field. The teachers who have taught in these schools bring their experience into KI's leadership and policy work. The fact that both Svanhildur Kaaber and Birna Sigurjonsdottir (the leaders of the Pedagogy Committee when *Skolastefna*'s first edition was produced) have been deputy principals in open schools highlights this relationship. The open school serves as capital for these teachers and administrators at the same time as the process of making *Skolastefna* serves as capital -- "awakening" in the movement, as Svanhildur Kaaber (1990) argues -- for the teachers who helped to prepare the document. This epistemic relationship between the theme of open and the *Skolastefna* producers does not, however, exclude that social networkings and perhaps epistemic relations occurred in Hlidaskoli, Oldtunsskoli, Isaksskoli, and ÆTKHI (see also a discussion on "open schools as a social strategy" in ch.7.1).

THE PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP

The 13 principals that served on two Central Boards of FSY in 1990 (the outgoing leadership and the incoming one) are nine men and four women. On the outgoing Board were only two women who both remain on the new Board, joined by two other women. Both chairs are men: the first is the principal of Fossvogsskoli (Kari Arnorsson); the latter was the DSD inspector of social studies from 1985-9 (Sigthor Magnusson). Indeed, seven of these 13 have worked in seven of the progressive schools. They have worked for Fossvogsskoli, Vesturbæjarskoli, Isaksskoli, Oldtunsskoli, Grundaskoli, Stortjarnaskoli, and the Hallormsstadur Elementary School. Four have worked for DERD, one for the biology project and three in the social studies team -- including Kristin H. Tryggvadottir, who served as an inspector for a year (1975-6) and wrote textbooks that represent the progressive pole of the reform (1982, 1983; see also ch.4.1), and Sigthor Magnusson who was the DSD inspector for social studies (1985-9) and

co-author of progressive textbooks (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson et al. 1985/1982; Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Ragnar Gislason, and Sigthor Magnusson 1983; see also ch.4.1). Lastly, two of these 13 principals worked shortly for a DOE.

This information seems to further confirm the relationship between open schools and leadership in the field of reform. While principals in general were not necessarily involved in the making of *Skolastefna*, many of these 13 principals have provided an exceptional leadership in their schools and in the teacher communities they belong to. This information also shows the credibility that principals in open schools must have to be trusted to lead principals in their organization and indicates the dispositions that open school principals and former DERD reformers have for leadership positions in the field. None of this is mere coincidental.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

How does KI's school policy fit with this picture of those who prepared it? In short, *Skolastefna* (1990) is not only an interest-oriented position document on the behalf of a teacher union; it is also a sign of epistemic relations that relate to the open schools and other sites. The individuals in KI who now have adopted the DERD discourse -- whether their version might be labelled progressive or technological -- seem to be those who are least steeped in various scientific curriculum theory models, mostly because they had not worked for DERD. Nevertheless, they seem to have adopted a position that draws upon the notion of activity, prevalent both in DERD and among the open school beliefs, which many KI leaders have had an opportunity to adopt through their careers in open schools. As the notion of activity draws upon both science and child-centered points of view, the KI leadership as a site seems to take up the reform hierarchy of values without discriminating between the progressive and technological poles.

The role of women in the KI leadership may represent that women are learning the game of educational reform. Women also did significant amount of work for DERD, even though men were the majority of the DERD inspectors. The ambiguity of the field of educational reform seems to make it an ideal candidate for a field for women to succeed in, at least for a limited number of women who are teacher leaders. Through the writings of female teacher leaders, it could be investigated whether they tend to lean toward the progressive, technological or pre-reform poles, or if they would develop a

movement toward a new pole that has not been identified in this thesis. My data does not allow me to draw stronger conclusions than these about patterns of gender relations in the KI leadership, and this issue was not addressed in my interviews with Svanhildur Kaaber (1990), Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990) or others (see endnote 8, ch.6).

THE DISTRICT OFFICES OF EDUCATION: THE SITES OF THE FUTURE?

Administratively, the District Offices of Education (DOEs) are divisions of the Ministry of Culture and Education. These offices are eight, one in each electoral district (ch.3.2). The Ministry plans to expand the responsibilities of DOEs, such as to increase supervision of teaching and professional assistance with teachers, but faces difficulty in doing this. The main difficulty lies in the fact that one of DOEs' main tasks has, in the past, been psychological services for students in elementary schools and that most positions in the offices are, therefore, occupied by psychologists. According to government administrative codes concerning DOEs, however, they "are supposed to take care of almost everything that concerns elementary schools" (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990c). The tasks which is possible to move from the Ministry in Reykjavik to DOEs, according to Hrolfur Kjartansson (1990c), are administrative tasks and teaching advising.

It is still too early to tell how decentralization is going to affect DOEs as sites of reform discourse or how the reform discourse will intersect with local and regional politics on the level of these sites (as compared to DERD that was located in Reykjavik). It is safe to believe, however, that a close eye needs to be kept on DOEs for understanding the trajectory of the field of educational reform in the future.

WHO ARE THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WORK FOR DOES?

I collected information about the staff of seven DOEs directly from each superintendent (repeated requests to the Reykjanes superintendent were not answered) as of January 1990. New staff members as of August 1990 are also on the list (including one new superintendent), as well as the Reykjanes superintendent. On this list, which includes 41 individuals, are teaching advisors, special education staff, teacher educated individuals who work with administrative duties, and the superintendents. The division among these 41 individuals between teaching advisors, special education staff, and administrators is roughly equal. Because the DOEs' group is divided between seven

different places, each of them is really a small site, often with only one or two staff members in each category. Most of these sites are also geographically isolated which has an impact on the selection of staff (see below). Complete professional information has been obtained about 36 individuals and partial information about two other individuals.

Gender: The number of men and women in the group of 41 is almost equal, i.e., 19 men and 22 women. Among the superintendents and administrators, however, the proportion of men is much higher. Only one of the superintendents is female; others are males. Most other administrators are men, too, but two thirds of teaching advisors and special education specialists are women.

Education: In the group of 36 are 13 individuals with an Icelandic studentsprof, two with foreign studentsprof-equivalent preparation, and 21 with kpr. or sergrkpr. Eight of the kpr. graduates have added studentsprof (from TTC or KHI) or year(s) of higher education (not necessarily a degree), two sergrkpr. people seem not to have added education, but the remaining eleven have all been administrators in education (mostly principals) prior to their current employment for a DOE.

The studentsprof graduates are divided as follows: seven from MA, three from MR, three from other schools, and two with foreign secondary education. Most of the studentsprof graduates have added a B.Ed. degree (seven) or a BA degree (four), one has added a kpr. (was a deputy principal prior to being hired as a superintendent), two have a special education graduate degree, and three have other graduate degrees, including one who has a Ph.D. degree.

Career: Nine of the 36 that I have career information about have taught in Hlidaskoli (five), Oldtunsskoli, Isaksskoli, MH, Fossvogsskoli, and Grundaskoli (one in each). This figure includes three of the superintendents. In addition, one of the staff members of the Reykjavik DOE has participated in "flexible (sveigjanlegt) teaching arrangement" and "flexible schooling" in two schools, according to information from the superintendent (see Aslaug Brynjolfsdottir 1990). Other teaching experiences are divided between various schools, due to the number of special education staff and also to who is available in rural and coastal areas for being employed by a DOE. Only four of current DOE staff members worked for DERD, including two of the superintendents who both were on the social studies team and one of them as an inspector for three years; three current DOE staff members are in the group of 36 KI leaders (see above); and one was on

the NCEM staff in January 1990. Three of these four DERD people also taught in the progressive schools. The number of former principals and former deputy principals is 15. Fourteen of these 15 are men, and all nine superintendents have been principals or deputy principals.

Social networkings' trends and epistemic relations: Interesting patterns of information have emerged from this investigation. In the first place, there are very few individuals with graduate education or preparation in educational theory beyond a teaching certificate who work for DOEs, with the main exception of some of the special education specialists. In the second place, the individuals with the least formal education tend to have the most administrative experience, mainly as principals. In the third place, the experience that the superintendents as individuals bring into their DOE is mostly administrative experience as all of them have been principals or deputy principals. In the fourth place, only three of the superintendents have been personally involved in paradigmatic reform work (one was the social studies inspector for three years, one was on the social studies team, and one was the deputy principal of Fossvogsskoli, the paradigm open school). In the fifth place, the superintendents do not have many educational degrees beyond a teaching certificate; for instance, the only superintendent who has a graduate degree (Jon R. Hjalmarsson) -- which, by the way, is not in education (a cand. philol. degree in history) -- retired in 1990, and four of the superintendents seem not to have much formal education beyond kpr.

This raises questions about how superintendents and DOEs relate to legitimating principles and the emerging discursive poles in the field of educational reform. It would be wrong to draw the conclusion from these trends that the superintendents are incompetent in educational theory or that they -- because of lack of exposure to reform work and because of having been principals in traditional schools -- as a group will flock to the support of the pre-reform principle in education. The respective DOE's stance may depend more on who is hired to be in charge of teaching advising than who is the superintendent. Furthermore, as already noted, three of eight superintendents do have personal experience of paradigmatic reform work, and some of the other superintendents, if not most of them, indeed favor and support reform-like work in schools.

No concrete evidence has been gathered as to how to find out how the DOE staff relates to the technological and progressive poles of the reform. Several possibilities

exist in this regard, however. The close neighborhood in small institutions with psychologists, who need a graduate degree in psychology to be allowed to practice, may have an impact on the attitudes toward (either for or against) scientist psychologically based educational theory -- in particular in those DOEs that do not have strong advocates of progressive perspectives or other connections with the progressive pole. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the lack of formal education in educational theory leads DOE staff members to favor the traditional subject matters as opposed to integrated reform projects and local or school-based curriculum development, and the fact that 26 staff members of the 36 that I have information about are educated in TTC or KHI (the stronghold place for national values and ties-with-the-past capital) does not automatically translate, the one way or the other, into how DOEs' work is structured in relation to legitimating principles. In short, this study has not found patterns in regard to these issues.

One of the difficulties that some DOEs face in hiring is to find people who are willing to go and live in a coastal or countryside small town. Only two DOEs are in the Reykjavik area, i.e., the Reykjavik DOE and the Reykjanes DOE, located in Gardabær, about five miles from downtown Reykjavik. The Sudurland DOE, located in Selfoss, may also be near-by enough (about 30-40 miles from Reykjavik). Akureyri (population ca. 15000), where the North East DOE is located, may also be large enough to provide an atmosphere suitable for educational reformers. The remaining four DOEs are all located in towns and villages that sometimes become isolated during the winter. Individuals who return to Iceland with a doctoral or Master's degree in education are often not enthusiastic to settle there. (The largest of these towns, Isafjordur, population ca. 4000, is also the one that most often becomes isolated.) Because individuals who have much knowledge of progressive educational theory may not want to reside in these small towns, these sites, in turn, may be open for (epistemic) others to "exploit" for the benefit of either the pre-reform pole (in the clothes of local teachers and administrators who rely on the traditional disciplines) or the technological psychologically based pole (in the clothes of psychologists). On the other hand, positions are few and there are examples of reformers who have done exactly this: to go out to the countryside or the coast and live there (e.g., the superintendent in the North West District, Gudmundur Ingi Leifsson, who first was a principal in the small coastal village of Hofsos and then became the superintendent for the district).⁶⁾

It is safe to conclude that DOEs are not a monolithic entity that can be placed at one place in the three spectrums of legitimating principles. I would even go so far to say that they may be eight different sites in this respect. Not even a single DOE can be looked at as monolithic. For instance, while the three superintendents that I have mentioned may be at the reform pole, not all of their staff is. Similarly, the staff of other DOEs does not automatically follow the superintendent's personal stance.

THE OTHER SITES: SMALL AND DIVERSE GROUPS

The three remaining sites, DSD, NCEM, and HI's Pedagogy Division, have much smaller faculties. Each of these three institutions has less than 20 faculty members. Below I discuss them briefly site by site.

DSD: DERD'S SUCCESSOR

The role of the staff who worked for DERD changed with organizational changes in 1984 and 1985 and the establishment of DSD (chs.1.2,3.2). Curriculum development which had been the backbone of DERD's work was officially moved to NCEM and teaching advising has been gradually moved to DOEs. In 1987, Ragnar Gislason argued that DSD "is still struggling with defining itself and its tasks" (1987, 14-15). The primary task that remained with DSD was developing a new syllabus for the elementary school. But this task was difficult and time-consuming since the minister changes in 1985, 1987, and 1988 (see Table 1, Appendix I) caused that the subject inspectors constantly had to readjust to the opinion of each minister or his closest political advisors.

With DSD's relocation in the new headquarters of the Ministry of Culture and Education in 1989, the dissolution into the Ministry's DEE, and, ultimately, more staff change in the fall of 1990, the future of this site as a special site in the field of educational reform is uncertain. Most likely, the educational specialist staff in the Ministry's various departments and divisions will be looked at more as a whole than when DERD was so separate from other divisions and departments of the Ministry in almost every aspect. This also depends on the political stability as the Ministers of Education have been "hands-on" ministers since Ragnhildur Helgadóttir came to office in 1983. Thus, an after-election prediction in the spring of 1991 might be more successful than a prediction before the election.

DSD had a staff of 14 people in January 1990, seven men and seven women. I only have adequate information about education and teaching careers of eleven of these individuals which makes it difficult to read the social networkings' trends as trends. I know, however, that ten of these 14 had worked for DERD: seven as inspectors, two as teaching advisors, and one in the social studies team. Five of the seven inspectors who had been DERD inspectors, including DSD's head, had been inspectors for DERD since before 1980. I have information about four of the five new people. Two of them have studentsprof based education, one has kpr. based education, and one has sergrkpr. Three of them have education that is concentrated on the traditional academic disciplines (e.g., Icelandic, Christian theology). The DSD's inspector in the natural sciences who was first hired in 1982, shortly before DERD's termination, also falls into this pattern. Furthermore, only two individuals (of eleven) have a graduate degree in educational theory. Two others have university level education in pedagogy beyond a teaching certificate. Teaching experience of DSD staff members is divided between many schools. Indeed, many of them have a relatively short career as teachers and some have no career as elementary school teachers.

This does not provide much information to allow me to accurately "install" DSD into any of the three spectrums of legitimating principles. As suggested above, it might be more appropriate to analyze the staff of other divisions and departments in the Ministry as well.

NCEM

The National Center for Educational Materials was founded in 1979 by combining the State Textbook Publishing House and the National Educational Film Library (ch.3.2). For the first few years, NCEM only published textbooks that had been written under the supervision of DERD inspectors. It is not until the early mid-1980s that NCEM assumes a greater initiative. The first major initiative was the foundation of the Teacher Center in 1982. Next step, which was taken only a little later, was when the responsibility for the development of curriculum materials was moved to NCEM from DERD (see ch.1.2).

NCEM has now had more than a decade to find its role and identity. Some critics believe that this has taken more time than it should have taken. NCEM leaders often blame fiscal problems and lack of interest on the behalf of politicians, and neither of these

problems should be underestimated. Ragnar Gislason's in his assessment published in *Ny menntamal* in 1987 also pointed fingers to the NCEM leadership; he argues that the NCEM Central Board -- appointed by the Ministry of Culture and Education, teacher education institutions, and teacher associations -- and the internal leadership of the institution carry a good share of the responsibility for NCEM's trouble (Ragnar Gislason 1987). One of the leadership's solutions was frequent organizational change in the institution. A part of the trouble may also have been due to the diversity of the curriculum development and Teacher Center staff. Staff members were hired, one by one, and many resigned after a short while. For instance, the Teacher Center has had six directors: five have resigned to head a different department or division in NCEM or to work in other reform sites (KHI, teaching in the Hallormsstadur Elementary School, the Reykjavik DOE). Ragnar Gislason also resigned late in 1985 after having first headed the Department of Distribution and later the Division of Sales and Distribution.

Recent staff change in the institution and a report prepared by a government committee (Nefnd um Namsgagnastofnun 1989) indicate that the transition period may be over. We can now begin to see the types of capital developed in NCEM and where the institution might fit into the spectrums of the field of educational reform. A study of the social networkings' trends shows that staff diversity has decreased. This stems in part from the fact that the first staff members of the Department of Curriculum Materials Development have now had time to merge together. Furthermore, three recent instances of internal staff promotions to head the curriculum development work and the Teacher Center indicate the possibility for continuity in leadership, compared to the option of hiring new staff members to head this work.

Let me now look at the education and careers of NCEM's curriculum development staff members and others, primarily in the Division of Educational Materials, a total of 17. This figure also includes at least two individuals in the Division of Sales and Distribution who were on the selected staff list that I received from NCEM (see Appendix 3 to the References).

Gender: The gender division of NCEM's staff is close to equal, nine men and eight women. The director is a man, also the head of the Department of Audio-Visual Media, but after staff change in 1990, the head of the Division of Educational Materials and the director of the Teacher Center are women.

Education: Of these 17 individuals, I have information about the educational degree of 16. Seven or eight have studentsprof as the base of their education, and eight have kpr. as the base of their education. The group is too small to draw conclusions from the studentsprof distribution between secondary schools. This information also reveals that two staff members have no education beyond B.Ed. or kpr.; the other 14 have education beyond studentsprof or kpr. At least five staff members have Master's equivalent degrees, but no one has a doctoral degree. Four staff members have discipline based education, as opposed to pedagogy or psychology based education.

Career: Seven of 16 NCEM staff members that I have career information about have taught in Hlidaskoli, ÆTKHI, MH, Fossvogsskoli, Grundaskoli, or Snælandsskoli, including the director who was Hlidaskoli's deputy principal and principal for almost 20 years (see below). Two former DERD inspectors and two DERD part-timers also work for NCEM. This means that ten of 16 NCEM people that I have information about have worked either for progressive schools or in DERD; that is, almost two thirds of the NCEM staff have been directly involved in paradigmatic reform work.

Social networkings' trends and epistemic relations patterns: Among the NCEM staff is a clearer pattern of reform preparation (progressive schools, DERD) than in other sites. It is tempting to argue that these individuals are, therefore, steeped into the reform discourse. After the promotion of a few people to replace top-position people who had left, it may be expected that the NCEM staff will take a course towards work that strengthens the legitimating principle of the reform and even lean toward its progressive pole. What is lacking to support such an interpretation are examples of the writings of these individuals; I have merely relied on the possibilities that they have had to pick up discursive themes in the sites where they were prior to working for NCEM (DERD, progressive schools). The relatively low number of people with education in traditional academic disciplines (four) also indicates that the people with pedagogy education and a career in progressive schools will take on the lead.

Cousins with family capital: The director of NCEM (namsgagnastjori), Asgeir Gudmundsson (1933-), who was the deputy principal and principal of Hlidaskoli, one of the so-labelled progressive schools (1961-80), brings considerable family capital in education into the field of educational reform. He is the son of Gudmundur Jonsson (1902-) who was the principal of the School of Agriculture at Hvanneyri for 25 years

(1947-72). Asgeir's brother, Sigurdur R. Gudmundsson (1930-), was a principal of a rural elementary school for 22 years (1965-87). Asgeir's wife is Sigridur Jonsdottir, inspector in the Ministry of Culture and Education (see the section on DERD above). Two of their daughters are teachers (see above).

Associate Professor of pedagogy at the University, Jon Torfi Jonasson (1947-), who received his doctoral degree in England (1980), is Asgeir's cousin. As superintendent of Reykjavik for 30 years (1943-73), Jon Torfi's father, Jonas B. Jonsson (1908-), was one of the leading educational reformers in Iceland. Among innovations he initiated were regular psychology services in the Reykjavik public schools (e.g., Kristinn Bjornsson 1990). Jon Torfi's sister, Ingibjorg Jonasdottir (1950-), is a teacher as well, and his brother, Ogmundur Jonasson (1948-), a television news reporter, is the chair of the Federation of State and Municipal Employees (BSRB) (from 1988).

INSTRUCTORS AT THE UNIVERSITY'S DIVISION OF PEDAGOGY

The University's faculty consists of Professors in pedagogy (four), Assistant Professors in psychology who teach classes to pedagogy and curriculum theory students, stundakennarar (lecturers, according to common U.S. terminology) who also work somewhere else, and supervising instructors who teach academic subjects in secondary schools as well. This is a group of 18 people. I have professional information about 15 of them. The faculty list from the Pedagogy Division (see Appendix 3 to the References) indicated that the three other individuals all have doctoral degrees.

Gender: The only full Professor is a man as well as one Associate Professor. The other two Professors are women. Of all the 18 individuals who were on the faculty in the spring semester of 1990, eleven are men and seven are women.

Education: Not surprisingly, most Pedagogy Division's faculty members have studentsprof based education, or eleven of the 14 whose secondary education I have information about. Six of these are MR graduates; others are divided between various gymnasia. Three have kpr. as the base in their education. Of the 18, six have BA or BS degrees as their highest degrees. Some of them have additional education, and one of them has two Bachelor's degrees. Three of the eighteen have Master's equivalent degrees, and nine have doctoral degrees. Because of lack of information, I can not report exactly in which area some of these degrees are, but it seems to me that only three

part-time teachers have a Ph.D. degree in pedagogy or curriculum theory. In contrast, there are five people with a Ph.D. degree in psychology (including three Professors) in the group, and one has a Ph.D. degree in philosophy. At least eight of these Ph.D. degrees were obtained in English-speaking countries (Great Britain, the United States, Canada). It is interesting to compare this tendency with the fact that on the KHI faculty are individuals who had sought education to many other countries in Northern and Central Europe.

The supervising instructors constitute a separate group. They are hired on the ground of preparation in academic subjects, such as Icelandic, history, sociology, and foreign languages, to strengthen the ties between the academic subject matters and the curriculum theory and psychology base of the Pedagogy Division. None of the supervising instructors has a doctoral degree, however, in their respective discipline nor in curriculum theory. Some of them have Master's equivalent degrees in their disciplines.

Career: The Pedagogy Division does not have many social networkings' connections to progressive schools or other reform sites. No one on the faculty has taught in the so-labelled progressive schools, and only two, both of them Professors, have worked for DERD. The four individuals who are identified as supervising instructors teach at three different schools in the Reykjavik area. None of them teaches at MH.

The strength of the technological pole: The individuals in the Pedagogy Division are, habitually, more likely to lean toward the technological pole of the reform than toward the progressive pole. Several indicators support this observation. The tendency that first catches the eye is what looks like an immense strength of psychology in the Pedagogy Division. Many of the individuals have psychology degrees (see above). All four Professors of pedagogy have psychology based education and most of them hold doctoral degrees in that area. Further, the fact that the majority of the full-time faculty members and many other faculty members are educated in the U.S. or Great Britain is likely to give a greater momentum to scientific curriculum theories and developmental psychologies that have been developed in these countries than to national traditions and radical politics. Moreover, given the fact that no one among the faculty in the Pedagogy Division had taught in progressive schools, faculty members there seem to have weaker

habitual relationships with such schools than, for example, the NCEM staff. Lastly, the report of the discursive themes in the classes in the UK program (ch.4.2) indicates that scientism and psychology have a stronghold in this site. For instance, Andri Isaksson's curriculum planning class was -- at least around 1980 -- taught more in line with the mechanistic curriculum approach than DERD's work that was being developed into a direction toward an organic approach. Andri also taught how to write behavioral objectives; DERD was trying to invent process-oriented objectives (e.g., **Adalnamskra grunnskola** 1983; see ch.4.1). The difference between the mechanistic and organic models may not be that great, epistemologically (see a critique in ch.4.1, social studies), but DERD reformers have, nevertheless, capitalized on the difference between the two models as well as on the claim that DERD was changing (Edelstein 1988/1981, Hrolfur Kjartansson 1990b, 1991b). ⁷⁾

The argument that the Pedagogy Division leans more toward the technological reform pole than toward the progressive pole may appear to be contradicted by personal opinions about politics, held by at least the two Professors who have been the longest time on the faculty. Andri Isaksson was active in the Alliance of Liberals and Leftists in the late 1970s, and Gudny Gudbjornsdottir is active in the Women's Alliance (she will be number five on the party's list in the Reykjavik district in the April 1991 election). Furthermore, Gudny has elaborated feminist stances in **Ny menntamal** (Gudny Gudbjornsdottir 1990), concerning special education for girls. The "contradiction" between teaching emphasis and personal views on politics highlights the overall tendency to use scientist (in this case, psychological) arguments for democratic and progressive concerns and perhaps feminist concerns as well. ⁸⁾

In spite of progressive and feminist politics of two leading faculty members and perhaps some of the other faculty members, I am led to conclude that the Pedagogy Division, given the background of its teachers and the emphasis on teaching psychology, is more likely than NCEM to lean toward the technological, psychological pole of the reform. The lack of background in habitually progressive sites prior to entering the Pedagogy Division as faculty is intensified by the fact that six of the 14 people that I have secondary education information about are MR graduates and the fact that the Division is moving toward more discipline-based curriculum theory (see ch.4.2). Therefore, I am also led to conclude that the Pedagogy Division is more likely to lean toward the academic

disciplines' pole than toward the curriculum theory pole.

NETWORKINGS' TRENDS AND EPISTEMIC RELATIONS: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The investigation carried out above shows that the individuals who have become involved in the educational reform constitute an "ambiguous" and diverse group of people. The group is non-traditional in the sense that the proportion of studentsprof MA graduates compared with MR graduates is relatively high in most sites. In fact, the total numbers are almost equal, around 60 for each group. I have also noted that people with studentsprof obtained in the 1970s were mostly from studentsprof institutions other than MR, MA, or ML (see above). In the group are also many teachers with kpr. or sergrkpr. who have acquired education in educational theory or other subjects in universities and teacher colleges. There are also quite a few women in the group. What is said above applies more or less to the people in all sites I examined.

The group is also diverse in terms of a career prior to entering reform work. In some sites are individuals with much teaching experience; in other sites the combined teaching experience is much less. In some sites are many individuals who first became implicated in educational reform through teaching in progressive schools, notably the individuals who now work in NCEM and those in the leadership of KI and FSY; in other sites are individuals who became involved in educational reform because of their academic qualifications, notably the individuals in the teacher education institutions. Many principals and deputy principals have also become involved in the reform discourse, in particular in KI and DOEs. Below I discuss the distribution of the 163 DERD individuals that I analyzed in this chapter. Thereafter I discuss alternative ways of social networkings and the relationship between inherited and acquired social capital.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DERD GROUP

In an assessment at the beginning of the 1980s, Hrolfur Kjartansson argues that "few institutions similar [to DERD] can pride themselves of staff that personally knows as many principals and teachers or has personally become acquainted with their work conditions" (1980, 4). This knowledge was acquired through social networkings in educational and institutional settings and through careers as teachers in various schools.

The inspectors also achieved this knowledge by teaching in-service courses to teachers, they visited schools, and they were contacted by phone or in person during office hours. This personal knowledge has had much impact on the central role that the DERD discourse and individuals have played in the field of reform.

When DERD was terminated in the early mid-1980s, some of the people who had been employed there remained in DSD, but others moved with the projects that they had been involved in to places such as NCEM, some now work for DOEs, some became principals, some went to study in colleges and universities, and many went to teach in KHI (see numbers below). In the investigation of where the 163 individuals are now, I use the figures from January 1990 concerning other reform sites as well as more recent information that I was able to obtain. This means that a few individuals may be counted twice. Of these 163, two have died, six retired, and 18 have left a career in education.

The largest group of DERD reformers is still teaching in elementary or secondary schools, 67 teachers. I only have confirmed information concerning in which school a relatively few of them teach. Five are teachers in MH, six in other secondary schools, and four are teaching practice teachers at ÆTKHI. Others in this group are considered teachers by using an elimination method, that is, those who are not doing something else are considered teachers in elementary schools. Some of these 67 may indeed have changed from a career in public schools to a career in another field, some may work in various cultural institutions, and some may be on a temporary leave to obtain further education. But it is safe to conclude that the vast majority of these 67 individuals are still teaching in elementary schools. To this group we might also add principals (including deputy principals) who are 18 elementary school principals and four secondary school principals. This leaves us with up to 89 of these 163 DERD individuals working in elementary and secondary schools. Surprisingly few of them, however, are involved in the leadership of the elementary school teacher union, KI (see above).

The second largest group of DERD reformers works in other reform sites. This category includes 22 individuals working for KHI and ÆTKHI, nine individuals for DEE and other branches of the Ministry of Culture and Education, five for DOEs (including an administrator in the Reykjanes DOE who is not in the group analyzed in the DOE section), four for NCEM, and two for HI's Division of Pedagogy. This is a total of 42 DERD people. This is a significantly high number. I must also mention that a few

others worked for these institutions between 1984 and 1990, but I do not have complete information to confirm the exact number of them.

Among the individuals not accounted for above are five Professors in HI in other divisions than the Pedagogy Division. A few people also reside in other countries doing graduate studies or other work.

OTHER WAYS OF SOCIAL NETWORKINGS AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF EPISTEMIC RELATIONS

DERD's role in the reform field can not be overrated. This applies both to the social networkings and to the discursive aspects. But even though DERD might be the single most important site to search for social networkings and epistemic relations, other places and events in the intersection must be considered. Those are, for instance, progressive schools, teacher education institutions, social movements, labor disputes, and family relations.

Progressive schools: Progressive and open schools are places of important social networkings and epistemic relations in the reform field. Individuals who have taught in these schools have entered most of the institutions, and, in fact, they now lead KI, FSY, and NCEM. Networkings and epistemic relations concerning open schools are likely to supplement, rather than contradict, networkings and epistemic relations created in association with DERD's work (see also ch.7.1).

Secondary education: Social networkings take place in schools that individuals attend as students, in particular in secondary schools where they are between the age of 16 and 20. In these schools, people also have the same opportunities for epistemic touching points with discursive elements. I have not tried to examine whether social networkings' dynamics or epistemic relations govern the impact of these schools. In fact, it can not be assumed that individuals in the same school at the same time networked. If these individuals, however, meet each other, representing different state institutions or teacher unions, they know about the (epistemic) possibilities and social networkings that have an impact on the other person. From this perspective, it is possible to say that it is relevant to note that a number of influential reform leaders were graduated from TTC in 1965-7. In this group are, among others, Hrolfur Kjartansson, head of DSD/DEE, and twelve other DERD reformers (see above), Svanhildur Kaaber,

chair of KI, and three other KI leaders, Hanna Kristin Stefansdottir, currently the public relations representative of NCEM, and Thorolfur Thorlindsson, Professor of sociology at the University of Iceland, current director of the Institute of Educational Research (Rannsóknastofnun uppeldismála), an agency that the Ministry of Culture and Education, the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University, and KHI are members of. In 1970-72, a group of at least 38 of those who have been involved in the institutions that I have discussed (also including ÆTKHI and FSY) were graduated from TTC and KHI. This group includes influential figures, such as six of the inspectors and twelve other DERD reformers, seven KI leaders (e.g., deputy chair Eiríkur Jonsson), and the new head of NCEM's Division of Educational Materials, Ingibjörg Asgeirsdóttir.

Social movements: Social networkings also take place in activities and movements that are not related to the field of education. These movements include political movements, the scout movement and other youth movements, as well as labor unions. In fact, KI is a site that also represents union politics and bargaining struggles. In particular, a month-long strike in the fall of 1984 had an impact on these networkings and teachers' dispositions (Birna Sigurjonsdóttir 1990; see also ch.7.2) The strike also had an impact on KI's decision to depart from BSRB on January 1, 1986. Even though this thesis focuses on the pedagogical discourse, I realize that some of the individuals on KI's Central Board and even on the Pedagogy Committee may have become involved in KI's work because of previous involvement in strikes and bargaining struggles and that these struggles have provided them with the dispositions and social networkings that led them to assume formal role within KI.

The Thorlacius family: In this section, I have reported several examples of social trajectories of individuals with considerable family capital in education and educational reform. I like to close this subsection with one more example of a family whose members have been involved in reform-like work, state bureaucracy, and union politics since at least the 1930s -- the Thorlacius family. The first of three brothers in this story is Sigurdur Thorlacius, principal of Austurbæjarskóli and chair of BSRB (see ch.5.2). Sigurdur's brother-in-law (Jonas Kristjánsson, 1924-) has served as the head of the Institute of Arni Magnússon (the institute that preserves the manuscripts of the Icelandic sagas, the most important cultural treasure of the nation). At least four of Sigurdur's children are teachers. His oldest son, Ornlófur Thorlacius (1931-), served on some of

the first curriculum committees in the natural sciences (physics and chemistry, biology) for DERD and later became the Rector of MH. Ornolfur's wife, Gudny Ella Sigurdardottir (1931-1983), was a teacher. She was the principal and the deputy principal of the Icelandic Developmental Therapist School (1980-83). Sigurdur's daughters, Kristin R. Thorlacius (1933-) and Hallveig Thorlacius (1939-), both teachers, have, to my knowledge, not been involved in the reform. Hallveig's husband, Ragnar Arnalds (1938-), however, was, among other things, principal, Parliament member, the Minister of Culture and Education (1978-9), and the Minister of Finance Matters (1980-83). Sigurdur's youngest son, Kristjan S. Thorlacius (1941-), was the chair of The Icelandic Teacher Association (HIK) (1982-7).

The second brother is Birgir Thorlacius (1913-). He was the Director General of the Prime Ministry (1947-70) and the Ministry of Culture and Education (1947-83). He worked closely with Minister of Culture and Education Gylfi Th. Gislason on establishing DERD in the 1960s (see ch.1.2) , and, after the cabinet that Gylfi was a member of was defeated in the 1971 election, Birgir's "posture continued to give the curriculum reform and the SSCP [the social studies project] the necessary governmental and bureaucratic legitimacy" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 73). Between 1971 and 1983, three "hands-off" Ministers of Culture and Education served three or four years each (see Table 1, Appendix I), as well as Ragnar Arnalds (married to Birgir's niece, see above) for 13 months and Gylfi's son, Vilmundur Gylfason, for four months. The timing of Birgir's retirement in 1983 coincides with the time when Ragnhildur Helgadóttir, the first of three Ministers of Culture and Education from the Independence Party, came to office (see also Table 1, Appendix I).

The third brother is Kristjan Thorlacius (1917-). He was the chair of BSRB for more than quarter of a century and recently retired from that post (1960-88).

FAMILY CAPITAL VERSUS ACQUIRED CAPITAL

In this section (i.e., ch.6.1) I have reported several examples of family backgrounds of (biographical) individuals. The question arises whether individuals with a large volume of family capital (referred to as inherited capital in ch.2.1) have a greater chance to proceed to high positions in the field of educational reform than those who have to acquire capital through education or reform work. The examples indicate that individuals

with family capital indeed proceed faster to high positions in the field than those with merely acquired capital. Individuals with family capital are considered people of the second or third generation of educators (in many cases from families with background in innovative education) and people from elite families (families in business, politics, and culture and at the higher levels of the state bureaucracy, primarily in Reykjavik). These two groups -- individuals with family capital in education and individuals with economic, social, or cultural capital -- are the most likely people to have a set of dispositions that enable them to gain from what Bourdieu calls the "objective uncertainty of relations between practices and positions ..." (1989a, 20); they have "back-up" resources in other types of capital which enables them, by the means of their practical sense, to take greater risks than others do (Bourdieu 1984a, 358; see also ch.2.1).

It is possible that the individuals with family capital who enter educational reform are those in their families least likely to succeed in more traditional fields; for example, they may be younger siblings or females who may not have had access to careers in occupations related to business or the state bureaucracy. This assumption suggests that these individuals may have used the reform as a refuge and that they became involved in it for their use of practical sense -- rather than they had planned a career as a reformer or teacher leader. Verifying this assumption would require a study of their siblings which, in turn, would require a greater variety of sources than was used in this study. It is also possible that these two groups of individuals -- that is, the second generation of educational reformers and members of the elite -- were able to use the reform to increase their capital in the eyes of family and friends by showing social competence somewhere.

For other reformers -- those from rural and coastal areas, working class men and women, and so forth -- participation in the reform provided an opportunity to gain the particular social capital of educational reform. While a systematic study has not been undertaken to compare these two groups (those with initial family capital and those with acquired capital), preliminary observation suggests that a difference due to social origin vanishes once an individual is on track in the field (for instance, only one of three heads of DERD and DSD had an initial family capital in educational reform, and the Rectors of KHI have not possessed large volumes of initial family capital either). Furthermore, the success of "successful" individuals may have boosted the field, rather than the success of those with initial capital took the opportunities from those with a small volume of family

capital. Individuals without initial capital acquired capital through social networkings: many studied with the cultural elite in the Reykjavik and Akureyri gymnasia, and others became involved in social networkings' relationships in the Teacher Training College and DERD (see above).

In sum, it is easier for those with initial family capital to succeed. But because of the low status of the field of reform among other fields it has been relatively open for many other types of individuals to enter and unpredictable strategies to be employed.

DISCURSIVE THEMES AND SOCIAL COMPETENCE

Social networkings and family capital are interwoven with other types of capital in DERD and other reform institutions, and networkings and family capital are integral to the reconversion processes (social strategies, of which I discuss actual examples in ch.7.1) that turn discursive themes into symbolic capital that counts in the field of educational reform. In brief, the answer to the question posed at the beginning of the chapter (Is cultural and social capital in the field of reform related to different principles of legitimation -- different hierarchies of values?) is that a further investigation is needed to understand in more detail the specific relationship between social networkings, family relationships, and discursive themes in the field of educational reform in Iceland as this field is being restructured now at the beginning of the 1990s.

Social networkings and family relationships may often contribute to the strengthening of one discursive pole at the expense of another because of the social competence of those who subscribe to that pole's discursive themes. A further investigation of the actual views that individuals in various sites have might reveal patterns wherein social competence systematically affects the structuring of the three spectrums of legitimating principles, that is, the reform spectrum with the technological and progressive poles, the pre-reform versus reform spectrum, and the traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital spectrum. For instance, does converting traditional academic capital into symbolic capital depend more on social competence than converting curriculum theory capital does? Does the pre-reform pedagogy have more credibility in larger society -- because it is liked by the elites -- than the reform themes have? Are those who subscribe to the scientist views of the reform more likely to have the social competence that it takes to convert their views into symbolic capital than those who lean

toward the progressive themes have?

These questions bear in them the assumption that the answer to all of them is "yes" because the first pole mentioned is always the pole that, historically, seems to have stronger ties with what Bourdieu calls "the field of power." In the field of power, economic capital tends to be the "dominant principle of hierarchization" and cultural capital "the dominated principle" (unpublished lecture on "The Field of Power," University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 1989; cited in Bourdieu 1989d, footnote 12), and, in a modern Western society, economic capital is a vital element in social competence. Economic capital, however, is only one type of the social competence it takes to have an impact on the struggles over legitimacy in the field of reform; social networkings and events wherein new discursive connections, specific to the field's trajectory are made, must be investigated (see ch.7).

6.2 How Epistemic Individuals and Discursive Themes Relate to the Emerging Poles in Reform Institutions

Bourdieu's theoretical framework (ch.2.1) suggests to place institutional power struggles in relation to principles of legitimation and the different hierarchies of values. In the following discussion, I discuss signs of each of the six poles on the three spectrums of legitimating principles. These spectrums are the reform spectrum with the technological and progressive poles, the pre-reform versus reform spectrum, and the traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital spectrum. These poles are represented in the data on discursive themes in documents and debates (ch.4) and on epistemic relations and social networkings of each institution's faculty (ch.6.1). The social networkings' trends and political alliances shaped in relation to DERD's work are now also being reconnected in other sites, directly and indirectly, through these trends and alliances -- with implications for what kind of educational and cultural capital constitutes each spectrum. This section offers a preliminary analysis of these connections, trends, and alliances, and expands a discussion begun in chapter 5.3.

SIGNS OF SPECTRUMS OF LEGITIMATING PRINCIPLES IN THE DISCOURSE AND THE NETWORKINGS

The reform spectrum: The first spectrum to be recounted here is the reform spectrum with the progressive and technological poles. The social studies project and its "evolution" from a mechanistic curriculum planning model towards progressivism (ch.4.1) has been interpreted as a sign of progressivism in the reform. Thus wherever we find a social studies reformer, we may expect a progressivist stronghold. For instance, two of the regional superintendents and some of the leaders of the principals, including the chair, are former social studies team members. Moreover, seven KHI faculty members and two teaching practice teachers in ÆTKHI were in the social studies team.

I also consider progressive and open schools' relations with institutions as signs of the progressive pole. Four former open schools' teachers work for NCEM, seven for DOEs, and eleven teachers and principals from open schools currently are in the

respective leadership teams analyzed in chapter 6.1. The numbers of former teachers in the older generation of progressive schools (notably Hlidaskoli and Oldtunsskoli) are four (NCEM), three (DOEs), and nine (in the leadership of KI and FSY) with only two instances of overlapping.

The biology curriculum project has been mentioned as a sign of the technological pole. The biology reformers, however, have not planted themselves as widely into various schools as principals or reform institutions as faculty members as the social studies team members have done (see a discussion of the distribution of social studies reformers, ch.7.1). In fact, no one from the biology team works for reform institutions other than DSD. Nevertheless, the technological pole has its strongholds. It seems to be as strong as the progressive pole in the KI school policy (Skolastefna 1990; see ch.5.1). HI's Division of Pedagogy, through the psychology based education of the instructors (ch.6.1) and the emphasis on classes in psychology (ch.4.2), also seems to represent a stronghold of the technological pole. Furthermore, open schools by stressing individual accountability (in contrast with collective responsibility; see ch.5.2) can be technological in practice in spite of the overall progressive rhetoric and convictions around them. Therefore, distribution of teachers from open schools, such as into NCEM, may not only be a sign of progressivism but simply a sign of the reform in general.

The investigation focusing on epistemic individuals seems to support my earlier conclusion that the notion of activity triggers a discursive alliance between the potential poles of the reform. In chapter 5.3, I argued that the notion of activity appealed to those who relied on scientism, technical curriculum models, and lab-experiments, on the one hand, and those who believed in democratizing ideals and open schools, on the other hand, and that this discursive alliance had, by and large, "overruled" the theoretical and political possibilities for different legitimating principles to become actualized in open struggles. There is not much evidence available to evaluate the struggles between the epistemic individuals who best represent each of the reform poles, but as (epistemic) individuals often use arguments derived from other legitimating principles (traditional academic capital, national values, and so forth) in struggles, the other two spectrums must be investigated to help to account for the rifts that certainly are in the reform movement.

The pre-reform/reform spectrum: Next spectrum is the spectrum with the pre-reform pedagogical values at the one pole and the discursive themes of the reform at the other. KHI faculty members and former faculty members (e.g., Sigurjon Myrdal 1989) emphasize KHI's relationships with the rural population and what I refer to as "national values" and "ties-with-the-past" capital (ch.4.2) which seems to represent the pre-reform pedagogy, at least in part. The emphasis on Icelandic (even grades in Icelandic for entering) is another sign (ch.4.2). In terms of epistemic individuals, KHI is also a stronghold for the pre-reform pedagogy with relatively many teachers educated in MR and other traditional gymnasia and with the relative absence of instructors who had taught in progressive or open schools (ch.6.1). This observation is supported by Sigurjon Myrdal who notes that "[t]eacher education institutions have been surprisingly unconcerned about innovative practices in the school system in recent decades in spite of the active involvement on the behalf of individual faculty members" (1986, 10). On the other hand, students in KHI rebelled against many of its practices (see ch.7.1), and teaching methods for natural sciences and social studies were taught by DERD staff members (ch.4.2). Moreover, the newly elected Rector of KHI, Thorir Olafsson, worked for DERD (ch.6.1). Therefore, KHI does not represent a monolithic stronghold of one hierarchy of values. In fact, struggles over the hierarchization of values take place there (see below).

DSD exhibited a pattern of hiring people with education in the traditional academic disciplines. Three of four new inspectors that I have information about had degrees in Icelandic or Christian theology (ch.6.1). This is likely to enhance the tendency to keep traditional subject matters non-integrated.

As diverse as DOEs' staff is, the superintendents' lack of degrees in educational theory and long experience in administration of regular schools tends to keep DOEs as sites where the pre-reform hierarchy of values is may not be challenged by the leaders. This is, of course, not true about all DOEs as some of the superintendents had been social studies reformers or open school principals. Furthermore, I do not have much evidence about the actual positions of other superintendents and what they indeed do to support progressive education in line with the reform hierarchy of values. Lastly, the status of Christian studies in the DERD reform (ch.5.2) represents the strength of the pre-reform pedagogy.

As I reported in chapter 1.2, reformers tend to paint a bleak picture of the status of the reform ideas in classrooms. This thesis does not dispute this view but argues that the discourse on education in Iceland has become increasingly "governed" by the discursive themes of the reform (this is in part illustrated by the social studies debate and the professionalism campaign in the mid-1980s, see ch.7.2). The investigation has also revealed that a good share of the faculty in many leading institutions in elementary education have been steeped in the reform discourse in the work for DERD or progressive schools. For instance, two thirds of the NCEM staff have worked for DERD or progressive schools, and about one third of the KHI faculty had worked for DERD.

Ideas that seem to belong to different hierarchies of values are also being connected. For instance, elements of the reform discourse and the pre-reform pedagogy are being connected in the work of Gunnar Karlsson (1985-6, 1988, 1989; see ch.3.1) and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990; see ch.4.1, social studies). Through a reconnection of pre-reform ideas and reform ideas (i.e., elements of capital), Gunnar and Thorsteinn exploit values that historically have not been related to each other in order to gain credibility for their beliefs. Gunnar Karlsson tries to combine story telling and nationalism with questioning strategies; he uses questions to make story telling more credible in the field of reform. Thorsteinn Gunnarsson, on the other hand, believes in a "synthesis" of progressive pedagogy and national values; he uses nationalistic anti-elitist sentiment to argue for the case of local curriculum projects which he believes that have a potential for promoting liberal/radical participatory democracy. In fact, the endeavor of making the case for domestic curriculum theory seems to reconnect pre-reform and reform values.

The traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital spectrum: Inquiries indicate that in the field of reform is emerging a distinction between traditional academic capital and what I call "curriculum theory capital." Curriculum theory capital rests in the capital of liberal/radical democracy, progressivism, scientism, activity pedagogy, open schools, and so forth. The curriculum theory capital also rests in the idea that a domestic curriculum theory was being developed by the social studies team (ch.5.1) and in the reconnection of discursive elements that takes place in the work of Gunnar Karlsson and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (see above).

The distinction between traditional academic capital and curriculum theory capital has

also been addressed by the College of Education. In a presentation at a conference on teacher education in April 1986 (ch.7.1), it is argued, on the behalf of KHI, that

it is a doubtful case if KHI should seek prototypes to HI or other ... universities concerning content and methods. It seems to be more important for the Icelandic community (samfelag) that the KHI faculty, in order to form independent educational policy and foster the distinctiveness (serstædi) of the institution [i.e., KHI] as a scientific educational and research institution, exhibit ambitions in research, teaching and other tasks related to educational issues (Kennarahaskoli Islands 1986, 57).

The view that is represented in this statement sees teacher education as qualitatively different from other university-level education. It is not noted who wrote this presentation, and this view does certainly not represent the views of all faculty in KHI (below I address some of the battles over hierarchies of values and what counts as capital in KHI).

"Ambiguous" individuals (individuals with little academic capital in the "traditional" disciplines) have tended to come to work in the reform. These include teachers with kpr. or sergrkpr., individuals with studentsprof from schools other than MR, and relatively many women (even among MR graduates) -- in fact a majority in some sites. These individuals have little to lose and much to win. Some of these "ambiguous" individuals have indeed acquired degrees in educational theory, including Master's and doctoral degrees, and now work for NCEM or KHI. All that these individuals have to capitalize on in relation to academic capital is "pedagogy and curriculum studies (as distinct from ... psychology and sociology)" (Olafur J. Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson in progress; also cited in ch.5.3). On the other hand, the opponents do not have this kind of capital and try to downgrade it, often by denying the existence of curriculum theory and pedagogy as independent disciplines. The HI swing toward discipline-based curriculum theory classes should be viewed in that context, too.

Curriculum theory capital has not gained absolute legitimacy in the field of reform. In HI, the immense strength of psychology that has a longer tradition as an academic discipline than curriculum theory makes it more difficult to capitalize on curriculum theory. In fact, the Pedagogy Division is squeezed between psychology and sociology in the Faculty of Social Sciences, and it seems to me that it is easier to legitimize these two

disciplines on the ground of the traditional academic disciplines' legitimating principle than it is to legitimize pedagogy and curriculum theory as many view pedagogy and curriculum theory as occupational training but not as an academic endeavor. (Of course, the irony here is the low status of all social sciences in Iceland.) Furthermore, KHI has many faculty members with studentsprof MR or a degree in a traditional academic discipline. These individuals are in many cases more interested in research in their discipline and consider themselves belong to the research community of that discipline.

From these indicators, I conclude that this spectrum -- traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital -- has the potential to become more visible in the near future as well as to affect the alliances shaped in the institutional battles and tensions.

SIGNS OF SPECTRUMS IN INSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES

Alliances and social networkings in institutions criss-cross the boundaries that we might expect to see after identifying these spectrums of legitimating principles. Although no systematic investigation of such alliances has been carried out for this thesis, there are indicators that can be interpreted. For instance, curriculum theory capital is not monolithic: some of those who capitalize on curriculum theory may be more at the progressive pole; others may be at the technological pole. Moreover, it seems "natural" that in the context of KHI, curriculum theory capital followers ally themselves with pre-reform themes because of the legitimacy of the national values and ties-with-the-past capital in KHI; in HI, however, curriculum theory capital followers rely more on the capital of the traditional academic disciplines as they have to legitimize their work on the ground of academic principles in that context.

KHI versus HI's Division of Pedagogy: The institutional struggles between KHI and HI's Division of Pedagogy over which institution should oversee teacher education in the country can be viewed in the context of alliances that cross the boundaries of legitimating principles. Sigurjon Myrdal (1989) uses the notion that KHI has a special relationship with "popular culture" and "national values" to claim legitimacy for KHI as more appropriate teacher education institution than HI which he argues "is rooted in the ... modern Bourgeoisie culture of the urban Reykjavik Area and ... directly related to international discourses of elitist tradition of education" (84; see also ch.4.2). Olafur Proppe, a progressivist if I judge from his writings (e.g., 1983b), also elaborates KHI's

historical relationship with public education as national values capital and ties-with-the-past capital and criticizes the University in a similar vein as Sigurjon (see ch.4.2). Together with Bjarni Danielsson, President of the College of the Art and Crafts in Reykjavik, Olafur and Sigurjon demand that the "independent fields" pedagogy and curriculum studies "have to be rooted in the historical, cultural and social context of society" (Olafur J. Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson in progress).

In contrast, the HI Division of Pedagogy faculty might argue that it gives legitimacy to curriculum theory to conduct teacher education in an academic institution. Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir (1988, 11) -- the Division's director of studies, on leave to serve as the education advisor to the Minister of Culture and Education -- argues that because of the recent "positive development" toward cooperation between some of the traditional academic disciplines and the Pedagogy Division, it is "unreasonable to consider to move secondary school teachers' learning of pedagogy and curriculum theory to KHI." Gerdur also points out (1988, 3) that "the education [in HI and KHI] is different with different emphases that supplement each other ([that is,] subject/subjects versus integrated study)." Furthermore, Gerdur argues that it is "[h]ealthy for prospective secondary school teachers to become acquainted with the elementary school" (students in the UK program are required to practicum teach at both the elementary and secondary school levels). Lastly, she notes that "[s]tudent teachers from HI can select a school level to teach at."

In this case, it is the institutional tension between KHI and the Pedagogy Division in HI that structures how discursive themes are being connected. Olafur Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal and Bjarni Danielsson -- educated in the United States (about Olafur and Sigurjon, see ch.2.2; Bjarni attended the University of Wisconsin, Madison in the mid-1980s) -- use pre-reform discursive themes against "elitism" and uncritical adoption of "foreign" ideas to increase the legitimacy of KHI. It is questionable whether the observations of Sigurjon and Olafur concerning the University's roots in elitism, while fairly accurate about the older Faculties (e.g., the Faculties of Law, Medicine, and Theology that all were separate colleges prior to the founding of the University in 1911), apply to the Faculty of Social Sciences. Gerdur G. Oskarsdottir, on the other hand, uses arguments that exploit the legitimacy of the traditional academic capital as well as arguments that emphasize pluralism and choice in teacher education. One might be tempted to think that progressivists would be eager to have two or more teacher education

institutions to insure diversity. While progressivists may indeed stress just that, KHI progressivists (e.g., Olafur Proppe) also rely on the ties-with-the-past capital to enhance the legitimacy of KHI as the leading teacher education institution. This way, they may also have a greater chance to succeed as epistemic individuals than under the logic of traditional academic capital in HI. Similarly, in the context of HI, teacher educators tend to accept the logic of traditional academic disciplines and legitimize their work in relation to that.

There will be a continuing battle over the institutional location of teacher education program. In this battle, proponents and opponents will use the views that best suit them each time, in spite of previous alliances and in spite of where their arguments fit into the hierarchies of values. But these hierarchies of values also structure the possibilities that the (epistemic) individuals have to use arguments effectively in struggles.

Tensions in KHI: KHI is a large enough institution for being an arena of multiple internal struggles. Inquiries among KHI faculty and others indicate that struggles are indeed going on in KHI. One of the struggles is between the legitimating principle of the traditional academic disciplines and the legitimating principle of curriculum theory as an academic endeavor. The conference presentation that denounced prototypes sought to universities (Kennarahaskoli Islands 1986; see quotation above) is an example of this debate. This view is, as noted above, not shared by all faculty members; many of them are more eager to seek prototypes to universities than the quotation suggests.

The struggles in KHI are carried out in alliances, and an account of these alliances requires a further investigation. These alliances are not always shaped along discursive lines but along social networkings' lines and political lines. Below I ask a few preliminary questions about these struggles and tensions. For instance, have DERD individuals decreased the power of congregational pedagogy that students during the late 1970s turmoil complained about (chs.4,2,7.1)? Does current Acting Rector, a former church minister himself, favor traditional, congregational pedagogy? With whom does he, having a doctoral degree in church history, ally? Has testing, a part of the pre-reform legitimating principle, lost momentum to progressive DERD discursive themes after the retirement of Professor Sigridur Valgeirsdottir, an advocate of statistical measurement? Where do the Professors of Icelandic stand in these struggles? Do they rely on national values capital, traditional academic capital, or both? Can individuals from many

traditional disciplines who have obtained academic education in many different countries stand together in a "struggle" over which is more important, discipline-based teacher education or the ambiguous discipline of curriculum theory, sanctioned by progressive pedagogical politics? Does the pre-reform pedagogy pole still have the greatest credibility because of the fact that so few former open schools' teachers are on the faculty? Does the lack of former open schools' teachers on the faculty sanction the power of the technological pole of the legitimating principle of the reform? How will the election of Thorir Olafsson restructure alliances? Will Thorir -- a studentsprof ML graduate -- ally with studentsprof MR graduates or will he ally with former DERD inspectors?

While not all of these questions are equally relevant, the variety that they represent is indicative of the variety of possibilities for intersections and clashes within the context of KHI.

Chapter 7. Social Strategies in an Ambiguous and Rising Field

This chapter has two closely interlinked foci, that is, on the reform in elementary education in Iceland as social strategies and on the formation (trajectory) of the field of educational reform. The chapter examines the relationship between the discursive themes of the reform, on the one hand, and social networkings of epistemic individuals that occupy positions in reform sites, on the other hand. I argue that reformers employed the beliefs in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society as social strategies and that these strategies and social networkings in institutional sites are instrumental in the formation of the reform field as a special social field in the last 25 years.

This interpretation of the reform rests in the notion of social strategies *a la* Bourdieu. In this view, a strategy is the product of practical sense for a particular social game. In this view, strategies may be consciously (deliberately) planned but they are also the unconscious (non-socially conscious) adaptation to the infinitely varied, objectively orchestrated field whose trajectory is also structured by the strategies employed by individuals, groups and institutions in the field. In short, the beliefs in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society have an impact on reformers through their practical sense. Moreover, this interpretation rests in the assumption that the field of reform is an ambiguous and intermediate field. I have noted that such a field is particularly suitable for studying dynamics of reconversion (ch.2.1). Bourdieu discusses the distinctiveness of intermediate positions in the social space. He argues that

[w]hile it is true that the principles of differentiation which are objectively the most powerful, like economic and cultural capital, produce clear-cut differences between agents situated at extreme ends of the distributions, they are evidently less effective in the intermediate zones of the space in question. It is in these intermediate or middle positions of the social space that the indeterminacy and the fuzziness of the relationship between practices and positions are the greatest, and that the room left open for symbolic strategies to jam this relationship is the largest (1987a, 12).

In the field of reform, "ambiguous" people have had a great chance to employ "non-traditional" strategies; the "rules of the game" had not been determined in advance

by the rules of other more conventional games.

I approach this initial exploration of the trajectory of the reform field with two methods of interpretation. First, I examine how reformers (as epistemic individuals) employ reform themes and practices to gain symbolic capital. The selection of this method is informed by the assumption that participation in reform projects, teacher education programs, and other reform work affects people's habitus. From this perspective, I examine examples of strategies employed by individuals and small groups in certain sites. The second method of interpretation includes a study of events and debates that illustrate how social strategies are played out and, at the same time, affect future strategies. Observing from this viewpoint, I assume that events, such as the social studies debate in 1983-4 and the subsequent professionalism campaign show aspects of the reform that otherwise might go unnoticed. Selection of events to represent these debates is due to availability of documents and the access the researcher had to reformers for interviews and is not meant to be an accurate history of the most significant events in the trajectory of the reform.

The chapter unfolds as follows: In section 7.1, I discuss examples of strategies of groups and individuals, and I address the notion of reform habitus. In section 7.2, I discuss the emergence and trajectory of the field of reform in relation to institutional power centers, the social studies debate, and the professionalism campaign. Finally I discuss what I call the professionalization of progress and educational expertise.

7.1 Social Strategies and the Reform Habitus

The problem to be discussed in this section concerns how reformers (as epistemic individuals) employ reform themes and practices in ways that affect the formation of a field of educational reform. I discuss vignettes and snapshots of social strategies that individuals or small groups of individuals employed. In the process of converting discursive themes and practices into symbolic capital, strategies employed by these individuals and groups reconnect themes and practices in a way which are not always predictable. This is very much due to the fact that reformers are a non-traditional group operating in a field with little overall influence in society but also because of the ambiguous meanings of educational theory. In this field, educational theory and reform themes can connect with themes derived from existing legitimating principles as much as a special reform hierarchy of values emerges. For each group I picture in this discussion, I consider the relationships with types of capital other than reform capital and how the group relates to the poles of the spectrum. In this section, I also discuss if there is such a "thing" as a reform habitus and how we may characterize that habitus.

SNAPSHOTS OF EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL STRATEGIES

The issues and vignettes that I discuss are, first, strategies to increase academic capital; second, the physical distribution of the social studies reformers; third, open schools as a place where individuals have acquired capital that allows them to succeed as individuals; fourth, the relationship between the reform discourse and leftists; and, fifth, how students in the College of Education and students in the University's Division of Pedagogy employed reform themes as capital-seeking strategies.

STRATEGIES TO INCREASE ACADEMIC CAPITAL

At the beginning of the reform period, very few people in Iceland possessed university degrees in educational theory. Today, 25 years later, the volume of academic capital in the field of education has risen. Reformers who did not hold a university degree went to the University of Iceland, the College of Education, or overseas, in particular to the United States, Great Britain, and the Nordic countries (a partial report

about these individuals appears in various sections of ch.6.1). The search for further education is legitimized by the principle of academic capital. The degrees that were obtained have increased each individual's potential, academically and socially, as well as the potential of the field in relation to other fields. More knowledge in educational theory was now available which also created a need for jobs.

When DERD was terminated, many reformers sought employment where they thought they might be able to continue to do reform-minded work. The selection of a site to work in depends on many factors. For instance, 18 DERD people are now employed by KHI (ch.6.1), while only four work for NCEM and four for DOEs (the total number of KHI faculty and the combined number of the NCEM and DOE staffs are about equal). The reason for this difference is likely that that a KHI affiliation offers more academic capital than an affiliation with NCEM or a DOE does. Many DOEs are also geographically and socially isolated (ch.6.1). An HI affiliation, of course, also offers academic capital but positions there for reformers and educational theorists to pursue are much fewer than in KHI.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES REFORMERS' DISTRIBUTION

The total of 46 people became involved with the social studies work during its course between the early 1970s and 1984. Of these 46, around 30 individuals were elementary school teachers at the time they were recruited. In addition, at least three principals and two secondary school teachers were employed. Six or seven were university students or had just finished their educational degrees. Only two were teachers at KHI, one in HI, and one (Edelstein) was a researcher at a foreign research institute.

A counting of positions that these 46 individuals have held in the 1980s or currently held, shows that 18 of them have taught in elementary schools (including three in ÆTKHI), twelve have been principals, ten have taught at KHI, four have worked for NCEM, and four have worked for DOEs (including two superintendents). In addition, at least nine have sought further education overseas and five in Iceland.

It is worth noting that the traditional career route in the teaching profession of going from elementary school teaching to secondary school teaching is virtually non-existent among the individuals in this group. Instead, individuals sought further education and/or employment in other reform institutions. Another traditional career route for

elementary school teachers has been to become principals of the school they taught in or in a neighboring school within the same town. In contrast, at least five social studies reformers who became principals moved to coastal towns or villages. Others became principals in sites such as ÆTKHI or an adult-education institution.

The social studies work was an intense "consecration" into the reform movement. In no reform site as of yet have there been more discussions and studies of an academic caliber, and the work there also provided social networkings. Furthermore, the international connections insured by Edelstein's contacts were important (see ch.4.1, social studies). Strong beliefs in the work kept the spirit alive while under pressures and attacks in 1983-4. The debate concerning social studies and history teaching (ch.7.2) seems to have increased the distinctive value of the social studies work (at least in the field of reform) that in addition with habitus "production" and social networkings affects the use of social studies as a social strategy and its center status in the reform.

OPEN SCHOOLS AS SOCIAL STRATEGY

Teaching in open and half-open schools and the discourse surrounding everything related the label "open," as well as the practical sense acquired in such settings, informs the social strategy of open school teaching. More discussion about the reform appears to have taken place in these settings than in other schools. For instance, Arthur Morthens (e.g., 1987b, 8) found that it was primarily his informants in open and half-open schools who reported that a discussion about the Primary School Act's goal article took place in their school (which is not surprising if principals in open schools commonly requested such a discussion, see ch.4.2, Debated Issues). It is reasonable to expect that the discussion had an impact on the teachers in the way that they developed schemes of perception suited for the field of reform -- "open school habitus" -- as well as participation in such a discourse equipped the teachers with knowledge of the discursive themes (child-centeredness, activity, perhaps also developmental psychology and other scientist themes) that reformers have been attempting to place on the top of the hierarchy of values in education. This "participation" in the discourse equipped the teachers with capital in the eyes of reformers as well as it boosted them to enter the reform field.

Teaching in open schools as a way to acquire reform capital has to be seen in a relationship with the use of open schools as an argument for the credibility of reform-like

ideas. The superiority of open school methods was a strong discursive theme (ch.4.2). By teaching in Fossvogsskoli, Snælandsskoli, and other open or half-open schools, teachers gain "open school capital" -- capital that is based on the image that the open school methods are a good preparation for reform work and on the image that they were at least trying to practice what was preached. As a result of acquiring the capital associated with having taught in an open or a progressive school, individuals increase the likelihood of being recruited to work in at least some of the reform institutions (e.g., NCEM, some DOEs).

The participation in a discourse concerning educational reform and work habits in these schools encouraged many teachers in Fossvogsskoli, Snælandsskoli, and other schools to make themselves available to become involved in the reform as teacher or principal leaders, superintendents, or staff members in NCEM. Principals of open schools have led the Association of Principals and Deputy Principals (FSY) in recent years (ch.6.1), and the staff of NCEM consists in half of former teachers in open or progressive schools. Everyone I have asked about this agrees: for instance, Svanhildur Kaaber (1990) and Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990) both speak highly of the boost they received in the Fossvogsskoli and Snælandsskoli, respectively, and DERD and NCEM reformer Ragnar Gislason reports the importance of open work in one of the "older" generation of progressive schools, Oldtunsskoli (1978a,b; see chs.5.2;4.2, Debated Issues)

WHY DID THE REFORM APPEAL TO LEFTISTS?

An analysis of the reform as social strategies should address the relationship between the reform and the fact that many individuals who ally themselves with the left in politics are among reformers. In chapter 5.2, I reported Gestur Gudmundsson's analysis of articles written by socialist educationists where he criticizes them for relying on bourgeoisie theories. As Gestur points out, the ideas of the reform are not what normally would be referred to as socialist ideas. Why, then, did many leftists participate in to the reform at same time as the conservatives strongly disliked it?

First, the reform appealed to leftists in the way it was presented as capable of combatting the non-democratic pre-reform tradition (ch.5.2). It would be mistaken, however, to claim that all leftists innocently believed in the reform. For instance, College

of Education graduate Runar Sigthorsson (1978) argues that the Primary School Act of 1974 and the Primary School General Syllabus of 1976-7 are characterized by "compromise policy" (*malamidlunarstefna*). Runar and many others saw a potential in this compromise policy, a potential that should not be left unused even though this official school policy does not go far enough. With this in mind, it may be concluded that leftist and socialist educationists saw an ally in the reform.

Second, the developmental psychology of Piaget, Kohlberg, and others (e.g., Kohlberg and Mayer 1972) presents a developmental view similar to Marxist interpretations. The notion of developmental progress of humans, promoted by Piaget, Kohlberg, and DERD, and the Marxist notion of developmental progress of societies have similarities, making it possible to use the Piaget psychology as a language to talk about historical progress instead of using Marx. Drawing upon the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Piaget and Marx presuppose that their subjects (humans, societies) go through pre-determined, hierarchical, sequential stages with qualitative differences but acknowledge the role of people's thinking and interactions in reaching the next stage in the sequence. Moreover, leftist reformers may have liked the cognitive bias in the developmental psychology of Piaget and the fact that the reform was based on scientism; that is, on the view that it is possible to know and understand complex human phenomena -- also a prominent view in Marxism. (While this comparison is sketchy, it is based on an important perception in the leftist support for the reform.)

Lastly, leftists realized that the ambiguity involved in the process of curriculum reform offered a place for academic work where the rules of the game had not been predetermined by conservative elites.

The appeal of the reform to leftists is an example of an interrelationship between discursive themes and epistemic relations. The discursive themes are suited to attract those who do not believe in the pre-reform pedagogical tradition, and the ambiguity around the reform discourse is suited to attract those with the least capital in the traditional academic disciplines. People who do not believe in the pre-reform tradition tend to lean toward the left in politics and often do not have the resources (financial or cultural) to succeed in well-established fields (such as law or medicine). Additionally, not many conservatives have enough knowledge of educational theory to enter reform discussions from the inside which leaves the field open for others to enter it.

There is no evidence, however, to suggest that every reformer was a leftist, even not more than a small fraction of reformers. But the field of reform became a prospective field for those who did not like the "rules of the academic game" or did not succeed in other games as they were played. An individual who sensed that s/he could have an advantage of inventing new rules was a prospect for work in the reform -- in particular if the democratic potential and the scientific arguments did not counter their previous beliefs. Only in this sense was the reform more attractive to leftists than to conservatives.

STUDENTS OF PEDAGOGY

The 1978 turmoil in KHI: Based on interviews with individuals who were graduated from KHI and other institutions undergoing similar transformation to a university level education in the 1970s, Fox (1990, 27) emphasizes "the value of participating in an educational process that was unfolding in front of their eyes." This is at least true about the experience of many students in KHI, for example Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990) who reports a feeling of empowerment during the late 1970s turmoil (she was graduated in 1978). Students were indeed involved in the process of determining the change towards the theme study structure (ch.4.2). The ideas that eventually were implemented were not as radical, however, as those proposed by the students; they had demanded more student involvement in determining the contents of the curriculum (Bjorn Thrainn Thordarson 1978, 41). Nevertheless, one of the students declared these changes "the most significant experiments for improving [education]" (Runar Sigthorsson 1978, 5). Students published the controversial newspaper **Hodur** of which one of the issues was censored (see endnote 5, ch.4), and they frequently walked out of a lecture in the middle of it if in order to demonstrate that they didn't like the politics of what was said (Birna Sigurjonsdottir 1990, 1991).

When graduated from KHI, the most active people in the 1978 uproar chose to teach in open schools or work in other sites they considered progressive. According to Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990), they attempted to combine "creativity in teaching with being active in the struggle for better salary." For example, four 1978 graduates of KHI are in the leadership group of the Teacher Union of Iceland that was analyzed in chapter 6.1, four worked for DERD (including one of the inspectors), and three now teach at ÆTKHI.

I have tracked down information about eight individuals who wrote articles in the second issue of **Hodur's** second volume (published in the fall of 1978; see Haukur Viggosson 1978b, Runar Sigthorsson 1978, Gudbjorg Palsdottir 1978, Gisli Asgeirsson 1978, Anna Joelsdottir and Birna Sigurjonsdottir 1978, Bjorn Thrainn Thordarson 1978, Gisli Asgeirsson and Halldor Leifsson 1978). Some of these individuals are 1978 graduates; others were graduated later.

Of these eight individuals, five have taught in open or half-open schools: Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1946-), (as of August 1990) the deputy principal of Snælandsskoli, Gudbjorg Palsdottir (1956-), currently a teaching practice teacher at ÆTKHI, and Haukur Viggosson (1951-), currently a student of educational administration in Sweden, all taught in Snælandsskoli; Anna Joelsdottir (1947-; see also ch.2.2), currently working in commercial public relations and advertising business, taught in Fossvogsskoli and Vesturbæjarskoli; and Gisli Asgeirsson (1955-) taught in Vesturbæjarskoli from 1983 (information as of 1983). Four have been associated with NCEM: Anna Joelsdottir was the co-director of the Teacher Center (1985-6); Haukur Viggosson worked there half-time from the early 1980s and was the head of the Division of Sales and Distribution (1986-9); Birna Sigurjonsdottir is a teacher representative of the Central Board of NCEM; and the work of Gisli Asgeirsson has been published by the Teacher Center (Gisli Asgeirsson 1985). Three have been in the leadership of the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI): Birna Sigurjonsdottir and Runar Sigthorsson (1953-), currently a principal, are on the Central Board (Birna's role in establishing **Skolastefna** has already been discussed; see ch.4.2), and Haukur Viggosson was a deputy member of the Pedagogy Committee of KI from 1984-7 and active in the discussion of **Skolastefna**. In addition, Anna Joelsdottir has been on the Editorial Board of **Ny menntamal** (1983-4, 1985-7). Two have been associated with KHI: Anna Joelsdottir was the assistant director of in-service education (1986-7), and Gudbjorg Palsdottir is a teaching practice teacher at ÆTKHI. Four have gone overseas for further education: Anna Joelsdottir studied in England (ch.2.2); Gudbjorg Palsdottir studied in Denmark (**Kennaratal** does not contain information about her studies); Halldor Leifsson (1955-) was also (as of 1985) studying in the Royal Danish Institute of Education after a four-year study in theology in that country; and Haukur Viggosson, as noted above, currently studies educational administration in Sweden. Two have been principals or deputy principals: Birna Sigurjonsdottir at

Snælandsskoli, and Runar Sigthorsson at the Eidar Elementary School, East Iceland. The information in **Kennaratal** about the remaining person, Bjorn Thrainn Thordarson (1954-), is far too incomplete to conclude about his accomplishments but does not contain information about work in any of the above categories.

This means that these eight individuals have distinguished careers in the reform already, let alone what they may do in the future and let alone what others who were active in the 1978 turmoil have done. In their work, these individuals seem to have received boost from the progressivism that they saw in reform themes. They fought what they saw as reactionary views and repressive practices in KHI, they faced censorship, but they also had support among faculty. These individuals have capitalized on progressive themes, and their experience has been habitus-shaping experience that they have built upon in the continuing work in other sites. The 1978 turmoil in KHI is one of the events that has in complex ways contributed to the expansion of space for the progressive themes of the reform and the reform discourse in general.

Students at the Pedagogy Division in HI: Students at the Pedagogy Division in HI may be divided into three groups. The first group consists of those who majored in pedagogy; the second group of those who took pedagogy as a minor; and the third group of those who added the UK program on top of their previous university degrees (BA, BS, or graduate degrees).

The first graduate with a BA degree in pedagogy was graduated from the Faculty of Social Sciences in October 1979. Until June 1984, 37 other individuals were graduated with a BA degree in pedagogy (**Arbok Haskola Islands** 1979-84). Several (five) of these people had been involved with DERD, in particular with the social studies team, or became involved in DERD work after they had been students in the Pedagogy Division. Many of these graduates have sought education overseas, in fact the majority of those who I know personally. One of them is the now the Dean of Academic Affairs at KHI and two teach at the Pedagogy Division. At least two of these graduates are principals: one in Snælandsskoli and one who is also a Central Board member of FSY.

To consider the impact on individuals' habitus that took place in the Pedagogy Division, we need also to consider those who minored in pedagogy. Attempts to identify who they are have been unsuccessful (the University yearbooks (i.e., **Arbok Haskola Islands**) only publish information on the major discipline). Personally I know between

ten and 20 individuals who were graduated with pedagogy as a minor in approximately the period from 1979-84. The initial "plot" was to cut short the four-year program towards a teaching certificate by one semester (see ch.3.2). The reason for this possibility was that in the Faculty of Arts, at this time, students had to study a minor discipline, equivalent to one year of the three-year program towards a BA degree. This was unpopular and since many individuals intended to study pedagogy to obtain a teaching certificate, the opportunity to diminish the number of disciplines from three (major, minor, pedagogy for a teaching certificate) to two was used.

One of the individuals who took this path is textbook writer Bragi Gudmundsson (1955-), cand. mag. in history (1983), a graduate of the social sciences division at Menntaskolinn Akureyri (1975) and now a teacher there. In 1982, Bragi presented a challenge to history teachers. He called for history teaching grounded in the interests of students and teachers (in contrast with teaching factually-based outdated texts), library research, and group work, and he demands that teachers use a month each summer (which is paid preparation time) to write booklets and teaching materials (Bragi Gudmundsson 1982). Later, Bragi co-authored a book on Icelandic history for secondary schools (Bragi Gudmundsson and Gunnar Karlsson 1988, see also ch.3.1).

The example of Bragi signifies a trend among history students to use educational theory to increase their capital among historians. Evidence acquired by undertaking research in education was moved into the history field through the student periodical **Sagnir**; knowledge and social networkings acquired in the Pedagogy Division were utilized to show historians that pedagogy was useful (e.g., Bragi Gudmundsson and Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1981). History students also prepared a theme on history teaching in the 1983 issue of **Sagnir** (Sagnir 1983). In fact, this issue of **Sagnir** was used in the social studies debate.

These examples are reported here to suggest that with the additional capital acquired in educational theory and progressive education (no matter how ambiguous that capital is), Bragi and other young historians increased their chances to succeed in the field of history teaching. He and others used the distinctive value of educational theory in that field to make the case that they should teach history; after having studied pedagogy and curriculum theory, they were more competent than those who had not studied pedagogy or had only studied the minimum, required for a teaching certificate. Furthermore, the

experience that the author of this thesis and many other individuals had in the Pedagogy Division classes was one of pleasure. For instance, group discussions insured that classes were generally more pleasant than in "home" disciplines such as history and Icelandic where the instructors mostly lectured and students (usually) kept silent. This provided important appeal for young academics to enter the field of reform and helped students to capitalize on knowledge of educational theory among historians and in other disciplines in the Faculty of Arts. All in all, Bragi and the other young historians seem to represent in their strategies a discursive conjunction of academic capital and curriculum theory capital. In fact, Professor Gunnar Karlsson who wrote post-social studies textbooks in Icelandic history (ch.3.1) and co-authored a book with Bragi (see above) also has capitalized on this alliance.

NON-TRADITIONAL WORK HABITS AND HABITUAL PRODUCTION:
WHAT IS THE REFORM HABITUS?

The places (e.g., DERD) and groups (e.g., students in KHI and HI's Pedagogy Division) that have been discussed thus far in the thesis are examples of the structuring of non-traditional work habits. Edelstein discusses the importance of this in DERD. He argues that DERD staff members "were not much bound of work habits and rules; rather, they could sway their work process and methods as they wanted" (1988/1981, 103-4). If this is true, it is in part due to the ambiguity not only of hiring teachers with little academic capital but also due to the indeterminacy of the discursive themes that DERD reformers were exposed to. DERD was, therefore, on the margin of the intellectual and academic landscape as it has been constructed by the elites in the country, as well as DERD was an outsider in the state bureaucracy (ch.1.2). In short, the "profession" of educational reformers was ill-defined and unstructured with much room for a "creative redefinition" (Bourdieu 1979a, 87; see a longer quotation in ch.2.1). Those are the reasons for that DERD that led the field of reform for a long time could, by breaking with conventions (employing ambiguous people and ambiguous themes and being in an ambiguous institutional location), was able to pave the way for KHI students, young historians, open school teachers, leftists, and others to "benefit" from the space and openness that was created.

Is there anything that deserves to be called "reform habitus"? The reform's

discursive themes and social networkings have become a set of sense-making strategies, different from social strategies in other fields. These sense-making strategies structure reformers' habitus. For instance, developmental psychology began to affect reformers' dispositions; it became "productive" (Walkerline, e.g., 1988, 204ff; see also quotations in ch.5.1) of the dispositions that the world is seen through. The same can be said about integration, activity pedagogy, and other reform themes. These themes and the social networkings that occurred in the process of working toward the goal of improving and democratizing education structured what kind of experiences were available for reformers in DERD and elsewhere.

Reformers' beliefs in the rights of children (child-centeredness), in democracy, and in that that scientific theories can improve schools and society have become so "deep-rooted" in the reform habitus that reformers tend to lose sight of the arbitrariness of these discourses. In this sense only is it possible to speak about power; we (reformers) "discipline" ourselves, or allow other "forces" (discursive themes, other individuals through social networkings) to discipline us. In a Foucauldian sense, reformers are the guardians of their own beliefs; reformers have become so implicated in these beliefs that the "intention [of democratizing education by scientific means] ... is completely invested in its real and effective practices" (Foucault 1980, 97).

Simultaneously with being affected by the reform themes, reformers changed the arguments and models they were working with. The habitus is not only structured by what it "receives;" it is also "productive." The habitus operates through "practical -- as opposed to cognitive -- functions" (Bourdieu 1989b, 42; see also 1990a) that affect how developmental psychology, integration, group dynamics techniques, activity pedagogy, open school methods, new evaluation ideas, and so forth are carried out in the Icelandic context.

Therefore, the reform habitus is a structuring and structured process. This process (the reform habitus, or the way of becoming a reformer) takes place in sites where individuals become acquainted with reform themes. In fact, because the reform field is relatively recent, the time it takes "to be born into" the game has not begun. The reform habitus is not identical in every reformer; rather, it is a flora of strategies to make sense of the reform. Reformers' closeness with each other would increase the chance that the schemes of perception would be structured in similar ways but never secure it. People

also try to maintain distance between their own version of distinctive features (KHI's people concerning HI's version of teacher education, DERD reformers concerning their version of developmental psychology and what constitutes a proper curriculum development model, and so forth). Moreover, the institutional diversification of the field after DERD's termination (see ch.7.2) has decreased the physical closeness in a field that was being born. Again, the reform habitus is a sense-making process, possessed by individuals who employ discursive themes and social networkings as strategies whenever their practical sense "tells" them that they and their beliefs will benefit.

IN SUM: SOCIAL STRATEGIES AND THE FORMATION OF A FIELD

These snapshots of social strategies provided as examples to show how reformers (as epistemic individuals) employ the reform's themes and practices in ways that affect the formation of a field of educational reform. Individuals use a strategy in a way that appears to be to their (personal) advantage. At the same time, the strategy in question increases the discursive credibility of the themes that had been adopted. If more individuals invest in the reform discourse, the higher is the number of potential defenders of the reform discourse and practices. The more sites these individuals work in, the more likely it is that the pre-reform legitimating principle loses credibility, at least at the discursive level.

7.2 The Emergence of the Field of Educational Reform

While the previous section examined examples of social strategies employed by individuals and small groups of individuals, this section is aimed at placing the discursive themes and social networkings -- carried out in such strategies -- in context with the formation of a social field. The assumption is that the discursive themes and social networkings of epistemic individuals structure the formation of the field of reform at the same time as these themes and networkings are structured by the trajectory of the events that take place. This takes place as the product of practical sense of the themes and networkings. It was not the reformers' plan to form a social field; their intent was to improve education. Nevertheless, the institutional and societal space wherein the reform discourse operates has been expanded through its encounters with discursive themes (and epistemic individuals) operating within legitimating principles other than that structured by the reform hierarchy of values. These are the unplanned "consequences" of the fact that the reform was considered good for children.

Below I discuss events in the reform period (that is, the last 25 years) that signify the trajectory of the field. First, I discuss the shifting institutional power in regard to leadership in education from Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik to DERD to a flora of institutional sites. Second, I explore how selected events affect the strategies -- themes and networkings -- that reformers employ and how social strategies are played out in these events. Events such as the social studies debate in 1983-4 and the campaign concerning teacher professionalism in the mid-1980s lend themselves to such investigations. Third, I lay out what I call the professionalization of educational expertise in the field of reform. Lastly, I summarize indicators as to how the field of reform is a rising field on the social landscape.

INSTITUTIONAL POWER CENTERS

This subsection discusses the institutional realities wherein the debates and struggles concerning social studies and teacher professionalism took place and how leadership in relation to elementary education has shifted from Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik -- first to DERD and then to multiple sites wherein reform themes compete with themes derived

from other legitimating principles.

THE END OF THE MR PERIOD

Until the 1960s, Menntaskolinn í Reykjavík (MR) was the most influential educational institution in Iceland. MR prepared the vast majority of people who received university education and had much impact on other institutions involved in that process (MA, ML, VI, middle schools, and elementary schools). Furthermore, according to Bragi Josepsson in his doctoral dissertation (1968), MR teachers "were commonly selected to advise and work on committees dealing with other phases of education, such as secondary [i.e., the upper elementary level] education, vocational education of different kinds, school administration and general policy, legislation and primary school instruction" (503-4). I believe this description is a fairly accurate representation of MR's prestige in the pre-DERD period; it was the unofficial headquarters of educational ideology in Iceland. Bragi argues that

the conservative attitude of the school [MR] was a hinderance in the natural development in Icelandic education. Through the prestige of the school, many educators have become confused in their understanding of the proper role and objectives of secondary education. The fixed university preparatory program has so influenced all secondary education that modern theories of learning and human development have been largely ignored (504).

Bragi's comment concerning secondary education very much applies to elementary education and indeed to the whole field of education. The timing of Bragi's commentary (i.e., 1968) is also appropriate as to sum up the "MR period" in Icelandic education as the three education advisors had just been appointed and DERD's work begun within the Ministry of Culture and Education (ch.1.2).

With the foundation of DERD, MR seems to have lost the center role it had. For instance, DERD did not ask many MR teachers for advice (exceptions include Hordur Larusson, head of DERD from 1973-84). Instead, DERD looked in different directions. For instance, two of the just-established Menntaskolinn við Hamrahlid's (MH) teachers, Rector Gudmundur Arnlaugsson and Ornlófur Thorlacius who succeeded Gudmundur as Rector of MH, were on the first working committee (*starfshopur*) to prepare the physics and chemistry curriculum. This committee was appointed in June 1968. Ornlófur also

chaired the biology working committee appointed in January 1969 (Hrolfur Kjartansson n.d.). Furthermore, as I have reported, DERD hired many elementary school teachers as staff members, textbook writers, and consultants (ch.6.1).

THE DERD PERIOD

DERD rather quickly assumed leadership in the field of educational reform; DERD was indeed established to lead the modernization of education. At approximately the same time as the DERD curriculum projects were taking off, the Teacher Training College was changed into KHI (1971). KHI, however, seems to have been undergoing its transformation into a university for most of the 1970s and 1980s (see also Fox 1990). Meanwhile, the leadership in the field of reform was firmly with DERD. For instance, KHI was officially responsible for in-service education of teachers, but DERD inspectors organized and administered most of these courses, "both in general and in details. Most project directors [i.e., inspectors] used part of their summer vacation to teach ..." the in-service workshops (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1982, 34). Gradually, this changed after 1980, in part because of DERD's changing role.

Because of the relative absence of a pedagogical discussion in secondary schools (e.g., Hrolfur Kjartansson 1980, 4) as well as for the lack of widespread cooperation between the secondary schools, DERD -- which did not devote much attention to that school level -- may have become a larger giant in the field of education than if there would have been more definite leadership at the secondary level. The MR educated elite, still struggling against new ideas and increased access for the urban and rural public to secondary and higher education, was unable to utilize the dispersion in secondary education and assume the upper hand in debates among educators. None of the other secondary schools was able to assume a definite leadership status, at least not before DERD was terminated. This is in part due to power struggles. Led by three semi-urban schools (in Akranes, Hafnarfjordur and Keflavik), many rural and coastal schools joined forces, step-by-step. Meanwhile, the larger institutions in Reykjavik (MH, MS, Fjolbrautaskolinn (comprehensive school) i Breidholti) remained much isolated from the semi-urban and rural schools and from each other.

After about a decade of curriculum work (ca.1970-1980), a shift may be noted in DERD's work toward teaching advising and a focus on how schools operate on the daily

basis (e.g., Hrolfur Kjartansson 1980). A DERD report explains that in the beginning of the 1980s "emphasis was placed on assisting teachers who were experimenting with integrated teaching" (**Starfsemi skolarannsoknadeildar 1979-1983** n.d., 2). DERD hired advisors (teachers) to advise about teaching mathematics and Icelandic in rural and coastal districts. In many cases, these advisors were associated with a DOE. Later DOEs took over this function of DERD's work. Furthermore, the interactive schooling workshops (see ch.4.2, Debated Issues) are a leaf on this branch.

Many DERD inspectors also left DERD in the early 1980s. One of them is Ingvar Sigurgeirsson. He left in 1983 to become the director of the newly established Teacher Center in NCEM. In the Teacher Center, Ingvar initiated a series of meetings and established the Teacher Center as one of the central places for reform outreach. The Teacher Center also provides teaching and curriculum advice to teachers, and serves as a workshop for teachers (see also ch.3.2). In short, the foundation of the Teacher Center and Ingvar's move to lead it signify the shift from curriculum planning to outreach through contacting teachers. Olafur Proppe also left DERD in 1983 to become an Assistant Professor at the College of Education, and Hordur Bergmann left to become the education and public relations representative (fræðslufulltrúi) for the State Occupational Safety Agency (Vinnueftirlit Ríkisins).

The change after 1980 correlates with an international shift in the 1980s from a focus on curriculum toward a focus on teachers and teaching. One example of this shift is the current research in the United States that focuses on teachers and "teachers' thought processes" (Clark and Peterson 1986) as the "foundation for new reform" (Shulman 1987).¹⁾ Other examples of this shift are two reports published in the U.S. in 1986, entitled **Tomorrow's Teachers** (Holmes Group 1986) and **A Nation Prepared** (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy 1986).

THE POST-DERD PERIOD

After DERD was terminated at the beginning of 1985, the field of educational reform became fragmented in terms of institutional leadership. There was no lack, however, of individuals interested in reforming education or beliefs (discursive themes) concerning how to reform. The work in DERD "produced" people who went to various other institutional sites. The fact that DERD had relied on many teachers in the 1980s and the

simultaneous establishment of open schools also insured that after the termination of DERD, reform ideas were delivered through all kinds of social networkings. These individuals are divided not only between various institutions that are struggling over institutional power but also divided along the discursive lines (hierarchies of values). What combines them (in a field) are the struggles over legitimation (that is, relationships but not "boundedness;" see a quotation to Sabeau, ch.2.1).

DEFENDING AND PROMOTING THE REFORM: THE IMPACT OF THE
DEBATES ON SOCIAL STUDIES AND TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM
ON THE LEGITIMATION OF THE REFORM

The two most visible debates on education in Iceland in the 1980s were the debate about the social studies project and the campaign concerning teacher professionalism. The social studies debate was characterized by the fact that reformers had to defend themselves and their work; the discussion on professionalism was a campaign initiated by reformers and teacher leaders to improve education and increase respect for teachers. Of these two events, the social studies debate has received more attention in scholarly work (e.g., Gunnar Karlsson 1984, Edelstein 1987, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990) than the discussion on professionalism. Below I recount the central arguments in these debates as they relate to different legitimating principles and the trajectory of the field of reform.

ISSUES IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES DEBATE

The social studies curriculum project, one of the most controversial educational ventures in Icelandic history, was originally based on curriculum models and theories developed by Taba, Bruner, Piaget, and others (ch.1.2) It was based on a spiral of key concepts, it relied on inquiry teaching methods in amounts unheard of before in Iceland, and used the notion of developmental stages to help to select contents (ch.1.2). In the Icelandic context, a team of scholars and teachers developed the theory behind the project. This theory changed from scientist, civil engineering (mechanistic) models to more interactive (organic) and pluralistic approaches toward curriculum and teaching (ch.4.1). The social studies project also represents the most productive site for the production of Icelandic curriculum theory that is believed to have the potential of facilitating progressive social change (ch.5.1).

When the social studies curriculum project came under an attack in the press from traditionalist forces led by the newspaper **Morgunbladid** and journalist-columnist Gudmundur Magnusson -- a graduate of the History Division in the University of Iceland and the London School of Economics -- in November 1983 (e.g., Gudmundur Magnusson 1983c, 1984a; see also an overview of the discursive conflicts between the reform and pre-reform traditions in ch.5.2), the social studies' symbolic capital was threatened. Based on a study of newspaper articles, Parliament proceedings, interviews, and other sources, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, 234-8) analyzed the traditionalist critique. According to him, the critics defended the traditional content of history and geography textbooks, calling for an emphasis on "event" history and "overviews" of countries and areas, and they dismissed the use of such "scientific" inventions as a structure of key concepts and integration to constitute a new subject. Because the social studies textbooks did not indoctrinate nationalistic values, the critics considered them morally and politically dangerous, posing a threat for Icelandic nationality. Some critics were particularly disturbed by what they thought was happening to Icelandic history; that is, they believed that it was being replaced with teaching about "primitive" nations and baboons (e.g., Sighvatur Bjorgvinsson 1983a,b; Haraldur Blondal 1983). Furthermore, talk about pedagogy, curriculum models, simulation games, and so forth, was considered not important by the critics (see also ch.5.2) and was *de facto* equated with leftist politics and a communist conspiracy.

Not only were the criticisms in many cases factually inaccurate on the behalf of traditionalists (for instance, there was no plan to abandon the teaching of Icelandic history as critics repeatedly suggested ²); the criticisms were really vicious. Because this winter I was working on the project **Heimabyggdin** (see ch.4.1, in particular endnote 3), I was in a daily contact with key people in the social studies project, and I remember well the anger and frustration not only with the critics but also with the vague response on the behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Education. For instance, Minister Ragnhildur Helgadóttir did not defend her subordinates, personally attacked for doing their duties, against attacks from the critics (her allies in politics); in contrast, she, in a Parliament speech, supported the call for "transmission of solid knowledge" (November 22, 1983; cited in Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 196) and called for what Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990, 216) labels "a ritualistic and nationalistic indoctrination" (February 9, 1984). To

capture the witch-hunting mentality of the debate, Gunnar Karlsson (1984) has named it "the long winter nights of history teaching."

If I only consider the fate of the social studies project as a Ministry of Culture and Education-sponsored project, Ragnhildur Helgadóttir's refusal to rehire Erla Kristjansdóttir as a social studies inspector in the spring of 1984, and the resignation of the social studies team in June 1984 ("Yfirlýsing" 1984; transl. appears in Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 231-2; see also Edelstein 1988, 274, 279), I would conclude that the traditionalists and the Reykjavik elite defeated the social studies reformers. Furthermore, a subsequent report prepared by a committee appointed by Ragnhildur suggested that the school subjects history and geography, planned to be integrated in the social studies curriculum, should mostly be kept separate in grades 6-10 (Nefnd i samfelagsfræði 1987, 4). Nevertheless, textbooks written by individuals as team members are still waiting for publication by NCEM, and no social studies textbook was withdrawn from schools. The critics have had no success personally in the field of reform, and -- in spite of the fact that some of these critics continued to write on many of the issues that surfaced in this debate -- I find no evidence to conclude that their arguments have much legitimacy among educators.

The impact of the debate on the trajectory of the field of reform is more complex. The debate restructured alliances and arguments. The teacher unions came out in support of the social studies team (Thjv. June 30, 1984; see also Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, 232-3), and the debate led many people to take a stance. A public debate on educational theory, even though often based on distortion, increases the visibility of the reform in relation to other educational themes. After all, this debate was about reform issues, not pre-reform issues, and reformers had to come out and produce public arguments. It also became clear that it was not possible to democratize education behind the curtains of bourgeoisie governments that come and go; consequently, Edelstein and others devoted more energy to speak in public on educational issues.

New types of discursive themes that connect elements derived from other legitimating principles with the reform values have emerged in the aftermath of this dispute. In addition to using democratic, child-centered, and scientist themes of the reform, I have observed a movement toward using arguments based on the notion that there is a domestic curriculum tradition in Iceland and arguments based on the notion that a

synthesis of the story-telling tradition and the progressive tradition is possible (chs.4.1,5.1). From this perspective and by reinforcing struggles over legitimation, the debate may indeed have speeded up the emergence of poles in the field of reform as well as it affected the alliances across spectrums of legitimating principles in the field of reform. The debate also had an impact on initiating the professionalism campaign that is discussed below.

THE PROFESSIONALISM CAMPAIGN

What I characterize here as the professionalism campaign is not one event; rather, it is an array of projects, documents, conferences, public and private discussions, campaigns for legislative change, and so forth. In addition to the document *Skolastefna* (1990; see also *Mennt er mattur* 1987; see chs.4.2,5.1), which is a part of this campaign, I discuss arguments to be found in xeroxed materials, newspaper articles, conference speeches and proceedings, and elsewhere. Unlike the social studies debate which had a beginning (November 1983) and an end (June 1984), the professionalism campaign does not have one date as the beginning date and has indeed not ended. My discussion, however, will be much limited with the campaign between 1984 and 1987. ³⁾

This discussion has two foci: the arguments for teacher professionalism and the social conditions of intellectuals in the field of education. The purpose of this discussion is to clarify how discursive themes appear in arguments for teacher professionalism and in arguments against the Teacher License Act (*Log um logverndun ...* 1986) and how these arguments relate to the spectrums of legitimating principles in the reform field. The discussion on the social conditions of educators focuses on how advocates of teacher professionalism used materialistic arguments for the concerns of teachers and their students.

Beginning of the professionalism campaign: In the early mid-1980s, the two main teacher unions in the country, the Teacher Union of Iceland (KI) and The Icelandic Teacher Association (HIK), joined forces in the Federation of Teacher Associations (BK). They also launched a campaign for a legislation concerning licensing of teachers and protection of the use of occupational titles (often referred to as the campaign for "logverndun" (job protection by law)). The background to the job protection campaign is that in 1978, a legislation concerning the minimum preparation of teachers and principals

had been passed by the Parliament (Log um embættisgengi kennara og skolestjóra 1978). Teacher leaders and others felt that this legislation did not sufficiently insure the quality of teaching since principals and school boards continued to recommend the hiring of teachers who were not certified. Principals were suspected of not making enough effort to find certified teachers if they had indeed found someone to teach. Furthermore, uncertified teachers frequently kept positions for years because principals did not announce positions which would have enabled certified teachers to apply.

After debates and considerable lobby efforts on the behalf of BK and others, the Parliament passed the Teacher License Act in the spring of 1986 (Log um logverndun ... 1986). In addition to a diploma from a teacher education institution, this act requires an authorization on the behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Education (documents that in 1987 cost 750 Kronas (ca. 20 U.S. Dollars) per title) for an individual to use the title "elementary school teacher" (grunnskólakennari) or "secondary school teacher" (framhaldsskólakennari). The preparation requirements for obtaining a teaching certificate remain the same in the 1986 act as in the 1978 act, but by the 1986 act, applications of individuals without a certificate and a license, when recommended by principals and school boards, have to be reviewed by a committee that includes representatives from the Ministry of Culture and Education, a teacher education institution and a teacher union. Unlicensed individuals are now called "instructors" (leidbeinendur) instead of teachers and receive somewhat lower salary.

Needless to say, teachers are still struggling for their occupational rights, and many unlicensed individuals are still hired to teach, especially in rural and coastal communities. Moreover, teacher salary has not risen, and teachers in HIK have gone on strike three times, in 1985, 1987, and 1989 (due to the pre-1987 union legislation, the first "strike" was in fact based on mass resignations). To be cynical, the most visible accomplishment is the distinction between teachers and instructors, represented in the title "instructor" (leidbeinandi) given to uncertified elementary schools' faculty members. The value of this distinction is still contested, and it may be of more value for reformers who capitalize on the potential of professionalism in teaching than it is for teachers across the country who teach side by side with the instructors.

The shift in the debate -- from a defense for curriculum to a promotion of teacher professionalism (or "fagvitund" -- occupational consciousness, professional identity -- as

it was often called) -- is consistent with the shift from curriculum to teaching advising in the official policy. According to Birna Sigurjonsdottir (1990), there was considerable "whining" among teachers after the not-so-successful strike of federal and municipal employees (BSRB) in October 1983 that KI participated in. The writing of *Skolastefna* was decided in June 1984, in part to combat that whining. Social studies reformers also jumped on the bandwagon of teacher professionalism because of the declining belief that the government can initiate change in education (Ingvar Sigurgeirsson 1983, 393). After the experience of "the long winter nights of history teaching," such a move may indeed have been an inevitable move.

The status and social conditions of teachers: The agendas behind the support for the professionalism campaign may be as many as the individuals and groups that were involved. Gunnlaugur Astgeirsson, a Central Board member of HIK and a teacher of Icelandic at MH, summarizes areas of concern in an editorial in *Ny menntamal* in 1984 (Gunnlaugur Astgeirsson 1984, 3). According to him, the main concerns are salary, status, respect, and evaluation of teachers' work. These concerns signify the belief that teachers are underpaid and, consequently, disrespected compared with professionals in the private sector and that teachers' status has fallen from what it used to be. Teachers pointed out that they cannot go into the private sector to find better-paid jobs without giving up teaching. In fact, approximately in the years from 1982-4, teachers -- as well as other state employees, workers, and those who normally work for fixed contract salary -- lost a considerable share of their salary when governments decided to combat inflation by "freezing" salary rates. In this context, it was frequently argued that teachers' work has no lesser value than, for example, engineers' work or the work of those who import goods, and the use economical metaphors was frequent (e.g., Wincie Johannsdottir 1985). It was also argued that the best teachers would tend to leave teaching and cause "brain drain" (atgervisflotti) from the profession (e.g., Jon Hafsteinn Jonsson 1985). Moreover, teachers argued that a low salary causes a special stress for a teacher's conscience because of the overtime work most teachers need to perform to survive economically at the same time as they want to teach properly (Wincie Johannsdottir 1985, Arthur Bjorgvin Bollason 1985). In this sense, salary, status, and respect are closely related to each other.

The change of coalition government in 1983 (see Table 1, Appendix I) signifies a

shift toward conservatism and deregulation in the Western world. The new government toughened the already-begun salary freeze; it deregulated various kinds of business and industry, such as import, wholesale, and retail business; and it discontinued state monopoly on radio and television broadcasting. By these moves, the government contributed to growing individualism and materialism in the country. This individualism appears, for instance, in an interest in "free-lance" professionalism. In order to become one's own boss, journalists founded their own magazines, psychologists sought to be self-employed, and so forth. These pressures were felt by educators who, as I noted, had little possibility of doing both, being self-employed and staying in the occupation (with the exception of Tjarnarskoli's principals, see ch.4.2, Debated Issues).

The yuppie-style -- a 1980s version of an ideology around professionals and entrepreneurs -- also had an impact on teachers' perception of their social conditions. This lifestyle, at least in the Icelandic context, is related to an interest among artists and cultural figures in Reykjavik in renovating old houses, eating in the ultra-expensive restaurants in Iceland, wearing clothes made of natural fabrics -- in short, "showing off." Novelist Gudbergur Bergsson (1986, 286) splendidly explains how the "team of cuties" (*sæta lidid*), which he claims that does not have any politics or ideology, contends to be searching for a "firm core" behind the horrible wall-paper from the time when the working class was rising from poverty: "Undir ollu draslinu var skinandi panill" (underneath all the junk was shining panelling). These fashion trends affected teachers as well as nurses and other health professionals (groups working for the state on fixed contract salary and largely consisting of women). Teachers' and nurses' education equips them with the dispositions to enjoy panelling, French-cuisine restaurants, and nice dresses, but they felt vulnerable under the immediate material pressures of establishing a lifestyle comparable with that of former school mates with much higher income.

Arguments in the professionalism campaign: Speeches and proceedings from a conference on teacher education, held in April 1986 (listed in References as Olafur H. Johannsson 1986), summarize many of the major arguments put forward by reformers and teacher leaders. The Federation of Teacher Associations (BK) held the conference in association with five teacher education institutions, i.e., the University of Iceland, the Physical Education Training School of Iceland, the College of Education, the College of Art and Crafts, and the Reykjavik School of Music. Two keynote addresses included

that of Sigurjon Myrdal of KHI (1986) and an address co-written at BK's request by a group of six educators. The address was delivered by BK's leaders, Heimir Palsson, a teacher of Icelandic in MH, chair of BK, and Svanhildur Kaaber, deputy chair and founding chair of BK. Others in the group were Aldis Gudmundsdottir, MH; Hannes Isberg Olafsson, the editor of *Ný menntamal* and a teacher in Armulaskoli secondary school in Reykjavik; Erla Kristjansdottir, former social studies inspector for DERD; and Torfi Hjartarson, a KHI student (was graduated 1986), later a textbook writer for NCEM (the address is referred to here as Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986).

Among the arguments put forward at this conference and on other occasions are child-centered arguments, arguments that stress *fagvitund*, progressive arguments, and arguments that relate to union politics.

Child-centered arguments for teacher professionalism: An important part of the rhetoric in the professionalism campaign was to state that improving the quality of teaching is vital for children. This was articulated in a group discussion at the April 1986 conference. Notes of the discussion were recorded by principal Stella Gudmundsdottir of Hjallaskoli, Kopavogur, a former DERD part-timer and former teacher at ÆTKHI (see "Fagvitund kennara" 1986). The group discusses six criteria for "professional school practice" (*faglegt skolestarf*). These criteria address students' cognitive as well as emotional needs, the relationship between students and the teacher, and the teacher's ability to motivate students' learning. According to these criteria, the teacher should emphasize the relationship between what is learned and why it is learned (39), the teacher should facilitate students' access to resources and materials (40), and the teacher should be sensitive toward students' emotions and personality (41).

Fagvitund: The word *fagvitund* (the closest transl. is occupational consciousness but an equally relevant transl. to capture the significance of it to many educationists is professional identity) became a symbol for the campaign. *Fagvitund* draws attention to the belief that teachers' social struggles are not only over material resources (income) but over the goals of education. *Fagvitund* also signifies a dialectical view to the relationship between the teacher and her/his practice, put forward by, for instance, Olafur Proppe. Olafur's definition of "professional school practice" contains that school practice is professional "[w]hen a teacher continues to increase her/his ability as to approach school practice by researching own practice and that of other teachers, and [when s/he] tries

ideas in practice, and evaluates [the practice] in an organized fashion" ("Fagvitund kennara" 1986, 39).

In the conference notes, the Fagvitund-group discusses what might be called the "double nature" ("twofold specialization" (tvofold sermenntun), in the words of Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986, 23) of the occupational knowledge of teachers. The Fagvitund-group argues this knowledge must consist of a "[g]ood overview over pedagogy and curriculum theory in general," "[s]ound education in knowledge subjects [because that] supplies teachers with professional security," and "[g]ood foundation in the didactics of knowledge subjects [because t]he first two factors meet there" ("Fagvitund kennara" 1986, 40).

The emphasis on (academic) subjects seems to me to stem from the legitimating power of academic capital. The Fagvitund-group, as well as speakers at the conference (e.g., Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986, 20), highlight "knowledge" to argue for the notion that "methods" (read: pedagogy, curriculum theory) are necessary for the teacher to be able to deliver this knowledge effectively to students. The group goes the farthest into this direction by inventing the term "knowledge subjects" (thekkingargreinar), while Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. (1986, 20) simply talk about "a large volume of sound knowledge in the subject matter/s" that the teacher teaches.

Wolfgang Edelstein was one of those who used the term fagvitund. In a speech at a teacher conference at beginning of the fall 1985, Edelstein emphasized professional practice and what he called "developmentally promising didactics" (throskavænleg kennslufræði; see 1985, 9), and he advised teachers to look at how medical doctors have organized their profession as well as how they have assumed professional responsibility for their practice (1985, 8). One characteristic of Edelstein's solutions is that they tend to be technical solutions. For instance, in an address to secondary school Rectors, he discussed the lack of curriculum theory knowledge among secondary school teachers, in particular the lack of knowledge of evaluation methods, as a fundamental obstacle for improving education (1988/1985). Consequently, if knowledge of evaluation methods among secondary school teachers would improve, the quality of secondary school teaching would increase. Simultaneously with emphasizing scientific educational theory and Piaget's developmental psychology, Edelstein admitted to the limitations of Piaget's

theory because he "does little to examine the social field of the developmental conditions ..." (1985, 10; see also 1988, 167).

Fagvitund has also been tied to personal characteristics of teachers. Sigurjon Myrdal (1986, 4) discusses how practicum teaching is "in important matters tied to attitudes and manners -- i.e., teachers' personalities." Sigurjon stresses the importance of good "personal supervision" of student teachers (4) and that research in teacher education is vital to improve the conditions of the occupation (10).

Political arguments: In the address that Heimir Palsson and Svanhildur Kaaber delivered at the April 1986 conference (Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986), they rejected to discuss a question phrased by Gudmundur Magnusson (1986a; see below), "Do teachers need to be curriculum theorists (kennslufræðingar)?" Heimir and Svanhildur argued that more appropriate questions include, "What kind of curriculum theorists?," "What kind of schools and school systems?," and, "Why schools?" (16). They interpreted the meaning of the goal of the Primary School Act of 1974 (Log um grunnskola 1974, article 2; this article appears in its entirety in ch.4.1) as "sovereignty to collective responsibility" (17); that is,

that the school is to insure that every student will become capable of taking independent decisions, to select the direction for own life, and to change that direction when it is necessary. Besides this the school must foster student's understanding of that that [s/]he is not an island but shares the responsibility for life with everyone else (17).

Heimir and Svanhildur tie the discussion of the purposes of schooling into the demand that "[e]very single teacher must have the education that is needed to be capable of taking a responsible position to teaching materials" (21). They continue:

The materialistic world that we live in is irresponsible. Teachers ... must not avoid the responsibility of taking a position; [they must] teach their students [methods for] discriminating between good and bad ...

Imagine that a dictator-minded government would come to power, imagine that we would be faced with ... revision of history, imagine that it would be prohibited to teach about Jon Sigurdsson [the 19th-century independence hero whose birthday, June 17, is the National Day of Iceland] -- well, or prohibited to teach about anyone else than Jon Sigurdsson. A teacher profession (stett) not able to resist such repression would be irresponsible ... And let us not say: This will never happen here! Such a response is irresponsible (21).

Heimir and Svanhildur admit that ethics and how to discriminate between good and bad might never be "taught" in schools, but contend that these issues be dealt with in teacher education because teaching must always be based on discussions concerning ethical problems and matters of opinion. Otherwise the goal of "sovereignty [of the individual] in collective responsibility" for the world cannot be fulfilled (23).

Heimir and Svanhildur's address highlights many of the themes previously reported as democratic or progressive themes. For them, cooperation and discussion have the fundamental goal of facilitating participatory democracy. "Methods," when mentioned by them, refer to the process of participation in making decisions. They do not reject science but point out that science is never more than a tool to achieve "understanding of the value of education" (Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986, 24). They argue that teachers need more than "minimum education;" they say that teachers really need the "surplus-education" ("umframmenntun") that is also vital for the scientist who wishes to succeed (23). Finally, they say that the teacher must somehow become an "education theorist" (menntunarfræðingur) (24).

Another political argument, often put forward in the professionalism campaign, was the lack of certified teachers in the rural and coastal areas of the country and the inequality caused by that. This is discussed, for instance, by Halldora Jonsdottir (1986), teacher in Hafralækjarskoli in the North East district. She points out that while only a few of the Reykjavik teachers in the school year 1985-6 were uncertified teachers, 50 % of teachers in the West Fjords were uncertified and 25 % in the whole country. In addition, rural schools tend to suffer more from lack of adequate physical conditions. Halldora calls for superintendents, local school boards, and principals to refuse to hire uncertified teachers. The article was written in support of the proposed Teacher License Act that she believed would help to reverse the trend.

One more issue that surfaced in the professionalism campaign was unionization and the right to bargain a contract. Traditionally, state employees in Iceland have not had the right to bargain their contract. In 1976, the Federation of State and Municipal Employees (BSRB), won limited bargaining rights. KI and its predecessors, SGK and SIB, belonged to BSRB, and many KI members felt they were "used" in the 1983 strike without gaining their share. HIK belonged to another organization (the Federation of University Educated People, BHM) that had even more limited bargaining rights and not

the right to go on strike. Mass resignations of HIK members that took effect on March 1, 1985 were equal to a strike and underlined the necessity for bargaining rights (Heimir Pálsson 1985). Current legislation, passed in 1986 and effective on January 1, 1987 (Log um kjarasamninga opinberra starfsmanna 1986) allows each union of state employees to bargain for themselves.

Counter-arguments against the Teacher License Act: Not only was Gudmundur Magnusson a zealous critic of the social studies project; he was a crusader against the Teacher License Act. His main arguments against the act were of two types. The first type concerns freedom to choose one's job regardless of formal preparation. Gudmundur referred to the Icelandic Constitution and argued that it is intended to secure that everyone has the right to choose his or her own job. Furthermore, Gudmundur referred to a traditional capitalist free-market type view -- he calls it a liberal view -- that everyone should be able to decide from whom to buy services (such as teaching). Gudmundur argued that access limitations, secured by job protection by law (logverndun), are likely to prevent healthy competition and damage the development of an industry (atvinnugrein) (Gudmundur Magnusson 1986a). This argument is consistent with the neo-conservative agendas in the 1980s wherein it was tried to force capitalist logic upon everything in society, including the market, art, education, and so forth.

The second type of arguments that Gudmundur was concerned about is his belief that pedagogy and curriculum theory is nonsense at best and leftist subversion at worst (see also ch.5.2). Therefore, he argued, it is important to prevent that learning such nonsense will be required for those who want to teach. Gudmundur took the example of "a highly-educated linguist that also has studied Icelandic literature" who competes for the position of teaching Icelandic in the upper grades (i.e., grades 8-10) of the elementary school with "curriculum theorist who has learned a little bit in grammar and literature in the College of Education and been graduated from there" (1984b). Gudmundur argued that it were ridiculous that the linguist wouldn't even be considered for the position except having attended pedagogy classes. The reason it is not reasonable to expect the linguist to attend classes in the UK program in the University so s/he could obtain a license is that "it is the opinion of many who have knowledge about it [the UK program in the University's Division of Pedagogy] that the 'theories' that are taught there are worthless and especially questionable" (1984b). Gudmundur continued later: "most of

these studies concern untestable hypotheses ... about the psyche of individuals and the collective life of humans, and they have almost never any practical use in teaching, but may indeed be very harmful." Furthermore, the "unbelievable dilusions (grillur)" "in the minds of pedagogy- and curriculum theorists" are much responsible for "what has gone wrong in schools in the country in recent years and has caused great worries for parents and other guardians of children" (1986a). In 1989, shortly after his one-year long tenure as the political aid to Minister of Culture and Education Birgir Isleifur Gunnarsson, Gudmundur once again reiterated his points in Morgunbladid (Gudmundur Magnusson 1989a,b). Among other things, he invented the phrase "leftist pedagogy theorists" (vinstri uppeldisfræðingar).

In sum: The proponents of teachers professionalism and fagvitund put forward arguments based on child-centered and progressive themes (e.g., Heimir Pálsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986). They also put forward technological arguments based on the notion of scientific expertise in educational theory (e.g., Edelstein 1985) and arguments demanding higher salary. The demands for higher salary were triggered by vulnerability in terms of income and lifestyle. In contrast with the social studies debate, proponents of teacher professionalism framed this campaign. Arguments put forward by Gudmundur Magnusson and other traditionalist critics continued to be on the level of "conspiracy" accusations as well as informed by free-market views.

DEBATES AND DISCURSIVE POLES

Debates help create a situation wherein connections and alliances across legitimating principles are likely to be formed. Whether defending or promoting the reform, individuals and groups employed strategies that often contained scientist arguments for democratic concerns. These patterns are evident both in the defense of the social studies project and the promotion of teacher professionalism and fagvitund. In this subsection, I discuss the ways in which the technological pole of the reform may have gained momentum on the cost of the progressive pole as a result of some of the discursive connections in these debates.

The campaign for the teacher license legislation represents an alliance between job protection arguments and materialistic lifestyle-related arguments to argue for the case of child-centered concerns; that is, that such legislation is necessary to insure that good

teachers do not leave the profession and that teachers need higher salary to teach better. The distinction between social and scientific competence (Bourdieu 1988a, see also ch.2.1) is well suited to explain the demand for respect for teachers as professionals. Teacher leaders assumed that income and respect for teachers as professionals depend on social competence to argue the case of salary and respect rather than on actual knowledge and skills, be it progressive perspectives or technical skills. This is similar to "[t]he competence of the doctor or jurist [which] is a technical competence guaranteed by the law, which confers the authority and the authorization to use a more or less scientific knowledge ..." (Bourdieu 1988a, 63).

Gudmundur Magnusson and Edelstein both look to medical doctors for a prototype of professionalism and job protection by law. In contradiction with orthodox free-market views, Gudmundur believes that it is all right to place limitations on job freedom if the "common good" (almenningsheill) requires such limitations, notably on the access to the job of medical doctors (1986a). Gudmundur, who, incidentally, is the son of a medical doctor, does not question the power (social competence) that medical doctors have been able to exercise over the access to their profession, but because of his conviction that the pedagogical knowledge (scientific competence) that teachers learn in KHI and HI is a subversive knowledge designed to promote socialism or nonsense, he fought against giving power, based on knowledge in pedagogy and curriculum theory, to teachers. Edelstein's reference to medical doctors is also a reference to the power that they have been able to exercise over access to their profession. In contrast with Gudmundur, Edelstein wants teachers to have no less power than medical doctors so that they may legitimize scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns in education.

Legislation concerning job protection may help to subordinate knowledge to the power that is necessary to insure that such legislation is indeed effective. In spite of often-progressive rhetoric in the job-protection and fagvitund campaigns, such legislation feeds into the strength of the technological pole of the reform by accepting that social competence (power) is important to insure that scientific competence (knowledge in educational theory) receives its proper status. Testing procedures that often follow such a legislation tend to emphasize technical skills and knowledge of simple scientist curriculum models because it is easier to test those than it is to test democratic teaching strategies or the degree of child-centeredness in a teacher's mind. It is, for instance,

difficult to test competence in ethics, competence demanded by progressive educators (e.g., Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986, see above). It must be noted that teacher-testing beyond giving grades based on papers, participation in discussions, and examinations in KHI and HI has not been established in Iceland, and progressive educators might indeed be capable of defeating proposals to institutionalize measures that would strengthen the technological pole in that regard.

The debates on social studies and professionalism were deliberate acts of defending or promoting the reform hierarchy of values against attacks that utilized pre-reform values and the low respect for social sciences and curriculum theory. Gudmundur Magnusson used arguments derived from the pre-reform legitimating principle (moderate knowledge of Icelandic literature superior to knowledge acquired in a teacher education program) and the academic capital principle (higher education in linguistics superior to education in KHI) against reform arguments and progressive arguments in particular (by equating the reform with leftist conspiracy). This may have helped the technological pole to obtain legitimacy as reformers had somewhat easier time to defend such arguments and resorted to them in *Skolastefna* and elsewhere (chs.4.2,5.1). Such a one-sided conclusion would be simplistic, and I shall now move to a discussion how the debates -- in spite of their "meanings" -- may have affected the field where indeed all poles of all spectrums may be gaining more room for continuing struggles over the hierarchy of values in the field.

HOW DID THE DEBATES AFFECT THE FIELD OF REFORM?

The two debates, on social studies and professionalism, attracted increased attention to the field of reform in relation to other fields. The intent was to defend work that had been done (social studies) and to promote respect for teachers under the rubric of professionalism. Furthermore, the professionalism campaign was an internal campaign to promote fagvitund to classroom teachers. These discussions also brought the leadership of the teacher unions into the reform discourse; in the professionalism campaign, for instance, there was more forceful public discussion on the behalf of teacher leaders than had been seen for a long time.

In spite of whether these tasks (defending social studies, increasing respect for teachers, increasing fagvitund among teachers) were successfully finished, the debates

were important for the discursive "visibility" of the field; they helped to insure that the reform language got heard. This was important for the emergence of the reform hierarchy of values

[b]ecause any language that can command attention is an "authorized language," invested with the authority of a group, [and] the things it designates are not simply expressed but also authorized and legitimated. This is true not only of the establishment language but also of heretical discourses which draw their legitimacy and authority from the very groups over which they exert power and which they literally produce by expressing them: they derive their power from their capacity to **objectify** unformulated experiences, to make them public -- a step on the road to officialization and legitimation -- and when the occasion arises, to manifest and reinforce their concordance (Bourdieu 1977, 170-71).

In this sense, the debates may have been the vital moments for the reform to be actualized as a legitimate discourse with its own legitimating principle. When opponents argued that reform items were anti-patriotic, the reform gained certain power as a heretical discourse that formulated ideas and experiences of reformers. These debates were occasions for the social studies teaching strategies (e.g., inquiry methods), professionalism and other issues to be rationalized through the argument that they would improve the situation of children. These debates were occasions for reformers to develop new discursive arguments, such as that there is a domestic curriculum theory.

Nevertheless, the discussion on professionalism and *fagvitund* was much limited to teacher leaders and faculty members of institutions such as KHI, DSD, and HI -- at least when I discussed this in a talk in October 1986 (Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1987a, 17). This assertion was based on a perception of the discussion. At the time, I was teaching in *Menntaskolinn vid Sund* (MS) and working as a textbook writer for NCEM so I was in a position to observe the discussion and participate in it from two angles. As I recall, one or two other teachers in MS were active in the discussion. Incidentally, both were later hired as supervising instructors at the HI's Pedagogy Division. In short, individuals were able to use their participation in the reform discourse as a professional promotion strategy that coopted them from the rank-and-file teachers.

The observation that the professionalism campaign was primarily a discussion among teacher leaders and other reformers supports the notion that there is a field of reform that

anyone can indeed enter into on ground of arguing about the beliefs and themes -- value hierarchies -- that are being established in the field. This observation also supports the notion that there are no physical boundaries of the field and that the reform discourse is a trajectory which is structured by participation in the discourse at the same time as the discourse structures the terms of the participation.

THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Thus far I have investigated the reform discourse as it is manifested in selected sites among groups of the individuals involved in the discourse as well as how it is carried out in debates concerning issues in the reform. In the following notes, I discuss the professionalization of progress and educational expertise and summarize indicators as to how the field of reform is a rising field on the social landscape.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROGRESS AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERTISE

The original questions I asked were, How do reformers (as epistemic individuals) employ reform themes and practices in ways that affect the formation of a field of educational reform?, and, How do discursive themes and social networkings structure the formation of the field of reform at the same time as these themes and networkings are structured by the trajectory of events that take place? A short answer to these questions contains the observation that it is not simply the conscious work toward the goal of improving education for children or the social conditions of teachers that creates the field of educational reform; rather, it is the objectively orchestrated, unconscious employment of social strategies to adjust to the perception of the need to improve education, specific to each site, that affects how actions of individuals and groups have an impact on the trajectory of the field.

The creation of distinctions from the non-democratic, pre-scientific pedagogical tradition in Iceland is central to the social strategies of reformers. While they, in their argumentations for reform themes, did not mean to create these distinctions for their own advantage as experts in such conceptions, they, nevertheless, were converting educational, cultural and social capital embodied in discursive themes and social networkings into symbolic capital. When linked to the formation of a field, the

discursive themes of the reform (such as mixed ability grouping, open schools, local curriculum projects, activity pedagogy, integration of subjects, developmental psychology, and teacher professionalism) become symbolic as elements in the professionalization of progress and educational expertise. By "professionalization of progress" I mean that reformers, consciously or unconsciously, tied the goal of improving education with "science" -- because of the credibility that scientific discourse, specific to modernity, is supposed to have. This is what I have throughout the thesis referred to as the beliefs in progress, science, and the power of schooling to improve society. Professionalization (or "expertization" which is, I think, a more accurate term) of the Icelandic reformers is characterized in particular by the use of scientist arguments for democratic, child-centered concerns (ch.5.1).

These beliefs are in part derived from a view similar to the public rhetoric of late 19th century schooling in the United States that was formed within professional communities and has been prevalent ever since. In this rhetoric, "[e]xpert knowledge, organized around the rationalities of science, was to free people from the constraints of nature and offer paths towards a more progressive social world" (Popkewitz 1991, in press). At that historical conjuncture, progress (as evolution) was identified as a problem of science, society, and the state (as opposed to a problem of the Church), and the notions of progress and scientific rationality were linked with educational expertise through the ideology of professionalism.

The Icelandic reformers demand professional authority for teachers on the ground that teachers must become experts not only in educational science but also in the goals (i.e., progress, democracy, child-centered education) that this science is supposed to facilitate. Reformers claim professional authority because their habitus, the reform habitus, has become a set of "progress-oriented" dispositions, and they claim this authority because they have internalized the possibility of evolutionary progress, by the means of science, as their collective belief or "collective misrecognition" (Bourdieu 1990a, 68; see also ch.2.1). In this sense, the professionalization of educational expertise as a specific historical phenomenon -- a particular type of social strategies within the conjuncture of modernity -- had, in the Icelandic context, to be exercised within the discourse of teacher professionalism if it was to gain credibility and become a part of the legitimating principle of the reform. Ironically, what Icelandic reformers

might have a chance of succeeding in in this regard is their own professionalization, similar to the professionalization of teacher educators in the U.S. which has not resulted in the professionalization of teachers (Labaree 1991).

This is not to say that the kind of "truth" (that is, collective belief in historical progress and educational science) underneath the field of reform has established a high degree of authority in relation to social fields other than that of educational reform. In fact, professionalization of this kind of knowledge (historical progress, educational science), by habitual means, is possible only in an intermediate social space. The field of educational reform is intermediate in many senses. First, it is an intermediate social space because it is a field without much social and economic capital. Yet this space is not previously a clearly structured space, such as the space of workers in the field of labor relations (a Bourdieuan terms for the "class struggle" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat) where the principles of differentiation tend to be more powerful (see the beginning of the chapter). The reform space (the space of leadership in education) has been left open by those with the largest volumes of social and economic capital because they don't want to spend the time that it takes to convert these types of capital into cultural capital that counts in the field of reform (e.g., a graduate degree in educational theory, a teaching career in an open school). The atmosphere of growing individualism and the teacher salary freeze in the early mid-1980s has reinforced the general tendency of those with social and economic capital not to try to acquire the low-value cultural capital specific to the field of educational reform. It is in this sense that reformers had a relatively free play to structure the internal legitimacy of what counts in the reform field -- in spite of attacks on the social studies.

Second, the field of educational reform is intermediate in relation to most political struggles; and professionalization is only possible on the ground of presenting itself as politically neutral and morally correct. It is necessary to be able to claim professional expertise (read: neutrality) and one way of doing that is to deny direct links with politics. Seen this way, the reform is "open in both ends" (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson and Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1990, 14), and the criticisms from the right (**Morgunbladid**, Gudmundur Magnusson, and others; see also ch.5.2 and above) and the left (notably Gestur Gudmundsson 1981; see also ch.5.2) have in general helped the reform to maintain a distance from partizan politics.

Third, the field of reform is intermediate in relation to traditional academic capital. In fact, it may appear as curriculum theory capital is dominated by other kinds of academic capital if we regard the larger field of academia. In the field of reform, however, curriculum theory capital is gaining credibility because of the ability of educational theorists to capitalize on themes such as progressivism and national values (chs.5.3,6.2). This is what I, following Bourdieu (1979a, 87; see chs.2.1,7.1) call a "creative redefinition." Seen this way, the relatively unfixed relationship between traditional academic capital and the emerging curriculum theory capital in the field of reform makes the field an ideal space for (professional) reformers to exploit the potential of pedagogy and curriculum theory as educational science -- even as domestic educational science (see ch.5.1) -- in order to obtain more authority (social competence), yet specific authority that is probably only valid in the field of reform.

In the (intermediate) field of reform, professionalism and educational expertise has got tied to a group of individuals that has particular physical and epistemic characteristics (e.g., non-traditional education, often rural origin, many women, relatively young, being of second or third generation of educators) and special types of careers (in progressive and open schools, in work for DERD, as principals, etc.; see ch.6.1 for a detailed description of the individuals in each of the six sites that I investigated). This group of people, which I have labelled an "ambiguous" group, has, like any group, "produced" its own truth -- the belief in evolutionary progress and collective "misrecognition" of scientist arguments for democratic concerns -- which informs the strategies that are employed by them as epistemic individuals. They have been capable of exercising power to legitimize this truth to the extent that today there is a field of reform, structured in accordance with its own legitimating principle.

On the other hand, reformers may not have the authority to exercise the truth of evolutionary progress and scientist arguments for democratic concerns in larger society, at least not compared to the status that the fields of law and medicine have reached to exercise their "truth" (see also Bourdieu's discussion in *Homo Academicus* (1988a), cited in ch.2.1). The professionalism campaign -- relatively successful in internally legitimating the reform beliefs -- failed, by and large, to achieve the goal of an "equal" status for teachers compared with the professions of law and medicine. In short, the educational and cultural capital of the reform has not become converted into social or

economic capital; educational reformers and teachers lack social competence compared to that of lawyers and medical doctors.

The discursive consequences of the professionalization of educational expertise are being contested in the field of reform. I have argued that the professionalism campaign and the school policy (*Skolastefna* 1990) proposed by the Teacher Union of Iceland are likely to sway the reform toward the technological pole (see above; see also ch.5.1). This is a result of the fact that Edelstein and others did not investigate the history of the notion of professionalism and that they subsumed the democratic, child-centered themes under competence in relatively technical skills. It is in this sense that the field of power (see the last part of ch.6.1) has normalizing effects on reformers; they use the language of the "legitimate" professions that have social power.

If the notion that progress occurs by employing science into teaching and curriculum is generally taken for granted by reformers, we may expect the tendency of internalized effects of that view to increasingly steer the trajectory of the field. If, on the other hand, progressive educationists, who are critical of that view, increase the questioning of the assumptions behind the types of science that the reform curricula were based on (see, for example, Thorsteinn Gunnarsson's (1990) critique of genetic epistemology) and if they are successful in reconnecting progressive themes with the story-telling tradition (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990; Gunnar Karlsson 1985-6, 1988), national values and KHI's historical ties with public education and rural populations (Olafur Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal, Jonas Palsson, and others; see chs.4.2,6.2), and other themes with currency, the meaning of the professionalization of educational expertise may change from what it was in the professionalism campaign in the mid-1980s.

RISING FIELD?

In spite of overall low value of educational reform in society, several indicators specifically signify an expansion of the "space" for the reform hierarchy of values. These indicators include the impact that the reform had on the Teacher Union of Iceland's school policy (*Skolastefna* 1990; see ch.4.2) and the hiring of staff by NCEM and other institutions that seem to favor individuals who have worked, for instance, in open schools or for DERD (see ch.6). The major teacher education institutions, KHI and HI, have also exposed their students to the discursive themes of the reform for 15 years or

more and graduated approximately two to three thousand teachers. I must also report the increasing number of individuals with university degrees in educational theory and the increasing number of positions that these individuals are able to choose from. Other indicators signify that the discussion concerning pedagogy and curriculum theory is increasing in volume. For instance, in the first years after the periodical *Ny menntamal* was founded in 1983, the editors faced difficulty in soliciting articles. In contrast, authors now may need to wait for the publication of an article in the periodical (Editor 1990, 5).

It is also important to note that educational debates in the 1980s were carried out on a ground where reform arguments were debated, at least the two sets of debates summarized in this chapter. The more assertiveness concerning the profound wisdom of the reform compared with the tradition, the more institutions involved, the more people involved in debates and attached to the reform through social networkings, the more the reform is debated and fought over on the ground of reform arguments -- the more legitimation of the reform hierarchy of values as the primary object of contestation.

Given the increasing number of institutional sites that reformers can select to work in (HI, KHI, NCEM, eight DOEs, the Ministry of Culture and Education, open schools, leadership of teacher unions, and so forth), as well as the increased discussion on reform themes, I conclude that the field of educational reform in Iceland at the beginning of the 1990s is not only an intermediate field wherein non-traditional social strategies -- the product of the reform habitus -- are being employed by ambiguous epistemic individuals to fight for the reform principle of legitimation to replace other principles; the field of reform is also a rising field wherein these strategies are being employed in ways that are likely to further legitimize the reform and expand the battlefield wherein the legitimacy of reform values is struggled over.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings of the thesis detailed in chapters three to seven; chapter 8 also discusses the implications and advantages of the research framework in relation to its use for studies of change and intervention in educational reform.

8.1 Legitimizing Principles, Discursive Poles, and the Field of Educational Reform: A Summary

This thesis interprets the reform in elementary education in Iceland in the last 25 years as the social strategies of educationists toward the professionalization of progress and educational expertise. I arrived to this conclusion by investigating the historical conjuncture of discourses in Iceland in this period (i.e., 1966-1991) from a genealogical and relational point of view. I investigated the assumption that the reform discourse is structured and structuring along the lines of discursive themes and networkings of epistemic individuals in a social field and found that the discourse became organized around legitimating principles (that is, what counts as capital in that field). Below I summarize what characterizes the legitimating principles, discursive poles, and social strategies in the field of educational reform.

LEGITIMATING PRINCIPLES AND DISCURSIVE POLES

The notion of legitimating principles refers to historically and socially constructed clusters of ideas and practices that particular groups of epistemic individuals have, through practical sense, employed as their value hierarchies. From this perspective, discursive themes in reform documents and debates constitute a body of educational and cultural capital. These discursive themes include child-centered perspectives, mixed ability grouping, open schools, local curriculum projects, "hands-on" pedagogy, inquiry learning strategies, evaluation as process, group discussions, integration of subjects, the language of developmental pedagogy, scientific curriculum theory models, teacher professionalism, and much more. This combination of themes suggests a pattern of

scientist arguments for democratic and child-centered concerns (ch.5.1).

I used the notion of spectrums with opposite poles to account for struggles and tensions in the field of reform. One of these spectrums is represented by what I call the technological and progressive poles of the reform discourse (see ch.5.3). These poles refer to a potential polarization between those who rely on the notions of teacher professionalism, developmental psychology, and apolitical curriculum models (e.g., the Teacher Union of Iceland in its school policy document, see chs.4.2,5.1), on the one hand, and those who capitalize most strongly on the liberal/radical participatory themes of the reform and on denouncing the reform's scientism (e.g., Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990; see also chs.4.1,5.3,6.2), on the other hand. A tension between scientism and progressivism is also evident in the professionalism campaign. In that campaign, some proponents (notably Edelstein, see ch.7.2) argued along the lines of scientism while others (notably Heimir Palsson, Svanhildur Kaaber et al. 1986, see ch.7.2) put forward the notion that teachers need to be independent and radical enough to withstand pressures from reactionary authorities. The scientism versus progressivism tension also appeared in discussions among biology teachers in the early 1980s as an argument between the lab-teaching orientation of the "white gownies" and the ecological and social foci of the "greens" (ch.4.2, biology).

By far, a more visible spectrum of legitimating principles is the reform versus the pre-reform spectrum. Views derived from these principles collided in a struggle where critics from the political right in the country attempted to prevent the legitimation of the reform by utilizing in a populist manner cultural assumptions about knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, prevalent in Icelandic society (ch.5.2). On a level of conjunctural analysis, the reform ideas collided with what I have described as the web of pre-reform pedagogical ideas and practices. I call this web of assumptions and practices the "pre-reform principle" and emphasize that it is by no means epistemologically coherent but socially and historically woven.

In brief, the picture that I have drawn of the pre-reform web (in ch.3.1) suggests that cultural assumptions about knowledge and intelligence, excellence and achievement, are central to a nationalistic, cultural literacy-type knowledge base in elementary schools. This base, which was -- at least in the case of history as a school subject -- constructed in the early part of the 20th century when Iceland was still under a Danish rule, has become

stripped of the explicit values that legitimated the contents when they were selected. This knowledge base has been further sanctioned through the uncritical transmission methods of Lutheran congregational pedagogy and reinforced by much use of "objective" written tests in Icelandic schools.

The reformers and the traditionalist critics utilized the differences between the reform hierarchy of values and the pre-reform web. For instance, reformers highlighted the pro-democratic, scientific "nature" of their projects and pointed out that these projects viewed children as creative beings. Critics -- in the struggles against the syllabus draft of 1983 (ch.4.1), the social studies project (ch.7.2), and teacher professionalism (ch.7.2) -- worried that the discovery orientation of many reform projects could threaten the necessary nationalistic knowledge base of children and adolescents and claimed that activity pedagogy merely implied mindless busy work under the mask of psychological jargon.

Ironically, the contest with the traditionalists may have helped reformers to capitalize on the theme that the reform is fundamentally different from the allegedly non-democratic and pre-scientific tradition. After all, the reform was directed against an old system that was thought to be unsuitable for education in a democratic and scientific modern society. Consequently, the pro-tradition criticisms may have been helpful in claiming credibility for the reform as different from traditional school practices. In these collisions, at least the internal legitimacy of the reform gained strength. The criticisms from the right emphasized the same differences that reformers stressed, and the hostile tone of the traditionalists seemed to confirm that reform measures might be effective if put into use in schools. Meanwhile, criticisms from the left (which have, by the way, been rather scarce) have been more difficult for reformers to deal with because they challenge one of the foundations of the reform; that is, that the reform's notion of liberal/radical democracy could indeed be useful to combat injustice in a capitalist society (chs.4.1,5.2).

The third spectrum of legitimating principles discussed in this thesis is the traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital spectrum (chs.5.3,6.2; see also endnote 3, ch.5). Curriculum theory capital, in the Icelandic context, rests in the notions of democracy and child-centeredness and on the view that prospective teachers should be taught more pedagogy and curriculum theory, as opposed to psychology or traditional disciplines. It also rests in the notion that curriculum theory needs the academic

credibility that many reformers, in particular those with little social capital (reformers with secondary education obtained in the Teacher Training College, individuals from rural Iceland, etc.), have sought by education overseas. Moreover, curriculum theory capital rests in the notion that teacher education is qualitatively different from other education on a university level. Lastly, curriculum theory capital rests in the notion that a domestic curriculum theory production (ch.5.1) is taking place.

These three spectrums of legitimating principles -- that is, the reform spectrum with the technological and progressive poles, the pre-reform versus reform spectrum, and the traditional academic capital versus curriculum theory capital spectrum -- have been most important in structuring the field of educational reform in Iceland in the past 25 years. They are based on historical and discursive, rather than epistemological, connections (ch.5.2) that I studied through a genealogical approach to history which focuses on the merging of previously unrelated ideas and practices (ch.2.1). I also studied the trajectory of the reform as having a unique history, as opposed to assuming a natural course with sequential stages that any reform would go through.

DISCONNECTING AND RECONNECTING DISCURSIVE THEMES

In fact, this thesis has "hidden" agendas. The thesis is a part of a movement toward increasing academic capital in the field of reform (scholarly academic work in curriculum theory or teacher education departments has the potential to increase at least the formal capital), as well as I hope to further legitimize the progressive pole by arguing that the technological pole might be gaining strength on the cost of the progressive pole. As I have been a part of a movement that, by its silence, has accepted the technologization of the reform and the professionalization of progress and educational expertise, this is the first time I have spoken out against the scientism in the reform (see, though, Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1989a). By placing scientist arguments and the professionalization of educational expertise into an historical and genealogical context (chs.5.1,7.2), the "hidden agenda" is questioning of the viability of using scientist arguments for democratic concerns. In this sense, the thesis offers a point of entrance (i.e., arguments) to "disconnect" themes (see a further discussion concerning the authority to disconnect and reconnect themes in ch.8.2).

What counts as capital is never fixed. This thesis, in conjunction with work such as

that of Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (1990) or Ingvar Sigurgeirsson (in progress), is not the only reconnection of ideas in the 1990s. The return of human capital theories (see endnote 1, ch.5) and the socialist Minister's of Culture and Education consensus-building approach to education (ch.5.2), which strengthens the technological pole of the reform, seem to run contrary to the alliance between curriculum theory, "ties-with-the-past" capital, and progressivism in the work of, for instance, Olafur Proppe, Sigurjon Myrdal, and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (ch.6.2). Feminist ideas might also increasingly affect future collisions of discursive themes and social networkings (see endnote 8, ch.6), but my absence from Iceland during last four years deprives me of having a good sense of where feminist themes might connect with (oppose to or ally with) other discourses in the reform conjuncture or how women might network in ways that differ from existing networkings in the social field of educational reform ¹⁾ -- as well as the absence deprives me of chances to closely "monitor" the most recent developments in many other debates.

SOCIAL STRATEGIES AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROGRESS AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERTISE

The reform in elementary education in Iceland in the last 25 years is a site where "ambiguous" non-traditional people had the opportunity to employ unconventional discursive themes. By non-traditional people I am referring to the fact that in most reform sites are relatively many individuals with secondary education obtained in the Teacher Training College or gymnasia other than Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik (ch.6.1), and by unconventional discursive themes I am referring to the fact that democratic and scientist ideas were not symbolic capital in Icelandic education prior to 1966. DERD was, therefore, as I said above (ch.7.1), on the margin of the traditional intellectual and academic landscape. These facts constitute what might be called the "objective uncertainty" (Bourdieu 1989a, 20; see also ch.6.1) of the field of educational reform. The fact that similar ideas had indeed been presented before in Iceland without becoming structured as symbolic capital highlights the appropriateness of the interpretation that the democratic and scientist ideas now have a symbolic value (ch.5.2).

This trajectory, which I refer to as the "professionalization of progress and educational expertise," is only possible in a field that in the overall social space is intermediate. The field of education is intermediate in a classical Marxist understanding

in the sense that educators belong to the *petit bourgeoisie*. The field of reform is also intermediate in the sense that it is not highly respected as an academic field of study (because of the occupational training aspect of teacher education); curriculum theory is also a very young discipline in the Icelandic context where social sciences in general are also young and not highly regarded. When the fact that not many members of the Reykjavik elite have entered this field (ch.7.2) is also considered, it is not surprising to see that the value hierarchy (what counts as capital) has become structured differently from other legitimating principles.

In the 1970s, reform-minded educationists were able to capture the upper hand over how the discussion in the emerging field of educational reform was framed. The terms that were defined then (democratic themes, scientist themes, activity pedagogy) survived neo-conservative and traditionalist attacks in the mid-1980s. Nevertheless, because of its intermediate character (both in terms of themes and individuals), the field of educational reform, is not a field that is powerful in comparison with the fields of law and medicine or the field of state power or business power. Yet it is an emerging field whose discourse has spread through institutional tasks and through epistemic individuals who occupy positions in institutions. Most of these institutions are located in Reykjavik, but to a growing extent, reformers live across the country because of their work for the District Offices of Education or for the fact that they are rural or coastal members of the leadership of the Teacher Union of Iceland.

SUMMARY: A STUDY OF CHANGE

This study was conducted to interpret societal change; that is, the formation of a social space for educational reform and what can be spoken about today that could not be spoken about some 20 years earlier. By using the notion of historically and socially constructed legitimating principles, I have shown that the field of educational reform in Iceland in the last 25 years has become a space for creative redefinitions and reconnections of themes and practices for the symbolic advantage of an intermediate group of individuals. These creative redefinitions may be seen in the quest to connect national values and the history of the Icelandic nation with curriculum science, evident in the work of, for instance, Edelstein and Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (ch.4.1, social studies), as well as in the work of Olafur Proppe and others in KHI (chs.4.2,6.2; see also above).

These creative redefinitions are also evident in the various social strategies of epistemic individuals (chs.6.1,7.1) who have become richer and richer in educational and cultural capital. These intermediate groups with previously "ill-defined" (Bourdieu 1979a, 87; see ch.2.1) career routes employed discursive themes, such as Open Education or teacher professionalism, in a way that accounts for a trajectory of a rising social field, a constructed social space that now has various networks among at least several hundred individuals.

8.2 Implications: Conceptual Work, Social Action, and Future Strategies

This study offers an opportunity to consider the implications of the research framework that I adopted from Bourdieu's notion of relationally constructed social fields and integrated with a genealogical approach to history. In this section, I lay out comments concerned with two interlinked foci; first, the potential of Bourdieu's conceptions for studies of educational reform and social change and, second, the relationship between a conceptual study of change processes (such as this study), social action -- in the form of an organized intervention in the field of reform -- and the symbolic character of these endeavors as strategies of distinction. Because research in radical educational theory and the reform in Iceland are social fields that I belong to, these comments themselves are "strategies of distinction;" that is, they place my study in opposition to or in line with other positions in these fields.

HOW DOES THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK LEND ITSELF TO FURTHER RESEARCH?

The main strength of this study lies in the story that it tells of Icelandic educational reform. The research framework I adopted presupposes that reforms are cultural and political phenomena rooted in societies' power relations and that the social strategies and the legitimating principles in the field of reform are constructed in historical and social struggles. The findings of the study are not neutral, "practical" implications but a challenge to the technological pole that sees problems concerning the reform as problems of implementation that can be improved by measures such as teacher professionalism. Furthermore, to present the picture of the technological pole having merged with progressive views in an historical alliance (that is, scientist concerns for democratic and child-centered concerns) is a strategy of intervention and distinction as much as it is an empirical reporting of an historical "fact."

I share, however, with most leftists, the interest in using research findings to reveal the structural injustice in the capitalist society, but I am also concerned with the common reluctance within the neo-Marxist paradigm in educational theory to consider the promise

of the work of Foucault and Bourdieu. I disagree with the view of many neo-Marxists that Bourdieu is primarily a reproduction theorist and argue that the notions of legitimating principles and social strategies are more nuanced than the interpretations of Bourdieu's work by a selected group of British and American neo-Marxists suggest. 2) In the light of my study, I consider the differences between relational assumptions and dualistic assumptions. Questions to be considered in this discussion are, What are the implications of Bourdieu's framework and the genealogical approach for the study of educational reform and social change?, and, How does the notion of legitimating principles differ from conventional views of how groups and differences are constituted?

"Reproduction" or social change? The thesis' use of Bourdieu's framework differs from the way in which many British and American scholars, writing in English, have taken up his work. These writers place him into the spectrum of education theorists as a "cultural reproductionist" or criticize him for missing the "productivity" of the school culture. Basil Bernstein (1977/1975, 15) characterizes Bourdieu's work as being "concerned with the principles of social and cultural reproduction and the conditions and contexts which act selectively upon the form it takes." In his characterization, Bernstein, who is interested in the "**process** of transmission" (15), overemphasizes the "act-upon" aspects of Bourdieu's work. Michael W. Apple (1982, 45) argues that Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital "fails to catch the school's role in the **production** of a kind of capital ... For him [Bourdieu], cultural capital is used as a device to allocate students, by class, to their 'proper' position in society." It is difficult to resist turning the phrase "fails to catch" upon Apple himself for such an interpretation of Bourdieu (see also Ladwig 1990) as Bourdieu's notions of the habitus and social strategies take such "production" fully into account.

Among others who place Bourdieu in the camp of reproduction theorists are Steve Baron, Dan Finn, Neil Grant, Michael Green, and Richard Johnson in the Education Group of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies at the University of Birmingham, England and the American scholars Cameron McCarthy, Henry A. Giroux, and Philip Wexler. Baron and his colleagues speak about "Bourdieu's pessimism" (Baron et al. 1981, 187), and McCarthy calls the work of Bourdieu with Jean-Claude Passeron "[n]eo-Marxist theories of cultural reproduction" (McCarthy 1990, 69; see also 61-2; referring to **Reproduction** (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977)). Giroux, on the other hand,

argues that while Bourdieu has developed "[Antonio] Gramsci's emphasis on cultural hegemony" he has not "furthered Gramsci's project of viewing intellectuals as elaborators of the dominant culture as well as a vital and fundamental social and political force in any counterhegemonic struggle" (Giroux 1988, 87). Lastly, Wexler groups Bourdieu and Passeron's work (1977) as a model that emphasizes "the importance of class-cultural educational reproduction as part of general societal maintenance reproduction" (Wexler 1987, 40).

A good share of Bourdieu's immense amount of empirical work certainly is descriptive of the processes involved in the "maintenance" of society. But his work is also highly conceptual, and it is wrongly concluded that his work is primarily concerned with reproduction. Bourdieu's work is equally centered on the ways in which individuals in objectively defined positions in social space (i.e., epistemic individuals) employ discursive themes, bodily movements, social networkings, and the work of art as social strategies to create symbolic distinctions. Moreover -- while the interpretations of Bernstein, Apple, and others, cited above, vary in range between admiration and rejection -- such interpretations have one thing in common, in Bourdieu's own generic response (1984a, 160):

Those who oversimplify the arguments of my earlier work [with Passeron], **The Inheritors** [Bourdieu and Passeron 1979 (Engl. ed.)] and **Reproduction** [Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 (Engl. ed.)], -- which subsequent work has shown to err on the side of simplification -- share with those who criticize them without understanding them ... an inability to think relationally.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework rejects dualistic conceptions, such as reproduction and resistance (see ch.2.1), and, in spite of the fact that Bourdieu may not have been talking about any of the above theorists in his response, I believe that the promise of his relational conceptions that presuppose field-specific capital and unique trajectories has been seriously overlooked by them.

In contrast with the contention that Bourdieu is a reproductionist, Bourdieu's conceptions are about change. They deal with trajectories of conceptual changes, what legitimizes discourse, and how discursive practices among intellectuals are structured and structuring (e.g., 1988a). Bourdieu's work is also concerned with the intermediate space of the use of art among the petit bourgeoisie (e.g., Bourdieu 1984a, Bourdieu with

Boltanski et al. 1990) and the intermediate space of education (see also chs.2.1,7.1,7.2). This study, based on Bourdieuean concepts and summarized in section 8.1, is also a study of change in an intermediate social space, the field of educational reform in Iceland.

Relational interpretation versus focus on groups: The frameworks I adopted assume that differences are arbitrary rather than natural. Instead of prioritizing where boundaries around the field of reform might be -- as most conventional research approaches tend to do -- my approach acknowledges that the discursive principles, operating in the field, overlap in what might appear to be boundaries between pre-reform and reform, traditional academic capital and curriculum theory capital, and technological capital and progressive capital. For instance, many reform ideas were used or discussed in Iceland prior to 1966 in localized settings. Furthermore, earlier reforms (e.g., written tests) had become interwoven with other pre-reform traditions. In fact, the metaphor of a spectrum with two poles is meant to capture the fact that there are no "pure" reform ideas but that there is a polarization of such ideas in certain locations that can be pictured by investigating documents and debates.

The non-existence of boundaries has implications for how "groups" are identified. By adopting a relational notion, the researcher does not become preoccupied with searching for the boundaries around a group. This notion is different from the conventional view of asking for the criteria of who is a reformer and who is not a reformer and enables to see the arbitrariness of groupings and labels that are created in social struggles. Instead, I traced how epistemic individuals in reform sites relate to the legitimating principles; that is, how they relate to different kinds of educational and cultural capital and how they are involved in social networkings' relationships that equip them with social capital. For instance, individuals did not employ reform values as "naturally" different from the pre-reform values; in contrast, reformers employed the legitimating strategy to present reform views and practices as fundamentally different from pre-reform views and practices. In the same vein, reformers (e.g., Edelstein; see chs.4.1, 7.2), progressivists (e.g., Thorsteinn Gunnarsson; see ch.4.1), or "story tellers" (e.g., Gunnar Karlsson; see ch.3.1) are not groups of monolithic individuals; the individuals use these views as strategies of distinction in certain circumstances. Therefore, as clusters of epistemic individuals, groups (progressivists, technologists, and so forth.) only exist in relation to each other in the constructed space that I call the social

field of educational reform.

In conclusion: Events, such as the reform in elementary education in Iceland, can be interpreted as a historical conjuncture with a unique trajectory. By employing the notions of genealogy and legitimating principles, I have been able to portray how epistemic individuals (reformers) "carved out" a space (that is, a relationally constructed social field) where discussions, largely impossible 25 years ago, now take place on daily basis, and I have also been able to interpret the significance of the collision of the reform discourse with the pre-reform pedagogy in the formation of a field which is characterized of everything but "reproduction." On the other hand, as I return to below, the framework does not comply with those approaches to research that demand studies to offer an immediate guidance for intervention in social processes.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL ACTION AND CONCEPTUAL RESEARCH

The fact that the research approach used in this thesis does not focus on whether the reform has indeed improved Icelandic elementary education raises questions. For instance, am I dressing rather self-evident material and insignificant changes in a sophisticated theoretical language that masks what needs to be done in school reform or in challenging the capitalist, patriarchal, heterosexist, elitist, and xenophobic culture in the country? Furthermore, does the research framework, in its complexities, avoid combatting social injustice in the Icelandic hegemonic society? To address these issues I wish to make two remarks about the relationship between social action (e.g., intervention in educational reform) and conceptual research of social change: one that concerns the fact that this study deals with a field that stands low in the hierarchy of fields in the field of power, and one that concerns the view that there is no cause-effect relationship between a conceptual investigation, such as this thesis, and social action. (For the purpose of this discussion, "action" refers to conscious, deliberate acts -- as opposed to strategies that are based on practical sense.)

The reform as a paper tiger: The study indicates that the reform is a "paper tiger" (Mao Zedong's notion) that is neither as threatening to the hegemony of the Icelandic elite as the traditionalist and neo-conservative critics thought it might be, nor is it as radical as an "equalizer" as reformers like to think. It is a paper tiger because it is tied to an

ambiguous group with non-traditional education and careers who -- in spite of their ability to define what counts as capital in the field of reform -- have little authority in society. It is a paper tiger because it consists of measures such as developmental psychology and open schools with individualistic emphasis (ch.5.2) that are not likely to challenge the unjust capitalist order of society. It is a paper tiger because it avoids to address "unsafe" issues, such as discrimination based on class or the dominance of heterosexuality (ch.4.1, democratic themes). This does not mean that the reform is "bad;" rather, the belief that technical tools can be applied to progressive causes (see Walkerdine 1984, cited in ch.5.1) is naive. Those are the reasons for that Thorsteinn Gunnarsson, myself, and others who may or may not have been involved in reform work love to reveal discursive connections with what we might dub as imperialist discourses, such as genetic epistemology (Thorsteinn Gunnarsson 1990, see also ch.1.2) and teacher professionalism (e.g., Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1989a).

The change -- formation of a social field of educational reform -- that has taken place must be seen in a relationship with the hegemonic structure of contemporary Icelandic society. The thesis is critical of any build-up of experts who make "professional" recommendations. It is in that sense that the thesis does not "objectively" recommend the use of "progressive measures" (e.g., environmental education, local curriculum projects) to try to increase and enhance democratic classroom practices. In contrast, the thesis takes side with such issues; I -- in the language adopted in the thesis -- capitalize on progressive concerns and on the attempt to disconnect them from scientism and professionalism and reconnect them with other issues, such as the issue that there is a domestic production of curriculum theory. This endeavor is meant to "rescue" progressive proposals (environmental education, local curriculum projects, etc.) from the power of scientism and, not less importantly, to enhance the symbolic value of the progressive concerns by connecting them with, for instance, nationalism and the special kind of capital that curriculum theory capital is.

Drawing upon the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, the author of this study is well aware of the limitations of progressive measures to have an impact outside the particular field of reform. Therefore, progressive "proposals" are meant to enter symbolic struggles within the field of reform but not necessarily for the measures proposed to become practiced in schools or to count in any other field. The situational notion of

power (ch.2.1) as it is exercised in the field of reform refers to the (discursive) ability to forge institutional and rhetorical alliances and in some instances to the ability to capture, for example, teaching positions where the ideas can be taught to prospective teachers (such as was the case with developmental psychology in the 1970s in the College of Education and HI's Pedagogy Division, see ch.4.2).

Social strategy to succeed or a tool for social action? There is a tension between the intent of a researcher to improve the world through more reform or other types of social action and the descriptive character of a study like this. The assumption that a study should inform practical suggestions about what to do is disputed in the very "nature" of the conceptual frameworks that I have adopted; the frameworks emphasize the symbolic character of all actions (including those that will be informed by this study). Therefore, almost inherent in my endeavor is a resistance toward claiming that it is immediately practical or political in a common-sense meaning; the thesis has indeed reduced the beliefs of reformers into capital and social strategies to convert that capital into symbolic capital. Thus the dissertation must fall under that observation, too, as it is a part of the field of educational reform; it is a strategy to gain material goods, such as "dr." in front of my name when it appears on faculty and staff lists, and symbolic goods. The symbolic "goods" may include, but are not limited to, social action of various types.

To understand social action as symbolic -- rather than buying players' intentions at face value -- differs from perspectives that require research to offer practical or overtly political solutions that promote "progress." Many frustrations with Bourdieu's conceptions seem to stem from this difference. Because I did not want to imply that Apple, McCarthy, Wexler, and other aforementioned individuals are simplistic, I omitted the phrase "a taste for simple truths" from the quotation to Bourdieu (1984a, 160; see above) where he responds to (unidentified) erroneous uses of his work. While the above-mentioned theorists and others in the neo-Marxist camp may want to impose certain standards of "usefulness" on theoretical production, theirs are not the typical technical fixes that characterize the scientist discourses in education. Nevertheless, in order to legitimize their work, neo-Marxists share with those who believe in "technical fixes" a preoccupation with identifying what needs to be done to solve educational problems, a preoccupation based in what Thomas S. Popkewitz (1991, in press) calls the "epistemology of progress." In fact, most Marxists subscribe to the view that the task of

intellectuals is to produce progress, that is, to insure the development of society towards a better stage.

Bourdieu's relational framework and the Foucauldian genealogy reject the preoccupation with producing progress, and the study illuminates that there is no simple relationship between intentions and outcomes. For instance, it was not the intent of reformers to form a field of educational reform nor was it their intent to "professionalize" themselves (ch.7.2). The fact that Bourdieuan analysis of changes in legitimation and Foucauldian analysis of connections of discursive themes do not promise that a planned intervention will have its intended consequences is distressing for those who capitalize on using their scholarship to identify what "needs to be done." By utilizing the relational and genealogical frameworks, the researcher is in a better position to be critical of the assumption that research ought to give a direct, "utilitarian" guidance for intervention (cause-effect relationship). This position, however, has triggered allegations of "pessimism" on the behalf of Bourdieu (e.g., Baron et al. 1981, 187), allegations that are more due to the "utilitarian" notion of research than they are warranted by Bourdieu's work. In fact, to view the reform as a trajectory emphasizes how difficult it is to foresee an "evolution" leading to a definite objective.

The desire to learn lessons from our research tends to mask the symbolic character of all conclusions and recommendations. British and American neo-Marxists, and Icelandic leftist educationists, too, are engaged in symbolic struggles. Proclaiming usefulness of curriculum projects or research is a symbolic act, a social strategy to acquire capital. As reformers produce symbolic documents (*Adalnamskra grunnskola* 1983, *Skolastefna* 1990, etc.), researchers, too, produce symbolic goods that distinguish their research from other positions and stances in the field and equip themselves with capital. The conclusion that progressivism needs to be disconnected from scientism is one such symbolic conclusion as much as it is a "lesson" that may enable to identify specific tasks in a process of disconnecting scientism and progressivism.

The way in which the thesis is most likely to directly affect the field of reform lies in the fact that it offers an alternative view to make sense of what is occurring in the field, an alternative view to interpretations that have focused on the problems of implementing the reform (ch.1.2). The thesis offers ways to make connections and disconnections that may actually lead to localized uses in specific contexts. Future practices (mine and those

of others) that might be informed by this thesis can not be easily predicted or programmatized -- or kept within my own goals -- as social strategies are based on practical sense. How "successful" in creating new distinctions such work will be depends on the ability to go "with the flow," to regain "a feel for the game" (ch.2.1), but by no means solely on the "content" of the specific tasks that I will engage myself in or the alliances that I might be able to form. Furthermore, because social action does not need to have a direct conceptual or practical relationship with the thesis to count as an act of distinction within the given field, social action in other arenas than the field of reform may be viable. For instance, allying my work now and in the future with progressivism and other anti-elitist views (e.g., feminism, radical student movements, rural agendas) is likely to enhance the legitimacy of the thesis.

I debated whether to list specific ideas concerning how I and other progressivists in similar positions (having a non-elitist rural origin, being marginal in the field of reform in terms of late entry, etc.) might work toward reconnecting discursive themes to achieve the goal of "rescuing" progressivism from scientism. I have decided against proposing this list -- for the following reasons: First, the practice of proposing recommendations may create the illusion that social strategies are rationally calculated processes on the behalf of individuals or groups but not based on creative redefinitions derived from the practical sense of playing the game of educational reform. Second, as hinted at above, it seems to be a viable strategy to refuse to practice as "experts;" that is, capitalize on the notion that progressivism does not claim expertise on educational issues. Therefore a view that locates itself at the progressive pole should not provide a list of solutions. In that sense, refusing to participate in a similar practice as experts (e.g., making a list of tasks) may challenge scientism more than making "different" kinds of recommendations. At least, such refusal is a strategy of distinction from scientism and the epistemology of progress that expects a social activist/vanguard position of the researcher. Third, political proposals (including recommendations for educational intervention) have the tendency to mask their own truth and the collective misrecognition of reality (e.g., professionalization of progress) that they are based on. As discussed above, there is an illusion in the notion of disconnecting progressive views from scientism. These views will continue to struggle with elements of hegemonic discourses of modernity, and a set of recommendations -- in whatever form -- might simply direct attention away from the

hegemonic tendency of coopting progressive views. In fact, political proposals and recommendations do not only tend to mask -- no matter how "self-reflective" proposal authors may be -- but are often meant to mask the truth of themselves.

Endnotes

Chapter 1

1) The adjectives scientific and scientist lend themselves to a confusion. "Scientist" and the corresponding noun "scientism" (visindahyggja in Icelandic) refer here to privileging the so-called scientific method to observe the world. Scientism and scientist are commonly used to emphasize the incompleteness of science. "Scientific," on the other hand, is used as a descriptive term (e.g., scientific knowledge) or as a part of common phrases (e.g., scientific curriculum theory).

2) The year when DERD received a formal department-status within the Ministry of Culture and Education was 1971 (see Menntamalaraduneytid, verkefni, skipulag og starfsreglur 1971). Most sources, however, conflict with that fact and refer to DERD as founded in 1967 or 1968. The title of a report published about the work of DERD from 1967 to 1978 (**Endurskodun namsefnis a grunnskolestigi** 1979) is misleading, as well as the report's discussion, and in **Kennaratal**, Andri Isaksson is called the head of DERD as a department from 1968. Important date in 1967, which relates to DERD's major tasks, is August 14 when the first committee to prepare a status report was appointed. I have chosen here to refer July 1966 as the foundation-date of DERD when the unit that first was named Skolarannsoknir (School Research) was established and Andri Isaksson hired to lead it (special thanks to Thorsteinn Gunnarsson for his prompt last-minute research on this issue and to Hordur Larusson and Gudny Helgadottir that he consulted with).

Chapter 2

1) I use the concept conjuncture in a more narrow sense than the French Annales school of history and French historian Fernand Braudel (1980). In my use, conjuncture seems to be equivalent with a "complex event," or somewhere between event and conjuncture in Braudel's usage.

2) "If we don't succeed, we run the risk of failure" (J. Danforth Quayle, Vice President of the United States of America, 1989-). Someone gave me for Christmas a calendar with a Quayle quotation and a corresponding picture for every month of the year. Who would have imagined that Quayle would so elegantly capture (in words!) the notion that the children of the elite classes never fail but only "run the risk" of failing?

3) Reading of these two books in the early 1980s led me to consider doctoral studies in educational and eventually decide to study at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

4) I provide here a short list of my reform-related studies and work, similar to those of other researchers I cite (see ch.2.2): I studied history (1976-83) and pedagogy (1977-80) in the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, finished my cand. mag. thesis on the history of elementary education in Iceland from 1908-58 (in 1983) (Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1984/1983), was an elementary school teacher in Akureyri (1975-6) and Reykjavik (1980-81), a gymnasium teacher in Reykjavik (1982-6), a participant in the social studies project (1982-4), and a textbook writer for DERD and NCEM (from 1983). Besides this I have written numerous columns on educational issues in the newspaper DV in Reykjavik (from 1981).

Chapter 3

1) Other achievements receive extensive attention as well. For example, Sigurjon Sighvatsson, an Icelander who co-owns a music-video and commercials' production company in California that also produces for the film director David Lynch (**Wild at Heart, Twin Peaks**), has been a "hero of the universe" in the Icelandic media that write articles (e.g., Asgeir Fridgeirsson 1990) and produce television programs about him.

2) The Technical College of Iceland: Tækniskoli Islands (TI), the School of Agriculture at Hvanneyri: Bændaskolinn a Hvanneyri, the Icelandic School of Business: Verzlunarskoli Islands (VI), the College of the Cooperative Society at Bifrost: Samvinnuskolinn, the Reykjavik School of Music: Tonlistarskolinn i Reykjavik, the Icelandic School of Theater, Reykjavik: Leiklistarskolinn, and the College of Art and Crafts: Myndlistar- og handidaskoli Islands (MHI).

Chapter 4

1) The terms "progressive," "liberal," "radical," "leftist," and "socialist" are problematic and difficult to define. To have to translate them back and forth between two languages and at least three different contexts (Iceland, Great Britain, the United States) makes them even more unmanageable. One special problem relates to the name of one of Iceland's political parties, the Progressive Party that is near the center of the political spectrum (perhaps slightly to the left of center). I use terms like radicals and leftists freely and interchangeably when referring to Icelandic thinkers associated with politics to the left of the Progressive Party, and I use the term progressive when trying to reach connotations that I believe the Deweyan American tradition or the progressive tradition in Britain entail.

2) The translations from the 1983 syllabus draft reflect the drafty nature of its text; sentence structure in the translations often corresponds to the unpolished sentence structure in the Icelandic original.

3) I am listed as the principal author of **Heimabyggdin**. In the winter of 1983-4, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson "tutored" me with finalizing the project from ideas and drafts that he and three other members of the social studies team had begun to collect and write. Ingvar also wrote the teacher guide from similar drafts and ideas that had been compiled.

4) Reynir Bjarnason, the primus motor of the biology project, died in 1978. Because of the lack of qualified individuals, no one was, at the time of Reynir's death, capable of taking up a leadership role in the biology project similar to that of Edelstein for the social studies.

5) The mythological metaphor of this debate must be mentioned. The controversial student publication, **Hodur**, where many articles cited in this section and elsewhere (e.g., in ch. 7.1) are to be found, was named after the blind god Hodur who, in Nordic mythology, killed the good god Baldur by throwing a mistle-toe at him. The mistle-toe had not sworn peace to Baldur as all other things and creatures. Incidentally, Baldur Jonsson (see ch.6.1) was the Rector of KHI at this time. In the modern version of Hodur versus Baldur, however, it was **Hodur** (vol.2, no.2) that was censored: four pages of criticism on the Christian studies in KHI were cut away before the issue was distributed. I have not had success in finding a copy of these pages.

6) In the absence of Gudny Gudbjornsdottir's biographical information, her title (educational psychologist, uppeldissalfræðingur) is obtained from the Women's Alliance electoral list, published in the Women's Alliance's Newsletter (**Kvennalistinn. Frettabref** (vol.9, no.2).

7) The pedagogical conventions are constitutional tasks of the Pedagogy Committee of KI. These conventions are held the year(s) when a main convention is not held. They are open to every teacher and are supposed to be a forum for discussion on educational issues in the broadest sense. For each convention, a topic of central relevance is selected.

Chapter 5

1) Thorsteinn Gunnarsson (in a personal correspondence, January 1991) argues that this interpretation is incorrect and that human capital theory is at least returning to the scene -- if indeed it ever disappeared from the rhetoric. Thorsteinn emphasized that human capital theory has always been in the background. Furthermore, Eiríkur Hilmarsson (1989) in his doctoral work at the University of Wisconsin, Madison mail-surveyed 840 Icelanders and found that the majority of his respondents perceived making moderate or high use of skills and knowledge acquired through formal education in their jobs and that they believed that utility of skills and knowledge acquired through education is the primary reason for that better educated workers receive more pay than less educated workers. Other inside sources indicate a closer official reliance on human capital theory now than was apparent during the DERD period.

If this is true, the return of human capital theory arguments to the forefront of the official policy is one more sign of a victory of the technological pole (ch.5.3) of the reform.

2) It goes without saying that these sketches are an insufficient analysis of changes in secondary education in Iceland in the last 25 years. They should, however, indicate how these changes and the reform discourse can not be viewed in an isolation from each other.

3) My use of the concept "academic capital" refers to the traditional cultural and educational capital represented in the conventional rules of scholarship and university degrees and tends to ignore the fact that academic capital is not less based on social competence, measured in positions held and power exercised (see Bourdieu 1988a).

Chapter 6

1) My sources do not discriminate between kpr. and B.Ed. **Kennaratal** reports all teachers graduated from TTC and KHI as having kpr. I assume that everyone graduated before 1974 has a kpr. degree and everyone after 1977 a B.Ed. degree. For graduates of the years between 1974 and 1977, I use the length of study from the matriculation examination, or if such examination is reported, to estimate who finished with kpr. and who finished with B.Ed. Furthermore, some of the B.Ed. degrees are acquired through a summer-course program, but my sources only mention the year a teaching certificate was acquired by listing "kpr." Therefore, I list them as any other B.Ed. graduates, even though there is a reason to believe that their habitual experience is quite different from that of those who attended the regular three-year program.

2) Because I consider these individuals as epistemic individuals, I do not mention their names in the text. In the instances where I discuss people as biographical individuals, or when I give a judgement concerning who is an influential figure in the reform, I provide names in order for anyone to challenge my judgement concerning the importance of that individual. In the text, I go to the extreme in naming individuals with their proper names. To fulfill the curiosity of the (Icelandic) reader, these six individuals are, listed alphabetically, Hanna Kristin Stefansdottir, public relations representative of

NCEM, has served in the leadership of KI; Ingolfur Arnannsson, (as of 1990) director of cultural affairs for the town of Akureyri, former elementary school principal and superintendent; Julius Sigurbjornsson, Assistant Professor at KHI, worked for DSD; Loftur Magnusson, (as of 1986) deputy principal in Hafnarfjordur, has served in the leadership of KI; Olafur H. Johannsson, director of in-service education at KHI, former principal of ÆTKHI; and Ragnhildur Bjarnadottir, director of in-service education at KHI, former teaching practice teacher in ÆTKHI.

3) The principal of Fossvogsskoli, Kari Arnorsson, drafted a preliminary version of the 1983 **Adalnamskra grunnskola** draft for DERD in the fall of 1980 (**Starfsemi skolarannsóknadeildar 1979-1983** n.d., 5-6). However, he is not listed in any of the staff lists from DERD that I was able to obtain.

4) Svanhildur Kaaber (interview, August 1990) told me the story of how she became a teacher and later a teacher leader. While she did not plan to become the chair of KI, nor even to become a teacher, it is unlikely that the same sequence of events and encouragement that had an impact on her career (and habitus) would have occurred to a person born into a family of poor farmers or coastal village workers. This is an example of where dispositions and the practical sense of being in a family with cultural and economic capital matters.

5) **Kennaratal** does not contain other information than the professional information about the individual born in 1959. Through personal inquiries, I found out that she is the sister-in-law of one of the chief authors of the KI school policy document (**Skolastefna**). Furthermore, she did her student teaching with one of the social studies team members in an elementary school in Reykjavik where she now teaches. Lastly, she is on the Editorial Board of **Ny menntamal** (from 1988). (Because in this context she is an epistemic individual and because the information I obtained about her is not public or published information, I do not mention her proper name.)

6) Incidentally, the only person with a Ph.D. degree in the group that I investigated, Allyson Macdonald, is an immigrant (raised in South Africa, Ph.D. from the United States). One of the people with a degree in special education, Berit Johnsen, now also working for KHI, is also an immigrant (from Norway). Neither of these individuals currently has a permanent position at the District Office in their respective rural district; to my best knowledge, both live in rural Iceland because of their Icelandic husband's professional or administrative employment for a state institution. These examples seem to me to be illustrative of the problem of professional and social isolation in rural and coastal Iceland, often felt by those who have lived in Reykjavik or in foreign cities to receive education. While I do not know if there are other cases of individuals (most likely women) who are available to work for DOEs because of spouse's employment, I suspect such cases exist (one superintendent's wife works for a DOE, for instance). Nor do I know how this might affect how DOEs relate to the spectrums of legitimating principles.

7) While Andri Isaksson expected students to learn the Bloom taxonomy, there was no hesitation on his behalf to allow the use of the Taba taxonomy when students requested to use it. Perhaps, however, DERD was *en route* to abandon all taxonomies -- faster than the Pedagogy Division. In addition, Hrolfur Kjartansson of DERD taught the curriculum theory class in the Pedagogy Division for a number of years in the early 1980s in Andri's absence (Hrolfur Kjartansson 1991b). Moreover, Andri's emphasis on that his students learn how to phrase behavioral objectives was not a universal underwriting of his behalf of the wisdom of such objectives for all purposes (based in

part on a phone conversation with Andri Isaksson in March 1991).

8) Whether feminist concerns can be subsumed under the progressive "logic," or if they will become constitutive of a one more dynamic of distinction (legitimizing principle) in the field of reform remains to be seen. The Women's Alliance in Iceland has significantly transformed debates and practices in Icelandic politics, and, as time has gone by, the Alliance has made demands to affect the discourse in new arenas. Gudny Gudbjornsdottir's recent article (1990), concerning special education for girls, indicates that feminist values will become increasingly contested in the field of educational reform in the future. In fact, Gudny's views have been argued against (Heidur Baldursdottir 1990). The founding of a day-care center in Hafnarfjordur for girls only and debates around it also indicate that a feminist "pole" is becoming visible in the late 1980s and early 1990s. One of the limitations of this thesis is that it has not investigated the relationship between the faculty in the various sites and feminist discursive themes concerning educational values.

Chapter 7

1) An Icelandic researcher, Sigrun Gudmundsdottir (1947-), Ph.D. (1988) worked with Shulman and others at Stanford University on research concerning pedagogical content knowledge in the early and mid-1980s. Sigrun is a kpr. graduate (1970) and was a teacher at Fossvogsskoli (1978-81). Sigrun has presented her ideas at the meetings of history and social studies teachers and other meetings in Iceland, as well as she has taught in the Pedagogy Division in HI.

2) In an article in **Timarit Mals og menningar**, Professor Gunnar Karlsson (1983) cynically pointed out that then-published textbooks in the social studies project only "covered" 120 years of the history of Iceland. This was taken up by Gudmundur Magnusson (1983c). Without going too much into the differences between Gunnar's scholarly discussion and Gudmundur's right-wing journalism, it seems to me that Gunnar did not expect his argument to be abused as it turned out to be.

3) The end-date of my "coverage" matches the time I left Reykjavik for my graduate studies in Wisconsin which was in January 1987. I have been in Iceland every summer since then but 1988 was the last summer I worked for NCEM. After that, my possibilities to personally screen the debate have seriously decreased.

Chapter 8

1) Two leading reformers, Professor Gudny Gudbjornsdottir (see ch.6.1) of the Pedagogy Division and deputy principal Birna Sigurjonsdottir, are candidates for the Women's Alliance in the April 1991 Parliament elections. Both will most likely participate in the Parliament as deputy members. Gudny even has a slight chance of winning a seat. One other reformer, DERD part-timer and former head of the City of Reykjavik Adult Education Program (Namsflokkar Reykjavikur) Gudrun Halldorsdottir, has been in the Parliament for one year and is a candidate in a critical seat in the April election. Browsing through some of the lists shows that many teachers are indeed candidates for the Women's Alliance.

2) Those who I cite here as "British and American neo-Marxists" represent a body of scholarly work that favors socio-economic class (and sometimes race and gender in addition) as a classification tool. While not all of these scholars identify themselves as neo-Marxists, they are related to each other in a field of neo-Marxist educational theory/the "new" sociology of knowledge (see also Wexler 1987).

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-

1) Other individuals that Gestur mentions in his article are either not quoted directly or quoted in these sources.

Appendix I. Tables

TABLE 1. CABINETS, PRIME MINISTERS, AND MINISTERS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION, 1959-1991 ¹⁾

<u>Period</u>	<u>Parties</u>	<u>Prime Ministers</u>	<u>Ministers of Culture and Education</u>
1959-63	IP, SDP	Olafur Thors ²⁾	Gylfi Th. Gislason (SDP)
1963-70	IP, SDP	Bjarni Benediktsson	Gylfi Th. Gislason (SDP)
1970-71	IP, SDP	Johann Hafstein	Gylfi Th. Gislason (SDP)
1971-4	PP, PA, ALL	Olafur Johannesson	Magnus Torfi Olafsson (ALL)
1974-8	IP, PP	Geir Hallgrímsson	Vilhjalmur Hjalmarsson (PP)
1978-9	PP, PA, SDP	Olafur Johannesson	Ragnar Arnalds (PA)
1979-80	SDP ³⁾	Benedikt Grondal	Vilmundur Gylfason (SDP)
1980-83	IP, PP, PA	Gunnar Thoroddsen ⁴⁾	Ingvar Gislason (PP)
1983-7	PP, IP	Steingrímur Hermannsson	Ragnhildur Helgadóttir (IP) Sverrir Hermannsson (IP) ⁵⁾
1987-8	IP, PP, SDP	Thorsteinn Pálsson	Birgir Isleifur Gunnarsson (IP)
1988-91	PP, SDP, PA, CP ⁶⁾	Steingrímur Hermannsson	Svavar Gestsson (PA)

Abbreviations in Table 1:

ALL: Alliance of Liberals and Leftists, CP: Citizens' Party, IP: Independence Party, PA: People's Alliance, PP: Progressive Party, SDP: Social Democratic Party.

Notes to Table 1:

- 1) The first party listed is the party of the Prime Minister.
- 2) The cabinets of Olafur Thors who retired in 1963, Bjarni Benediktsson who was killed in a summer-house fire at Thingvellir in 1970, and Johann Hafstein are considered one coalition government. No coalition government has lasted longer in Iceland, almost 12 years.
- 3) Minority cabinet that was in office for only four months when waiting for a new coalition to be established.
- 4) Gunnar and two other members of the Independence Party joined forces with the Progressive Party and the People's Alliance to form a majority coalition.
- 5) Sverrir replaced Ragnhildur in 1985 in a reshuffling of the Independence Party ministers.
- 6) The Citizens' Party joined the coalition in 1989.

TABLE 2. COURSES IN PEDAGOGY AND CURRICULUM THEORY FOR A TEACHING CERTIFICATE ¹⁾

<u>Course</u>	<u>Credits</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Professor/Lecturer</u>
<i>Courses for the BA and Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program</i>			
History of Education	3	Fall 1977	Andri Isaksson
Child and Adolescent Psychology	3	Fall 1977	Gudny Gudbjornsdottir
Developmental Psychology	3	Acad. year 1977-8	Gudny Gudbjornsdottir
Sociology of Education	3	Spring 1978	Gudny Gudbjornsdottir
Psychology of Learning	3	Spring 1979	Jon Torfi Jonasson
<i>Courses exclusive for the Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program</i>			
Programmed Learning	2	Fall 1978	Ragnheidur Briem
Teaching Practice, short courses	5	Fall 78, Fall 79	Andri Isaksson and others
Curriculum Theory (Didactics)	5	Fall 1979	Andri Isaksson
Testing Science and Evaluation	3	Spring 1980	Andri Isaksson Gudny Helgadottir Thuridur Kristjansdottir

1) Note to Table 2:

The list is based on the classes that the author attended during a period of three academic years, i.e., 1977-8, 1978-9, and 1979-80 (Haskoli Islands 1977-80, Ingolfur A. Johannesson 1977-80).

TABLE 3. STATISTICAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE FACULTY OF REFORM INSTITUTIONS ¹⁾

	<u>DERD</u>	<u>KHIÆTKHI</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>FSY</u>	<u>DOEs</u>	<u>DSD</u>	<u>NCEM</u>	<u>HI</u>
Total ²⁾	163	60	20	36	13	41	14	17 18 ¹⁹⁾
Men	96	32	16	13	9	19	7	9 11
Women	67	28	4	23	4	22	7	8 7
stpr.(other than TTC)	84	31	13	17	6	13	-	7 -
- MR	33	15	3	3	0	3	-	2 6
- MA	30	9	3	6	2	7	-	2 2
- ML	5	3	1	2	0	1	-	0 1
- MH	5	2	3	3	1	0	-	0 -
- MT/MS	3	1	1	1	0	1	-	0 1
- MK	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	0 -
- KHI	2	0	0	0	0	0	-	1 -
- VI	1	1	0	1	1	0	-	0 -
- Flensburg School	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	1 -
- Samvinnuskolinn	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	0 -
- not known	4	-	2	1	1	0	-	1 -
foreign sec. ed.	5	1	1	1	0	2	1	0 -
kpr.	69	11	8	16	9	19	-	10 3
- stpr.+kpr. ³⁾	27	-	-	-	2	1	-	2 -
- kpr.+studentsprof	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3 -
sergrkpr.	23	11 ⁹⁾	-	-	-	3	-	1 0
- kpr.+sergrkpr.	4	0	-	-	-	1	-	1 0
- sergrkpr.+stpr.	4	0	-	-	-	0	-	0 0
kpr./sergrkpr.+frhnam	-	19 ¹⁰⁾	-	-	-	8	-	7 3
kpr.+B.Ed.	2	1	-	0	-	0	-	0 0
B.Ed.	16	2	8	12	1	7	-	3 0
ped. beyond UK/B.Ed. ⁻⁸⁾	-	27	-	-	3	13	-	9 6
- more ped., no degree	-	7	-	-	2	4	-	5 0
- BA/BS in ped.	-	4	-	-	1	6	-	1 2
- MA/MS/M.Ed. in ped.	-	14	-	-	-	2	2	3 ¹⁶⁾ 3
- Doctorate in ped.	-	5 ¹¹⁾	-	-	-	1	0	0 3
trad. disc.	-	19	-	-	-	2	-	5 12
- BA/BS in trad. disc.	-	2	-	-	2	0	3	2 5
- MA/MS in trad. disc.	-	13	-	-	-	2 ¹⁴⁾	2	3 ¹⁶⁾ 1
- dr. in trad. disc.	-	5 ¹¹⁾	-	-	-	0	-	0 6 ¹⁸⁾

Table 3 continues ...

<i>Cont.</i>	<u>DERD</u>	<u>KHI/ÆTKHI</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>FSY</u>	<u>DOEs</u>	<u>DSD</u>	<u>NCEM</u>	<u>HI</u>	
work in progr. sch. ⁴⁾	53	1	1 ¹²⁾	7	2	3 ¹⁵⁾	3	4 ¹⁷⁾	0
work in open sch. ⁵⁾	6	4	3	6	5	7	0	4 ¹⁷⁾	0
work in other sch. ⁶⁾	32	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
principals, d. p.	-	6	-	10	N/A	15	0	3	0
work for DERD	N/A	18	-	3	4	4	9	4	2
- full-timers	N/A	6	-	0	2 ¹³⁾	1	7	2	1
- part-timers	N/A	12	-	3	2	3	2	2	1
- SSCP team	N/A	6	-	0	3	3	1	2	1
work for KHI	-	N/A	N/A	1	0	-	-	-	-
in KI's leadership ⁷⁾	-	-	-	N/A	1	3	-	1	-
work for DOEs	-	-	-	3	2	N/A	-	2	-
work for DSD	-	-	-	0	1	-	N/A	0	-
work for NCEM	-	-	-	1	0	1	-	N/A	-
work for HI	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	N/A

Abbreviations and explanations for Table 3:

HI(here)=University of Iceland's Division of Pedagogy, stpr.=studentsprof, Samvinnuskolinn=the College of the Cooperative Society, sec. ed.=secondary education (it is assumed that this is a studentsprof-equivalent diploma as most of these individuals hold university degrees), frhnam=framhaldsnam (further education, unspecified), ped.=pedagogy, dr.=doctoral degree, including Ph.D. and Ed.D., UK=pedagogy and curriculum theory sufficient for a teaching certificate, curriculum theory, discipline-specific curriculum theory, trad. disc.=traditional academic discipline, including psychology, progr.=progressive, sch.=schools, d. p.=deputy principals, SSCP team=social studies team members. Other abbreviations are listed in Appendix III.

Notes to Table 3:

- 1) Many figures are approximate or estimated, and many categories were not counted for every institution. When counting was not performed for that category, or if the number of individuals with missing information would greatly affect the number, it is represented with -. When no one could be found in that category, it is represented with 0.
- 2) The total number includes those who I have either no information or partial information about. Only gender numbers should add up to the total figure.
- 3) Studentsprof+kpr. means that these examinations are taken in this order; kpr.+studentsprof means that they are taken in the reverse order. Studentsprof on top of kpr. is usually taken from the Teacher Training College or KHI and is not included in the total studentsprof-figure as the figures are meant to reflect division in the base of education between studentsprof and kpr.; that is, the original education of the individual.
- 4) Progressive schools include Hlidaskoli, Isaksskoli, MH, ÆTKHI, and Oldutunsskoli, see also Table 4. Austurbæjarskoli is excluded from the counting in these tables.
- 5) Open schools include Fossvogsskoli, Vesturbæjarskoli, Snælandsskoli, Grundaskoli, Sturutjarnaskoli, the Hallormsstadur Elementary School, and the Kopasker Elementary School.

- 6) These schools include Hagaskoli, Rettarholtsskoli, Melaskoli, as well as the schools in Seltjarnarnes.
- 7) In these figures are only the individuals who are a part of the 36 people group analyzed in this thesis.
- 8) The figures for further education were not counted for the DERD group. Much of this education and many of the degrees were acquired later than the individuals worked for DERD.
- 9) This figure includes one individual with unconfirmed information and one with education that strictly speaking does not fall under the category.
- 10) This figure includes one individual with unconfirmed information.
- 11) Both figures include one individual with a doctoral degree in psychology.
- 12) Other than ÆTKHI.
- 13) This figure includes an individual who also was a DSD inspector.
- 14) This figure includes one individual with unconfirmed information in respect to which discipline (a cand. polit. degree from Norway).
- 15) This figure includes an individual who taught in a school with a flexible arrangement but was not included in the category of open schools in this thesis, see note 5.
- 16) Both figures include one individual with a master degree in psychology.
- 17) One individual is counted in both figures.
- 18) This figure includes five individuals with doctoral degrees in psychology.
- 19) Figures are not added because many individuals are counted two or three times in the various institutions they work for. For some categories, individuals that I have no information about would even out the double and triple counting. But there is also a structured absence among those with missing information that, in the first place, leans toward those with traditional studentsprof and academic education who may not have been asked to furnish information for **Kennaratal**. In the second place, some of the younger people who may tend to be with studentsprof from schools other than MR and MA simply were not yet professional educators in the mid-80s when most of the information for **Kennaratal** was gathered.

TABLE 4. TEACHING IN PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS AND OTHER
SELECTED SCHOOLS ¹⁾

	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)
<i>Progressive schools</i>					
Oldutunsskoli	14	6	120	22	98
Hlidaskoli	11	5	62	13	49
Isaksskoli	7	3	128	95	33
ÆTKHI	19	6	145	62	83
MH	13	2	77	5	72
<i>Other schools</i>					
Hagaskoli	8	3	51	13	48
Rettarholtsskoli	8	2	33	2	31
Melaskoli	6	3	45	28	17
MR	10	3	76	35	41
Schools in Seltjarnarnes	12	2	78	12	66

Abbreviations in Table 4:

ÆTKHI=Æfinga- og tilraunaskoli Kennarahaskola Islands (the Teaching Practice and Experimental School of the College of Education, MH=Menntaskolinn vid Hamrahlid (the Hamrahlid Gymnasium, Reykjavik)

Notes (column headings) to Table 4:

- 1) This table contains information about the length of teaching careers of DERD staff members in selected schools prior to the school year 1984-5. This information is discussed in chapter 6.1, and the notions of "progressive" schools and "impact years" are explained there.
- 2) Individuals who taught in the respective school.
- 3) For the upper part of the table: Number of individuals who taught in more than one of the five "progressive" schools. For the bottom part of the table: Number of individuals who also taught in one of the five schools in the upper part of the table.
- 4) The number of years that the individuals in column one taught in the respective school.
- 5) The number of years that the individuals in column two taught in one of the schools mentioned in note 2, other than the respective school.
- 6) Column four subtracted from column three ("impact years").

Appendix II. Iceland: History and Politics

Cultural and political independence has always been imperative to the Icelandic community of people. The remote location of the island kept the nation for a long time somewhat isolated from political and cultural movements on the mainland Europe. However, the location has never prevented cultural and religious streams of thought from drifting to Iceland's shores. Now, in the late 20th century, the location between Europe and North America has opened the country even further for various types of influence. At the same time, the remoteness of the country seems to make it easier to preserve traditions than it is for smaller, poorer nations and communities that are surrounded by large language communities and "evil empires" (I am referring the infamous remark once made by Ronald Reagan about the Soviet Union but expanding it to refer to any empire).

Below there is an overview of aspects of Icelandic history, culture, modern society, and government that may help a reader unfamiliar with the society to gain background information. Among other valuable sources are Sigurdur A. Magnusson (1977) and Tomasson (1980).

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Iceland was largely settled by Nordic people between 874 and 930. A few of the settlers were Celtic, many of them enslaved by the Vikings and involuntarily brought to the island. In 930, the leaders of Iceland founded a Parliament, called Althingi (literally, a total conference) which is believed to have been one of the very first Parliaments in the world. For almost four centuries, Iceland remained under the rule of its own upper class, but after a series of conflicts and battles in the 13th century, the leaders agreed in 1262-4 that the country should become a part of the Norwegian Empire. In 1397, Norway and Iceland joined Denmark with the crown located in Denmark. Althingi and the Danish crown shared power until 1662 when the Danish king declared an absolute Monarchy. Althingi, which from the beginning was both a legislative body and a court, remained a court from 1662-1798 when it was discontinued.

Throughout the centuries, the population of Iceland has, according to historians' estimates, varied between approximately 50000 and 70000. The 18th century was one of the most difficult centuries in the nation's history. Various plagues visited upon the country, and the weather was unusually rough. On top of that, the big volcanic eruption named Skaftareldar (1783) killed people and poisoned the grass which the cows and sheep depend upon; consequently, people had nothing to live on. This left the country with the lowest population ever and a population in despair. The Danish authorities in Copenhagen even considered moving everyone to the Jylland-peninsula in Denmark.

In the 19th century, a struggle for independence and revival of culture began. Althingi was reinstated with limited power in 1845, the country received its own Constitution in 1874, and, in relation to the introduction of parliamentarism in Denmark in 1901, Iceland finally got a Home Rule and its first modern government with one Minister in 1904. The Home Rule was particularly significant since it brought sovereignty in economic and fiscal matters into the country. The government remained a one-minister "cabinet" for the next twelve years. In 1916 the government was enlarged to a three-minister cabinet, and in 1918 the country received a full political sovereignty with a Union Contract between Iceland and Denmark. The king of Denmark was still the

king of Iceland, and the Danish government was in charge of diplomatic relations for Iceland. The Union Contract was signed to last for 25 years, or to 1943.

In World War II, in April 1940, Germany occupied Denmark, making it impossible for the Danish authorities to fulfill their duties with Iceland. On June 17, 1944 after a national referendum, Iceland was declared a republic.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY, CULTURE, AND GOVERNMENT

Population: As of December 1, 1990 the population of Iceland is exactly 255588 people. In terms of race, the Icelanders are almost homogeneous. Exceptions include less than 100 people of a Vietnamese ancestry, children adopted from Asia or Central America, and a few individuals who have moved to Iceland, often as spouses of Icelanders.

A good one-third (over 90000 people) of the population lives in Reykjavik; almost another one-third lives in towns and communities located within one-hour drive from Reykjavik and in the only 15000 inhabitants' town in Northern Iceland; the rest lives in towns and communities smaller than 6000 people each. Between five and ten towns have a population of 2000-6000 each. A typical size of a village is 500-1500 inhabitants with one or more neighbor rural communities with 50 to 600 people each. Only about 10 % of Icelanders live in communities smaller than 300 people.

Since the size of the country is almost 40000 square miles, one of the biggest problems that education authorities are faced with is whether to bus children a long way in the rough arctic winter climate on narrow gravel roads, even over mountains, or keep them in small, underfunded schools with often ill-educated staff. This dilemma is far from having been solved.

Heritage: The heritage that Icelanders are proudest of is literature. The sagas that were written in the 13th century have to this date been mandatory readings in schools. It is also significant that Icelanders are a nation who speaks a language that almost no one in the world but Icelanders understand. Besides a few individuals of Icelandic ancestry in Canada, the only major exception are the Faroe Islanders most of whom understand, and even speak, Icelandic. But the smallness of the language community also causes problems (some of them I explain in ch.2.2): we have to learn foreign languages, we do a substantive part of our research in other languages, we have constant worries that our culture might get "polluted," and it is expensive in terms of translations -- to name a few of the problems.

Religion: When the country was settled, the Nordic people who settled in Iceland were Pagans. Most of the Celtic people were Christian. Shortly before the year 1000, Christian missionaries began visiting Iceland, and on Althingi in the year 1000, it was decided to take up Christianity and throw away the statutes of Odinn, Thor, Freyr, Tyr, and the other Pagan gods. In the 1500s, a similar political change occurred when Iceland was converted to a Lutheran Protestantism. In short, the history of religion is closely interlinked with the political and cultural history of the country.

Today, the Lutheran Evangelical State Church includes 90-95 % of the population, and the vast majority of those who are not members of the State Church are registered as atheists or members of independent Lutheran churches. There is, however, a flora of small religious groups in Iceland. Among them are Catholics, Baptists, Mormons, Bahai's, Jehovah Witnesses, and a small group of modern Pagans which was founded in the 1970s. Almost every child is Christianized in a family ceremony a few weeks after birth, most children are confirmed at the age of 13 or 14, people who marry are usually

married by ministers, and funeral services are given by ministers as well. Other religious practices and beliefs are kept to the private since church going is quite uncommon, even on major Christian holidays such as Christmas and Easter. Prayers are also uncommon in schools, but Christian studies and Christian values still have a stronghold in public education as I explain in the thesis' text (e.g., chs.3.1,5.2).

Modern society: With the occupation of Iceland in World War II by British and U.S. armed forces (see below), a relatively underdeveloped country was thrown into the modern world. Prior to the war, almost all industrial development in Iceland had been related to the fish industry, and the Great Depression hit the country hard. The country was primarily a rural society, and people stayed at the countryside because there were not enough jobs in towns and villages. This changed overnight when the British came. They needed laborers, and when the U.S. Americans came, they had even more money to spend than the British and were better equipped technologically. Along with the jeep, the Americans also brought the chewing gum and various other inventions of modern society.

In economic terms, Iceland enjoyed a profit of the war. The wounds of the war were minimal. Many Icelanders earned large sums of money. Everyone had a job. The country expanded its fish markets after the war and built fish-processing plants in the United States. Fish is still the main export from Iceland, but the country has diversified in terms of jobs; most people now work in the service factors of society. Unemployment has most of the time been virtually non-existent and working long hours (50-80 hours a week) is common.

Iceland is a consumption society; it has one of the highest consumption rates per capita in the world of various goods. The country is also one of "trendiest" places that can be found; Icelanders tend to pick up fashion trends in clothes, music, and so forth. Icelanders also rapidly witness the trends throughout the entire society since we are so few. People of different classes attend the same pubs and discoteques and read the same newspapers and glossy magazines. The elite has not been able to establish a substantive subculture (should I say superculture?) of its own; the elite is even more integrated in society than it was in the 19th century when some members of the elite spoke Danish. How the trendiness that I have just mentioned affects views on education is uncertain; the jeep and the chewing gum, in a metaphorical sense, may still be more popular than imported ideas, such as American curriculum theory and psychology from Switzerland.

Government: Iceland is a parliamentary republic. Voting is not mandatory but around 90 % of the voting population (now 18 years and older) vote in most elections. We elect a President every fourth year in a national election or, rather, we usually only vote when the sitting President has decided to step down. Our current President is Mrs Vigdis Finnbogadottir, elected in 1980, the first woman in the world to be elected a President in a national election. The role of the President, however, is mostly symbolic. The President signs the laws after they have been passed by Althingi. Formally, the President also appoints the Prime Minister, but because the political system is based on parliamentarism, the parties first negotiate which party appoints the Prime Minister.

Althingi is elected at least once every four years. Elections were held on April 20, 1991, but the results of them and consequences for the cabinet were not known at the time of finalizing this text. Althingi consists of 63 members elected from eight electoral districts. These 63 members are divided proportionately between the political parties of lists that the parties announce at least four weeks prior to the election.

Since the 1930s, Iceland has had a four-party system where fifth parties have always

had a difficulty in keeping alive as parliamentary parties. These four parties are the Independence Party (free-market, conservative, heavily pro-NATO), the Progressive Party (originally a farmers' party), the Social Democratic Party (pro-NATO, much more centrist than its sister parties in the other Nordic Countries), and the People's Alliance (a left socialist party with historical roots to the Icelandic Communist Party in the 1930s). Several attempts have been made to establish a fifth party. For instance, the Alliance of Liberals and Leftists that had five men elected to the Parliament in 1971 and participated in a coalition government from 1971-4, disappeared from the parliamentary scene at the end of the decade. The four-party structure may be changing; in the 1987 elections, 14 Parliament Members were elected from three newly established parties. First, the Women's Alliance (a grass-roots feminist party), which first won seats in the city and town council elections in 1982, received six seats. Second, the Citizens' Party (a splinter faction from the Independence Party) receive seven seats. Third, one splinter member of the Progressive Party was elected from a list named the Alliance for Equal Rights and Social Consciousness. Since the elections, two members of the Citizens' Party founded the eighth party in the Parliament, called the Liberal Right. These two members have now joined the Independence Party again.

The Independence Party has been the strongest political force since the 1930s, and party politics in Iceland are, in the whole, more to the right on the left-right spectrum than in other Nordic countries where the Social Democratic Parties have been the leading parties most of the time. However, the Ministry of Culture and Education has been in the hands of left and center parties since the 1950s, with the exception of 1983-8. Current coalition government cabinet (prior to the April-1991 elections) consists of eleven ministers, three from the Progressive Party, three from the Social Democrats, three from the People's Alliance, and two from the Citizens' Party. In Table 1 (see Appendix I), I list governments, Prime Ministers, and Ministers of Culture and Education in the eight cabinets that have governed the country since DERD was founded.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

When Iceland had to stand on its own feet during the occupation of Denmark that began in April 1940, the government appointed a regent to fulfill the administrative duties of the king. Only a month later, in May 1940, Great Britain occupied Iceland. The British did not intervene in the country's internal matters. Later, in July 1941, with a three-way agreement between the British, Icelandic, and United States governments, U.S. armed forces joined the British forces in the "protection" of Iceland (as opposed to "occupation"). Iceland never declared a war on Germany, however. Therefore, Iceland did not become a founding member of the United Nations, but it was one of the first countries to be accepted into the organization after the UN were opened to be joined by nations other than the victors of the war.

Today, Iceland is a participant in international organizations, such as the UN, UNESCO, NATO, OECD, the European Council, and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Iceland will not become a member of the European Common Market (ECM) in 1992, but along with other EFTA nations, the country is negotiating trade agreements with the ECM. The closest cooperation in cultural and political terms is with the other Nordic Countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, as well as the autonomous territories of the Åland Islands, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland. The Nordic Countries founded the Nordic Council (Nordurlandarad, Nordisk råd) in the 1950s. There are several inter-Nordic contracts about various matters such as about

health care, international cooperation, and the labor market.

Most controversial of Iceland's international relationships has been the membership in NATO and the existence of the U.S. Naval Air Station in Keflavik. When Iceland became a member of NATO, the public was insured that armed forces would never be kept in Iceland during peace times. However, the Korean War was used as an excuse to set up a base which has been there ever since. The function of the base and three radar stations located on the three other corners of the country is to spy about Soviet planes and submarines. Pro-NATO forces contend the U.S. base is in Iceland to protect the country; the official name, Iceland Defense Force Joint Command, reflects that "purpose." There is a loud opposition to the base, but a national referendum has never been held, and -- at least prior to the 1989 changes in Eastern Europe -- the majority might have voted for keeping the NATO base in the country. Economic relations may become more critical issues in foreign matters in coming years, in particular after 1992.

Appendix III. Abbreviations ¹⁾

A.g. 1983: **Adalnamskra grunnskola** (1983). (Ch.4.1. References.)

AIR: Association of Icelandic Rectors. Skolameistarafelag Islands.

BHM: Bandalag haskolamanna. Federation of University Educated Professionals. A branch of BHM is called BHMR which now is the union of state-employed BHM members.

BHMR: See BHM.

BK: Bandalag kennarafelaga. Federation of Teacher Associations. (Ch.3.2.)

BSRB: Bandalag starfsmanna ríkis og bæja. Federation of State and Municipal Employees.

BSCS: Biological Sciences Curriculum Study. (Ch.1.2. References.)

COE: Central Office of Education. Frædslumalaskrifstofan. Merged with the Ministry of Culture and Education around 1970.

DEE: Department of Elementary Education in the Ministry of Culture and Education. Grunnskóladeild. In 1990, DSD and DEE joined as DEE.

DERD: Department of Educational Research and Development in the Ministry of Culture and Education. Skolarannsóknadeild. See also DSD.

DOE: District Office of Education. Frædsluskristofa. (Chs.3.2.,6.1.)

DSD: Department of School Development. Skolathrounardeild. I changed "education" to "schools" in my English translation to emphasize the difference between DERD and DSD.

DSE: Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Culture and Education.

DV: The official abbreviation of **Dagbláid-Visir**. Liberal, independent newspaper. Reykjavík.

ECM: European Common Market. Formerly EEC (European Economic Council).

EFTA: European Free Trade Association. Friverslunarbandalag Evrópu.

FB: Fjölbrautaskólinn í Breiðholti. Breiðholt (suburb of Reykjavík) Comprehensive School.

FHK: Felag haskolamenntaðra kennara. Association of University Educated Teachers.

FM: Felag menntaskólakennara. Association of Gymnasia Teachers.

FSY: Felag skólastjóra og yfirkennara. Association of Principals and Deputy Principals.

HI: Háskóli Íslands. University of Iceland.

HIK: Hid íslenska kennarafelag. The Icelandic Teacher Association (the Icelandic title includes the definite article, a rare stylistic device in Icelandic). (Ch.3.2.)

IKI: Ithrottakennaraskóli Íslands. Physical Education Training School of Iceland.

KHI: Kennaraháskóli Íslands. College of Education. (Ch.3.2.)

KI: Kennaraskóli Íslands. Teacher Training College. See also TTC which is the abbreviation used in the thesis. (Ch.3.2.)

KI: Kennarasamband Íslands. Teacher Union of Iceland. (Ch.3.2.)

kpr.: Kennarapróf. Teaching certificate (from TTC). (Ch.6.1.)

LFSK: Landssamband framhaldsskólakennara. National Union of Secondary School Teachers.

MACOS: **Man: A Course of Study**. (Ch.1.2. References.)

MA: Menntaskólinn á Akureyri. Akureyri (North Iceland town) Gymnasium.

Mbl.: A common-use abbreviation for **Morgunbláid**. Conservative newspaper that

- aligns with the Independence Party. Reykjavik.
- ME: Menntaskolinn a Egilsstodum. Egilsstadir (East Iceland town) Gymnasium.
- M.e.m. 1987: **Mennt er mattur** (1987). (Ch.4.2. References.)
- MH: Menntaskolinn vid Hamrahlid. Hamrahlid (street name) Gymnasium.
- MHI: Myndlistar- og handidaskoli Islands. College of the Art and Crafts.
- MI: Menntaskolinn a Isafirdi. Isafjordur (town in the West Fjords) Gymnasium.
- MK: Menntaskolinn i Kopavogi. Kopavogur (town next to Reykjavik) Gymnasium.
- ML: Menntaskolinn a Laugarvatni. Laugarvatn (rural school center) Gymnasium.
- MR: Menntaskolinn i Reykjavik. Reykjavik Gymnasium.
- MS: Menntaskolinn vid Sund. Sund Gymnasium, Reykjavik. See also MT.
- MT: Menntaskolinn vid Tjornina. Lakeside Gymnasium, Reykjavik. Transformed by a name and location change into MS in 1977.
- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Nordur-Atlantshafsbandalagid.
- NCEM: National Center for Educational Materials. Namsgagnastofnun. (Chs.3.2,6.1.)
- NEFL: National Educational Film Library. Frædslumyndasafn rikisins. (Ch.3.2, NCEM.)
- OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Seldom translated into Icelandic.
- SAMFOK: Samtök foreldra- og kennarafelaga (i Reykjavik). Coalition of Teacher and Parent Associations (in Reykjavik).
- sergrkpr.: Specialized kpr. (teaching certificate) to teach physical education, music, art, and other subjects. (Ch.6.1.)
- SGK: Samband grunnskólakennara. Elementary School Teachers' Union. Established by a name change from SIB in 1978 to reflect the name change from "childrens' school" (barnaskoli) to "elementary school" (grunnskoli). (Ch.3.2.)
- SIB: Samband islenskra barnakennara. Union of Icelandic Teachers of Children. See also SGK. (Ch.3.2.)
- Sk. 1990: **Skolastefna** (1990). (Ch.4.2. References.)
- SSCP: Social Studies [Science] Curriculum Project. Samfelagsfrædi.
- STPH: State Textbook Publishing House. Ríkisutgafa namsboka. (Ch.3.2, NCEM.)
- Thjv.: A common-use abbreviation for **Thjodviljinn**. Socialist newspaper owned by the People's Alliance. Reykjavik.
- TI: Tækniskoli Islands. Technical College of Iceland.
- TPS: Teaching Practice School. Æfingaskolinn. See also ÆTKHI.
- TTC: Teacher Training College. Kennaraskoli Islands. See also KI and KHI. (Ch.3.2.)
- UF: Uppeldisfrædi fyrir framhaldsskólakennara. Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program in KHI for secondary school teachers. Often called UF program. (Appendix V.)
- UK: Uppeldis- og kennslufrædi til kennslurettinda. Pedagogy and Curriculum Theory for a Teaching Certificate program in HI. Often called UK program. (Chs.3.2,4.2; Table 2, Appendix I.)
- UN: United Nations. Sameinudu thjodirnar.
- UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Mennta-, visinda og menningarstofnun Sameinudu thjodanna.
- U.S.: United States (of America). Bandariki Nordur-Ameriku (Bandarikin).
- VI: Verzlunarskoli Islands. Icelandic School of Business, Reykjavik.
- ÆTKHI: Æfinga- og tilraunaskoli Kennarahaskola Islands. Teaching Practice and

Experimental School of the College of Education. Prior to 1971 it was TPS.
(Ch.3.2.)

1) Common Icelandic abbreviations are used in the thesis; in other cases English-based abbreviations are invented for identification purposes. First, I list the abbreviation, then the name (word, phrase) that the abbreviation stands for in the same language, and thereafter the name in the other language. When appropriate, an explanation follows or a reference to a specific chapter or to the References. Other abbreviations appear in the tables in Appendix I and are explained there.

Appendix IV. Faculty and Staff in Reform Institutions

The lists are the same order as the institutions in chapter 6.1. Spelling of names is adjusted to the English alphabet (see a note in ch.1.1), sources are listed in Appendix 3 to the References, and they are further explained in chapter 6.1.

DERD full-timers

Andri Isaksson, Anna Kristjansdottir, Baldur Ragnarsson, Bryndis Steinhorsdottir, Gurli Doltrup, Wolfgang Edelstein, Erla Kristjansdottir, Eyjolfur Finnsson, Gudmundur B. Kristmundsson, Gudmundur Ingi Leifsson, Gudny H. Gunnarsdottir, Gudny Helgadóttir, Hrolfur Kjartansson, Hordur Bergmann, Hordur Larusson, Indridi Gislason, Ingimar Jonsson, Ingvar Sigurgeirsson, Jacqueline Fridriksdottir, Jon Hlodver Askelsson, Jona Bjorg Sætran, Kristin H. Tryggvadóttir, Kristjan Gudjonsson, Njall Sigurdsson, Olafur Gudmundsson, Olafur J. Proppe, Palmi Jonsson, Ragnar Jonasson, Reynir Bjarnason, Sigridur Jonsdottir, Sigurdur Palsson, Sigurlin Sveinbjarnardottir, Stefan H. Brynjolfsson, Sverrir Einarsson, Thorir Sigurdsson, Thorvaldur Orn Arnason

DERD part-timers

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Appendix V. Courses of Study Within the College of Education ¹⁾

1. Regular teacher Education for a B.Ed. degree

Currently this program is three years of study (minimum 90 credits). In the future, the B.Ed. program will be four years (120 credits). Current course of study is divided into three equal parts: pedagogical subjects (30 credits), core, i.e., the subject matters of the elementary school and the teaching methods of them (30 credits), and elective subjects and the teaching methods of these elective subjects (30 credits). Teaching practice is 14 credits and is counted within 90 credits. A B.Ed. thesis is three credits and also a part of the 90 credits. Each student elects two academic subjects (15 credits each) or one art or crafts subjects (30 credits). The B.Ed. degree is equivalent to a teacher certificate for teaching in elementary schools.

2. UF program

A course of study for those that finish the requirements in their teaching subjects elsewhere. A 30-credit two-year program. Takes place in Reykjavik, Akureyri, and Vestmannaeyjar.

3. Program for "instructors" in elementary schools

A course of study to enable those who have taught in elementary schools for six years or more without a teaching certificate to obtain the education required for being certified and licensed. A 60-credit, three-to-four-year part-time program. Takes place in Reykjavik and through distance education.

4. BA degree in special education

Taken on top of a regular teacher education and requires at least two years of teaching for being admitted. A 60-credit three-to-four-year part-time program. Prepares teachers to teach children and adolescents with special needs in regular elementary schools and special schools.

5. Program for principals

Requirements for admission include regular teacher education and at least three years of teaching. A 15-credit part-time study for a one-and-a-half year. This program is organized as a part of a longer program that is planned to be institutionalized in the near future.

6. In-service education for teachers

This is a flora of different types of programs, such as lectures, meetings, workshops, professional-skills programs, distance education, and longer courses, that are organized by the Department of In-Service Education within the College of Education. Each year 700-800 teachers participate in these courses and over 2000 teachers in meetings. A two-year professional-skills program is now offered for teachers, focusing on the teaching of individuals in mixed ability groups.

1) For a more complete description of these programs, see, for instance, **Kennsluskra fyrir almennt kennaranam skolaarid 1990-1991** (1990, 11-13).