01-07-2016

# PEDAGOGIC PROFESSIONALISM IN PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

A management perspective on the effects of generalized trust in the pedagogic institutional frame

# Summary

With Danish pre-school pedagogues under pressure both professionally and politically, the man-days lost to sickness amongst them is one of the highest in the Danish labour market. Coupled with reports citing overburdening and more significantly, emotional pressure, as the defining factors for psychological work environment, Rasmus Willig argues that this sick-leave could be caused by the pedagogues being unable to communicate their concerns in the workplace. This is connected to the administrational mistrust in pedagogic professionalism, in Willig's terms disempowerment. Simultaneously, Gert and Gunnar Svendsen argues that the Danish society and its economic and social prowess, is a result of generalised trust being the foundation for our collaborative predisposition. There must therefore be reason to believe that the pedagogic professional field is also connected to this generalised trust in their professional collaborations, could bad work environment and in the end sick leave therefore be connected to this and the pedagogues current professional position? Albertslund Municipality could be the perfect place to investigate this. As the municipality one of the highest sick-leave percentages in the country but are simultaneously also one of the municipalities in the country with the most resources for the pedagogic personal, the emotional pressure stands out as the potential cause. This thesis therefore aims to investigate: ***In what way does generalized trust manifest itself in the management of the pedagogic praxis in Albertslund municipality, and with what consequences?***

This question was answered through a series of in-depth interviews with municipal and institutional managers in Albertslund municipality, in an effort to uncover their motivation and rationality behind their collaborative praxis. With a phenomenological approach, these interviews were analysed through Habermas life and system-world conceptions and how norms and communication is essential human interaction. Svendsen and Svendsen's conception of Social Capital, in form of generalised trust is connected to these interactional norms. The study was then connected to relevant literature regarding; how the welfare professional is as defined by their professional standards as well as the institutionalised frame they work in, the dynamics in motivation within welfare work, how management and leadership can have diverse effects depending on the perspective and approach, and lastly the pedagogic work, the implications of the current pedagogic professional praxis' conditions, as well as an account of the political, educational and unionised background for their professional work.

The analysis of the studys in-depth interviews reviled four different dynamics within the collaboration. ***Firstly***, that the pedagogic professionals and their professionalism is clearly connected to their life-world, and the norms connected to this world. The current administrational management in Albertslund is resonating these norms in the management methodology, using dialog as the foundation of the institutional and professional collaboration. ***Secondly***, these collaborative norms are clearly connected to the Danish societies generalised trust, resulting in building of trust between administration and institution, through the dialogic leadership approach, resonating with life-world of the pedagogues. This resulted in a legitimisation of the pedagogic professions through a system-world perspective, further resulting in a positive attitude from the institutional reality towards the administrational praxis. ***Thirdly***, this positive attitude is indicative of the generalised trust norm, or relational presupposition, is indeed embedded in collaborative professional reality, as the dialogic management approach encompasses a dialog between all the partners of the day-care department, and is instrumental in creating a common professionalism and organisational direction. ***Fourthly***, even though this dialogic approach creates a common professionalism, the institutions are still being managed through political and economic initiatives in a bureaucratic organisational frame. The

institutions cannot choose to disobey the administrational initiatives, so the dialogic collaboration can therefore only affect how for example the institutions are cutting expenses. In Willig's terminology the pedagogic professionals are therefore still being disempowered by the singular power hierarchy of the politically managed administration. Even if the pedagogues are included in the decision-making process, it is not possible to feedback on the implementation of the initiative, essentially internalising the professional responsibility for the institutional frame; Firstly, because they can really only affect the political decision sphere through democratically constituted rights. Secondly because the implementation of the initiatives affects the work environment of the pedagogues, through the management process, essentially resulting in the pedagogues not being able to feedback or voice their concerns, because of busy daily routines. At least this is the perception of the institutional managers. As the institutional managers are essential in the implementation process of an administrational initiative, their perception of both the pedagogic professional's rationality, and the administrational rationality. Their perception shapes how the pedagogues see themselves and the management methodology. As the dialogic management approach is new in Albertslund, the previous management's management methodology, founded in documentation and performance evaluation, must also affect this perception. The interviewed managers all indicated that they did not receive any feedback from the pedagogues, and therefore the pedagogues must either be content or did not bother enough to voice their concerns. Essentially still resulting in them being disempowered, with bad working environment and stress as a result. But this attitude could just be the remnants of the old management paradigm, as the dialogic approach could potentially change the institutional managers own feeling of disempowerment, for example, giving them the mental surplus to not disempower their own staff. Generalised trust could then potentially be a good approach for the pedagogic professional field to both be able to put more political focus on their professionalism, and potentially create change within the public sector towards a more common professional reality between the administrational and professional realities. Trust, simply, creates more trust.

# Table of content

# Introduction

Over the past 30 years the kindergarten and preschool departments of the Danish state has experienced a constant cuts in economic funds. These cuts have resulted in a reduction in pedagogic staff in day-care institutions as evident by the amount of children per pedagogue. Danish day-care institutions have since 1986 seen a 58% rise in children pr. pedagogue, not counting the time pedagogues are doing practical or documentation work ("FAKTA Sådan er faldet i normeringen regnet ud", DR.dk, 05.01.15). At the same time a CEPOS study form 2014 shows that the pedagogic profession is significantly more sick than the average worker in the Danish labour force, and even their institutional counterparts. Pedagogues are in average 30% more sick than teachers and about double that of the average academic. On average Danish institutions loose 13 man-days a year. The 25 best performing municipalities in the country are losing approximatly 1000 full-time pedagogues a year (CEPOS 2014).

A FTF (Union for public and private officials) study on psychological work environment conducted in 2012, amongst several unionised professionals hereunder pedagogues, further shows that overburdening, or working too much, was one of the most significant factor for professionals being burned out, or affected by other stress related diseases. But a more significant factor was "emotional demands" (FTF, 2012). A Ph.D. study by Martin Lindhardt Nielsen from 2010 and a study from the Danish Institute For Work environment from 2002, furthermore shows that respectively 38% and 29% of sick leaves in the average workplace are caused by bad work environment (Nielsen, 2010, in CEPOS 2014).

There is clearly a connection between negative psychological work environment and high sick leave. A study done by Rasmus Willig in 2009, ties stress related sickness to his conception of disempowerment amongst pedagogues (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 33). Willig (2009) defines an <u>empowered</u> individual as a person *"who is able to criticise without fear of reprisals, be it legally or normatively sanctioned"* (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 27). In Willig's (2009) qualitative research, he interviews both pedagogues, pedagogic leaders, staff representatives, and day-care managers about their professional work and the administrative frames under which they work. Willig's (2009) research uncovered an alarming tendency of disempowerment among the respective professionals; They all felt a profound lack of communicative options in case of addressing their problems/worries/challenges, regarding their work conditions to the upper management (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 50). Willig (2009) furthermore draws a connection between New Public Management and this disempowerment. Over the past 10-15 years, the management methodology within the public sector has been affected profoundly by New Public Management's efficiency and control based incentives. Willig (2009) describes these control incentives to be an expression for lack of trust in the pedagogic professionalism (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, pp. 51-57). Several articles from both newspapers and the pedagogic union, BUPL, further points to a focus on a general lack trust in welfare workers, and none the least pedagogues and their professionalism (information.dk, "Mistillid", 30.08.2006; avisen.dk, "FAKTA: Se tillidsreformen her", 20.06.2013; b.dk, "Papirarbjde frusterer pædagoger", 12.11.2015; denoffentlige.dk, "Målstyring giver tunnelsyn: NPM skaber det helt forkerte focus", 10.06.16, Børn & Unge, 2008, nr. 19, "OK 2008: Pædagoger kæmper mod mistillid"; Børn & Unge 2009, nr. 18, "Umyndiggørelse: Den umulige kritik")

At the same time Gert and Gunnar Svendsen's book, "Social Capital" from 2006, points out that Danish society, and Nordic society in general, have a profound amount of social capital, measured in generalised trust (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 80-81). Social capital, in Svendsen

and Svendsen's (2006) definition, is broadly defined as the individual's ability to enter into voluntary collaboration. Generalized trust in Danish society is, according to Svendsen and Svendsen (2006), therefore also the collaborative disposition in Danish society. Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) argues that this collaborative predisposition of social capital is defined by an informal set of rules and regulations, also referred to as norms or moral (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 16). If individuals in a society can easily and smoothly collaborate, then the economic transaction-expenses are reduced. By reducing transaction-expenses, Danish society therefore also has a distinct advantage, economically as socially. Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) argues that, even with Danish society's high taxation and massive welfare expenses, Denmark is still one of the 10 richest economies in the world, exactly because of this high amount of social capital. Furthermore, generalised trust imbues Danish society with a widely used informal ruleset that affects the collaboration between ordinary citizens, institutions and organisations in everyday life (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 80-81).

There is therefore reason to believe that generalised trust is also the foundation of collaborative presupposition in the pedagogic professional reality, and is affecting the collaboration between day-care institutions and management, in the form of disempowerment and mistrust in their professionalism.

According to a CEPOS survey from 2014, Albertslund municipality was in the bottom three municipalities in the country in regards of man-days lost to sickness amongst pedagogues; in average 15.9 days were lost do to sick leave in 2012 (CEPOS, 2014). At the same time, a KORA report from 2012 shows that Albertslund had one of the best child per pedagogue ratio in the country, as they had an average of 6.1 child per pedagogue, average for the country is 6.7 (this is counting all personal in an average institution) (KORA, 2012). The amount of resources, in terms of pedagogic personal, available in each institution is therefore higher in Albertslund than the average for the country, while at the same time having one of the highest sick leave ratios in the country. Albertslund Municipality must therefore also be an excellent case to study a connection between pedagogues relational dispositions and New Public Management induced control and management methods:

*In what way does generalized trust manifest itself in the management of the pedagogic praxis in Albertslund municipality, and with what consequences?*

In this essay I will try to uncover the professional motivation behind the management and collaborative work between the institutional pedagogic managers and the administrational managers with Albertslund day-care department. As this study's focus is <u>not</u> to find generalizable tendencies, a qualitative methodology will be applied and interviews with the day-care department, with focus on the narrative of the individual manager will be the main data. I will throughout this essay cover the basis of the Danish welfare state, and its management foundation. After which I will investigate the how the pedagogic professional work is situated within the welfare state and the premise for their professional work. These tendencies will then be put into perspective through Habermas system and life-world conceptions coupled with Svendsen and Svendsen's conceptions of generalised trust in the welfare state.

# 1. The Danish welfare state

To better understand the presupposition of the modern welfare work and the development of the current professional and institutional frame of the Danish state, I will first account for the historical development of the public sector and what political and ontological incentives and currents have led to its current form.

The Danish welfare state is a big and complex institution and the raison d'etre of the modern professional welfare work. The original definition of the welfare state was formulated by Asa Briggs in 1961. She defines the welfare state as a state where power is used to organise the market forces in 3 ways: firstly, it secures the individual and families a minimum wage independent of the market value of their labour force or equity; secondly, it reduces social uncertainty in the event of changes in the individual life situation, such as illness or unemployment; thirdly, it reduces social inequality by offering predefined services, not by taking into account social or financial status of the individual (Hansen, 2014, s. 14). Implicit in these definitions lies an understanding of the welfare state as both opposing the dynamics of the free and uncontrolled market, as well as the market being the basis for the redistribution of power by the welfare state, socially and financially. Redistribution is based on political and legislative practice which in turn is implemented by the public workers in the public sector (Hansen, 2014, s. 15-16).

A defining feature of the Danish welfare state is the very big child- and eldercare sector. Danish women in general have very high occupational participation, which requires an outsourcing of childcare and family duties to the state, as these duties were historically tied to women. Since the 1970's the Danish state has invested massively in child- and eldercare, as to ensure women's entry into the labour market, optimising the labour market even further (Hansen, 2014, s. 22). This in turn has also resulted in a big state apparatus in general. The now 98 municipalities and 5 regions (since 2005) are responsible for the so called welfare production, health-, child- and eldercare as well as education. Quality and scope can differ based on the current political composition of regional and municipal council, though the minimum requirements for these services are predetermined by the Danish government. The services in general are very homogeneous between regions and municipalities, also compared to other countries (Hansen, 2014, s. 22).

## 1.1 "Workfare" and changes in the welfare state

Because of the classical welfare states redistribution of power and money, the rapid expansion of the welfare state during the 1960's created a growing set of problems. Firstly, the welfare state's socioeconomic dependency on the able-bodied demography of society became increasingly evident. While the welfare state grew from the baby boom of the 1950's and 60's, it also resulted in a rapidly growing population of elders. According to the Danish statistical institute (Danmarks Statistik), by 2040 elders, who are outside the work force, will make up around a quarter of the Danish population (dst.dk, 2012). This will simultaneously result in fewer able-bodied people and more resources channelled into eldercare and public health, even though the pension age will rise accordingly (Hansen, 2014, p. 24). Furthermore, different financial and economic crisis over the 70's and 80's resulted in a rise in unemployment, almost doubling welfare payments of that of the 60's. And even though unemployment went down significantly during the 90's, the welfare payment rate stayed about the same (Hansen, 2014, p. 23). Throughout the 90's and 00's the welfare state grew in size from almost 700.000 in the early 90's, to about 850.000 in 2014. This is not only attributed to the growth in social security, but also to the health and educational systems, as the two biggest public sectors in the modern Danish state (Hansen, 2014, pp. 23-24). Even with rising expenses to all of the

welfare sectors and demographic changes over the past 50 years, the general public still supports more spending on welfare services. A political survey made by Stubager et. al. in 2013 shows that most Danes believe that the state uses too little (often the majority) or just the right amount of money on welfare services (Hansen, 2014, p. 25). This tendency can be explained by Wagner's Law, proposed by Adolph Wagner (1835), which states that the richer the country, the more welfare is expected by the general public. As the Danish society has grown richer throughout the 20th century, the demands and expectations of the welfare state have grown accordingly. This also makes the welfare state a very difficult political beast. Even though expenses to welfare services have grown significantly, public opinion is still the same, therefore it hard to make any changes or cut expenses politically, even when logical or advantageous to do so, e.g. when unemployment is very low, it would  make sense to make changes to the unemployment rate (Hansen, 2014, s. 26).

This does not mean that there has been no changes to or reforms of the welfare apparatus and practice. During the 1980's and 1990's, a neo-liberalistic wave washed over the political landscape of the western world. The neo-liberalistic ideology was a political rebellion to the now very heavy welfare machinery in most western countries, and an answer to the rise in unemployment during the mid 70's, that in turn led to an even high unemployment rate of late 80's and early 90's. The conclusion by economists and Danish politicians was first of all that the unemployed portion of the population was unqualified for the jobs created by the financial boom of the mid 80's, and that, because of the high unemployment benefit in Denmark, the incentive to work among the unemployed was low (Hansen, 2014, s. 26-27). The purely right-based approach to welfare services created a very inflexible workforce, and a more market-focus approach was needed, as a response to the ever growing welfare state. "Workfare" as oppose to the right- based "Welfare", emphasised responsibility and obligation as a way of receiving welfare services. This was in line with the growing neo-liberalistic political tendencies, where individualised responsibility and cost-benefit analysis were in focus. This new approach to social security focused on labour market integration, lower public spending and less pressure on the labour market (Hansen, 2014, p. 29).

This new approach to the welfare state, driven by a the new neo-liberalistic political shift, resulted in so called New Public Management, or NPM for short. This collective name encompasses these new tendencies within management and administrative plans of the welfare state, its services and its service providers (Hansen, 2014, s. 30). NPM characterises a mean of government used in a long line of different incentives within the welfare state to secure reasonable budget management, to simplify administrative and legislative tasks and in general to secure better management and supervision. A mean or a tool inspired by NPM is for instance. contract management, where public institutions would commit to specific goals, with full autonomy to complete or reach this goal, but defined politically by the municipality. This autonomy is more theoretical than practical, as NPM shares its individualistic and opportunistic view of human action with neo-liberalism, which I will get into later. I will note here that this tendency creates a strong management paradigm around public management, resulting in a rise in documentation and administrative tasks within the welfare state (Hansen, 2014, p. 30).

I will go into more detail about the New Public Management phenomenon and its effect and function in the modern welfare state later on. Here I will just note that this new organisational "autonomy", created by this new management paradigm, has affected the political dynamics and climate severely. Politicians on the one side want more control, out of fear of becoming unpopular when the media or citizens point out shortcomings or problems in the welfare production, even if they are not directly responsible. And on the other side, they de-bureaucratise in an effort to save money. This creates a political cross-pressure between the need for rule simplification to secure more

"individualised" autonomy for public organisations and professional, and the fear of potential criticism. (Hansen, 2014, p. 31) This also results in cross-pressure within the welfare production: welfare professionals see professional autonomy and responsibility as a general value, but as this political tendency results in more responsibility, from a contractual standpoint and at the same time in less freedom to manage this professionally, the professionals are hard pressed. They are responsible for the production of welfare goods and secure a reasonable budget in doing so, but they are often met by more rules and documentation work by the political apparatus, that both complicates and raises cost of their work (Hansen, 2014, p. 31).

## 1.2 The public sector and management paradigms

In order to understand the function of the Danish state, it is vital to understand its complex structure. There are many different organisational cultures as well as management paradigms coexisting within the different state apparatus. In this chapter I will try cover the basic institutional and control mechanisms of the Danish state, as well as management approaches and realities of the welfare professions.

### 1.2.1 The parliamentary management chain

The parliamentary management chain (Fig 1) is the archetypical management model for the Danish public sector. It describes the representative democratic function, in that it instills the loyal and devoted administration, and its impartial public worker. This presupposes that the government is controlling and managing the public administration effectively, that the public administration loyally implements new legislation's intentions as well as the citizen uncritically receiving and adhering to this legislations intent. As such the public administration can only interfere and intervene in a citizen's life, if it's constituted through a legislation (Hansen, 2014, s. 36).
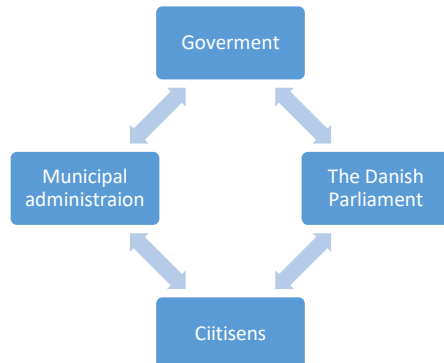


Fig 1

These chains have very obvious weaknesses, as this model is archetypical, and therefore does not describe the practical reality of the public administration, but instead only describes the intended political control mechanisms. The public administration is a multifaceted practical and administrational organisation, where the two main sides are: 1 - administrative law and exercising authority e.g. collecting taxes and administrating public funds, and 2 - public service production e.g. teaching, care and treatment (Hansen, 2014, p. 37). This division of tasks within the public administration shows that the parliamentary management chain does not fully describe the public administration, as this reality presupposes that the public administration both creates the practical foundation and politicises the legislative intentions as well as it interprets and implements these in an organisational reality (Hansen, 2014, p. 37). As a result, there is often a discrepancy between the intention of a law and the actual practical implementation. The practice is complicated by the three layers in Danish public administration: state, regional and municipal. The three levels are in theory independent as stipulated by the Danish constitution §82 *"It's the municipalities right to, under the supervision of the state, independently manage their affairs by law."* (Danish Constitution, Hansen, 2014, p. 37). In reality the legislative law regulating the local political practice ranges from very strict micro-management to very high amounts of autonomy, depending on the area of the administrative regulation. This also points to the three levels of administration: direct governmental management, internal management within the municipalities or regions, and management of the local

public service production (Hansen, 2014, p. 38). As a result, the actual implementation of political intentions are often affected by the different economic realities and priorities in the different municipalities and regions, the political interests of those realities and priorities and in the end disobedient citizens (Hansen, 2014, p. 40).

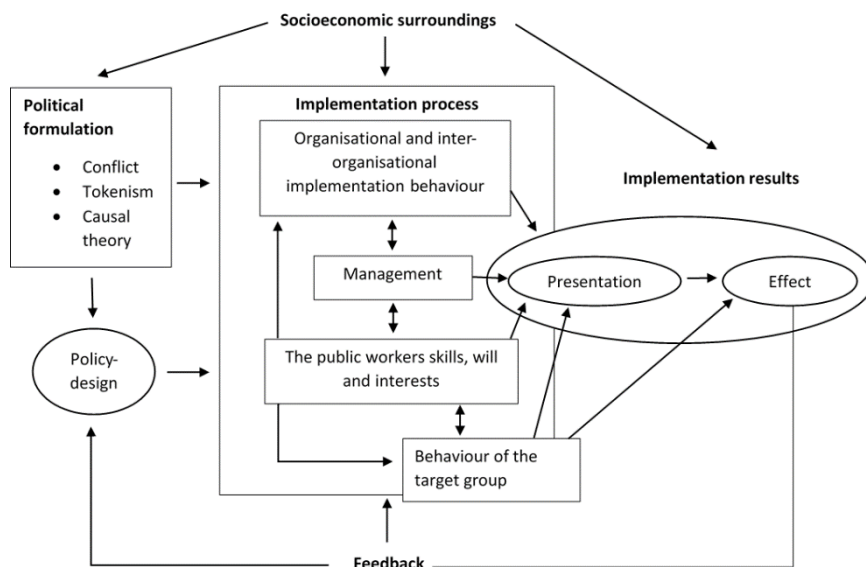## 1.2.2 The Integrated implementation model



*Fig 2*

The integrated implementation model (Fig 2), as proposed by Winter and Nielsen in 2008, illustrates the complexities, problems, interactions and co-dependencies of the political and public administrational reality. This more nuanced mode, helps illustrate that the implementation of political incentives are affected by the specific municipality's organisational composition, as well as its management and the professional realities of the public workers out in the social field. Here, I will focus on the general implementation process and its feedback processes, as it is in this dynamic we see the welfare professions praxis and work frame.

First and foremost, the public sector is composed of many collaborative partners, and the state, the regional and the municipal levels have to coordinate their efforts to produce a coherent welfare service. Furthermore, the welfare service is consistent of the welfare professionals and practical knowledge as well as ideologies (Hansen, 2014, p. 46). There are many different professionals working within the public organisation, and so there are many different professional realities that have to connect, not only between the different welfare professions, but also between different parts of the bureaucratic administration. The Inter-professional collaboration is therefore essential, and the main focus is to respect and build on the different professional realities. In reality, the inter-professional collaboration is often very tricky and as a result, there are both power struggles and internal hierarchies between the different professions (Hansen, 2014, p. 197). Furthermore, the different professions have different professional languages to describe the realities they work in, making it difficult for them to understand each other occasionally. Lastly, the economic and political prioritisations within the public administration create a cross-pressure, where different considerations cannot meet because of different economic and professional priorities (Hansen, 2014, p. 197).

## 1.2.3 Management Paradigms

Associate professor at CBS, Leon Lerborg defines *management paradigms* as social consensus: implicit knowledge that is taken for granted, that defines which questions are possible to ask, what is true and what is false, what exists and what does not exist within a specific professional context. Paradigm was first defined by Thomas Kuhn (1962), as a way to describe how some scientific directions become normative and institutionalised. Paradigms are specific scientific cultures and structures built on the knowledge and praxis of previous scientific paradigms, and exists in a historical

context. New paradigms arise either as a counter to previous paradigms or because of problems previous paradigms could not solve (Lerborg, 2011, p. 32).

Kuhn (1962) was occupied with scientific paradigms, and such paradigms, in a traditional sense, are focused on knowledge and abstract perspectives. Lerborg (2011) redefines paradigms as knowledge that has a practical use, as they are inherently part of a social reality and therefore also the practical application of knowledge. Lerborg focuses on *management paradigms* in the context of the public system. Management paradigms are theoretical arch-types that are not necessarily observable in professional realties, but are a standardised ontology that lays the foundation for practical implementations. People from different paradigms have trouble talking to each other, as there are different cultural markers that constitute reality. (Lerborg, 2011, p. 33)

In the public sector of the Danish State we see different control paradigms, based on different cultural and historical ontologies. They are not opposed to each other but coexist under different secretaries, ministries and praxis constellations. Therefore these control paradigms are all archetypes in the sense that they do not exist in a pure form in the professional realities of the public worker, but they are composites and negotiated praxes. Lerborg categorises these paradigms within four different directions: Humanistic Focus, a focus on change and flexibility, a focus on tradition and a focus on control (Fig 3).
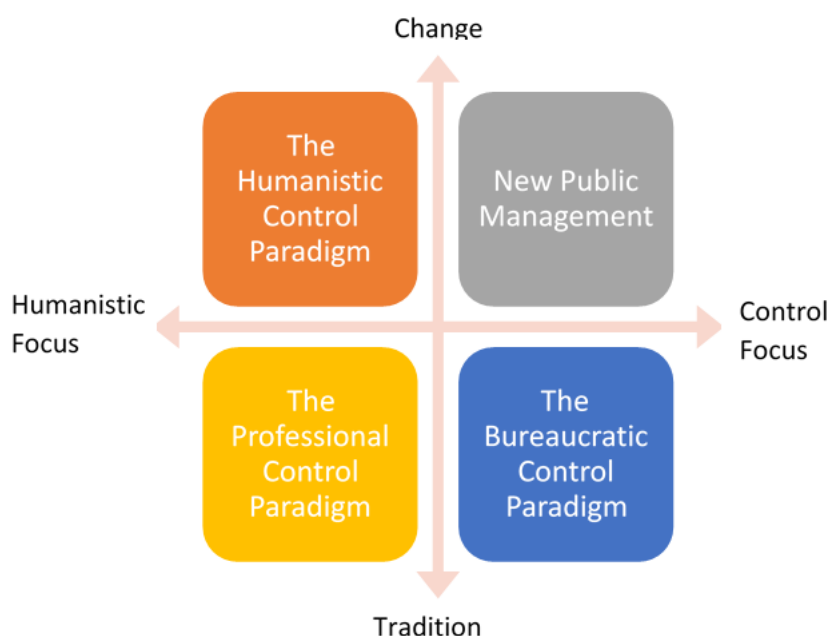


*Fig 3*

In the following sections, I will describe the four fundamental control paradigms in the Danish public systems. As mentioned, the different paradigms exist and co-exist in the current public sector, and they all have had their effect on the Danish public institutions through their historic development.

### 1.2.3.1 The Bureaucratic management paradigm

This paradigm is the foundation for most of Western society's state and public institutions. According to Weber, this management form is based on rational organisation that focuses on standardisation through rules and procedure, on the basis of universal principles. (Lerborg, 2011, p. 50). Bureaucracy in Weber's sense, is based on different positions or offices, whose duty is to perform different tasks. With these offices follow a certain authority to make decisions within a limited sphere. Furthermore, bureaucracy is also the basis of meritocracy, where value is determined based on your skill, not on your connections or money (Lerborg, 2011, p. 51). The Weberesque interpretation of bureaucracy fits very well in the modern public system, and has therefore also been the foundation for critique of the bureaucratic system, as a labyrinth of rules, procedures and officials. Lerborg therefore points to other more nuanced interpretations of the bureaucratic management form, like Mintzberg and Fayol. Fayol describes the administrative school within the bureaucratic management paradigm. He focuses on

structural and administrative tasks, and how extremes in division of labour, authority and discipline should be avoided. He advocates "unity of command" as well as consensus, balance and context in organisational work (Lerborg, 2011, p. 53). Mintzberg is focused on two arch-typical bureaucracy models. One is machine-bureaucracy, which is typical production-organisations, focused on detailed production control and standardised products. The other one is professional-bureaucracy, which is equivalent of universities or hospitals. Here the work tasks are more complex, as they need educated professionals to make professional evaluations and choices. The differences between these two arch-types are the complexity of the work tasks and the degree of centralisation (Lerborg, 2011, p. 54).

These different interpretations of bureaucracy all paint a more nuanced picture of bureaucracy in its current form. But the initial critique of bureaucracy still exists, as both centralisation, standardisation and hierarchy are the cornerstone of this management form. These fundamental principles also, inherently, create power distance and impersonal and inflexible interactions within the bureaucratic system; you have to follow the command path and rules within the system, that does not allow for professional judgment or autonomy. Lerborg points out that this critique stems from both theoretical and practical praxis, but it is often articulated in caricatures or extreme interpretations (Lerborg, 2011, p. 59).

As we have previously seen, bureaucracy is not necessarily synonymous with centralisation or micromanagement, but is also synonymous with decentralisation and professional evaluation, and with its focus on rules, hierarchy and standardisation is the central backbone of modern administrative culture.

### 1.2.3.2 The Professional management paradigm

Where bureaucracy consists of offices, the professional management paradigm is consisting of other well-educated professionals, people with different degrees of professional education. Nurses, policemen, social workers, doctors, pedagogues etc. are all a part of a professional group that work with people within the public system (Lerborg, 2011, p. 62). Lerborg further notes that there are also paradigms within the professional groups, where historical changes in e.g. the welfare-system, or the general view of human nature, have sparked internal changes to the self-perceived professional values (Lerborg, 2011, p. 62).

These professionals are organised in different variants of, in Mintzbergs terminology, professional bureaucracies. Here the main element is autonomy: the different professionals have to have the necessary amount of freedom to perform their task, in a standardised and routinised frame, resembling bureaucratic constellations, though a lot more decentralised (Lerborg, 2011, p. 62).

Because of this professional autonomy, competences have a central position in this paradigm, and therefore also the professional education, where competences are achieved. Professionals are often more loyal to their profession and colleagues than the institutions or organisations they work for, and can be deeply offended and even criticise their current employer publicly, as well as quit, if their professional honour is offended (Lerborg, 2011, p. 63). But these professional standards are often very hard to define, this makes them hard to put into an organisational reality, where for instance. cutting expenses might interfere with the professional standard. Furthermore, this makes it hard for different professions to collaborate, and many professionals can exist as so called "organisational silos" within an organisation (Lerborg, 2011, p. 63).

This paradigm focuses on results founded in professional standards and is thereby in opposition to the bureaucratic rules. Rules are seen as centralisation and locked understandings and

situations, and they are therefore seen as an external management mechanism. Central to this paradigm is the professional discretion, described by Lipsky (2010) as autonomous decision based on professional standards, personal interaction and public legislation; such issues will be covered later in the present work (Lipsky, 1980, pp. 13-14). Rules and strict control limit these professional standards; as a result, the organisational structure within this paradigm often has a hierarchy, coordinated by professionals, not by the organisational hierarchy. Furthermore, these professional and organizational dispositions result in conflicts with interests or developments outside the professional sphere. Professionals are therefore often in great opposition to the bureaucratic management paradigm, although they often work within the bureaucratic frames of rules and laws (Lipsky, 1980, p. 16).

The professional management paradigm is therefore a paradigm founded in great skills, professional autonomy and honour, resulting in respect and prestige within society as a whole. But this also results in a very rigid and polarised paradigm, that is more focused on professional history than innovation, effectivity and collaboration. Professionals are concerned with quality, clients and legitimacy rather than effectivity and money.

### 1.2.3.3 New Public Management

New public management or NPM, sprang from the political far right in the beginning of 1980's, based on neo-liberal values of profit maximization, reducing public spending, fewer regulations and cutting taxes. As with other management paradigms, NPM is not homogenise, but a composite of different paradigms. It does not have a specific set of rules or guidelines, but it is a term coined by scientists to try describe the development in the public sectors during the 1980's. Market rationality is the main rationality behind NPM, to mimic the free choice, competitiveness and goal orientation of the market. As a result, NPM inspired management is trying to induce more efficiency and room for continues change and renewal, inherently missing in the hieratical bureaucracy and professional reality of the public sector. Eventually, this occurrence resulted in a shift in the public sector's focus from input to output (Lerborg, 2011, pp. 71-72). This new approach to public management fundamentally changed the 1980's public sector from focusing on regulations of institutions and clients to focusing on result orientation and users. This market-oriented liberalistic ontology also resulted in a decentralisation philosophy, focused on creating more autonomy for institutions to develop and find their own unique approach. Deregulation was then also a result of this ontology, as this approach created a more competitive environment between and for institutions, resulting in more autonomy and dynamic regulations for the institutions' clients (Lerborg, 2011, p. 72).

This individualistic approach is also the fundamental principle of NPM, as this paradigm emerged as a result of the strict and static public sector of the 1980's. This individualistic focus furthermore inherently overvalues the autonomy of the individual capacities, set free from the regulations and oppression of public sector at the time (Lerborg, 2011, p. 74). As with any overstated approach, NPM's fundamental belief in the capacities of individual has anyway its downsides. As the individual possesses capacities and free will, there is also a chance that the individual will act opportunistically. This downside is handled by a so called principal/agent principle, where the controller (the principal) is controlling the agent. It's the controller's interest to control the agent to maximise outputs and the agent's interest is to retain as much autonomy as possible. In this situation, there is an information asymmetry that the agent can exploit, as the controller cannot be aware of all of the agent's capabilities and predicted outputs. The controller will then try minimise this asymmetry by negotiating contractual

agreements with the agent as well as by benchmarking the agents effectivity, productivity, so on and so forth. These control tools of NPM enable the controller to calculate the transaction costs of the interaction with the agent. These aspects of NPM results in what McGregor (1960) calls the X-theory as *"The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can"* (McGregor 1960: 33 in Lerborg 2011, p. 75). Therefore, incentive is paramount in an opportunistic system, here the focus is on economic incentive, contrary to the professional honour or hierarchical rules of the other paradigms. The economic incentive also underlines the result-oriented nature of NPM, and further puts the focus on the self-interest of the agent, as the carrot and stick method incites agent to do try harder (Lerborg 2011, p. 76).

NPM further focuses on privatization and private and public collaboration to reduce the public sector spending, as a competitive environment is most cost effective and innovative. And during the 1990's and 2000's NPM took a neo-conservative turn, as civility and civil society came into focus, and community, trust and common values became the main points of this paradigm. The individual or agent shifted from being driven by self-interest and competitiveness to an accountable and responsible individual (Lerborg 2011, p. 77).

### *1.2.3.4 The Humanistic and Rational management paradigm*

The humanistic management paradigm is a broad and old paradigm present in almost all public institutions in the Danish state. This paradigm is placed on the left of the paradigm figure, as it is focused on human interaction and social factors. It is furthermore characterised by development, as both the ontology and theory of this paradigm has been influential to shape the Danish public sector over the past decades. The influence has both been through clear praxis and theory based on Anglo-American tradition of human relations and behavioural science, where theories of group-development, motivation, situational management, emotional intelligence and so on originate (Lerborg 2011, p 86).

The paradigm focuses on informal elements of management and organization like unarticulated norms or informal managers etc. and is mostly based on normative-practical and semi-theoretical praxis. As a consequence of this, the humanistic management paradigm has been very successful in many organisational settings almost in form of dogmas as

- Flat organisational structure, decentralisation, minimally hieratical. As a result, bottom-up management is just as important as top-down in this paradigm.
- Management should be delegating and focused on employee development. Management should manage through dialogue, feedback and discussion, and in general be focused on values rather than orders or rules.
- The employees should collaborate through a common values and culture, teambuilding and conflicts should be handled through open discussion.

According the Lerborg, the Humanistic Management Paradigm has become more of a management ideology that managers within the public field have to ascribe to be legitimate managers, to be modern and humane. This points to a paradigm created as a counter to the systematism and streamlining of the public sector. This is also the strong side of this paradigm, as it reminds us of the human and social costs of management and control dynamics as well socio-psychological aspects (Lerborg 2011, p. 87).

This focus on the micro-aspect of management, organization and humane ontology also makes it very hard to criticize, as this might brand you as systemic thinker and anti-humanist. The human-centric ontology is the reason why this paradigm and its effects and benefits are hard to document, as documentation often takes the form of narratives or experiences. This also suggests that the paradigm is more of a "feel-good" narrative than an actually praxis.

# 2. Literature review

Relevant literature will be sought out through online and library databases, as well as online media and public information.

In this chapter I will investigate the literature surrounding the collaboration between the pedagogic professional reality and the administrational reality. I will put focus on how the welfare professional is as defined by their professional standards as well as the institutionalised frame they work in. I will further point to the dynamics in motivation within welfare work, and how management and leadership can have different effects. Finally, I will put focus on the pedagogic work, and the implications of their current praxis conditions and management, as well as an account of the political, educational and unionised background for their professional work.

- Hansen (2014) will be introduced to put perspective on how the management methodology is embedded in the context of the welfare.
- Lipskey's (1980) conceptions of the welfare worker as a street level bureaucrat, will elaborate of the terms under which welfare work takes place, the fundamental praxis and motivational influences
- Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) conceptions on public service motivation will be used to show how public management has changed, and how motivation and work satisfaction is connected to management methodology and implementation.
- Mik-Meyer and Järvinen's (2012) conceptions on how professionalism is constituted in the modern welfare state, as well as how institutionalised welfare work is connected to professionalised praxis and the influence of self-management and coaching.
- Rasmus Willig's (2009, 2013) qualitative works related to disempowerment and U-turn of criticism, will in this paper be used to elaborate on the working conditions for pedagogues in the Danish welfare state, as well as how the pedagogic professionalism is connected to this frame. Furthermore, how this professionalism is connected and influenced by the management methodology of the public administration.
- Lastly I will use the publicly available legislative information on the political, educational and unionised frame for pedagogic work, as well as Hjort's (2008) description on how the pedagogic professional education came to be.

## 2.1 Management and leadership

The complexity of the public sector is so far very evident. The many complex interests, ontologies and management and leadership approaches are all part of the realities a leader or manager in the public sector has to deal with. Furthermore, the welfare production is very hard to put into automatization, as the problems that the welfare state tries to solve are so called "wild problems", problems that are hard to define and solve. The general cross-pressure is therefore also very evident when looking at the public service organisations. The different organisations try to facilitate or even to escape this pressure by delegating the different tasks into professional silos, where different professionals again handle the presented problems differently. This also

results in very specialised professional language for each profession, making it very hard for the different professionals to communicate. The public sector therefore becomes a "multi-lingual" organisation with decentralised authority, trying to facilitate very complex problems in a multi-cultural milieu (Hansen, 2014, pp. 236-37). Management is therefore also one of the most important factors in the reality of the public organisation. In fact, leadership and management have "officially" been declared the universal solution to "all" problems within the public sector. On this basis, the top management and leadership of the public institutions created a management codex with nine recommendations to streamline the management process around, all from the top-managements perspective, not making it very useful for mid-level or ground floor management (Hansen, 2014, p. 237).

Within management theory there is a distinction between "management" and "leadership". While the former is focused on management technology as e.g. strategy, economic control and systems, the latter is focused on the mission of the organisation, its social structures, the employee as a resource, and on leadership as inspiring and motivating factor. Organisations that exist in a very technical environment have tendency to have a management approach, whereas organisations in an institutionalised environment have a tendency to have a leadership approach (Hansen, 2014, p. 240). Management is then a very rational perspective on the organisation, where leadership is a focus on the community and social aspect of the organisation. And as pointed to earlier, the public sector is an organisation concerned with "wild problems" that does not have simple technical and rational solutions. Therefore, the public sector is more susceptible to leadership methods in general, as it is a balancing act between different ways to handle organisational challenges, since there is not quick rational or technical fix for "wild" problems. The management method, "LEAN", developed by Toyota to streamline production and lowering costs in their factories, i.e. a technical environment, can for example be hard to unify with the intimacy, personal engagement and professionalism needed to take care of children (Hansen, 2014, p. 236). Andersen and Pedersen (2014) point out that there is a clear connection between the technocratic management approach and unmotivated and even sick welfare professionals. Andersen and Pedersen (2014) further suggest that this tendency is tied to perception of management and leadership by the welfare professions. If management methods are perceived as controlling, mistrustful and limiting to professional autonomy, this comes off as a demotivating factor to the welfare professional (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, s. 112). Therefore, it is very clear that the challenge for leaders and managers within the public sector is to implement management technology or leadership methods that are not perceived as controlling or limiting the professional autonomy. This issue will be more extensively explained later on in the essay.

### 2.1.1 Street level bureaucracy

Micheal Lipsky (1980) also ascribes value to the professional autonomy of the welfare worker. Lipsky's (1980) research in his book "Street-level Bureaucracy", points to the very complex dilemmas that public workers face in the tension field between legislation procedure and professional praxis. The term "street-level bureaucrat" stems from the notion that the public workers are the constituting service of the government, they interact with the citizens and at the same time their collective action is the government in its legislations and bureaucratic structures. Most interaction for the citizen with the government is not through direct communication with the sitting minister or department, but with the teacher, social worker or policeman on the "street". Lipsky therefore coins the term street-level bureaucrat (Referred to as SLB) to encapsulate the complex work of the public worker today (Lipsky, 1980, p. 3).

Lipsky underlines how the praxis of the SLB is generally analysed through an organisational or bureaucratic perspective, not by looking at the actual interactions or how the

collective actions of individuals create systems and norms that are outside of the bureaucratic systems and legislations. Furthermore, he emphasises that the actual praxis of public workers is often affected by a personal incentives, that are often far from the professional realities in which they work. This creates a professional vacuum, in a sense that public workers have to balance between their own individual understanding, collective norms and the structural frame in which they work (Lipsky, 1980, pp. xi-xii). Through the SLB, the state influences people's lives and orients and provides the social and political context in which people act. Therefore, the praxis of the SLB is constantly intertwined in political and social tension-field, quoting Lipsky:

> "[…] Street-level bureaucrats are the focus of political controversy. They are constantly torn by the demands of service recipients to improve effectiveness and responsiveness and by the demands of citizen groups to improve the efficacy and efficiency of government services." (Lipsky, 1980, p. 4).

As a consequence of the SLB's position in this tension-field, the SLB is responsible for immediate actions that affect people's lives, and therefore also deal with people's reactions. They often have to make decisions on the spot, and policy decisions are often very personal and can change how people perceive themselves and their position in society, with immediate consequences for their life chances (Lipsky, 1980, p. 8). One of the most defining facet of a SLB's working conditions is the personal interactions with the welfare recipient and their reactions to policy decisions. As the clients expect to be able to talk to a SLB and be heard, SLB's are in essence working with their clients that, at the same time, cope with the decisions and policy judgments of the SLB. Because of this personal interaction, SLB's can experience angry reactions and a negative focus from citizens because of their position of power. But through personal interaction SLB's can also be a voice for citizens in disputes with the system. This paradoxical position between the bureaucratic and personal interaction outlines the tension-field that both citizens and SLB's exist in (Lipsky, 1980, p. 9).

SLB are seen as professionals in a sense that they have to take into account the political policy, professional working norms, and the specific situation in which they make a discretion. They therefore have authority to make a decision within this frame, that can differ from situation to situation. This also infers that the knowledge and professional insight that is needed in this judgment call or discretion have to be founded into something else than policy and regulations. (Lipsky, 1980, p. 10).

## 2.1.2 Public service motivation

Lipskey (1980) points to a very important dynamic. As previously described, NPM has had a profound effect on management and leadership perception over the last decade, but the inherit mistrust of NPM and the controlling nature of the principal/agent principle put the focus on normativity through regulations over flexibility through professional autonomy. To draw this into perspective with Andersen and Pedersen (2014) connection between technocratic management and the negative effects on motivation and work satisfaction, there is a clear correlation between implemented management methods and welfare professionals' professional motivation. Andersen and Pedersen (2014) argue that NPM Agent/Principal perspective is a very simplified perspective on the dynamics of the welfare work field (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 18). They propose a more comprehensive perspective where the Agent/principal perspective is combined with Public Service Motivation and PSM. PSM was originally defined by Perry and Wise (1990) as *"An individual's predisposition to respond to*

*motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations"* (Perry & Wise, in Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 50). This perspective puts focus on which field the welfare work takes place, but as the focus shifted from the welfare production to the welfare recipient following the previously described Neo-liberalistic political tendencies, the term shifted to a focus on the welfare professional's production. With PSM Andersen and Pedersen (2014) therefore shift the focus to the motivation of the welfare worker, as essential to understand how and why welfare production is facilitated. They therefore turn to Hondeghem and Perry (2009) that defines PSM as *"an individual's orientation to delivering service to people with the purpose of doing good for others and society"* (Hondeghem & Perry in Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 51). This definition shifts the focus to the professional's values, conceptions and positions, outside of the organisation, and outside of self-interests. It also shows that this professionality exists within a political community. Furthermore, this perspective allows for professional norms to be internalised into the individual and thereby become a central part of what the individual considers desirable for society and people in general (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 51). As a side note, Andersen and Pedersen (2014) point out that this conception of PSM is founded in long research tradition. They consider Hondeghem and Perrys definition of a professional driven by doing good for others and society, as the closest to the professional reality of the welfare professional. (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 51)

On this basis, Andersen and Pedersen (2014) argue that PSM is more connected to performance of public professionals than e.g. the motivational rationality of NPM and the Agent/principal conception. This is based on the assumption that individuals that are keen on doing good for others and society, will work harder to secure quality in the production of a public service, as it promotes the common good. Andersen and Pedersen (2014) proposes PSM as the best organisational and managerial method to manage and lead within the public sector. This conclusion is based on several international and national studies finding positive correlations between performance and PSM, and in the same context no negative correlations (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, pp. 53-59). Andersen and Pedersen (2014) are not advocating for minimising management or leadership, but instead for an expansion of current management methods and technologies to encompass more of the welfare workers' professional reality (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 55). By expanding the perception of management to the professional individual, as motivated by the need to do good for others and society, it breaks with McGregor's (1960) x-theory and the general mistrust of the very influential NPM paradigm. It also correlates with Lipsky's (1980) conclusions, as the welfare worker is clearly embedded in interactional reality of the client/user.

Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) expansion of the agent/principal perspective is of course a pragmatic attempt to integrate the welfare and public professional's perspective into the already existing management and leadership methodology of the public sector. By not breaking with the most common management perspective, and expanding it, they are driving the same individualised professional perspective of NPM, but not underlying dynamics.

## 2.2 Welfare coaching and expert clients

A related perspective to PSM, is proposed by Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012). Mik-Meyer and Järvinen propose that there has been a general negative focus on the welfare state as an inefficient and inflexible: in thread with the neo-liberalist conclusion of the 1980's, it creates clients with little self-help or motivation, professionals that have no concern or focus on these clients and their perspective, and effectiveness or usefulness of welfare services cannot be proven or determined. This criticism has also fostered a negative focus on the welfare professionals' professional praxis,

founded in individual and subjective discretions and inheritably not objective principles and values (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 16). This has, as mentioned multiple times, resulted in NPM inspired management and evaluation paradigm within the public sector, as well as the political "welfare" to "workfare" mentality. Additionally, this dynamic has also resulted in the welfare professionals themselves, moving from professionally constituted experts to a so called coach. And as a consequence, the welfare recipient from object to subject (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 34). Mik-Meyer and Järvinen point out that the welfare professionals relationship with the clients has changed drastically over the past 30 years; where professional discretion was rarely questioned, it is now being dilute by systematic evaluation and micro-management in an effort to standardise their work, in addition to the client being an expert of their own lives. Welfare professionals have become facilitators or coaches for the clients. The clients are perceived to be an expert in their own lives, and the professionals job is to contribute to the clients self-development and risk-management. Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) argue that this shift has resulted in the professionals no longer trying to solve the clients problems, but rather coach the client to solve these problems themselves (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 18). This "help to self-help" principle, does not only mean the client should be self-supporting, but that they are obligated to participate in a self-development project, with focus on risk-minimising, self-reflection and self-realisation. The client and their lives have the main focus, and the professional has to meet the client on their principles: in essence, good customer service (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 18). This individualisation process results in what Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) broadly describe as:

> "[…] The transformation of various risks and problems to manageable (governable) phenomenon, is central. As the "thing" that is to be lead [managed], must always be defined with starting point in the welfare state's self-understanding […] The transformation is happening under the premise that its the citizens themselves, that decides the goal as well as the method for the [welfare]work […]" (My citation and translation, Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 19)

Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) are therefore pointing to the welfare professional, "freeing" or "emancipating" the client though self-realisation. But this is a very specific form of freedom that encompasses autonomy and responsibility, referencing the move from "welfare" to "workfare". Modern welfare work is then depended on a specific type of client that both possess the will and the means to assume the responsibility for their problems, and is willing to work determined to solve these problems. The citizen is therefore no longer clients but *users* or *costumers*, that expect to be serviced by the welfare state, while they, simultaneously, are responsible for solving their own problems (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, pp. 19-20). It is interesting to note that even though the citizen is involved in the welfare production as an expert of their own life, the welfare professionals' responsibility and workload have not become smaller, in fact they have only been increasing. At the same time, professionalism is no longer the only merit needed to do a good job. Welfare professionals are also expected to invest their personality into their work; nurses are e.g. improving their own physical fitness to be able to seem genuine when they advice people to improve their health (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 21). Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) point to two sides to this "emotional-work": Emotions have, on one side, become a professional tool to reach the users. The professionals are, on the other side, also expected to involve the users' emotions, their resources, and use empathic tools to involve the user in their self-improvement project (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, pp. 21-22).

Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) exemplify these tendencies with a case study from 2 drug-treatment centres in Copenhagen. Here Järvinen conducted several qualitative interviews with social workers and therapists. The study points out that the coaching tendency within the welfare

professional field has taken on the rational ideals of NPM. The clients are, as mentioned, experts in their own lives, and are at the same time seen as rational actors. This also means that e.g. drug addicts' addictions are perceived as a rational choice, and in therapeutic situations rational choice is how the professional is expected to reach the client to participate in the self-improvement process (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 29). Järvinen points out that the interviews clearly show that the "rational user" is far from reality, as the users were often described as irrational individuals, controlled by forces they cannot control: there is a clear discrepancy between the professional ontology, and the institutionalised user and their actions. This results in professionals, who are expected to use themselves and their emotional or empathic skills to reach the rational user, using this discrepancy as a basis to evaluate and question themselves and their professionalism. The well-fare professionals therefore don't question the institutionalised professional ideals, but themselves and their individualised professionalism (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, pp. 42-44). Additionally, Järvinen points out that this tendency leads to very ineffective treatment and in general results in poor work environment and poor performance (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2012, p. 50)

Mik-Meyer and Järvinen's (2012) conclusions goes well in thread with an example from Andersen and Pedersen (2014). Within the Danish police institution many different tasks and professional fields exist; one of these is operating the emergency phone service. Here the professionals tie motivation and job satisfaction to wanting to help others. But if the professional can't help or react to an emergency call, because of lack of resources or coordination problems, then the job will not let the professional contribute to society. In this situation PSM will not lead to better performance or job satisfaction (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, p. 63).

## 2.3 Disempowerment and the U-turn of criticism

Rasmus Willig (2009 and 2013) points to this exact dynamic. In his book "Disempowerment" (Umynddiggørelse) he focuses on pedagogue's inability to criticise the institutional management or the general communicate with the municipal management. Throughout 2008, Willig (2009) conducted a series of qualitative interviews with pedagogues, pedagogic leaders, staff representatives, and day-care managers in Århus municipality. Willig (2009) concluded that the restructuring of the management methodology over the past 15 years has resulted in sever disempowerment of pedagogues and pedagogic staff in kindergartens through a NPM driven reform incentive (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, pp. 53-54). Willig (2009) in this case points to the double-binding work task that pedagogues are subjected to during their professional praxis. These tasks are defined as tasks that are not possible with the current resources and are opposites in the professional reality. Opposites like: "improve the physical environment in the institution/cut the budget" or "focus on the individual child/care for more children for less resources" (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 54). He argues that these kinds of tasks are demotivating and leads to a paralysing indifference towards the task, as the internal contradiction of the task makes it undefinable and directionless. But this paralysation also signifies an inability to criticise the task, as the positive nature of for example: "improving the physical environment", is very hard to criticise, as who wouldn't want that? This results in pedagogues being unable to cement the professional discretion that essentially is their professional praxis (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 55). Willig (2009) argues that the reasoning behind these premises is a form of disempowerment, as a result of a political evaluation culture that has internalised external evaluation within the professional individual. This evaluation culture blurs the line between internal and external motivation, making it almost impossible for the professional to direct criticism of any form, as it is unclear where the responsibility lays or who is criticising who. The basis of the evaluation is, in the NPM spirit, down to the institutions themselves as they both had the possibility of defining and participate in shaping the terms of the evaluations, at least in theory; this topic will be

better explored later in this work. He sees the new more network-oriented management, where the hierarchical structures of the bureaucracy have been replaced with New Public Managements self-governing, as the main reason for many of the professional problems/frustrations the pedagogues experience: *"[..] it is no longer about whether the workplace is suffering from a poor working environment, but on the individual's capacity to manage himself."* (My translation, Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 81). What this means in reality is that the professional standards of the pedagogues are subjected to enormous pressure, as a 24 year-old pedagogue from Århus puts it:

> "Now we [pedagogues] have to formulate new institutional politics, and then we are not able to do our work […] The pressure, that we are subjected to, is destroying the daily pedagogic work. We can't live up to our own professional expectations" (My translation, Willig, 2009, p. 57).

Willig's (2008) research shows that the pedagogues in essence are not subjected to a lot of documentation work, but that they perceive the pressure of what they do get as a big stress factor (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 60).  This from of evaluation results in a culture where pedagogues are expected to follow their professional standards, but without the time to actually perform these tasks in accordance with these standards. Furthermore, this internalisation dynamic results in the responsibility for the professionalism and its critique is only being directed inwards, as the pedagogues are the ones formulating the institutional politics, at least in theory. Additionally, the expectations that you should always improve and develop your professionalism shifts the focus from improving your professionalism e.g. doing good for others and society, to increasing your effectivity while doing so. (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, pp. 56-57). The disempowerment is then evident in the double-binding nature of the professional expectations. Willig (2009) points out that by nurturing this individualized culture and underlining professional autonomy, while simultaneously placing responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the professional individual, you create an environment where the professionals will try and hide or marginalise the problems they encounter in their professional praxis. This is resulting in a downward going spiral, where pedagogues do not have any way of getting rid of their frustrations and criticism as they feel they are themselves responsible (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, s. 109). Willig (2009) exemplifies this in interviews from his research. One pedagogue recounts that she has to scream in the car all the way to work to let out the frustrations: *"I scream from the top of my lungs, when I drive to work. It helps, but sometimes I forget that I have my own kids in the car. Its very embarrassing. I just can control myself anymore."* (My translation, Willig 2009, p. 101). The disempowerment has some very far reaching consequences, and as Willig (2009) puts it:

> "The disempowered kid are, rigidly spoken, subjected to the empowered adult to become empowered themselves – the adults are role models. But when the empowered adults themselves are disempowered, they can't help the disempowered become empowered. […] The point is, that the empowered pedagogues under the described conditions, cannot to pass on their empowerment in form of their professional praxis or as role models" (My translation, Willig 2009, p. 111).

Willig (2009) argues that the dynamic in general shows that the pedagogue's criticism is only used for evaluate the pedagogues themselves and the criticism has no trajectory. An institution scoring badly in an evaluation among parents will get criticised, which will in turn result in new initiatives and policies in the institution. This means that the evaluation methods creates self-referring categories, where the players, be it parents, kids or pedagogues, disempower themselves, as their criticisms are only referring to themselves (Willig, Umynddigørelse, 2009, p. 118)

Willig (2013) further points to this problematic disempowerment dynamic, rooted in the individualized professional work environment inspired by the NPM management paradigm, as a big problem throughout the public sector, from politicians to the pedagogues. And in a broader sense this dynamic is indicative of what Willig (2013) terms as *the U-turn of criticism*. He exemplifies this by pointing to the commonly used management tool "performance and development review" or MUS (Medarbejder Udviklings Samtale) (Willig, Kritikkens U-vending, 2013, p. 78). The American sociologist James Tucker (no reference) studied the new organisational cultures within the public sector, and came to a rather interesting discovery; the rigid bureaucratic structures now replaced by the NPM inspired network management and self-management, shifted organisational conflicts from something handled by the hierarchical structures to "therapy". In Willig's (2013) terminology, this is indicative of a form of social control that, as previously described, internalises external social control structures. Managers and leaders has gone from being the hierarchical top, and using the chain of command to enforce organisational structures, to being coaches or therapists. Conflicts have therefore gone from being a collective problem within the organisation to being an individual problem. The focus is therefore shifted from, for example the workplace suffering from bad work environment, to how the individual handles this bad work environment (Willig, Kritikkens U-vending, 2013, pp. 80-81).

Andersen and Pedersen (2014) points to the same dynamic. As mentioned earlier, PSM is ineffective as a motivating factor for a public professional if the appropriate resources or the general the premises is not available for the professional praxis. The classical management methods used to achieve more in an organisation is control and rewards. The manager can impose rules that are monitored and, depending on the goals, can be either rewarded or punished. This means that specific behaviour can be nurtured or impeded, usually utilizing economic incentive. This form of performance-based pay is widely used in many organisations and it is very relevant in a public sector with a growing set of professional regulations and rules, as we have seen, PSM is clearly affected by control and monitoring (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, pp. 68-69). Motivation Crowding theory utilises this classical economic control methodology and it has been proven to be very effective in industrial and factory work. Motivation Crowding theory emphasises the tendency to deliver more of the behaviour that is desirable through management initiative, but it also emphasises control systems and incentive. The demotivating effect associated with management initiatives is affecting both PSM but also internal goal-motivation. The internal goal-motivation is connected to perception of the goal and the task at hand. Management initiatives that are perceived as controlling or hindering to the professional praxis will be a demotivating factor. Motivation Crowding theory therefore states that supporting initiatives will increase the internal motivation and controlling initiatives will decrease internal motivation. Andersen and Pedersen (2014) exemplify this dynamic: a new management initiative among social and health care assistants was implemented to help managers optimise the time each social and health care assistants would use it at each home they visited. The social and health care assistants would have to scan a specific barcode on a PDA every time they enter and leave a home. One group of social and health care assistant would perceive this as excessive monitoring and a way for the management to cut costs. Another group of social and health care assistant would instead see this initiative as a way to give the management a tool to optimise the time better and thereby hopefully increase the time the social and health care assistants would be able to spend at a home. Andersen and Pedersen (2014) therefore emphasise that perception of the management initiatives is key to understanding motivation (Andersen & Pedersen, 2014, pp. 69-71).

This example also illustrates the main differences between Andersen and Pedersen (2014) and Willig (2009, 2013). The *PSM* conception is created within the current frame of management, as a pragmatic way of potentially creating a better work environment, because of a more socially attentive and integrating management methodology. Willig on the other hand, has a

political agenda in his perception of *disempowerment*, as the critique of management should carry power to change the management and political incentives.

## 2.4 The pedagogic professional

As already seen, there are several challenges involved in the work of the welfare professional. The professions are tightly integrated into society and the welfare state, and therefore also follow the political and social dynamics. As with any professional, the influences on professionalism comes from the praxis field, and the professional education. Therefore, I will now put focus on three arenas that define the pedagogic professional work; the political and administrational, the institutional and the practical. As 86% of all pedagogic professionals in Denmark work within the day-care sector (Krl.dk, 2016), I will here cover the political, institutional and educational foundation of the pedagogic professional work in day-care institutions.

### 2.4.1 The intuitional frame.

Danish Kindergartens or day care facilities, have a long history in Danish society. They started as asylums for children in the beginning of the 20th century, to care for homeless or orphaned children, but during the 1920's kindergartens became a national focus and the perception foundation for childhood. Up until the 1970's these institutions were primarily focused on preventive efforts, but after women's entrance to the labour market, the kindergartens became a vital part of the Danish welfare state. The Social Security Act of 1976, resulted in the municipalities assuming management of most kindergartens, that primarily until then had been private. During the 1980's and 1990's the number of kindergartens grew dramatically, and by the end of the 1980's the average Danish child would attend kindergarten daily (denstoredansk.dk, 2015).

The institutions today are still primarily run by the municipalities and are regulated by the Day-care Act (Dagtilbudsloven). This Act primarily focuses on the securing child right and development, giving families flexibility to manage family and work life and pre-emptive affords. Furthermore, it also in broad terms define the focus of the work within these intuitions:

The day-care Act §7 stipulates that:

1. Children in day care must have a physical, mental and aesthetic environment for children that promotes their well-being, health, development and learning.
2. Day-care facilities must cooperate with parents to provide child care and supporting each child's all-round development and self-esteem and help children get a good and safe childhood.
3. Day-care facilities are to promote children's learning and development of skills through experiences, play and educational activities, that gives children the opportunity for contemplation, exploration and experience.
4. Day-care facilities are to give children participation, joint responsibility and understanding of democracy. Day-care facilities must thereby contributing to the development of children's independence, ability to engage in community cohesion and integration in the Danish society
5. Day-care facilities must cooperate with parents to ensure a good transition to school by developing and supporting basic skills and desire to learn. Day care, in cooperation with the schools, creates a coherent transition to school and leisure activities.
   (retsinfomation.dk, 2015)

The Day-care Act further stipulates in § 8, the pedagogic goals for children's educational development. These themes are defined in broad terms as:

1. Versatile personal development.
2. Social skills.
3. Language development.
4. Body and movement.
5. The nature and natural phenomena.
6. Cultural expressions and values.

These regulations or stipulations are the foundation of the professional work within the day-care intuitions, as well as the political and administrational surrounding pedagogic work. But also lays the moral and ontological foundation for the pedagogic focus of pedagogic professional work in the day-care sector.

## 2.4.2 The professional frame

The pedagogic professional education is relatively new in the context of the over hundred-year-old tradition of childcare and education. The first formalised pedagogic education came to be in 1885 in the form of a one year course as a kindergarten teacher. It developed over the 1900rds, and in 1970 the education was a 3 year ordeal at a so called "seminarium". The professional values and their integration with society was up until 1970 very weak, and the seminars had almost full autonomy to choose the pedagogic educational content. But in 1992 the education was streamlined and centralised and a national curriculum was established in tandem with the forming of new educational institutions for the Danish welfare professional (denstoredanske.dk, 2015).

### 2.4.2.1 The University Collage

The current University College institutions are relatively new institutions in Danish context.  They were established during the 1990's as part of the modernization of the Danish public system under the socialistic government at the time. This modernization happened in context with the rising globalization, where market rationality, decentralisation and a cultural focus on user-orientation and quality of the public system were the dominant discourse (Hjort, 2008, p. 16).

The University Colleges, or CVU's (Center for Videregårende Uddannelser) as they were called at the time, were an attempt to create an umbrella institution for the different public worker educations, with a focus on research and standardised professionalism within the different public professions. This focus came from a political incitement to strengthen Denmark's competitiveness in the new global knowledge-society. The formation of the University Colleges and the educations within was a product of a power and resource struggle focused on effectivity and competitiveness, cementing a decentralised and disjointed educational praxis. The difference and inconsistencies in professional knowledge, language and general difference in theory of science, resulted in even further collaboration difficulties between the different educations under the UC. The individual teacher in a specific subject would then be responsible for the professional direction of the education. And as a result, the complexity of a professional and scientific collaboration, is even greater, as professional definitions and understandings depend on the individual teachers knowledge and experience (Hjort, 2008, p. 20).

All in all, the creation of the UC institutions in Denmark is a complex matter, and the outlined organizational, political and ideological foundation of the UC's has resulted in a problematic

milieu surrounding the negotiated professional realties between the UC educations and their respective praxis'.

## 2.4.2.2 The pedagogic education

Following the growth of the CVU institutions, the national curriculum for the pedagogic education developed into a so called "Competence profile" under the professional reforms of 2004 (BKchefer.dk, 2004, p. 3). This profile was implemented in tandem with Executive Order on the Bachelor of Science as a pedagogue, as a tool to shape the direction and focus of the education, though only so in broad definitions (BKchefer.dk, 2004, p. 3).

Here I will summarise the 6 "competence profiles" that are applicable to professional work within day-care institutions and their overall approach to pedagogic professional work:

1. **Social and communicative competence**:
   - Is broadly concerned with how pedagogues collaborate with others, children as well as colleagues, and solve conflicts. Mostly focused on the communicative ability of the pedagogue and the relational skill (bkchefer.dk, 2004, pp. 12-13).
2. **The personal and relational competence:**
   - Is mostly concerned with the motivation as well as approach or attitude towards the professional work. Focuses on the moral and ethical ontologies of the pedagogue in their relational work (bkchefer.dk, 2004, p. 14).
3. **Professional competences:**
   - Is mostly concerned with theoretical as well as practical approaches to the pedagogic work, as is closely connected to the professional and relational competences. Here psychology, sociology, and anthropology, as well as pedagogic languages and knowledge is in focus. Cultural knowledge and creative competences are also essential to the professional praxis (bkchefer.dk, 2004, pp. 14-16).
4. **Organisational competences:**
   - Mostly concerned with how the pedagogue organises pedagogic praxis. Focus is on identifying goal, resources and visions in the pedagogic work (bkchefer.dk, 2004, pp. 16-17).
5. **System competences:**
   - Mostly concerned with how the pedagogic institution and the pedagogic him/herself is connected to the rest of society as well as the administrative organisation of the welfare state. Here the focus is on the pedagogics ability to understand these organisational complexities and work within them (bkchefer.dk, 2004, p. 17).
6. **Development and educational competences:**
   - Mostly concerned with how pedagogues work within an ever changing public sector as well as follow the societal changes. Here focus is on the pedagogues reflective abilities as well as their willingness to adapt, and instrumentalist the inevitable changes to the institutional as well as societal frame for the pedagogic work (bkchefer.dk, 2004, pp. 17-18).

It is clear that these competences are closely knitted to social as well as political and institutional developments in society. As evident from both the institutional, political and educational frame, there is a clear focus on pedagogic professionalism and praxis to be tightly tied to Danish society, politically as well as morally and ethically.

## 2.4.3 The unionised frame

As a result of this lack of a common professional definition following the professionalization pedagogic work, the pedagogic field has had troubles defining a common professionalism and through that legitimising the profession in both an institutional and social context. BUPL (The biggest Danish union for pedagogues) has therefore had a significant influence on defining the professional frame for the pedagogic work. BUPL puts it this way:

> "Municipal Management, parents and cooperation with other professional groups, is resulting in increasing demands that pedagogues justify their aims, priorities and actions. There is need that pedagogues articulate, practice and create a common language in which we [pedagogues] can articulate what we [pedagogues] can do and will.

> BUPL has, on this basis - and in the context of the academic debate on quality and development - taken the initiative to formulate BUPL's pedagogic profile, as an estimate of the requirements and values, we [BUPL] believe, educators and the profession as a whole can and must live up to. One might even say that the profile expresses BUPL policy for pedagogic work with children and young people." (My translation, bupl.dk, "BUPL's pædagogiske profil", 2007).

BUPL defines pedagogic work as *"The purpose of pedagogical work is through care, socialization, formation and learning to promote children's and young people's well-being and development."* (My translation, bupl.dk, "BUPL's etiske grundlag for pædagoger", 2010). This also entails that pedagogic work is embedded in a social context. BUPL further defines pedagogic work as essential to children's and young people's integration into society and that: *"the pedagogic work has its foundation in the values that society is build on"* (My translation, bupl.dk, "BUPL's pædagogiske profil", 2007). Furthermore, BUPL defines that pedagogic professionalism is *"based on professional qualifications obtained through the pedagogic education, but also on personal competences and consciousness knowledge of ones own norms and values"* (My translation, bupl.dk, "BUPL's pædagogiske profil", 2007).

There is therefore also a common professionally professional norm, regarding the integration of social norms and values in pedagogic work, both explicit and implicitly. Pedagogues are therefore expected to be able to understand and explain their own and societies norms, as well as use them and practice them in their professional work.

# 3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter I will account for the relevant theory for this study, as well as its application.

As the intention of this study is to investigate the collaborative reality of Albertslund day-care department, and in what way generalised trust affects this reality, I have here chosen to combine Jürgen Habermas' life-world and system-world conceptions with Gert and Gunnar Svendsen's conceptions on how social capital, in form of generalised trust, is essential in Danish society. Habermas' was chosen as the main theoretical framework to explore the meeting between two professional realities, founded in two different professional ontologies or in Lerborg's (2011) terminology management paradigms.

## 3.1 Communicative Action and the System and Life-worlds

Habermas (1992) fundamentally concerns himself with striking a balance between philosophy and science. In this context, Habermas (1992) sees Hegel as fundamental for *post-metaphysical thinking.* The fundamental idea behind *post-metaphysical thinking,* is, for Habermas, that all human endeavour ,is embedded in a social and historical context. In Habermas terms, we are all participants and embedded in a socially and historically defined world that is the presupposed background for philosophical thinking as well as lived life (Fultner et. al., 2011, s. 37). For Habermas socially and historically contextual linguistics is what presupposes philosophical thinking, as communication is fundamental for human interaction and the sharing of philosophical projects. *Post-metaphysical thinking, in H*abermas' terminology, is therefore the notion that philosophical reasoning is embedded in a particular linguistic context (Habermas, Postmetaphysical thinking: Philsophical Essays, 1992, pp. 17-18) This linguistic turn of *post-metaphysical thinking,* meant that Habermas took a critical position to the universality of rationality. Habermas argues that the reason for this lies in some conditioned practices of certain assumptions that determine what questions and philosophical agendas are "appropriate". In this sense, Habermas argues that knowledge is *detranscendentalised,* as one is only capable of philosophical reflection because of the socially and historically embedded linguistic prowess of the everyday and common-sense knowledge (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 38). Furthermore, this assumption presupposes communication is only possible through a commonly shared world, that linguistically in practice, is objectively the same for everyone (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 38).

This predisposition presents itself as a problem, as it philosophically makes it impossible to observe or analyse human interaction or culture. Habermas therefore proposes that it is possible to rationally reconstruct the underlying features of these cultural contexts. *Rational Reconstruction* is therefore an empirical method to reconstruct communicative practices. For example, when a person advances a claim about the temperature outside, they are participating in a communicative practice that is regulated by the assumptions about what counts as reasons for knowledge claims about temperatures. On the surface these assumptions are just a social and communicative practice for the participants and are not explicitly evident (Fultner et. al., 2011, s. 40).  Habermas' (1979) *rational reconstruction* aims to discover the conditions of possibility for language and speech, and essentially aims at answering the question of *"how is mutual understanding possible in general."* (Habermas, 1979 in Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 41).

According to Habermas (2008), this is possible because we share a objective world through rational interactions. He argues that rationality is necessary in a collaboration between two

persons, a presupposition that the person you are interacting with is rational and can rationally explain or reason for their actions:

> "This supposition states that a subject who is acting intentionally is capable, in the right circumstances, of providing a more or less plausible reason for why she did or did not behave or express herself this way rather than some other way. Unintelligible, odd, bizarre, or enigmatic expressions prompt follow-up questions because they implicitly contradict and unavoidable presupposition of communication and therefore trigger puzzled or irritated reactions." (Habermas, 2008, in Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 42)

This presupposed rationality is primarily practical, as we, according to Habermas (2008), expect that people can justify their actions to others. This interactional presupposition also means that we must share a "social world", that regulates the legitimacy of interpersonal relationships. In this sense Habermas (2008) argues that for us to presuppose that the other person is capable of justifying their actions, this justification must also build on a rational discourse that presupposes that this justification is necessary (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 43). Habermas therefore also claims that all human action is teleological or goal-oriented, but makes a distinction between social and non-social action, as well as action oriented towards success and mutual understanding. Non-social action is, in Habermas' terminology, an instrumental action, oriented towards fulfilling a need, like eating a piece of fruit because one is hungry (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 56). But success oriented actions are not only non-social. A social action, according to Habermas, involves action coordination, but can still result in a success oriented objectification of the other person, a third-person perspective, where the other individual is "forced" to fulfil the first persons needs. In this case, the social action reduces language to a mere mechanism for transferring information, a strategic social action, in Habermas' terminology. But social action can also be used to reach a mutual understanding. If the first person perceives the other as an "intersubjective" participant, language becomes a means for social integration, a *communicative action* (Fultner et. al., 2011, pp. 56-57).

C*ommunicative action* is then not only a way to transmit information, a common linguistic resource, but also a way to establish or maintain a relationship in a contextual situation: the interlocutors talk to one another, announce intentions, issue imperatives and make assertions to establish a relationship (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 222). Habermas (1998) makes a further distinction between language and speech within the frame of communicative action. Where language is a system of syntactic and semantic rules, speech is the way this system is applied in order to communicate (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 57). Habermas argues that the distinction between semantics and pragmatics cannot be taken out of context, and must, empirically be understood as a whole, because they are intertwined in the *communicative action*. Furthermore, the illocutionary act, coined by John L. Austin in 1962, or the utterance of a sentence in a specific context, is, according to Habermas (1998), the aim of *communicative action*. An illocutionary act is what binds language to speech and vis versa, e.g. saying "I promise" is to make the promise, but its illocutionary effect is that you are now bound to act as you promised. (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 59).To Habermas (1986) *communicative action* as basis for collaboration is also what results in *social integration*. This refers to the process through which stable, cooperative patterns of interaction can emerge, despite underlying conflicts or individual preferences. Here Habermas (1986) puts focus on the distinctions within the mechanisms of integration:

> "In one case, the integration of an action system is established be a normatively secured or communicatively achieved consensus, in the other case, by a non-normative regulation of individual decisions that extends beyond the actors' consciousness. This distinction between a social integration of society, which takes effect in action

orientations, and a systemic integration of society which reaches through and beyond action orientations, calls for a corresponding differentiation in the concept of society itself." (Habermas, Theory of Communicative Action, 1986, p. 117)

Habermas (1986) here makes the distinction between a system that is constituted through normative explicit instrumentalised rules and incentives (instrumental action), and a system where the interactional mechanisms and rules are constituted and regulated by implicit norms and preference-change (communicative action). Here Habermas (1986) is drawing a distinction between a *system world* and a *life world* (Fultner et. al., 2011, p. 81). Habermas (1998) argues that the lifeworld is the source of justifications to claims of validity within any context. The lifeworld functions as an implicit, holistic and diffuse foundation for intelligibility, when two interlocutors interact (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, pp. 233-246). The system conception is, in Habermas' (1998) terminology, a historical and socially developed functional social system, that grew and differentiated from the lifeworld. These subsystems have their own functionality and rationality, as well as another action's orientation than the lifeworld. Where the lifeworld's characteristic's are norms, communicative action and rationality, the system-world is characterised by goal-orientation, technical-bureaucratic organisation and a rational and effectivity oriented ontology (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, s. 209). There are two foundational subsystems of the system-world: the politically-administrative system and the economic system. The former is concerned with power as an interactional presupposition, where the latter is concerned with money. The politically-administrative system is coordinated and organised on the basis of authority and hierarchy, within a bureaucratic reality (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 230).

According to Habermas (1998) the societal consequence of the system's differentiation and growth away from the life-world is beginning to affect the life-world itself. He calls this the *colonisation of the life-world* (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 455). This conception covers the notion that the system is invading the lifeworld, and changing the foundation for communication, by using normative explicit instrumentalised rules and incentives to monopolise the communication within the lifeworld. This for example means that goal-oriented rationality becomes controlled by money and power becomes the foundational interactional presupposition between two interlocutors (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 369). Consequently, the human relations are now also reification of lifeworld communication structures as well as of society's individuals as they *"[...] stripped of their personality structure and neutralized to carriers of benefits."* (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 326). Habermas believes that these tendencies are necessary to uphold a modern democratic society, but that it is problematic when the system enters and affects the communicative structures of the life-world and the symbolic reproduction of society (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 326).

## 3.2 Social Capital and generalised trust

Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) argue that trust is the ingredient to the economic prowess of the Nordic nations, in spite of high taxes and extensive welfare expenses (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 80). Economists have, according to Svendsen and Svendsen (2006), had trouble explaining why people in general co-operate more than they rationally should. The gain of two people collaborating is potentially high, but if one person cheats, their potential gain could be even higher and the other persons gain significantly lower. Both have the incentive to cheat and deviate from the optimal solution, that is to collaborate (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 14). Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) argue that in spite of this rational dilemma people are still collaborating. One explanation could be that a third party is enforcing rules or restrictions that limit the possibilities for cheating, which

traditionally is the way economist would solve this dilemma. But in many situations, there are no formal rules or restrictions or a third party to enforce them. Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) therefore propose that these traditional economic interpretations of sociality lack a yield-component that incorporates other forms of gain for the individual:

> "One needs to take into account that the acting players "knows each other", or in economic terminology, that each player has an expectation to the other agent-types behaviour, i.e. the probability that the other agent chooses to collaborate" (My translation, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 15).

Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) ascribe this tendency to rules that exists outside the formal and official rules of society, also called social norms. Social norms therefore also have a profound effect on the economically rational agents, preferences and optimal choices (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 16). Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) propose that *social capital* can explain this tendency. Social capital, in Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006), conception is here measured as a form of trust. *Social capital* can broadly be defined as the individual's ability to enter into voluntary collaboration, therefore also trust. Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) operate between three different types of trust. Trust is either the expectation that:

1. Someone you know or have had interactions with, is following a given norm
2. A stranger, or someone you have <u>not</u> had interactions with, follows a given norm
3. An formal institution follows a given norm

These three types of trust are respectively: *particularised, generalised or institutionalised trust*. Trust is then essentially the presupposition that: *"another person or bureaucracy, in a formal institution, do not break norms or cheat you, every time there is a private netto-advantage of doing so"* (My translation, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 16-17). As with Habermas, norms in this context are defined as a standard, model or pattern that is defining for what is right and what is wrong action. In Denmark, there are widely used foundational norms dictating that danes are not cheating eachother, and danes are considered to be one of the most trusting people in the world. There are several accounts of danes (that do not know each other) trusting each other, different social groups as well as the state. This is not blind trust, but there is a significant probability that others are trustworthy. In other words, *generalised trust* (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 17-18)  If individuals in a society can easily and smoothly collaborate, then the economic transaction-expenses are reduced. Social informal rules are therefore a widely used ruleset that affects the collaboration between ordinary citizens, institutions and organisations in everyday life (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 80-81). Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) therefore argue that generalised trust is essential to the Danish welfare society, as the Danish welfare state function is essentially to redistribution of wealth between strangers. Wealth is transferred to from poor to rich for two reasons; first and foremost, because poor and rich are considered equals or the same, where the poor were just "unlucky" compared to the rich. Secondly, because it is expected that the poor wants to do better, and improve his or her situation if they had the chance. This redistribution model from "lucky" to "unlucky" can therefore be perceived as form of community insurance (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, p. 84). As described earlier, this model is only possible if the majority do not free-ride and take advantage of the insurance. This entails a dilemma, as this "free-rider" problem is "only" prevented by strong norms and attitudes. As these norms are not a constant and can change over time, there is a risk that this basis of the welfare system will erode away. Morals can easily change through political or societal changes and generalised trust in the participation of the general citizen can erode quickly, if the social sanctioning and stigmatization

disappear. The public system itself then depends on trust in most people, not only the individual's participation and contribution (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006, pp. 84-85).

## 3.3 Trust, Danish society, pedagogic professionalism

Habermas' (1998) system-world and life-world conceptions can here be combined with Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006) conceptions of generalised trust in Danish society. Svendsen and Svendsen (2006) argue that generalised trust is connected to norms and it is an interactional presupposition in trusting a stranger. As this generalised trust is connected to norms, I can here draw up the connection to the socialisation processes of Habermas' (1998) lifeworld. As the lifeworld is the interactional presupposition for collaborating, and it is based on informal rules and norms within a societal context, we must also, with Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006) generalised trust, be able to argue that the average Danish citizen must have a lifeworld norm of trusting a stranger. Generalized trust must therefore play a significant role in the lifeworld of the average Dane, and even more so in the pedagogic profession.

As pedagogues are politically and educationally connected to the norms of society, so is their professionalism. The legislative definitions of the pedagogic work in the welfare state, as constituted by the day-care act (Dagtilbudsloven), states that kids are to learn about participation in society and "community cohesion", stipulating that the day-care institutions' responsibilities include explicit knowledge work surrounding societal norms (Dagtilbudsloven, §7 stk. 4). The educational frame, in form of the pedagogic competence profile in the Executive Order on the Bachelor of Science as a pedagogue, stipulates that the pedagogue should use communicative and relational skills in their professional work. Furthermore, how moral and ethics are connected to these relational skills, and that they should have knowledge of society and its norms. Additionally, BUPL's professional profile clearly connects the pedagogue's personal competence, norms and values to the professional presupposition.

The pedagogue's life-world must therefore also be argued to be the foundation of their professional work. As Lipskey (1980) points out, the welfare professionals' professional reality is constituted in interactional and relational; the pedagogues are where the system and the real world meets. Connected to Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006) argument, that Danish society is built on a generalised trust norm, there is a clear connection to the pedagogic professionalism also being embedded in this generalised trust. As indicated by BUPL, the lifeworld, in form of personal competences, norms and values, must be entrancedly connected to communication and, in essence, communicative action. Given that, it must therefore also be so for the professional relational work, as well as any collaboration in the pedagogic work. The lifeworld itself is the foundation for this taking place. Trusting someone, and building trust to collaborate can therefore also be argued to be the relational tool that pedagogues in general possess and use in their professional collaborations with children, colleagues, parents and managers.

Trust as a form of professionalised relational disposition, can therefore be argued to be the foundation for pedagogic professional work in Danish society. This conception will be used to analyse the managerial collaborations within Albertslund.

# 4. Methodology

## 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will first present the methodological frame for the empirical investigation in Albertslund, where afterwards I will introduce the general trendies of the data collected. Finally, I will give a brief recount to the theoretical frame for the analysis.

## 4.2 Philosophy of science

Scientific theory creates the basis of our understanding and perspective in any academic investigation. In this case, I have chosen a phenomenological hermeneutic approach, as this is an explorative approach to investigate and understand unknown phenomenon. As this study is concerned with the life-world of both the institutional managers, and the administrational managers, their narrative will set the frame for the exploration of the underlying collaborative norms and perceptions, as well as the dynamics of the collaborative reality within the day-care department. Using a phenomenology is a way to gain insight into phenomenon, through the individual's perspective on the world, as we assume that the narrative describes their reality (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 45). Hermeneutic is in this case used in correlation with Habermas and Svendsen and Svendsen to deduce the dynamics of these phenomenon uncovered in the data collection process. Hermeneutics can be described as a systematic interpretation of a phenomenon, in a continuing process of analysis between the individual parts and the totality. This is to create meaning and understanding of the phenomenon in the context of which it is being observed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 233). In this context of creating knowledge through comprehension, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) emphasise that knowledge is always embedded in a social context. They point to Aristoteles' conception of phronesis as practically relevant knowledge, contextually relevant and built from values and the ethical reality of social interaction. The essence is that knowledge cannot exist without it being relatable to the social world in which it is created. That is also implied by both Habermas' communicative action, and the hermeneutic approach (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, s. 80).
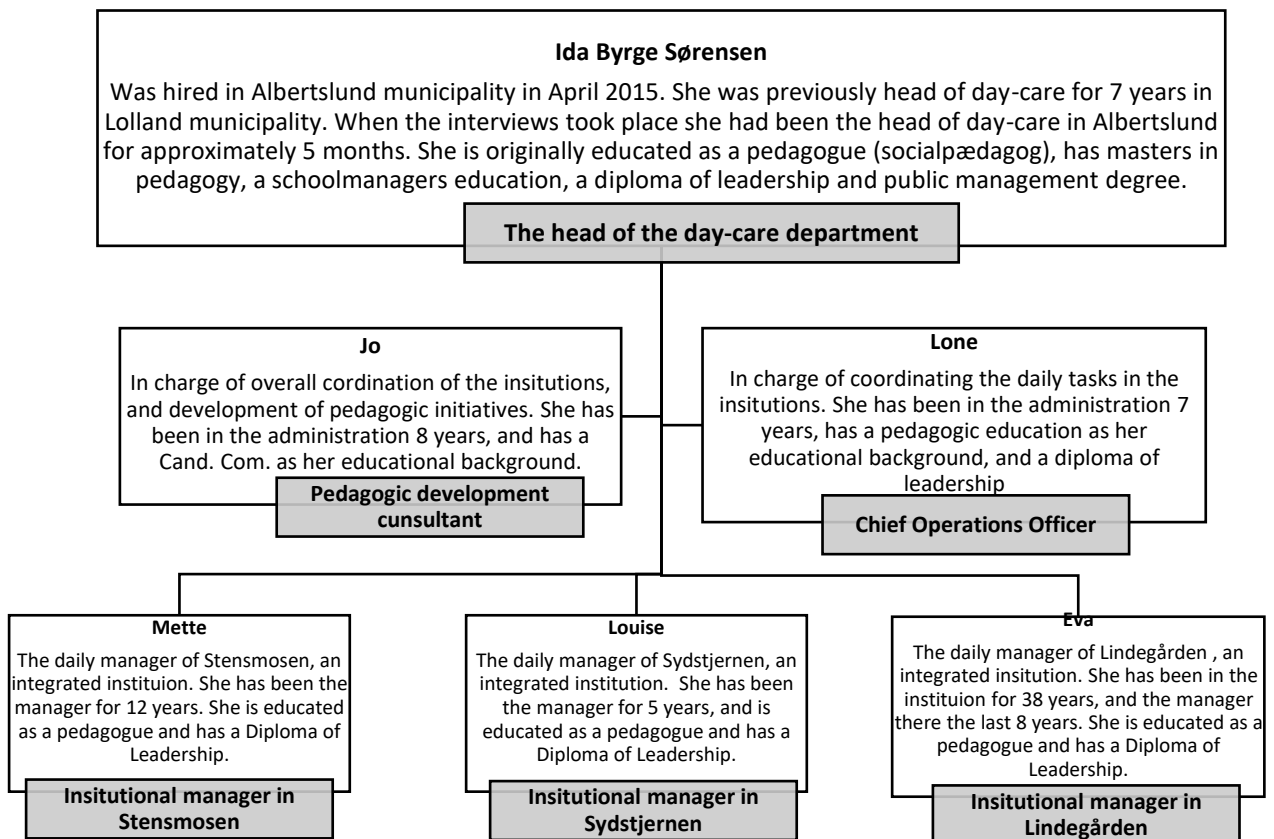
### 4.2.1 The semi-structured interview approach

As this investigation is explorative, semi-structured interviews would be the basis of discovering the collaborative phenomenon's in Albertslunds day-care department. This interview form creates room for the interviewee to talk openly about the experiences and phenomenon, still within a loosely defined frame. The interviewer will reflect upon utterances from the interviewee according to a loosely constructed interview guide depicting the themes or scientific question that are of interest in the study. Utterances from the interviewee will be interpreted as contextual opinions and statements related to the topic of discussion. The risk of this interview form is that one cannot control the data collection: the interview can take many turns as the interviewer cannot control the interviewee at the risk of alienating him/her, also the interview might not yield much information. The positives is that there are many tools to deduce the discourse and meaning from data, as they are the perfect representation of the interviewees understanding on the topic, at least at the very moment/context they were asked (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 144). As I am myself a social actor with a lifeworld, the interactions with the interviewees, their utterances, opinions, will be interpreted through my own lifeworld, understanding and preconceptions. Therefore, the interview process is embedded in a socially contextual interaction, and as a result the data will be embedded in this. This does not mean that the validity of the study is at risk, as any interaction is by its definition, dependent on both the interlocutor's life-worlds, as also proposed by Habermas, there will never be an objective interview process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, pp. 190-191).

## 4.3 Background

As presented earlier, the Municipality of Albertslund is the foundation of this study, as a result of the statistical data and its connection to job-satisfaction and sickness. Therefore, I first contacted the head of the day-care department, who agreed to offer up interviews with herself, as well as two consultants from the day-care administration, as well as three day-care institution managers from different demographical areas within the municipality. All of her choosing. Albertslund is a municipality in the western outskirts of Copenhagen. The municipality has 28.000 inhabitants, situated in 61% is social housing and 34% owner-occupied dwellings. The municipality has 17 day-care institutions. The municipal administration is organised around network-management and consisting of 4 departments The department for children, health and welfare and its day-care subdivision is the focus of this investigation.

**The interviewees:**

**Ida Byrge Sørensen**

Was hired in Albertslund municipality in April 2015. She was previously head of day-care for 7 years in Lolland municipality. When the interviews took place she had been the head of day-care in Albertslund for approximately 5 months. She is originally educated as a pedagogue (socialpædagog), has masters in pedagogy, a schoolmanagers education, a diploma of leadership and public management degree.

**The head of the day-care department**

**Jo**

In charge of overall cordination of the insitutions, and development of pedagogic initiatives. She has been in the administration 8 years, and has a Cand. Com. as her educational background.

**Pedagogic development cunsultant**

**Lone**

In charge of coordinating the daily tasks in the insitutions. She has been in the administration 7 years, has a pedagogic education as her educational background, and a diploma of leadership

**Chief Operations Officer**

**Mette**

The daily manager of Stensmosen, an integrated instituion. She has been the manager for 12 years. She is educated as a pedagogue and has a Diploma of Leadership.

**Insitutional manager in Stensmosen**

**Louise**

The daily manager of Sydstjernen, an integrated institution. She has been the manager for 5 years, and is educated as a pedagogue and has a Diploma of Leadership.

**Insitutional manager in Sydstjernen**

**Eva**

The daily manager of Lindegården , an integrated insitution. She has been in the instituion for 38 years, and the manager there the last 8 years. She is educated as a pedagogue and has a Diploma of Leadership.

**Insitutional manager in Lindegården**

## 4.4 The interviews

As explained previously, all the interviews were semi-structured interviews, designed to gain insight into the professional world of the interviewee. Both interviews of the administrational management and institutional management had the same introductory questions about educational backgrounds, history with public work and daily tasks within their professional praxis. This was done to uncover the basis of their lifeworld, as education and praxis experience is forming the foundational norms and conception for the lifeworld (Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, 1998, p. 117). The interview guide was constructed theoretically from Habermas' theory of the communicative reality and the interaction between life world and system world. Furthermore, the interview guides were constructed in a way that the overarching themes would be similar for both institutional managers and the municipal administration, in an effort to look for the similarities and differences in the perception of the collaboration. Although both of these professional worlds are very different, they share the same institutional frame. Also to ease interview coding.

The overarching themes were:

- General information about the interviewee and their position.
- The organisation, and internal collaboration. how is the internal organisation of the professional reality, and how is the daily work situated?
- The concrete practical collaboration between the municipality and the institution, and its basis. How is the formal collaboration situated, and how does it unfold in praxis?
- What are the communication channels for this collaboration, and what information flows here. How do this specific professional reality communicate with the other in praxis, and what kind of communication is relevant.
- The interviewees interpretation and perception of the collaboration, What makes sense and what does not make sense in the collaboration, and how does this affect the daily praxis in the professional reality.

These themes were derived to gain insight into the experiences and praxis of the collaboration between administration and institution, from the individual manager's perspective, as well as the underlying opinions on or values in this collaboration, its construction and execution. As the daily realities of the interviewees are very different, both depending on how their role is defined within the professional reality, the institutional composition, or if they had a bad day or not, the interview guide was only used as guiding for the conversation and the questions asked follow the flow of the conversation. The interviews themselves unfolded differently and with different lengths, from 53 minutes to 1 hour and 25 minutes. The interviews with the administrational consultants for example unfolded differently than expected, as both of the consultants was extraordinary busy on the day of the interview, it was therefore conducted as a group interview. This of course changed the interview situation, the answers and the questions asked, but since this is a phenomenological study, it did not change the validity. This study is concerned with uncovering phenomenon and the narrative reality of the different professionals, therefore the study is only applicable for the actual context. As there is no objective truth, this study will only illuminate the professional reality of the interviewees, not the entirety of the day-care department. The phenomenon uncovered in this study is therefore also only an expression of the interviewees perception of the phenomenon in question, and the presented narrative is an expression of their individual opinions or values. As human interaction is always susceptible to interpretations, the interview situation is no different. Therefore, I took the necessary precautions to stay as neutral as possible during the interviews. I for example tried not to value specific professional standards or events, or present leading questions.

### 4.4.1 Validity

As the aim of this study is not to generalise or point out societal dynamics, but to investigate a phenomenon within a social context, the validity of this study is not depended on a generalised application. Its is instead an account and analysis of the institutional managers and the administrational manager's narrative surrounding collaboration between their two professional worlds, from a specific theoretical and contextual perspective. If I had chosen another municipality or different people within the municipality, the answers and conclusions might have been very different. This does not mean that the current study does not have validity. This study is representative for the people interviewed, but also the context in which they were interviewed. Therefore the interviews and their context can paint a picture of the dynamics between these two worlds, by perceiving at the utterances of the interviewee's through Habermas' life and system world conception, it is possible to analyse how the interviewees are connected to the collaborative and hierarchical formal context in which they work, the day-care department, and how this connection is embedded in their professional work.

## 4.5 Interpretation of data

Habermas' (1998) and Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006) theoretical conceptions will here be used to derive the underlying dynamics of the collaborative realities pointed out by the interviewees. These dynamics are then connected to the literature studies thematic conceptions and descriptions, to map the effects on the pedagogic professional reality of the collaboration and derive an analysis of the underlying consequences of this collaborative relationship. As this is an empirical study with the interpretation of a phenomenon at focus, the theory serves the data and not the other way around.

As this is an explorative study, the themes of the analysis will be derived from the interviewees' perception of the collaboration, and what the most common correlation of utterances between the professional realities within the institutional management and the administrational management turns out to be. The initial analysis of the interviews has reviled the following tendencies within the collaborative reality of the day-care department:

- A general focus on collaboration through dialogue.
- Common goal or belief is essential to collaborating.
- Trust is seen as essential to collaboration from both sides.
- Management and leadership is tied to this form of professionalism, that is developed by engaging  and developing oneself, together.
- A sense of following the hierarchy and the orders of your superior.
    - A sense of "institutional individualism", some orders are not followed if they are not considered "practical", but only to a certain extend.

From these tendencies I have colour coded the data to better understand their cohesion and correlations. Based on this colour coding, I have created these overarching categories for further analysis:

- The importance of dialogue.
- Collaboration and trust.
- Common goals through professionalism and leadership.
- Organisational hierarchy, political management and professionalism.

These categories set the frame for the analysis of the interviews.

# 5. Analysis

In the following chapter, I will focus on how the institutional leaders and the administration perceive management and collaboration. This will be done on a basis of Habermas *life-world and system-world conception* and Svendsen and Svendsens conceptions of *the generalised trust norms* integration into Danish society, in connection to the professionalised frame for pedagogic work. The consequences of this perception and collaboration, will be analysed in context to the historical developments of the Danish welfare state, as well as the methodological management developments. Willig's *disempowerment* and *U-turn of the criticism*, Andersen and Pedersen's *PSM* conception, and Mik-meyer and Järvinen's *coaching and professionalized emotional individualisation* conception will be used to analyse these consequences and effects.

## 5.1 The importance of dialogue

Here I am looking for utterances that emphasise dialogue or communication, as well as utterances focusing on dialogue or communication as a collaborative tool. Throughout the interviews with both day-care managers and municipal management, the importance of dialogue appeared to be the most common correlation between two professional realities. The head of day-care department, Ida, perceives dialogue as her most important tool:

> "[I am trying] to create meaningful management chain, is what you could call it, where the matrix itself is dialogue ... if you can call it that, it is all about talking both ways […]" (i2, 46.00)

She points out that:

> "[…] I'm very invested in dialogue, I'm very invested in using each other to learn and become smarter. When you enter into a relationship, and some conversation, then you should be able to put your own conceptions in the background, to learn something from the conversation […]" (i2, 25.36)

In Habermas' terminology, this dialogic management ideology is in essence utilising communicative action. By focusing on dialogue as a management tool, Ida also emphasises the lifeworld as the basis for collaboration, sharing the socially constituted world through communicative action, is creating a common language. Their intentions, imperatives and assertions are being negotiated through communicative action. All the institutional managers in the study were very happy with this dialogic approach.  Eva from Lindegården describes how this new approach has been implemented:

> "[…] she [Ida] has introduced these dialogue meetings […] it is not about agreeing, it's all about just saying what comes to your mind, together.. throwing around topics. I would like that every 14 days instead of every three months. Because I think it's so important to focus on the philosophical and the value based. […] (i4, 50.00)

By focusing on communicative action and the lifeworld, the managers can both confirm and renew their relational basis, as their identity and social affiliation, resulting in social integration, through the collaborative dialogue. Louise from Sydstjernen points out:

> "What makes the most sense? It makes sense when we move on something together, e.g. making a new strategy, or where we disagree […] where it means something for

the kids, but also the conditions we work under. Then I think it moves us, in the close dialog" (i3, 41.00)

Dialogue is clearly connected to a sense of togetherness. In Habermas' (1998) terminology we can see that the *communicative action* is the professional value here. Sense making, identity and togetherness is tied to dialogue through the social integration of communicative action. In connection to Willig's (2009) *disempowerment* conception, the pedagogues are disempowered because they do not feel their critique is being heard, and is undermined by internalised external control, in form of the colonisation from the system-world. Louise's example supports this, by showing us that "making sense of things", professionally, is tied to dialogue, or in Habermas' terms, to communicative action and the lifeworld. Louise, furthermore, shows us that the professional pedagogic reality is built upon these principles, as the professional subject, the kids, are the target of this "movement". Eva from Lindegården follows up on this, by pointing out that she sees dialogue as an important competence in any situation:

> "[…] but that is where dialogue and communication is so incredibly important. And that is no matter where you are, you know. Whether you are a child, a parent, or you are staff or day-care manager or wherever you are. It is SUCH an important competence." (i4, 35.00)

Clearly dialog is important for pedagogic professionalism. Mette from Stensmosen further describes how she thinks this dialogic approach affects her and the group of leaders/managers:

> "[…] And the way she tackles this [the new day-care strategy]; includes, listens, takes serious and initiate these 'dialogic assemblies', where the entire group of leaders is unified… you know unified, have dialogs with one another and learn things together… I think, she has just implemented these approaches into this group, and it think its super professional, and very including and puts focus on professionalism… All I can say is how it affects me, and it just makes me want to go all in [dive in]." (i5, 58.00)

Even though the dialogue is between institutional managers, it reflects that the dialogic approach to collaboration clearly motivates the managers. In fact all the managers interviewed in the study believe that these dialogic assemblies are great. We see here a clear connection to a pedagogic professional ideology. All the institutional mangers have the pedagogic education as their educational background. Though they all have different experience and management educations, they all share a common background from the pedagogic praxis. Therefore, the pedagogic professional ideals is affected by relational expectations and lifeworld. The motivation "going all in", therefore further cements that collaboration through communicative action is the basis for the pedagogic professionalism for these managers. But there is clearly also another component in this. For Ida this dialogic approach is an investment:

> "[…] I think dialogue and collaboration is good investments... that is, I think that your collaboration gets better and closer and you figure out what makes sense and so on. You can earn a lot, resource wise, in the long run, you use "sense-making" retroactively, so to speak […]" (i2, 8.00)

This ideal of investing in collaboration through dialogue draws threads to Svendsen and Svendsens' analysis of the effectiveness of a generalised trust based society. As we've seen the pedagogic professionalism is connected to the an ideal of dialogic collaboration. As dialog is connected to communicative action and through the lifeworld connected to morals, collaboration through

dialogue to the pedagogues must also entails *trust*. In the new dialogic management approach, introduced by Ida, she is clearly also focused on trust through collaboration:

> "It takes time to build, and having most of it [collaboration] based on dialog and a lot of it based on involvement, also entails a lot of trust." (i2, 36.00)

By using the lifeworld and not the system world as management tool and the common ground for collaborating, Ida is moving away from the agent/principal principle of NPM. Instead of only perceiving the agent through control mechanism like documentation work, performance reviews and employee development interviews, she is actually interested in what makes them tick in their daily professional praxis, outside of these numbers and figures. Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) perspective of motivating by using dialogue, and by valuing the pedagogic professional reality in that dialogue, puts focus on the pedagogue's lifeworld, and in essence, on their motivation for doing good for others and society. And by tying the lifeworld to management, Ida thereby puts emphasis on the same relational presupposition that the pedagogic professional reality is based on: *generalised trust.*

## 5.2 Collaboration and trust

Here I will be looking for utterances that put emphasis on trust and what it means for collaboration, as well as other references to trust being essential for the professional work. In connection to Andersen and Pedersen (2014), PSM is also tied to this dialogic principle. As the welfare professional is motivated by doing good for society and others, a dialogic management method is beneficial to motivation, as this method is tying professional motivation to society and others. In this definition, connection to the political and administrational reality is then paramount. The management's focus on dialogue and communicative action then entails that the pedagogue's professional reality or life-world, can move closer to that of the democratically constituted political and societal needs, making it easier for the professionals to define their professionalism. The dialogic management approach then draws the pedagogic and political realities closer together through communicative action, in essence the life-world being colonized by the system-world. But I will get back to this point. Common professional goals is then clearly tied to collaboration through dialog. Louise points out why this is important:

> "[…]I'm against that we have to be so different [professionally], I would really like if we [institutions and administration] were more alike in many ways.. you know in way like 'this is how we look at things here in Albertslund'.. the institutions can still be very divers, and they still are […] because it is good to stand together, when we [the institutions/pedagogues] address the citizens […] that uses the institutions. But also so the politicians know our common professional foundation, so we can legitimise [justify] ourselves to the surrounding world.. it becomes way more complex, if we have 19 different [opinions][…]" (i3, 30.30)

Mette from Stensmosen further puts this dialogic management method into perspective:

> "[…] When she [Ida] talks, she speaks professionally, she knows what it's all about. And I think that creates a legitimacy, which I don't always have myself… and I think that works very well, and she really has a vision with this department [The day-care arena], and she is very good at it, and she is very good at translating that, and put it into words. And that creates, at least for me, I have a lot of respect for that. And I really think that when I say something, I'm being taken serious, and listen to, and I don't need to be right.. and I'm being listen to, and I think I become smarter when I talk to her" (i5, 1.02.00)

Mette's comment reviles some of the mechanisms of this dialogic management approach. She feels she has been heard, and that there is no need to oppose Ida, as she feels they become smarter together. Mette simply trust Ida knows what she is talking about, because Ida trusts that Mette knows what she is talking about. By using dialogue and her educational background in pedagogic work, Ida is using communicative action of the life-world, to also take the perspective of the professional reality of the institutional managers seriously in a management praxis. Ida elaborates:

> "[…] you know, I have an opinion towards [pedagogic] praxis. I have an opinion towards what is good and then I have an opinion towards what isn't as good.. and everything isn't equally good.. and I feel its really cool, when I can see something that makes sense, when I see something that is good quality […] (i2, 38.00)

In Willig's (2009) terms, she is empowering the pedagogic praxis. By creating togetherness through dialogic collaboration, she is removing the imposed double-boundedness of the pedagogic work task. Mette is less prone to saying no to administrative incentives because she has been included in creating them, co-ownership. In using the lifeworld as a foundation for the collaboration and in focusing on collaboration thought dialogue, the system-world is then less of a visible factor for the collaboration. And by moving closer to the, very crucial to the pedagogues, lifeworld of the pedagogic professionals, Ida is creating trust.

Trusting the institutional managers and their professional reality, results in a positive attitude towards collaboration and a common professionalism. This was a significant value for all managers in the study. The consultants from the administration also see this approach as beneficial. Jo from the administration says:

> "The way I'm experiencing her [Ida] tackling it [the new day-care strategy], is by creating more and more trust by including a lot, and wanting them [the pedagogues] to give something, so that they share their opinions about stuff that you would normally not hear… she dialogues [the action of conversing] you know […]" (i1, 16.00)

Jo clearly describes a need for the administration to build trust to further collaboration. Trust is simply, according to both administrative management and day-care managers in the study, connected to their relational presuppositions, their life-world. Eva points out how trust is important in a professional environment:

> "[…] people [pedagogues] here trust me and Lena [the daily pedagogic manager]. And I have a lot of faith [trust] in the staff group is doing a good job […] you know we know each other very well […]and I often say 'I think one of the best values is to work on trusting each other, but also having something to place to trust in[…]" (i4, 18.00)

Eva's comment further connects trust to the professional praxis in the day-care institutions. This goes well in thread with how the lifeworld is essential in the professional reality of the pedagogues. As the pedagogic praxis is tightly connected to doing good for society and others, the societal component to professionalism holds another insight. The life-world is very essential to the pedagogic praxis, in that it defines the relational presupposition that pedagogues have to any interactional relationship or collaboration. By being educated in a society build on generalised trust as suggested by Svendsen and Svendsen (2006), this presupposition of trusting a stranger, must be built into the norms of the average pedagogues life-world. Taking into account the educational and legislative foundations for the pedagogic professional praxis, it is safe to say that generalised trust must also be the matrix of their relational professional work. Eva cements this:

"[…]The dialog.. but I also think its trust. I've often been ask […] 'what is most important for me?' and it always turns into something about trust and broadness […] but I really thing, that I value trust very highly, you know, I think it is very important […]" (i4, 48.00)

With this in mind, the dialogue and trust-based management approach set in motion by Ida seem to be very beneficial for the collaboration. Louise further believes that trust is the most important element in the collaboration between institution and administration:

"[…]It is that it [the collaboration] is build on trust, in each other.. yes that I can trust Ida […] I need that she speaks plainly, but also that she actually does what she says." (i3, 23.00)

Mette agrees:

"[what is most important in the collaboration between] me and the administration?.. that they have faith [trust] that I do things in a proper way, with good intentions […]

This comment also indicates that these institutional managers that have previously had dealings with a management methodology did not include trust, as its matrix. If we look at the historical development and NPM's growth as a management tool in the public sector, this would be very likely. In Willig's (2009) terms, this has resulted in *disempowerment* of the pedagogues and an individualisation of the professional responsibility, as also proposed by Mik-meyer and Järvinen's (2012) *professionalised emotional individualisation* concept. Eva points out how she felt under the old management in Albertslund:

"[…] our previous head of day-care was economically educated, and didn't have any significant pedagogic insight. And now we have someone [Ida] that has a lot of pedagogic knowledge, in general a lot of knowledge […] If I'm to reminisce about the old days, you know, I was literally going crazy over everything being calculated in documentation and economics, and economic control, new public management […] if you put me into too many square systems, then it's really not good […]" (i4, 58.00)

The language surrounding the old management methodology is clearly not positive. Ida points out that this mistrust or lack of cohesion was exactly what she experienced when she came to Albertslund:

"[…]when I came to Albertslund in April, I didn't really feel that connection [cohesion] between administration and institutions […] I think that they [the municipal administration] worked more on the collaboration across the different organisations, you know.. and here it's my opinion, that before you focus on collaborating across, it's nice to know who you [the organisation, institution, or administration] are yourself.. you know, what you stand for, and that's what we are working on now.. to create togetherness […]" (i2, 10.40)

This emphasises Andersen and Pedersen's conception of *PSM* and its emphasis of perception of management. Eva clearly points out that the old management didn't connect to her lifeworld. And as the pedagogic professionalism is connected to their lifeworld and a generalised trust norm, Evas interpretation of the administrative incentives was clearly that they did not trust her and her professionalism, nor was the management interested in creating a collaborative dialogue, as would be the implicit professional presupposition. The NPM inspired management method reduced the professionally important lifeworld to numbers and figures. And through documentation and economic performance measurements, the communicative foundations of the system-world did not

harmonise with that of the pedagogic life-world, lowering motivation and disempowering the pedagogic professionalism.

## 5.3 Professionalism through life-world rationality and leadership.

Trust and dialogue are clearly defining for the pedagogic professional work and with Ida's new management approach it seems possible to harmonize the pedagogic professional interactional presupposition from their life-world with that of the administrational politically driven incentives og the system-world. As already observed, this dialogic approach creates a collaborative professional reality through communicative action, where the two perspectives can meet, but this collaboration still exists within an institutional hierarchical frame within the system-world's instrumental action; this matter will be better analysed later in the essay. First, I will point out how this collaborative dialogic management approach can spur a common professionalism to legitimise the pedagogue's themselves, that is perceived by e.g. BUPL, to be lacking in the pedagogic general professional self-perception as well as society.

Willig's (2013) *U-turn of criticism* conception can here be used to underline how professionalism grows from this dialogic management approach. According to Willig (2013), the welfare professional are being disempowered by a coaching management approach, turning collective organisational problems into individualized problems, in Habermas' (1998) terms, the system-world's colonisation of the life-world. Ida's dialogic approach is putting focus back on the collective problem solving, or communicative action. Ida here describes the goal of using dialogue as a management tool:

> "[…]the goal is that there isn't a discrepancy between the expectations for the collaboration, you know.. that you are so clear about how you use each other and why does it make sense to use each other [collaborate].. because we [the administration] are a supporting function for the institutions, we are there to help them make the best day-care offering possible […]" (i2, 50.00)

Analysing this through Habermas shows us that the lifeworld is again the perquisite for the collaboration, but also a power relation in this collaboration, as Ida is still in a hierarchical position of power. As mentioned, I will get back to this point. Here I want to point out that the collaborative reality is created through dialogue, based on partially using the generalised trust norm integrated in to the pedagogic praxis, as well as communicative action. This dialogic collaboration also results in a collaborative professionalism and Mette elaborates on how she perceives this togetherness as important in her leadership in the institution:

> "[…]I think that my job is to say 'now we are here, we are Stensmosen, but we are also a bigger organisation' you know. And I think it's important that I understand this, but, by golly, also that the assistant and the substitute know that the world does not revolve around Stensmosen. I also think that it's important that we, to a higher extend, participate in collaborating with other institutions, where we can get more knowledge and discussion [feedback]." (i5, 7.00)

Creating professional togetherness in dialogue seems like a necessity for the pedagogic professionalism. Mette further points out that professionalism is also more important than ever:

> "[…] there is way more pressure towards us [the pedagogues/institution] having the required professionalism, and that well-being [amongst the kids] is not based on us [the pedagogues] just having a cozy time [hygge][…]" (i5, 1.15.00)

In connection to Mik-meyer and Järvinen's (2012) conception of the *professionalized emotional individualisation,* the welfare workers are losing professional legitimacy through a coaching focused professional culture. Combined with Willig's (2013) *U-turn of criticism*, we can see that there is a clear tendency to search for legitimacy through individualization, and through the use of emotional engagement with the client, as also pointed out by BUPL. By being professionally individualised, it is hard to cement this professionalism in a societal context. Ida's approach helps the professionals create a more "whole" professionalism, as already pointed out through Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) PSM conception. But this tendency can also be connected to Habermas' (1998) system-worlds colonisation of the life-world. As the pedagogues are embedded and dependent on the political managed institutional praxis, the system-world is also inherently defining for the merit for professional work. In Mik-meyer and Järvinen's (2012) terminology, through a goal-rationalisation of the professional individual's emotional engagement. The system-world sets the terms for the legitimisation of the pedagogic professionalism, so in Andersen and Pedersen's terms, it is only a perceived legitimacy for the pedagogic professionals.

## 5.4    Organisational    hierarchy,    political    management    and professionalism

The day-care department in Albertslund values collaboration through trust and dialog, as well as togetherness through collaborative professionalism. But department is still a politically managed organisation which exist in an organisational hierarchy, as characterised by the system-world's relational disposition. As I pointed earlier, there is still a clear position of power for the municipal administration, even with a management approach founded in dialogic collaboration. Ida puts it this way:

> "[…] You know, we are a politically managed organisation and that means that the politicians at any given time can say ' well, this is exactly what we want to support or develop', you know […] so there will be themes that drip down to us through the organisation [the municipality], that we have to convert into concrete initiatives […]" (i2, 30.00)

The politically founded initiatives are still expected to be implemented if the institutional or administrational manager wants it or not. Ida's dialogic management approach only affects how. If the institutions need to cut a pedagogic personal to save money, they have to do it. Ida points out that the control mechanism of the administration is still there, but with a specific focus.

> […] the initiatives that we pluck out, which we together with leaders and employees, figure out, is the focus areas in our strategy.. some topics are discussed and then use used, and it will benefit everyone to be part of them. So in that sense it's control and the institutions can't just say 'arh inclusion?! that's not something for us', you know […] so we affect the employees [pedagogue] competence level, by creating a common education, or common courses or organise knowledge sharing between the institutions […]" (i2, 29.00)

Again the focus is on dialogic collaboration, but it shows us that the system-worlds hierarchical control mechanism still in place. The institutions cannot choose, <u>not</u> to follow the initiatives, which they themselves have been an instrumental collaborative part of. The administrative consultant, Lone, here describes how the institutions and pedagogues can affect the development of initiatives:

[...] They [institutional leaders] participate in these committees, and there will also be some committees where the pedagogues participate.. in relations to the strategy, you know [...] on an organisational level it will be us and the leaders that work with this stuff [...] but on the pedagogic parts [of the strategy] the leaders will choose employees [pedagogues] to participate in a committee [...]" (i1, 56.14)

The idea in this managerial approach is to have the pedagogic professional input, figure in the construction of the initiatives, so that their voices, in an instrumentalised way, will figure in the implementation of these initiatives. But as the institutional managers in the study point out, the feedback mechanism is built on a preconception that the pedagogues have time and mental surplus to participate and feedback on the initiatives. Mette here describes how the pedagogues are to feedback on the new institutional strategy:

"[...] either they have given up or they cannot be bothered, because I don't get one single piece of feedback. Or they are just thinking 'I cant be bothered to read 30-40 pages' [...] so you could say that: 'this it is a hard premise' and 'I ask them to sit there by themselves and formulate'. But that's just the reality [...] and with those work tasks [I have], then I can't fucking make it before the last minute either.. and that's a premise, that you have to hear someone say on an employee development evaluations board [MED-udvalg].. Then you would expect the personal [the pedagogues] say 'but we don't have a chance'." (i5, 53.00)

Another element here is how the institutional managers perceive their role as managers in the hierarchical institutional organisation. Eva here elaborates on how she implements new political or administrational initiatives:

"[...] I am very attentive towards, in part to cover, where I have influence and what are hard facts. There could be something that isn't worth using 3 words of protest on [...] we just had lay off someone, you know. And in that situation I just had to point out that: 'this is facts, and that's the end of it' [...]" (I4, 53.00)

Louise is of the same opinion:

[...] You know, I'm very practical when it comes down to it, you might say a little narrow, or direct [...] I am typically someone who just does what she is told to do.. you know, I'm rarely like that, because I'm typically someone who is very vocal, but I'm also like: 'well if that's what has been decided, then that what we do', we can't sit around and discuss things for 100's of years [...] (I3, 26.00)

These two statements are indicative of a hierarchical approach to initiatives, which share some similarities with Willig's (2009) disempowerment conception. The pedagogues themselves have been included in creating these administrational initiatives, but are at the same time not able to criticise them, because the initiative partially comes from themselves. And again in Habermas' (1998) conception, it is the system-worlds colonisation of the life-world. Mette describes the premise for the pedagogues in these situations:

"[...] You know, that's the reality [...] I try to send out [information], but some will say 'yes yes, but you are sending it out with such a short notice'. And 'yes that's right, there is only 7 days until it has to move on in the system, but it's finished now'. So yeah, if you [the pedagogue] want something, if you want to affect anything now, then you properly have to use your Sunday reading it, and you can properly deduct it, and you

can take time off in lieu of overtime at some other point.. 'I can't put it [reading] in [the timetable] between 9 and 15 in your working hours, that's just not the terms you work under here [in the institution]'" (i5, 52.00)

This comment indicates that even though the pedagogues have a say in creating the administrative initiatives, under a political frame, they are a part of the professional reality that they themselves do not have complete control over. This double-boundedness of the pedagogic work is exactly what Willig (2009) is pointing to: the pedagogues are embedded in their professional reality. The pedagogues' work conditions e.g. child per pedagogue ratio and the documentation work, are all dictated by the administrative initiatives. If the pedagogues only have influence on the building of these initiatives, but are unable to, because of the workload, these initiatives result in rebel or criticise these initiatives, when they are implemented, then they are still being disempowered by the system-worlds ontology. The institutional managers are here instrumental to this mechanism, in their perception of pedagogic praxis. Louise puts it this way:

"[…] Now we have one less resource [a fired pedagogue] […] then we can't both go to the swimming pool, take a biking trip and go to the gym [at the gymnasium].. then you have to prioritise […] and I know, these pedagogues are god danm proud […] It's very hard for them you know […] and I'm the one who has to dictate and say 'then we are doing this [pedagogic activity] a little less' […] and that's hard for them […] because of their professional pride […]" (i3, 47.00)

The institutional managers are instrumental in this colonisation of the life-world, or lack of feedback. Even though Andersen and Pedersen (2014) advocates that the perception of management is paramount to the professional's perception of administrational initiatives, the trusting and dialogic initiatives set in motion by Ida, run the risk of being one more disempowering control mechanism. As Louise further points out:

"[…] I really think that people [the pedagogues] say ' let us try and solve this [a given problem in relation to new administrative initiatives]' Yes you schedules have become worse [less time] this year, but that is because I have find that money […] then you can argue that somebody says 'but when are we suppose to say it [criticise] then?' og yeah I think about that too, you know […]" (i5, 1.05.00)

The discrepancy between dialogue and a trusting attitude and the actual possibility of criticism is clear in this statement. It is even something that bothers Louise. The attitude of the pedagogues can be connected to Willig's (2009, 2013) disempowerment and the U-turn of criticism. The former because the pedagogues, through individualised professionalism, turn their critique inward, as they are held responsible for their own work environment, and the latter because the institutional managers are prone to follow the hierarchical order of the system-world. This disempowerment is enforced in the dialogic management approach. The institutional managers are depended on the feedback from the pedagogic personal, but with the hierarchical power and the disempowerment internalisation, the feedback never reaches them. In this context, the interviews show that the institutional managers in general are prone to some small sense of civil disobedient or rebellious behaviour, as Eva puts it:

"[…] Lena says, once in a while, that she thinks I'm being a little civil disobedient sometimes hehe.. Sometimes, when some new initiatives dictate what we should do.. where I'm thinking: 'this makes no sense in my house'.. but where it's something that I, you know, that needs to be replied to or written back to […] then I [sometimes] do as

little as possible, and you know, just on the limit of what I'm suppose to do, and not a dime more […]" (i4, 56.00)

This could be an expression of listening to the pedagogic personal, but again it comes down to perception from the managements side. With the evidence we have seen so far;

- The institutional manager's proneness to follow the hierarchy.
- Their deterministic view on implementation of administrative initiatives.
- The notion that dialogic collaboration results in legitimacy and trust

it is clear that this rebellious behaviour might not be empowering. This tendency of being a little rebellious is tied to the institutional managers own perception of their pedagogic personal being capable of professionalized feedback, still within a hieratical frame. Therefore, this is also more indicative of disempowerment than empowerment. Louise puts this into perspective:

"[…] I could be even more.. how do you put it.. not disobedient, but I could be even more [disobedient] if I wanted to.. and sometimes it also results in a beating [figuratively] […] and you don't always want that beating, the costs can be too high sometimes.. and then you have to evaluate when you want to fight and when you don't […]" (i3, 44.00)

This points to a mechanism where rebelling or speaking you mind comes down to evaluating the cost, based on the perception that the pedagogues would "fight" or "shout out" if they felt something was wrong. This points out a very interesting power mechanism in an otherwise perceived "flat" dialogic and collaborative environment. This discrepancy reveals a power component to the dialogic management approach, reminiscent of the goal rationality of the system-world. By focusing on dialogue and collaboration and by using the collaborative goodwill of using the pedagogue's lifeworld's generalised trust norm, Ida is potentially instrumentalising trust and dialogue within a coaching approach in a still individualised professional environment. Ida points out how management itself is being individualised:

"[…] The leader has gone from being, you know, hierarchical: 'you've got some kind of power, or you've got a competence, you've got responsibility'… to something more: 'make yourself, be a leader' you know… You [the interviewer] talked about management, where I believe there is way more leadership starting to emerge, everywhere […]" (i2, 19.00)

We can here see the same dynamics that both Willig (2009, 2013) and Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) describe. Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2012) point out that the welfare professional are expected to use their emotions and personality to coach the welfare recipient. But as Willig (2013) points out, disempowerment through coaching has a trickle down effect, as the disempowered subject cannot empower anyone themselves. Coaching results in internalisation of external control mechanisms and in turn results in the disempowered, cementing their own professionalism in externally defined parameters, also coaching others under the same premises. This coaching mentality is therefore clearly also evident in the higher organisational atmosphere. The coaching approach is exemplified by Mette in this example of how the management methodology has changed with the new dialogic approach:

"[I had to] meet up [with the old manager] and talk about all the things I've done exceptionally this year […]where I feel it's like: 'score yourself from 1-10'. I just think

that is fucking bad, and I don't think we actually talked... I feel this interview with Ida was.. we put on a jacked and then we went for a walk for two hours.. and here I think we got to talking about something substantial, what's substantial for me. And which literally resulted in 3 words, that has been a big influence on my ongoing work. […] And that is a completely different approach, and I think I can only result in, which I have the utmost respect for, that we get to talk.. a long answer hehe […]" (i5, 1.02.35)

Again, this shows us that the dialogic approach is resonating very well with the pedagogic relational disposition, or lifeworld, but also that Mette is now responsible for her work in a whole other way than before. Her lifeworld perspective is being colonised by the system-world. By focusing on the personal relationship with her employees, Ida is putting emphasis on the self-development of the individual manager competences, within a system-world frame, to manage herself and the organisation. Here Ida puts into words what she thinks is important as a manager:

"[…] You know, coaching or dialog, listening… a mediator […] it is about creating movement, support, more than saying 'you have to do this and that'.. so its more about this, ehm, curiosity, collaborator partners, that tries to reach [a consensus] […] that you don't dictate a direction, but you do that of cause, but also be at the forefront […]" (i2, 19.58)

In Willig's (2013) terminology, this coaching management approach also results in an internalisation of external standards and control features. Furthermore, this is also indicative of the trickle down effect, as exemplified by Willig (2013). Ida exemplifies this:

"[…] quite a lot concerns that pedagogues are 'self-managing', that they manage themselves out in their praxis, and they have to connect that to some professional decisions, and be responsible for those [decisions].. And then they some conditions, some frames, some stuff around them, possibly: something about resources, something about organising their workday and so on.. that isn't fitting [working properly].. and here its evident that you as an employee [pedagogue] is responsible for your working environment and your profession , and you are responsible for reporting that to your leader and say: 'listen, we have some challenges here, can we do it differently?'.. and here I would say that it's the leaders job, together with the employee [pedagogue], to find some solutions and organise in a different way or… I would say that if you experience so much individualisation, that you, as a pedagogue, are responsible for how you are organised on the wards [the institutional groups of children] or how many resources there are [available] […] then it's a result of bad management [leadership]. I think there are some clear distinctions between who has the responsibility to participate in creating [foster] good frames [for the pedagogic work].. with that said I have also experienced a lot of pedagogues who just sits back and says 'I cant do this, because we don't have the resources'." (i2, 23.00)

Firstly, this (long) comment reveals Ida's perception of the pedagogic work in the institutions. By defining professional autonomy as the possibility of criticising the management, and by then tying this to the collaboration between the management and the employee, the discrepancy between including the pedagogues in an initiatives' development process and correlating that with professional autonomy, is clear. In Willig's (2009) terminology, pedagogues are then positioned as being themselves professionally responsible for the development of politically and economically controlled initiatives, and its implementation, while the feedback dynamic with the institutional managers is none existent. In Habermas (1998) terms, the system-world, is in essence colonising the

life-world of the pedagogues. By tying the benefits of communicative action to a management methodology, while at the same time remaining in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the system-world, the dialog and its benefits, as pointed out by Svendsen and Svendsen (2006), in form of a trusting attitude from the pedagogues, are in essence being instrumentalised. This is, in Willig's (2009) terminology, still disempowerment, even so, in a more hidden way. As the pedagogues are being included, talked to, listened to, and seen, their critique is even less powerful as who would want to criticise the "nice" and "present" manager? I will here end with a comment from Ida, on how, even with all the dialogue and inclusion, she is still a manager in a hierarchy:

> "[…]You know, I'm from a municipality, in the outskirts […]with very few resources… Here [in Albertslund] they have twice as many resources […] therefore I'm pretty immune to, when the pedagogues, or the managers says: 'uuuhhh we don't have any resources', because I know what is possible, from where I'm from… with the resources there, you should be able to do twice as much [there][…]you [pedagogues, managers] are somehow, resting on your laurels in something you are used too […]" (i2, 34.50)

## 5.5 Conclusions and discussions

In this chapter, I will summarise the main findings in the analysis, as well as offer some perspectives on how these findings should be interpreted.

Firstly, I can conclude that the management methodology that Ida, as head of the day-care department, has instituted, relies on communicative action. By managing through dialogue, she is clearly resonating with the pedagogic life-world of the pedagogic managers, embedded in the pedagogic praxis reality. With the dialogic management approach, Ida negotiates a common reality within the department, valuing feedback and input from the professionals. By further focusing on this kind of collaboration, the dialogic management approach creates a commonality or togetherness in the actual interaction between the different interlocutors within the department, using the life-world as the basis.

Secondly, this collaborative predisposition also results in a trusting relationship between administration and pedagogic reality. By trusting the pedagogic managers (as well as her consultants), Ida is using communicative action to approach the life-world norms of the pedagogic professionals. Trust is being built, in the collaboration, through Ida's own life-world norms, founded in her own background in the pedagogic field, to create a togetherness within the department but it can also be argued that she shares the life-world with her employees simply because she has been, and comes from the pedagogic praxis. Ida said it herself: *"I have an opinion towards [pedagogic] praxis. I have an opinion towards what is good and then I have an opinion towards what isn't as good"* clearly stating that she has a vision and understanding of what she wants to do, in context to the actual pedagogic reality. As she has her basis in the pedagogic education and field, the management methodology and the interactions with the pedagogic staff has a strong cohesion with the institutional reality. This can be said to create a trusting basis, as Ida's life-world norms, and therefore the focus on the management ideology, are shared with the pedagogic staff, among others. This also results in a positive attitude towards Ida's management methods. All the managers are clearly happy about this (new) approach, which in the end creates a lot of goodwill and motivation amongst the institutional management to follow Ida's ideas and initiatives. In contrast, we have the previous administrational managements' ideals of documentation and numbers being the basis of collaboration. The managers here were not very positive toward this management approach, clearly indicating that Ida's life-world

approach is resonating with the institutional managers. I can therefore argue that generalised trust, embedded in the life-world of the pedagogic personal, through education and professional culture embedded in Danish society, is essential to the motivation and general professional wellbeing of the pedagogic professionals.

This brings to my third conclusion. One other reason for the positive attitude towards the dialogic management approach is evident in the shared professionalism that the dialogic collaboration creates. By including other institutional managers, pedagogues, experts, consultants in the creation of the common municipal strategy on the day-care arena, Ida is strengthening the staff's perception of pedagogic professionalism. The establishment of a common professionalism, where "everyone" seems to be heard, as also indicated by Willig (2009), has the potential of creating professional cohesion and legitimacy, by lessening the professional individualisation, as also indicated by the institutional mangers themselves. If the institutional managers feel that they are being trusted, they are being heard, and if they have an including manager, they have more freedom to also listen to the pedagogic staff and their professional reality. But since Ida's dialogic approach is new in Albertslund, as she has only been employed in little over half a year, it is not possible to say if this approach has a long term effect on the pedagogic legitimacy or not. But according to all the institutional managers, the approach is in general positive. This also resonates with Andersen and Pedersens (2014) PSM, as the pedagogic personal is clearly happier and more motivated as a result of the dialog.

My fourth conclusion is in regards to the hierarchical and political perspective in Ida's dialogic management approach. As just concluded, the dialogic management approach clearly has some positives sides to both motivation, and the collaborative professionalism. But as the pedagogic staff are still part of a politically managed institution, as well as embedded in a bureaucratic hierarchy, there is still a power factor in the otherwise flat dialogic management methodology. The institutions can therefore <u>not</u> say they do not want to implement a potential political initiative in their daily praxis. Through the dialogic management, they can only get a say on how want to implement it, not if. The interviews revealed another factor here. As the pedagogues and the institutional managers are being included in creating the formalised frames for their work, through the dialogic management approach, they are perceived to have influence. But as Willig (2009, 2013) points out, there is still not real professional legitimacy in just getting a say in how you are being managed, as you are still being managed. The interviews with the institutional managers show that the pedagogues are expected to feedback on potential problems or gripes they might have with for example the implementation of a new strategy. But they cannot because they are stressed or don't have the mental surplus in a busy day, according to the institutional manager. This is furthermore, connected to them being included in the making of the strategy, thereby having had a "say", and as a result, becoming disempowered. Additionally, the institutional managers clearly, under the previous management, perceived their feedback possibilities as few, affecting the current consensus of implementing new administrational initiatives, are somewhat reminiscent of civil disobedience, but the actual effect of this is limited. The pedagogues are in this context, just expected to "deal with it", or voice their opinion in the MUS-interview's coaching environment, that, according to Willig (2009), only has focus on the individual's development. As Willig (2009) further points out in his analysis, the administrational attitude towards pedagogues being themselves "responsible" is connected to a perception of the pedagogues being spoiled or overreaching to a few control incentives. This is of course connected to the individualised professional responsibility of the disempowerment tendency, but in context of this study it also shows us that this "deal with it" tendency from the management is connected to the pedagogue's life-world, in the sense that the relational presupposition is collaboration facilitated through trust and dialogue. It can therefore be argued that control incentives, that are based in NPM inspired agent/principle lack

of trust, does <u>not</u> harmonise well with the pedagogic life-world, and relational presupposition. The pedagogue's motivation and in the end work environment are therefore affected negatively, as Willig (2009) also points outs out, exactly because of their life-world presupposition. In Habermas' (1998) terminology, it can also be argued that management focused on system-world norms will be difficult to embed in a system populated with, in Hansen's (2014) terms, "wild problems", as these problems are connected to what Lipskey (1980) would describe as a tension-field of the welfare worker and the relational interaction with the client. This relational interaction is the foundation of pedagogic work, and it is depended on the life-world. Therefore system-world based management methodology can be said to not harmonise well with the professional interactional reality, as the problems solved there are intrinsically based on life-world interactions.

The institutional manager's collaborative attitude can be connected to Willig's (2009) disempowerment "trickle down" effect. They themselves feel disempowered by coaching and individualised professional responsibility, so they could potentially be doing the same to the pedagogues. This is in contrast to the current dialogic management approach, where the institutional managers perceive themselves as included and "seen". The discrepancy here could be ascribed to the "new-factor" of these new dialogic initiatives as Ida's management approach (at the time of the interviews) were fairly new, but also it could also be a critique of Willig's (2009, 2013) politicised disempowerment conception. As pointed out earlier, Willig's (2009) disempowerment conception is built on the notion that pedagogic professional motivation and work satisfaction comes from, not only being able to voice your professional frustrations, but also the inability to change your professional situation, thereby depraving the critique of any structural power. But, in contrast, we see that Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) PSM is emphasising that perception of management initiatives is just as paramount and that emphasising the pedagogue's perspective into the management methodology is positively influencing motivation and work environment, without the pedagogues necessary having structural power, as exemplified with the social worker example (see chapter 2.3). In essence, Willig (2009, 2013) is arguing that that the hierarchy and power mechanisms are the foundation for lack of motivation and bad work environment, where Andersen and Pedersen (2014) is arguing that by integrating the pedagogic life-world perspective into the management approach is strengthening the legitimacy of the pedagogic professional, and thereby resulting in better motivation and work environment.  In context to this study, these perspectives present us with two interpretations of Ida's dialogic management approach:

1. As pointed out earlier, the institutional manager's perception is here paramount. They are both responsible for implementing the power structures as well as listening to the pedagogue's professional concerns. Therefore, in Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) terminology, their perception of both the pedagogue's intentions and rationality, and the management's intentions and rationality is the key to understanding how pedagogues are affected by the management structures. From the interviews with the institutional managers it is clear that  the previous administration's management approach was founded in completely different ideals than Ida's management approach. Therefore, their current comments on how their perception of their current relationship with the pedagogues and their feedback might be a result of the dialogic management not yet affecting their perception of management. Under the old management approach, there simply was not room for the professional feedback from the institutions, therefore the pedagogue's concerns where not taken into account by the managers, as managers perceived the administration as not listening anyway, resulting in the pedagogue's feedback and concerns not being listen to either. Therefore, it can be argued that Ida's new approach could potentially lead to both

better motivation and work environment for both pedagogues and institutional managers, in the long run, as the perception of the pedagogue's intentions and rationality will be more positive, as management frame permits feedback to reach the administrations power centre. This could have a positive effect on the mental surplus of the institutional managers, and therefore also the pedagogues. In this interpretation harmonising management methodology with the life-world norms of the pedagogic professionals could potentially lead to better work environment, less sick leave and more motivation for the pedagogues.

2. This is the same "trickling down of perceptions" dynamic that Willig (2009) points out in his disempowerment conception, but with different conclusions. The argument here would be that there would not be noticeable changes in the motivation or work environment, as the underlying mechanic of NPM, has not changed. Even if the pedagogues have a say in the implementation process through dialogue, they are still clearly being perceived by their managers to be "professional" enough or just go that extra mile to feedback or voice their concerns, even if they are pressured by their working conditions. The institutional managers' perception does not figure much in this interpretation, as they are just part of a disempowerment scheme, because they do not either have any power to change what essentially comes from a politically and economically driven initiative higher in the hierarchy. With Willig's (2009, 2013) disempowerment and U-turn of criticism perspective, nothing will change for the pedagogues within Albertslund municipality unless the pedagogic realities professionalism has an actual influence on the political decision-making process, other than the democratically constituted ones. Here, combining Mik-Meyer og Järvinin's (2012) perspective with Willig's (2009, 2013), offers another insight; as Mik-Meyer og Järvinin's (2012) argues in the move from expert to coach, personality and emotional investment plays a role in how the welfare professional perceives him or herself, as also exemplified by Willig (2009, 2013). The interviews show is that this coaching mentality is also the expectation of both the institutional and administrative administration. Personality, therefore, also has a role when you manage in general, as the individual professional are themselves responsible for their professionalism. With NPM inspired management, these personalities and their performance would be connected to generalized data, collected at a distance by control incentives. But with a dialogic management approach, the management are in a sense trusting the pedagogic professionals to come with their input, through dialog. By trusting someone to be a professional, in Mik-Meyer og Järvinin's (2012) terminology an expert, also result in the manager or leader defining the role, through dialog and actual presence of management (in Ida's case), making personality less of a factor in the management methodology. By both creating a common professional frame, for the entire department, and trusting the individual pedagogue's professionalism, dialogic management has potentially utilized the generalized trust norm in Danish society. Therefore, personalities, that would otherwise be the focus of a NPM inspired coaching management approach, their inner workings and how the person him/herself is motivated, is less significant in the management approach. If you generalize a management method over something as diverse as "individualised personalities", it will create more control, as these "personalities" will react very differently to different incentives. Because of standardization and the expectation and perception within NPM, that standards and homogenised control leads to more efficiency and development,

when applied to something as diverse as personality, will only create more quantitative control and more individualization.

This account for the two possible conclusions on the consequences of using generalised trust and life-world in management methodology. Ida's approach carries some potential as the pedagogues and institutional managers are being positioned in a position of power, as they are included in the decision-making process, at least higher in the decision making hierarchy than they used to be. If this dialogic management approach does indeed create better motivation and work environment, it could potentially be a good approach for the pedagogic professional field to both be able to put more focus on their professionalism politically, and potentially create change within the public sector towards a more common professional reality between the administrational and professional realities. Trust creates more trust, so maybe its possible for the life-world to colonise the system-world?

# 6. Conclusion

With Danish pre-school pedagogues under pressure both professionally and politically, the man-days lost to sickness amongst them is one of the highest in the Danish labour market. Coupled with reports citing overburdening and more significantly, emotional pressure, as the defining factors for psychological work environment, Rasmus Willig argues that this sick-leave could be caused by the pedagogues being unable to communicate their concerns in the workplace. This is connected to the administrational mistrust in pedagogic professionalism, in Willig's terms disempowerment. Simultaneously, Gert and Gunnar Svendsen argues that the Danish society and its economic and social prowess, is a result of generalised trust being the foundation for our collaborative predisposition. There must therefore be reason to believe that the pedagogic professional field is also connected to this generalised trust in their professional collaborations, could bad work environment and in the end sick leave therefore be connected to this and the pedagogues current professional position? Albertslund Municipality could be the perfect place to investigate this. As the municipality one of the highest sick-leave percentages in the country but are simultaneously also one of the municipalities in the country with the most resources for the pedagogic personal, the emotional pressure stands out as the potential cause. This thesis therefore aims to investigate: ***In what way does generalized trust manifest itself in the management of the pedagogic praxis in Albertslund municipality, and with what consequences?***

To investigate this I firstly introduced Hansen's (2014) historical recapitulation of the welfare states development, as well as the fundamental management chains and hierarchy in the Danish state. I presented Lerborg's (2011) description of the different management paradigms within this hierarchy.

This was followed up by researching the relevant literature on the subject; Lipskey's (1980) and Hansen's (2014) descriptions on how the welfare professional is as defined by their professional standards as well as the institutionalised frame they work in. Mik-Meyer and Järvinen's (2012) research into the dynamics of motivation within welfare work, and how management and leadership can have different effects depending on their methodological departure. Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) conception of public service motivation, depicting how public management has changed, and how motivation and work satisfaction is connected to management methodology and implementation. Willig's (2009, 2013) qualitative research to elaborate on the working conditions for pedagogues in the Danish welfare state, as well as how the pedagogic professionalism is connected to this frame. Furthermore, how this professionalism is connected and influenced by the management methodology of the public administration. Lastly I presented the publicly available legislative information on the political, educational and unionised frame for pedagogic work, as well as Hjort's (2008) description on how the pedagogic professional education came to be.

Habermas life and system-world conceptions and how norms and communication is essential human interaction make up the theoretical frame, connected with Svendsen and Svendsen's conception of Social Capital, in form of generalised trust as the Danish interactional norms. This framework was used to argue that generalized trust was essential to pedagogic professional work, as it is itself tied to relational and communicative work.

This framework was used to approach a series of qualitative semi-structured interviews with municipal and institutional managers in Albertslund municipality, in an effort to uncover their motivation and rationality behind their collaborative praxis. The interviews were conducted with the head of day-care, two administrative consultants and three institutional managers. A phenomenological disposition was used in tandem with the theoretical framework, to further analyse the interviewees

narrative on five different topics: General information about the interviewee and their position, The organisation, and internal collaboration, The concrete practical collaboration between the municipality and the institution, and its basis, What are the communication channels for this collaboration, and what information flows here, The interviewees interpretation and perception of the collaboration.

The analysis of these qualitative interviews reviled four different dynamics within the collaboration. *Firstly*, Through Habermas (1998) and Svendsen and Svendsen's (2006) theoretical conceptions it was possible to deduce that the pedagogic professionals and their professionalism is clearly connected to their life-world, and the norms connected to this world. The current administrational management in Albertslund is resonating these norms in the management methodology, using dialog for the foundation of the institutional and professional collaboration. *Secondly*, these collaborative norms are clearly connected to generalised trust, resulting in the building of trust between administration and institution, through resonating with life-world of the pedagogues. Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) PSM conception here puts emphasis on the perception of management As the dialogic management approach in Albertslund resulted in a positive perception and attitude amongst the institutional managers af the study, this also resulted in legitimisation of the pedagogic professions through a system-world perspective. *Thirdly*, this positive attitude suggests that the generalised trust norm, or relational presupposition of the pedagogic professionals, is indeed embedded in collaborative professional reality, as the dialogic management approach encompasses a dialog between all the partners of the day-care department. In Willig's (2009) terms pedagogues are being disempowered because they are unable to vent their frustrations, but the dialogic management approach includes the pedagogues in the creation of new initiatives, and as such, binding the different professional perspectives together, resulting in a common professionalism or organisational direction. *Fourthly*, even though this dialogic approach creates a common professionalism, the institution is still being managed through political and economic initiatives in a bureaucratic organisational frame. The institutions cannot choose to disobey the administrational initiatives, so the dialogic collaboration can therefore only affect for example, how the institutions are cutting expenses. In Willig's (2009, 2013) terminology the pedagogic professionals are therefore still being disempowered by the singular power hierarchy of the politically managed administration. Even if the pedagogues are included in the decision-making process, it is not possible to feedback on the implementation of the initiatives, essentially internalising the professional responsibility for the institutional frame; firstly, because they can really only affect the political decision "sphere" through their democratically constituted rights, secondly because the implementation of the initiatives affects the work environment of the pedagogues, through the management process, essentially resulting in the pedagogues not being able to feedback or voice their concerns, because of busy daily routines. At least that is the perception of the pedagogues. Andersen and Pedersen's (2014) research points to the integration of professional norm as a way to positively affect the pedagogue's perception and rationality in regards to management, potentially leading to better work environment and motivation. As the institutional managers are essential for the implementation process of an administrational initiative, their perception of both the pedagogic professional's rationality, and the administrational rationality, is shaping how the pedagogues see themselves and the management methodology they are under. As the dialogic management approach is new in Albertslund, the previous management's management methodology, founded in documentation and performance evaluation, must also affect this perception. The interviewed managers all indicated that they felt very caged under the old management paradigm, and was not happy. This could explain then, how they reacted to feedback and concerns from the pedagogues, as the institutional managers all express that they did/do not receive any feedback, concluding that therefore, the pedagogues must either be content with the

current situation or do not bother to voice their concerns. In Willig's (2009) terms this indicates that they are essentially still disempowered, with bad work environment and stress as a result. But this attitude could just be the remnants of the old management paradigm, as the dialogic approach could potentially change the institutional managers own feeling of disempowerment, for exsample giving them the mental surplus and freedom of speech, through dialogue with their own managers, to not disempower their own staff. The institutional managers are, as middle ground, mediator or translator, then very essential to understand the dynamics of motivation and work environment within the pedagogic field. Generalised trust could then potentially be a good approach for the pedagogic professional field to both be able to put more focus on their professionalism politically, and potentially create change within the public sector towards a more common professional reality between the administrational and professional realities. Trust, simply, creates more trust.

## 6.1 Perspectives

Ida's management approach does have potential, and the inclusion of the pedagogic life-world into management methodology clearly has its advantages. But as we can see the conclusion on the effect of this approach is still questionable, as the coaching mentality is still in effect, and, if anything, only minimized in the dialogic approach. The underlying power structure is still to question, and Willig brings up a good point here. If we could change the hierarchy bureaucratic structures to be less "top-down" management (also encompassing the pedagogue's life-worlds presuppositions), the pedagogic professions could gain more legitimacy in the political decision-making process, and society as a whole. The essence of communicative action and dialog are very fitting in this context, as it presupposes that the interlocutors are on the same level, basing the power negotiations and positions on rational arguments and interactions. This could essentially lead to a more "whole" professional approach from the entirety of the municipal management (potentially the state), for the benefit of both kids and politicians. But in the context of this study, the "revolution" has only reached the day-care department itself, and as one of the institutional managers put it, "*Ida might run her head against a wall*". As we can see through the analysis, the disempowerment is potentially lessened, as the institutional managers, and to some extend the pedagogues themselves are included in the management process, on their life-world terms, but this also just moves the effects of the disempowerment higher up in the organisational chain. It could potentially lead to Ida herself feeling burned out, as she is also being coached by her management, and, most likely, not from a dialogic or lifeworld perspective.

These dynamics, also depicts how society as a whole perceive the life-worlds norms and values. In Habermas terms, the system-world is really colonising the life-world. Even more so in a society where the welfare state is extensive and influential, even so on the average Danish citizens' life. Even if Svendsen and Svendsen argues that generalized trust is strong in Danish society. In Lipskeys terms, it is through the welfare professional we, as citizens, meet the system, but if the professionals norms and values are being influenced by NPM and neo-liberalism through the bureaucratic hierarchy, and the system world, so are the average citizen. The welfare state, and its values, could therefore potentially be a self-supporting system of, in Willigs terms disempowerment or mistrust. If these norms and values are getting transferred through the life-world interaction between welfare professional and citizen, they are also going to be the interactional presupposition of which the citizen interacts with the bureaucratic and the democratic system as well as each other. Therefore, there is a very good reason to be mindful in the implementation of management strategies, and of the interactional, as well as power and hierarchical, predispositions in the welfare state, especially within the management culture, as this has far reaching consequences.

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