IJREE

Volume 11 2-2023

International Journal for Research on Extended Education

ISSN 2196-3673

Verlag **Barbara Budrich**

IJREE – International Journal for Research on Extended Education
Volume 11, Issue 2/2023
ISSN: 2196-3673, ISSN Online: 2196-7423

IJREE Editorial Office Details:
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Verlag Barbara Budrich GmbH, Stauffenbergstr. 7, D-51379 Leverkusen-Opladen, Germany, phone +49 (0)2171 79491-50, fax +49 (0)2171 79491-69, e-mail: zeitschriften@budrich.de

Subscription:
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Editor's Preface

Dear Esteemed Readers and Contributors,

It is my distinct pleasure to present the second issue of 2023 of our esteemed journal, a culmination of rigorous research and scholarly endeavors from esteemed educators and researchers globally. In this issue, we delve into critical topics that delineate the future landscape of extended education, emphasizing the imperative for a comprehensive approach to student growth and development. The active research presented herein aims to contribute to the ongoing refinement of day-to-day practices and governmental policies in the extended education domain.

Within the contemporary educational landscape, it is widely recognized that the traditional classroom setting represents only one facet of a student's holistic journey. The significance of high-quality extended education programs and activities has gained prominence, transcending geographical boundaries. The research findings presented in this issue, conducted by outstanding scholars, further underscore the global acknowledgment of this proposition.

Noteworthy among the contributions is the work of Swedish researchers, Anna-Maria S. Marekovic and Anna Liisa Närvänen, who explore the perceptions and reactions of school professionals towards newly arrived migrant students in Sweden. Their study sheds light on the challenges posed by stringent entry requirements and unrealistic durations, emphasizing the impact of negotiation strategies on the educational trajectories of these students.

The pursuit of children's well-being and holistic growth has become a paramount educational goal on a global scale. Kolbrún Þ. Pálsdóttir's case study on Iceland's educational situation underscores the often-overlooked significance of extended education. This research underscores the imperative for policymakers to collaboratively strategize across sectors, fostering the development of innovative teaching practices that comprehensively support children and young people within the realm of extended education.

In another compelling study, Swedish researchers Maria Hjalmarsson, Birgitta Ljung Egeland, and Peter Carlman examine the dilemmas faced by school professionals in executing Swedish school-age educare. Their findings provide valuable insights into the complex professional identity of school-age educators, serving as a constructive starting point for policymakers, teacher trainers, and education practitioners.

Reflecting on transformative events, notably the COVID-19 pandemic, we present a study conducted by Korean scholars Sang Hoon Bae, Songie Han, and Meounggun Jo. Their research investigates the nuanced impact of the pandemic on the social-emotional development and learning engagement of Korean students. The study underscores the need for targeted educational measures and proactive preparation for future pandemics.

As the Editor-in-Chief, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to our dedicated reviewers whose silent efforts and commitment significantly contribute to the advancement of scholarship in our field. To the authors, your invaluable articles have enriched the pages of this journal, fostering a deeper understanding of the multifaceted landscape of extended education.

In conclusion, I invite you to immerse yourself in the scholarly contributions within this issue, as we collectively strive for excellence in extended education research.
Sincerely,

Sang Hoon Bae, Editor-in-Chief

Cooling Out and Warming Up – Professional Strategies in the Education of Newly Arrived Migrant Students in Sweden

Anna-Maria S. Marekovic*, Anna Liisa Närvänen**

Abstract: This study explores how school professionals manage the challenges of educating newly arrived migrant students (NAMS), with a focus on the transition from the Language Introduction Program (LIP) to a national upper secondary school program or alternative forms of education. We draw on the theoretical framework of Inhabited Institutionalism to understand how school professionals' interpretations and sense-making of external policy pressures and internal challenges of teaching a diverse group of students are shaped by social interaction. The study reveals that professionals are critical of the educational system and its consequences for NAMS' education, due to its rigid admission requirements and unrealistic timeframes. To mitigate the potential effects on students' educational trajectories, the professionals employ both cooling-out and warming-up strategies. The study emphasizes the significance of social interaction among school professionals in interpreting the educational system and its consequences and suggests that the outcome of negotiations among professionals regarding different strategies is likely to have a significant impact on the future trajectories of NAMS.

Keywords: school professionals, newly arrived migrant student, inhabited institutionalism, educational trajectory, cooling out, warming up

Introduction

The increasingly complex task of teachers, where they are required to balance quality and equity in education while encountering an increasingly diverse student body have been highlighted in research (Cuconato, du Bois-Reymond, & Lunabba, 2015; Svensson, 2019). This challenge is perhaps particularly pronounced when it comes to teaching newly arrived migrant students (NAMS) who comprise a heterogenous group in terms of educational background, language competencies, migration statuses etcetera (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Högberg, Gruber, & Nyström, 2020), and are at higher risk of facing multiple forms of disadvantage, including lower grade attainment and early school leaving compared to peers (Lundahl & Lindblad, 2018). The significance of introductory education for the social inclusion and educational attainment of NAMS is well documented in research (Sharif, 2017; Marekovic & Närvänen, 2022; Kaukko, Wilkinson & Kohli, 2022), underscoring the crucial

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International Journal for Research on Extended Education, Vol. 11, Issue 2/2023, 4–17
https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v11i2.02

role that teachers and other school professionals play in shaping their educational experiences and outcomes (Pugh, Every & Hattam, 2012; Bunar & Juvonen, 2022). However, it is essential to acknowledge the challenges that school professionals face in working with NAMS. They are often caught in a blind between policy and practice, that is reconciled by adopting strategies that often go beyond what is stipulated in the curriculum or their role as teachers (Kaukko & Wilkinson, 2018; Svensson, 2019; Högberg, Gruber, & Nyström, 2020).

Although the challenges related to NAMS are evident at all educational levels, certain transitional points and decision-making moments are crucial for their educational trajectories. One such transition is from compulsory to post-compulsory education or working life, during which structural inequalities may be exacerbated or overcome, as young people are sorted into different educational trajectories (Aaltonen & Karvonen, 2016; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2021). For NAMS in Sweden aged 16-19, this transition occurs between the Language Introduction Program (LIP) and upper secondary school. The LIP aims to prepare NAMS for transition to a national upper secondary program or other types of education or training (Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2013). Particularly relevant to the LIP's goal is the negotiations and decision-making of school professionals in relation to grade assessment and progression, as the chances for transitioning to upper secondary school depend on it (Fejes et al., 2018).

While most research has focused on the experiences of NAMS (Sharif, 2017; Folke, 2018; Marekovic & Närvänen, 2022), recent studies have begun to explore how school professionals experience the challenges and dilemmas evident in introductory education (Svensson, 2019; Lee et al., 2021; Kaukko, Wilkinson & Kohli, 2022). A number of studies have emphasized the 'gatekeeping function' of teachers and other school professionals, who tend to prolong the time NAMS spend in introductory education. For example, Bunar and Juvonen's (2022) study shows how school leaders discursively construct NAMS as students with deficits, which must be remedied before they can transition to mainstream education. Consequently, students are being held back in the LIP, rather than allowing them to progress in their education. Furthermore, Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet (2021; 2022) show how teachers' early assessment of NAMS' achievements and capabilities affects the sorting of students into different tracks. These processes tend to direct NAMS into vocational education rather than academic, lowering their expectations and ambitions which may lead to increased disadvantage and loss of potential of NAMS (see also Bonizzoni, Romito, & Cavallo, 2016).

However, research also exemplify the deeply unsatisfying position of school professionals working with NAMS. Commonly NAMS are perceived as ambitious and dedicated with high educational aspirations, oftentimes aiming for educational alternatives that allow for tertiary education (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Morrice et al., 2020). Yet, the students often fail to achieve their ambitions due to strict regulations of the educational system (Högberg, Gruber, & Nyström, 2020; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2022). Most research on educating NAMS has focused on the power of school professionals to influence the educational progression of the students through assessment and diagnosis, rather than through instilling motivation for their studies and learning.

The aim of this article is to explore how Swedish school professionals manage the complex challenges involved in educating NAMS between the ages of 16-19, with a particular focus on the transition from the LIP to a national upper secondary school program or other forms of education. As outlined, previous research has highlighted that school professionals are important actors in shaping the educational experiences and outcomes of NAMS and has

identified inherent dilemmas in educating this group. Despite these insights, there is still a gap in the literature regarding how school professionals interpret and employ different strategies to manage NAMS' educational trajectories in their everyday work, particularly concerning support and recommendations for future studies. This article seeks to address this gap by offering a new perspective on this important topic.

We argue that teachers are embedded in informal professional networks that include administrative, supportive, and teaching professionals, which need to be taken account to in the analysis. Teachers who work in introductory education collaborate closely with other teachers, guidance counsellors and school leaders (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2022), we employ the term 'school professionals' or 'professionals' to refer to this constellation of actors. We also argue that understanding how school professionals make sense of external policy pressures, such as steering documents and curricula, and internal challenges of teaching a diverse group of students, should be viewed as mediated in social and collegial interaction (Diamond, 2012). Therefore, we draw on the nascent framework of Inhabited Institutionalism to analyse how both external regulations and internal conditions shape and are shaped by interaction and sense-making in institutional settings (Hallett & Vantresca, 2006; Hallett & Hawbaker, 2021). Our analysis is based on in-depth interviews with 15 school professionals working with NAMS in LIPs at three upper secondary schools in a major city in Sweden.

Educating Newly Arrived Migrant Students

The issue of educating NAMS has gained significant prominence in the wake of the unprecedented immigration to many European countries, triggered by the so-called refugee crisis of the early 2010s. Many of the newcomers were of school age (SNAE, 2017), intensifying the achievement gap between immigrant and native students. This trend has been particularly pronounced in Sweden (Lundahl and Lindblad, 2018; Behr and Fugger, 2020). Educating this diverse student population poses several challenges, notably the absence of clear guidelines for implementing introductory education in schools. This has resulted in a wide variety of organizational approaches between and within counties (Meehan et al., 2021). In Sweden, local or even school-level authorities often determine organizational strategies (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016). This lack of clear guidelines and support complicate the conditions for school professionals working in introductory education (Norberg & Gross, 2019), and make room for local interpretations and enactments (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022).

In Sweden, NAMS between ages 16-19, are placed in the LIP. The LIP was, together with four other introduction programs, introduced in 2011 as part of a comprehensive upper secondary school reform, that marked a departure from previous emphasis on equality and homogeneity of educational tracks in Sweden (Alexandersson, 2011). The introduction programs are not part of the mainstream education, but open to students without sufficient grades to enrol in upper secondary school. Furthermore, the reform included stricter admission requirements for all students including NAMS, with vocational programs requiring passing grades in 8 subjects, and academic programs requiring passing grades in 12 subject areas (SNAE, 2013).

The LIP is open to all NAMS in the age-group, regardless of educational background, language proficiency, educational or vocational aspirations or migratory status which means that students in the LIP comprise a heterogenous group (Fejes et al., 2018). For example, the age distribution of the students spans from 15 to 20 years, and their national origins encompass all continents. Since the early 2010s, prominent nationalities have included Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq, though this composition fluctuates significantly over time. Likewise, the majority of students in LIPs are male, reaching up to 79% in 2016, but the composition varies from year to year (SNAE, 2017). The emphasis in the LIP, and the common challenge of the students, is on learning the Swedish language but it also includes compulsory school level subjects and courses. The autonomy of the schools organizing LIPs means that the number of and the specific subject areas that are offered at different LIPs will vary. For example, schools with vocational programs often offer only 8 subject areas, which means that NAMS placed at these schools will not be able to qualify for an academic track.

The length of time a student attends the LIP is meant to depend on individual circumstances and achievements. Yet, the LIP is supposed to be temporary, and time spent within the program should be restricted to allow for educational progression. In reality, students may spend up to three years in the LIP before they proceed (SNAE; 2017). Another obstacle is related to age. The year a student turns 20 years old, they are no longer eligible to attend upper secondary school and must turn to adult education to complete their schooling (SNAE, 2013). Consequently, time is limited if the students are to transition to a mainstream program before they 'age out'. The numbers on the educational advancement of NAMS in Sweden are gloomy. A comparatively low number of students, around one third, make the transition to a mainstream program within five years (Lundahl & Lindblad, 2018).

Theoretical Framework

Our analysis is inspired by the emerging theoretical framework of Inhabited Institutionalism, which emphasizes interpretative practices and social interaction in the study of institutions and organizations (Hallett, 2010). Inhabited institutionalism was developed as a response to the macro-oriented focus of Neo-Institutionalism. In addressing this bias, Hallett and Vantresca (2006) sought to '"inhabit" contemporary institutionalism with social interactions' (2006:214) and theoretical insights of Symbolic Interactionism. This approach has the merit of capturing local meaning-making processes and negotiated orders while recognizing the impact of external institutional rules and logics. External institutional regulations, such as educational steering documents, are deemed significant for organizational processes but are subject to interpretation, adaptation, and transformation when local actors put them into practice. The focus on agency acknowledges that local actors construct multiple and competing meanings that enact the institutional environment, contributing to both institutional transformation and reproduction (Hallet & Hawbaker, 2021). We argue that this perspective is useful for analysing how school professionals, in and through social interaction interpret, contest, and reaffirm the external educational regulations that guide the LIP and the internal organization and composition of the LIP-classes, i.e., their meaning-making of the complex challenges involved in educating NAMS. This perspective is thus used as a tool to enhance our under-

standing of how school professionals interpret and make sense of the external steering documents, for example the national curriculum, which educational trajectories they perceive as achievable for the students, and which practices they choose to employ to manage these trajectories.

As our analysis pointed to the importance of practices employed by school professionals when interpreting and managing obstacles and opportunities for students' educational trajectories, two additional concepts served as sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1969), namely 'cooling out' and 'warming up'. The concept of cooling out was first introduced by Erving Goffman (1952). It pertains to organizational strategies employed to manage negative notifications or rejections of candidates or clients in a manner that mitigates loss of face. Burton Clark (1960) later developed this concept in the context of community colleges and the handling of students who fail their studies. Both Goffman (1952) and Clark (1960) suggested various organizational strategies to 'soften the blow' or redirect aspirations towards more feasible goals that serve the purpose of cooling out unqualified candidates. However, the conceptualisations have been criticised for being one-sided and scholars have developed a more nuanced understanding by introducing the concept of 'warming up'. This concept, as it is used by Deil-Amen (2006) refers to strategies to enable academic trajectories and raise the aspirations and motivations of students. Our analysis reveals various strategies that relate to cooling-out and warming-up processes and may thus potentially enhance and expand the conceptualisation. These strategies are specific examples of the processes of meaning-making in terms of adaptations, transformations, and negotiations, that take place within the institution between school professionals and between professionals and the NAMS.

Methodology

The study was conducted in a major city in Sweden with a relatively high number of NAMS. Three public upper secondary schools were approached to be included in the study. One of the schools only offers vocational programs such as the Business and Administration program and Child and Recreation Program. This school offers 8 subject areas for NAMS on compulsory school level and organizes basic as well as advanced LIP-classes. The other two schools offer academic programs such as the Natural Science Program and Social Science Program and only organize advanced LIP-classes. These two schools offer the possibility to acquire 12 grades. To gain access to the schools, the first author contacted the headmasters, and was invited to present the project to the staff. It was emphasized that taking part in the study was voluntary. For ethical reasons, the names of the city and the schools are not disclosed, and fictitious names are used for all school professionals interviewed in the study. The project has obtained ethical vetting.

For the purpose of our study, we conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with school professionals closely involved in educating and supporting NAMS (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2022). This included three guidance counsellors responsible for providing general information about the transition to upper secondary school and offering individual advice on career choices and future plans. Additionally, six tutoring teachers in LIP-classes who had daily contact with NAMS, two from each of the schools, were

interviewed, along with five school leaders representing the three schools with appointed responsibility for LIPs. Finally, one municipal coordinator in charge of the reception of NAMS and located at the vocational school, was also interviewed. In total, 15 individual in-depth interviews were conducted. All the participants were experienced professionals having worked in education for several years, however not exclusively with NAMS. All six teachers were specialized in Swedish as a second language, but their years of experience teaching NAMS varied between two and 25. During the interviews we covered themes such as the participants' experiences of working in the LIP, their work duties, cooperation with other school professionals and their experiences of how the students succeed with their studies. The interviews lasted between one and two and a half hours and provided rich material. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed before analysis.

Our analysis, following a thematic approach, involved initial close reading of all transcripts and memo-writing to familiarize ourselves with the data. This was followed by collaborative discussions and sorting the material into different headings and continuously modified codes into coherent themes (Brown & Clarke, 2006). During the analysis, we identified patterns that extended beyond the boundaries of the school context and professional group. This led to an across-case analysis, revealing commonalities across cases (Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003). We employed an inductive iterative approach, starting with the empirical data but guided by the inhabited institutionalism-approach. Thus, emphasizing social interactions as described by the professionals (Hallet & Vantresca, 2006) and examining how these interactions are influenced by external and internal pressures in the context of the LIP. Additionally, we utilized the concepts of 'cooling out' (Clark, 1960) and 'warming up' (Deil-Amen, 2006) to explore the interpretative practices and meaning-making of school professionals in their daily work with NAMS. These sensitizing concepts served as valuable tools, progressively guiding, and organizing our analytical work, ultimately yielding new insights into the diverse strategies employed.

Challenges in Educating NAMS

One of the challenges that was evident in our analysis concerns the core purpose of the LIP – to enable NAMS to transition to a vocational or academic upper secondary program or other form of education (SNAE, 2013). It is the task of the teachers, guidance counsellors and school leaders to support educational advancement and assess each student's abilities and prospects for this transition.

Consistent with previous research (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2016; Morrice et al., 2020; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2022), the school professionals in this study describe LIP students as highly ambitious and dedicated, with aspirations for tertiary education. However, according to the school professionals the likelihood to fulfil this goal is low for many students, as Karin, one of the teachers described: "Well, you must realize that not everyone will reach that goal [transition to upper secondary education]. It does appear very far-fetched for some." The school professionals did not primarily interpret their students' inability to successfully make the transition as a deficit in relation to their capabilities (c.f. Bunar & Juvonen, 2022). Instead, their interpretation was that the students' expectations on their educational prospects

were unrealistic in the context of the educational system's constraints. Learning a new language while simultaneously achieving 8 or 12 passing grades were seen as unlikely for most students. One teacher described it in the following way:

> Well, it is not easy. […] I mean, how are you supposed to study 12 subject areas in one year? It's impossible! It is difficult even if you know the language. Monica (teacher)

This statement captures the school professionals' interpretations of the admissions requirements as almost unattainable for NAMS due to the circumscription of time, making it a significant obstacle to their educational advancement and a challenge for the formal task of the professionals working in the LIP. One school leader concluded: "Financial resources are not the problem, but time is. Some things take time. It is impossible to rush this [learning a new language], it must take time." (Peter). Time, particularly in formal education, is according to the school professionals a necessary precondition for these students, which is overlooked by the steering documents and the organization of the educational system and leads to failure for many NAMS. Hence, the meaning-making of the school professionals occurs through interaction with NAMS in their daily work which produces interpretations of the educational system as unfair and rigid. Consequently, this puts the professionals in a challenging position of having to abide to the constraints of the educational system while mediating their students' hopes and aspirations for future educational trajectories. To make sense of these tensions the school professionals employ different strategies to manage the educational trajectories of NAMS.

Managing NAMS' Educational Trajectories through Cooling out and Warming up

All schools had developed similar procedures to assess the students' progress and aspirations. The guidance counsellor had a central role in supporting the students, which included regular collective meetings with students to inform about the application procedures and different options regarding entry requirements, programs, and schools. The guidance counsellors also had at least two individual counselling conversations with each student to discuss ambitions and options and send in the application for the following year. The teachers are responsible for the daily provision of education as well as the subject assessment and grading. But our analysis shows that in practice much of the decision-making in relation to NAMS' educational trajectories is negotiated in collegial forums – so called recommendation conferences. At these conferences teachers, school leaders, guidance counsellors and sometimes also the municipal coordinator co-operated in discussions of each student's progression and aspirations, and in assessing their future development potential and educational options. The recommendation conference was a routine that all schools employed, and it was an important interactional arena where the professionals negotiated and made sense of the institutional regulations and how to manage the students' trajectories.

Revision, Detour and Deceleration as Cooling-out Strategies

One cooling-out strategy we identified as recurrent in the interviews is labelled *revision* and is comparable to Clark's (1960) concept of alternative achievements. This strategy aims to redirect the initial aspirations of the student towards goals that the professionals deem to be more feasible. The student is provided with an alternative to the oftentimes high-set initial goal and the professionals try to prompt the student to relinquish the plan for an academic program and accept the idea of applying to a vocational program.

> At the beginning, many students have very high goals, they want to go to the best schools, the most difficult programs, and they want to become physicians and dentists. But later during the first year there are quite a few who will reconsider, because they understand that the requirements are tough. And then there may also be some pressure from the guidance counsellor. […] So, most of the time at the beginning of the first year, almost everybody aims to choose an academic program, but at the end of spring there are often quite a few who choose a program that is easier, a vocational program. Christine (teacher)

Some students will revise their aspirations, either at their own initiative or in interaction with their guidance counsellor or teachers. The teacher also points out that the guidance counsellor may try to persuade the student to revise the attempted trajectory. The revision is typically about changing the student's mindset from an academic to a vocational program, as the admission requirements are lower, and the study plans are considered easier. The recommendation conferences are important for noting whether a trajectory needs to be revised:

> At the conference the teachers discuss the student's choice, and it will also be noted if a student is at risk of not passing a subject. That may have consequences. Because they need passing grades in 12 subjects. In that way you get an overview, […] especially the language aspect becomes more nuanced. Does the student understand the instructions in the different subjects? Are they equipped to pass courses on upper secondary school level? Are the language skills sufficient? […] And then you decide whether the student's choices are realistic or not. Or if you should call the student to a new meeting with the guidance counsellor. Margit (teacher)

The outcome of the negotiations between the professionals is described as crucial for the student's future trajectories. The decision not to recommend a student is justified by referring to insufficient language skills and to what is deemed realistic in relation to the student's expected progression in upper secondary school. In this way the professionals can come to an agreement and propose an alternative path they consider more suitable to the students' abilities and prospects, without implying a rejection of the student's aspirations (Clark, 1960).

A related strategy that we have identified is to advise the student to accept a *detour*. A detour is a softer version of revision as it is a way of not immediately giving up the aspired educational goal but to accept an educational path that is prolonged, but easier:

> I have told them that if you want to become a physician you can choose another path [than the natural science program]. For example, you can choose the healthcare program and then go to adult education and study the additional subjects that are needed. Then your chances for better grades also increase because that program is much easier [than the natural science program]. Eva (guidance counsellor)

In this example the student's desired trajectory is renegotiated through interaction with the guidance counsellor, who proposes an alternative educational track. This alternative includes several steps, beginning with a vocational program, followed by adult education to complement one's diploma for potential admission to tertiary education, while still allowing the possibility of achieving the original goal in the long-term. Both revision and detour strategies direct NAMS towards vocational programs. They thus represent cooling-out processes, providing the students a chance to reconsider their choices and redirect them away from

academic programs. Both strategies can be viewed as a form of compromise (Goffman, 1952; Clark, 1960).

The third cooling-out strategy we identified is *deceleration*, which is about stalling the progression of the trajectory as the student must repeat the LIP and is held back in the LIP for longer than expected or longer than they wish. The school professionals argue for deceleration in terms of the student's best interest and as a necessary turn of events:

> Some of them are not going to be able to apply to the national programs, most of them I think will not. […] it is impossible to learn Swedish in a short time – not impossible, there are students who do it – but it is unusual. If somebody wants to progress too quickly, you may try to slow down the pace a bit. It is not going to work that fast and if you are to tackle higher education, you must have a solid ground. So, there is nothing to gain if you let the students get to the next level too soon, they will only be disappointed when they realize that they won't succeed with the studies. Emma (teacher)

The teacher emphasizes the significance of language skills in Swedish for success in upper secondary school and higher education, noting that learning a new language is time-consuming. The teachers also stress the importance of building a solid knowledge base in various subjects to meet the educational challenges of upper secondary school. A deceleration of the pace of studies by repeating the LIP is justified in terms of preventing future disappointments and academic failures. The risk, which the professionals are aware of, is that many students will 'age out' and become ineligible for upper secondary school, making adult education a more viable alternative for many.

> Many of them will by then [after repeating the LIP] be at an age where upper secondary school is not an option. A realistic goal for many of them [during the LIP] is to manage to get a diploma for compulsory school and then continue to adult education. Peter, (school leader)

Deceleration of the pace of studies appears to be a strategy to manage the discrepancy between the shortage of time and the goals of the LIP. Nonetheless, it functions as a cooling-out strategy in that it diverts the student from attending upper secondary school and stalls the movement towards the aspired goal (see also Bunar & Juvonen, 2022).

Adapting Teaching Practices, Strategic Choices, and Individual Recommendation as Warming-up Strategies

As previously described, the school professionals acknowledge the difficulty of simultaneously achieving compulsory school learning outcomes while learning a new language. In response to this, the professionals describe how they find ways to creatively interpret possible lines of action within the framework of the educational system, which we identified as warming-up strategies (Deil-Amen, 2006).

Adapting teaching practices to the level of language skills the students master while still making sure that the objectives of the curriculum are covered is a strategy practised by the teachers. Instead of following the curriculum in detail, they use it as a guideline and adjust their teaching to the needs of a particular class and to what they assess to be sufficient knowledge for upper secondary school.

> I glance at the curriculum, and say good, this, this and that they need to do. Then I know that. And then I don't give a crap about it [the curriculum]! And then I think okay, that is what they should do, but what is it that they need? What are the minimum requirements they need in order to pass their upper secondary courses? And then we start with that. Christine, (teacher)

The demands of the curriculum are described as different from the reality of the classroom. The teachers adapt their instructions to what they assess to be a sufficient level of knowledge for the students to be able to complete the courses within the given timeframe and still equip them with enough subject knowledge to manage the demands of upper secondary school courses. This strategy thereby points toward enabling future studies in upper secondary school.

Another warming-up strategy aimed at facilitating transitions involves *strategic choices* regarding NAMS' education. This strategy addresses the inherent inequality within the educational system, where NAMS compete with students from the Swedish compulsory school system. To mitigate this injustice, the professionals have identified subject areas that they interpret as 'easier' to pass and thus equip their students with more credits to compete with. Mother tongue tuition is one such subject where students can take an examination, receive a final grade, and add credits to their certificate. There are also other subject areas that are pointed out as 'easier', and schools sometimes include these in the study plan for the LIP:

I have added geography [to the LIP study plan]. Geography is not offered at our programs. But we feel it is…it is an easier subject for them, to understand the Swedish language and get a passing grade. Social sciences, history and religion demand more debate and understanding…geography is just geography in a way. […] And sometimes we offer music, it is also easier for some… It is not about cheating with the grading, but these are subjects that do not involve as deep a mastery of the language. Rolf, (school leader)

Strategic choices are made by the schools with respect to including subject areas that enable NAMS to acquire enough grades to apply or even compete for admission to national programs. Strategic choices can also be employed in relation to individual students. The school professionals recognize that many NAMS are not familiar with the way the educational system works in Sweden. Even if they are given all the relevant information, it may still be difficult to make informed choices about their education. The guidance counsellors, for example, use this strategy to advice the students to extend their applications for upper secondary school to include not just one option of program, but several. In this way they will enhance the chances for a successful transition. Also, the teachers can aid in making strategic choices in relation to the study plan.

You also need to help them with strategies. If someone is far from passing English, perhaps on the level of the second grade, should you put a lot of effort into that subject now or is it better to put extra effort into Maths, where the person may be on the sixth-grade level? In that way you will pass at least one of them. You need to help them with the tactics, which subject to go for. Emma, (teacher)

The teacher describes how she can help to strategically organize the study plan and guide individual students to enhance their chances of progressing academically. This warming-up strategy is thus a way for the school professionals to compensate for some of the disadvantages of the educational system that they have identified in relation to NAMS.

The third warming-up strategy we have identified again points to the crucial role of recommendation conferences. In this case the professionals make use of the possibility to admit certain students to national programs on a so called 'free quota' [fri kvot], here labelled *individual recommendation*. Free quota means that schools can accept a limited number of students for priority due to special circumstances. The student must however meet the requirements of 8 or 12 passing grades but does not have to compete with students from compulsory school for placement. The assessment and negotiation at the conferences is crucial for suggesting a student to be admitted on a free quota:

The student needs our approval, that we believe that he or she has a good chance of getting through the program. It is through that process they will get a chance at placement because they do take up a spot from someone else. So, we try to make sure that he or she has a reasonable chance of getting through [the program]. Christine, (teacher)

Individual recommendations from the school professionals carry significant weight, as it may mean that a student will be considered for a, often prestigious, upper secondary school. This excerpt highlights that the professionals are thorough in their recommendation for free quota placements, where good grades alone are insufficient. The student must demonstrate consistency in their schoolwork, maintain high attendance, and show a willingness to work hard. The free quota placements are thus conditioned but still offer students a pathway to realizing their educational aspirations.

Concluding Discussion

This study shed light on how school professionals make meaning, interpret, and employ multiple strategies to manage the complex challenges of educating NAMS, with a particular focus on the transition from the LIP to a national upper secondary school program or other forms of education. The Inhabited Institutions-approach (Hallet & Vantresca, 2006; Hallett, 2010; Hallett & Hawbaker, 2021) has contributed to deepen our understanding of how school professionals interpret external regulations and internal conditions and transform them into daily practice through meaning-making and social interaction. Our study shows that the day-to-day experience of interacting with NAMS made the professionals contest the core idea of the reform and its consequences for NAMS' education, pointing out the rigid admission requirements and the unrealistic timeframe. The inhabited institutionalism's emphasis on social interaction highlighted the inherent dilemma in education NAMS, i.e., that the professionals are to cater to students whose aspirations are seen as unachievable in the context of the system. Our findings thus lend support to Hallett's (2010) argument that institutional rules can be highly constraining to action despite local resistance. This notwithstanding, our analysis showed how the professionals make sense of these tensions by creatively engage in developing practices to mediate the potential effects of the educational system on the students' educational trajectories.

We identified cooling-out strategies (Goffman, 1952; Clark, 1960) such as *revision* of the students' initial aspirations from academic to vocational tracks; proposing a *detour* via an easier but longer educational trajectory; and *deceleration* of the pace of study by repeating the LIP. Similar forms of sorting practices where immigrant students are allocated to non-academic tracks have been identified in previous studies (Bonizzoni, Romito, & Cavallo, 2016; Emery, Spruyt, & Van Avermaet, 2021; 2022) and have, similarly to our findings, been shown to be made with the student's best interest in mind. However, our results also highlight strategies aimed to encourage and enable the student's advancement and aid them to achieve their aspirations, labelled warming-up strategies (Deil-Amen, 2006). Our analysis expands the concept by pointing to three different strategies: *adapting teaching practices* to meet the students' needs; helping with *strategic choices* by pointing out priorities in subject areas for individual students, or organizationally by adding 'easier' subjects to the study plan; and

making *individual recommendations* by proposing specific students for placement through the 'free quota'.

Our study thus highlights the co-occurrence of cooling-out and warming-up processes in daily practices in schools and the significance of social interaction between school professionals when it comes to interpretations of the educational system and its consequences (Diamond, 2012). The cooperation and the interactional arenas that the school professionals point out as important, i.e., the recommendation conferences, are situations where common understandings of the students' progress and future opportunities are constructed 'out of practical reasoning' in which the professionals also construct possible future trajectories for the students (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000:97). The different strategies constitute a form of prospective sense-making where the school professionals negotiate different options through an interpretative process in interaction with others (Everitt, 2013; Hallett & Hawbaker, 2021). Although we propose neither that cooling-out strategies inevitably entail a sorting of students into non-academic tracks nor that warming-up strategies preclude it, the outcomes of the negotiations are likely to have an important impact on the students' future trajectories.

Our findings thus contribute to deepening our understanding of the consequences of the educational system and the conditions in introductory education for NAMS' educational opportunities in Sweden. Our analysis suggest that school professionals' interaction and sense-making play a crucial part in how strategies concerning the transition to mainstream education are negotiated and chosen, as the inhabited institutionalism-framework posits (Everitt, 2013; Hallett & Hawbaker, 2021). A limitation of our study is that in-depth interviews alone do not fully capture the micro-level processes of interaction and meaning-making, particularly in collegial conferences, or how the choices of strategies are negotiated. Future research would benefit from a wider use of ethnographic and longitudinal approaches to explore more fully how institutional rules are transformed into practices and how they in turn impact on students' prospects and futures. Our study did not show any variations between local settings or professional groups, a reason for this may be the relatively modest sample of participants and school contexts. To extend the research and include a variety of local contexts and schools that organize introductory education could also contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the situation of NAMS. An extended research design could also permit a detailed comparative analysis of how different categories of school professionals choose strategies for managing NAMS' transition to mainstream education.

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Extended education and well-being of children: A case study of Iceland

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Abstract: This article explores the emergent trend of global educational policy which focuses on educational values such as well-being and holistic skills. It makes connections between the emergent trend of "education-as-flourishing" and current developments of extended education, using a specific case for illustration, i.e. school-age educare in Iceland. The author argues that there is an internal tension in the current educational global policy which emphasizes holistic skills and well-being in education but eventually produces a policy framework that overlooks the educational pathways of learners through extended education spaces. The case study shows that the manifold learning outcomes of extended education are largely overlooked in policy and practice. There are external and internal challenges at play that feed this tension, specifically a lack of agency of stakeholders and a supportive social structure. A new Act on Well-being of Children in Iceland encourages municipalities and professionals to align resources from diverse sectors, such as education, health, and social services. This study indicates a primary need for policy makers to work strategically with educators from all sectors to develop innovate educational practices within and outside of school to support the education and well-being of children and youth.

Keywords: Educational policy, well-being, extended education, school-aged educare

Introduction

Significant changes are shaping education systems around the globe, as societies tackle social and economic uncertainty, post-pandemic impact, digital transformations and extreme weather events (OECD, 2022). As our ideas about education and learning are transformed, so are our ideas about where, how and with whom learning takes place. In this paper, I argue that the field of extended education plays an increasingly vital role in shaping spaces to support the education and well-being of children and young people. Thus, knowledge and research on extended education programs, its professional aims and practices, contribute to developing our education systems and should be considered integral to any educational policy and agenda. Educational policy can be a driver for educational innovation and curriculum change. However, its implementation relies on whether or not the changes become integrated in to the existing social structures and agency of professionals and stakeholders within a specific culture (Priestley, 2011; Priestley et al., 2020). This study explores the case of Icelandic school-age educare as an example of extended education practices and its links to policy, and the sometimes, contradictory rollout of educational policy, before and during a pandemic crisis.

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https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v11i2.03

Extended education researchers focus on understanding the process of learning that takes place in diverse situations in the lives of children and youth. Although extended research as a specific academic field may be considered relatively "young" (Kerfelt & Pálsdóttir, 2014), it in many ways rests on educational theories and academic approaches that can be traced back to ancient greek philosophy and could be summed up as "education-in-the-wide-sense" (see similar perspectives in Kristjánsson, 2020; Noam & Triggs, 2020). Similarly, the global education-as-flourishing movement seeks to rebalance our current education policy "… in the service of a broader idea: to nurture, in every human being, a suite of distinctive human intelligences, which equip us not only to flourish as individuals but also to contribute to flourishing societies and economies, in balance with the planet." (Stevenson, 2022, p.5). Such ideals inspire countries and communities to create sustainable education systems that nurture each and every child and promotes its education and well-being.

I will explore the links between modern concepts of extended education and the current call for a more holistic educational outlook that today shapes educational discourse, whether amongst practitioners, researchers, or government agencies. Any educational endeavour is situated within a specific context, and as other scholars have argued, extended education is always shaped by its societies culture, values, current challenges and policy issues (Stecher, 2020). Hence, this study sheds light on global educational policy from the standpoint of an extended education researcher and in the context of a specific country, i.e., Iceland where the educational government have made innovative efforts to create a holistic policy on the well-being of children that aligns resources from diverse sectors, such as education, health, and social services.

Extended Education

Extended education may be delivered in the form of a program, continuous activities or various sporadic offerings; it may be school-based or run by a community or a private agent, and it may take place within school hours or out-of-school hours (Ljusberg & Klerfelt, 2022). Noam and Triggs define extended education as "… an experience that provides opportunities for children and youth to increase their motivation, passion, and engagement in understanding the world (Noam & Triggs, 2020, p. 295).[1] This definition builds on a community approach which is sometimes expressed in the African saying "it takes a village to raise a child". It is an approach that opposes the dichotomy of formal and informal learning which often permeates academic and professional approaches to education and creates silos between sectors (Pálsdóttir, 2015).

It is possible to identify different drivers of extended education programs depending on the social context. Bae (2020) identifies four different developmental models of extended education: Extended education may be: 1) driven by school-reform and a need for educational innovation, 2) seen as a sector for youth development, 3) driven by social needs, such as child-care services and summer programmes for immigrant and minority students, and 4) seen as a vehicle for social reproduction and upward mobility through academic achievements which

1 In fact, they argue that any programme which aim is to repeat or reinforce school learning, should be termed extended *schooling*, not extended education.

are reinforced through, for example, private tutoring (Bae, 2020). These diverse drives can, of course, be simultaneously at work within a specific community, although some of them will usually be prioritized, either within the practice itself or the chosen research lenses. However, each model of extended education development connects with a certain value or element of well-being, such as the idea of a quality education, youth development, care and security, equity, and social mobility.

The Field of School-aged Educare

Extended education is the fastest growing field of education, although its implementation and characteristics varies between societies. The Nordic countries have a strong tradition of public extended education programs, such as educare-centres (s. fritidshem) for young school-aged children in Sweden, and leisure-time centres for six-to-nine-year-old children in Iceland (i. frístundaheimili). Diverse private recreational programs are offered as well in both countries (Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014; Pálsdóttir & Kristjánsdóttir, 2018). In some other countries, such as Australia and Korea, extended education programs are often run by private partners (Cartmel & Grieshaber, 2014; Woo, 2020). In Germany and Switzerland there has been a push towards all-day schools since the first PISA findings in 2000 with the main aim to "… have educational unity between instruction and care at the school", thus strengthening the academic outcomes of students (Schuepbach & Lilla, 2020, p.59). These diverse programs for young school-children belong to a professional field of practice and research which is now most often referred to as "school-aged educare" (Klerfelt et al., 2020). It is a field often neglected in educational research, although it has become an integral part of children's lives in many countries.

Aim and Research Question

The aim of this article is to shed light on the new directions of extended education, specifically school-aged educare, and examine how it relates to the emergent trends in global education that focus on well-being and flourishing as an aim of education. The main research question is: What can the field of extended education contribute to the emergent global focus on education as flourishing or well-being? To ground such an overarching aim, I put forth the following sub-question: What conclusions can be drawn from the Icelandic context about the links between an educational policy, that highlights well-being, and school-age educare?

Research Design

The research design for this exposition used an in depth case study approach to examine the phenomena of extended education and links to the educational debate and policy on well-

being and education. Stake (1995) defines case study as "studying the specificity and complexity of a case in order to understand its activity within its primary context" (Stake, 1995, p. xi). In this research, the author has gathered information from policy documents and research in extended education in Iceland. The information is used to illuminate the links between extended education and children's well-being.

Stake (1995) describes two types of case studies, essential case studies and instrumental case studies. Essential case studies are applicable when the case in question is the centre of focus. However, it is the intention of the author to examine the Icelandic circumstances in depth because it helps to pursue external interest in the connections of extended education and global educational policy. This research project is an instrumental case study as the purpose is to gain insight into specific aspects of educational policies. The case study examines the Icelandic education polices against the backdrop of the current global educational policy. Furthermore, four extended education research projects within the Icelandic context are explored to shed light on the contribution of such research to current educational debates and policy on well-being and education. The advantage of the case study approach is that it facilitates an analysis of the connections between policy and extended education practices, as well as providing a context to understand what facilitates or hinders agency to promote specific educational values within a certain social structure.

Data and analysis

This research is inspired by Priestly′s definition of educational policy and curriculum as a negotiated and complex process that is non-linear and relies on activities and enactment in practice (Priestley, 2011, 2021). Thus, research into a specific social context is vital to understand better the pedagogical links between the emergent global policy trend of well-being as the aim of education and the field of extended education. For this purpose, the author explored policy documents from OECD, specifically relating to the future of education and skills, and looked at how they have translated, or resurfaced, in the Icelandic policy documents since 2011. Also, key Icelandic educational policy documents were examined as well as the main policy documents that concern the role of leisure-time centres for young school-aged children, see table 1 below.

These documents were chosen as representative of current educational policy that are expected to transform and shape the social practices that support children′s well-being, and their education, both within formal and extended education. The global policy documents were used as supporting documents to further explore how the Icelandic education policy was shaped by the emergent trends in global policy. The Icelandic policy documents were analysed through open coding through a critical and interpretative lenses (Braun & Clarke, 2013). A literature review on published research about leisure-time centres in Iceland was conducted to analyse the links between policy and practices of this particular extended education space.

Table 1. Key policy documents explored in the order of publishing date.

Title	Year	Publisher
The Icelandic national curriculum guide for upper secondary schools: General section	2012	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland
Goals and Criteria for work of Leisure Centres for Children in Early Grades of Compulsory School	2017	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture & Icelandic Association of Local Authorities
The future of education and skills. Education 2030	2018	OECD
Iceland Education Policy 2030 and its implementation.	2021	OECD
Leisure-time centres. Play and learning. Thematic issue	2021	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Iceland
Act on the Integration of Services in the Interest of Children's Prosperity	2021	Ministry of Education and Children
Education Policy Outlook 2022: Transforming Pathways for Lifelong Learners	2022	OECD

Findings

Global education policy and well-being

The findings of this study show that OECD educational policy as well as the United Nations policies have had considerable impact on the Icelandic educational policy. The rollout and impact of global educational policy since the millennium is interesting, to say the least, but also contradictory and questionable. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) marked the occasion by the first round of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), a large scale international comparative test of the academic skills in literacy, science, and maths of 15-year-olds in the participating countries. There has been plentiful of critique of the PISA methodology, but perhaps the strongest critique concerns how the findings are used to inform and feed an education policy that favours measure over meaning, and evidence over ideas (see, for example, Biesta, 2009). However, PISA has been instrumental in highlighting the importance of education and identifying huge challenges facing education systems around the globe, such as social inequalities, achievement gaps and unequal access to quality education.

A few years ago, the OECD launched its Education 2030 initiative calling for a new and a broader education goals, aimed at individual and collective well-being of students as the main aim of education (OECD, 2018). A recurrent theme is the notion of transformatory competences and holistic skills that education systems should nurture in every learner. Also, schools are considered to be a part of a larger eco-system in which they operate (OECD, 2018). It is evidence of an emergent trend that prioritizes the flourishing or the well-being of students over the academic, cognitive side of education (Stevenson, 2022). Paradoxically, in

the midst of a global PISA competition of a rather narrow academic ranking between countries based on skills, academics and policy makers repeatedly refer to the educational values of well-being that relate to the ancient Greek ideal that education should nurture each and every one to reach their individual and human capabilities and to flourish in community with others (Kristjánsson, 2020; Stevenson, 2022). However, the OECD defines well-being quite broadly as a combination of factors concerning both quality of life, among them education, subjective well-being and civil engagement, and material conditions, such as jobs, housing and income (OECD, 2019b). And when it comes to the role of education, the OECD specifices a range of *transformatory competencies* that education systems should nurture, such as taking responsibility, creating new values and reconciling tensions and dilemmas (OECD, 2019a).

Another theme that permeates the OECD policy is that education needs to prepare individuals and societies to tackle the huge challenges societies around the globe are facing, such as extreme weather conditions, wars, pandemics, and economic instability. It has become increasingly important for global organisations to initiate the development of common global goals and coordinate actions without borders. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals have thus impacted the OECD educational policy. In fact, in one of the OECD documents there is a table that specifically connects and compares the UN SDG′s with the OECD well-being components (OECD, 2019a). In accordance with the above, The OECD Education Outlook Report in 2022 emphasizes learner agency, life-long transitions and core skills that are needed to tackle complex and challenging problems.

This overview does, of course, not offer a complete picture of global educational policy, but it points to some drivers and developments. It depicts a clear shift in global policy towards a new and broader curriculum in which extended education could and should be considered. The clear message is that holistic well-being of individuals, as well as their communities, should be considered as the main aim of education. But it still remains unsolved that the term "well-being" is an umbrella for diverse factors. Quite clearly, social and cultural differences between continents and countries result in different understandings and approaches to what constitutes well-being or "a good life" (Ruyter et al., 2022). Diverse spaces and different academic and professional approaches are needed to support successful educational pathways of learners and their transformatory competencies.

The Icelandic education policy and well-being

The Icelandic education system, similarly to other Nordic countries, has been built on fundamental values, such as democracy, equity, participation, welfare and progressiveness (Antikainen, 2006). The ideal of the social-democratic welfare state has shaped the Icelandic education system which is built on an inclusive public school system and extensive public day-care for parents of young children; a system that fosters a strong sense of state-wide as well as municipality responsibility to support the well-being of its citizens. The population of 388.000, living in the vast island in the Atlantic Ocean, a popular tourist destination between Europe and America, has changed drastically as the immigrant population has risen from about 3% since the millennium up to 20% (Iceland Statistics, 2023). The current educational challenges include a general decline in literacy and science skills and an increasing achievement gap between socially disadvantaged students and their peers (OECD, 2021). Although the majority of students in compulsory school report a feeling of belonging and general

satisfaction in school, students of immigrant background are more likely to experience a lack of connection with teachers and their peers (Pálsdóttir et al., 2021).

Iceland is an interesting case to explore the connection between global well-being trend in education and extended education, as Iceland has historically valued quality public education, literacy levels were high already in the 18th century and youth and leisure activities are integral to the local communities. Two shifts in the Icelandic educational landscape and national curriculum policy are worth mentioning in the context of the current research. The first concerns the introduction in 2011 of six cross-curricular fundamental pillars of education in the national curriculum: *Literacy-sustainability-health and welfare-democracy and human rights- equality and creativity*. These educational values were intended to shape and inspire school practices at all levels. This innovative policy also marked the first holistic national curriculum for pre-school, compulsory school and upper secondary school which was built around the notion of holistic skills and a clear emphasis on the flourishing of students as individuals and citizens (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2012). Although its implementation has not been formally evaluated, the holistic vision presented in this curriculum has inspired various integrative approaches. Some examples are the integration of school-subjects in various classroom practices and the occasional bridge-building between different school-levels. It may have prompted the City Council of Reykjavik, the capital in which about half of the population lives, to create their own holistic educational strategy which centres on five core skills: *Social skills-Empowerment (a strong sense of self)-Literacy-Creativity–and Health* (Reykjavik city, 2019). As in the case of the OECD policy, there is a general move away from highlighting specific school subjects towards a vision of broader range of integrated skills and competences.

The second shift is clearly identified in the most recent changes in Icelandic educational policy: Firstly, An Education Strategic Plan developed in collaboration with the OECD (OECD, 2021); Secondly, a new *Act on the Integration of Services in the Interest of Children's Prosperity*, (hereafter, The Well-being Act) set forth in 2021 by the (then) Minister of Social Affairs and Children, now the Minister of Education and Children; And thirdly, the development of a new Ministry of Education and Children, established in 2021, which oversees the implementation of both the Education Strategic Plan as well as The Well-being Act.[2]

These policy changes mark an important shift as they focus on the education of the student as a whole and promote holistic skills and well-being as the core aim of education. The aim of the Education Strategic Plan 2030 is to "… provide excellent education in an environment where everyone can learn and everyone matters" (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2021a). Well-being is one of the policy′s five strategic pillars and highlights the importance of health promotion, mental health, prevention, school counselling and student voices. Interestingly, the extended education sector is hardly mentioned in the above policy documents, although (as next section reveals), considerable policy exists in relation to school-aged educare services in Iceland. There is still considerable work to be done to build bridges between cultural, political and professional silos in the educational landscape. This is why the Well-being Act has inspired new hopes that changes will be made at the organizational level

2 The current Prime-minister, Katrín Jakobsdóttir, was the education minister in 2011 and responsible for the new curriculum in 2011. The current Education Minister, Ásmundur Einar Daðason, was previously the minister of social affairs and children and led the preparation of the Well-being Act.

which will allow new collaborative social structures to develop to harnesses the resources in the non-formal extended education sector.

The main aim of the Well-being Act is to align sectors and resources in society to work together to provide early support and interventions, as needed. In fact, the act states that professionals who work with children or young people should collaborate to provide individual and specialized support in the best interest of the child. Schools at every level, ranging from pre-school to upper-secondary schools, should work systematically with the health care, social services as well as extended education programs to coordinate preventive measures as well as responses when needed (Ministry of Education and Children, 2021).[3] The analysis of these Icelandic educational documents indicate a shift, at least on the policy level, towards new values and a broader vision on educational pathways through the (educational) community. How this will translate into practice remains to be seen. It will undoubtedly depend on which community sectors will be called upon and whether extended education spaces in children's lives will be considered as integral to their educational pathways.

Icelandic policy on school-aged educare

In Iceland most municipalities offer school-based after-school care for young school-aged children. In 2016 the Icelandic government stipulated that leisure-time centres should meet the needs and interest of young school-aged children in their out-of-school time; furthermore, that emphasis should be on children's choice, free play and a variety of activities (see Pálsdóttir & Kristjánsdóttir, 2018). In 2017 the Icelandic government published *A quality framework for the leisure-time centres* (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture & Icelandic Association of Local Authorities, 2017). This framework had a focus on: a) child-centered practices and children′s rights, b) standards of human resources and professionalism, and c) guidelines for the management and organization of facility and daily practices. Following the establishment of these quality standards, the Ministry of Education published a self-assessment tool for after-school centers in 2021. The same year, the Ministry of Education published a thematic issue for leisure-time centers summarizing the non-formal curriculum basis of leisure-time centres for school-aged children in Iceland, titled *Leisure-time centres. Play and learning from the children's premises* (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2021b). It described the relevant pedagogy and provided leaders and practitioners with advice and ideas. The theme issue draws from academic-foundations of leisure-pedagogy, it provides diverse and effective case examples from practice and research, and discusses the quality framework. It is maintained that leisure-time centres should foster competences such as children's agency, social skills, creativity, and collaboration (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2021b). Thus, the Icelandic government has at least partly recognized the possible educational impact leisure-time-centers can have and considered how connections and activities within such spaces contribute to children′s well-being and education.

3 The Minister of Education and Children signed an agreement of cooperation with the United Nations in 2023 to work together on the implementations of a new methodology that protects children from violence and supports their well-being.

Research on school-aged educare in Iceland

The first academic research on school-aged educare in Iceland was published little over a decade ago, as extended education was for many years a neglected field of study within the academic sector. This section explores the existing literature and research on the leisure-time centres for six-to-nine-year-old children in Iceland through the lenses of educational values, professional agency, and educational policy.

First Wave Research Projects

The first research was a holistic review of the status of the leisure-time centres in Reykjavik, their historical origin as day-care institutions, the second period when the emphasis was on an extended-school-day, and their current status as a semi-professional pedagogical leisure-practices that focus on the care, learning and leisure experiences of children. The study revealed that these practices were important for children and their families, but that they were organizationally marginalized due to lack of policy framework and personnel did not feel empowered to drive changes or professional development (Pálsdóttir, 2012). A second opportunity to further explore the integration of school and leisure activities arouse when Reykjavík City launched a project in 2012 called *The Day of the Child*. Five Reykjavík schools set out to integrate school and leisure by hiring leisure-care personnel to work with school-teachers during the school-day, as well as to work in the leisure-time centre in the afternoons. The overall aim was to develop holistic services and continuous support for young school-aged children. A research was conducted to explore the opportunities and challenges of this integration of school and leisure from the perspective of personnel (Pálsdóttir, 2017). The study showed that the teachers as well as the leisure-personnel felt that the increased integration supported the well-being of children. According to the research participants, the collaborative practices underlined the importance of children's informal and social learning and provided new opportunities within the school to tackle issues related to student communication, behaviour and friendships (Pálsdóttir, 2017). The findings revealed that this kind of integrative approach was specifically beneficial to marginalized students or students that needed specific support. One of the schools was predominantly a multilingual school, with about 80% of students having immigrant background. In this specific school, the school leadership in collaboration with city authorities decided that the leisure-time centre would be included in the school-program, thus free of charge until 3 pm in the afternoon (Pálsdóttir et al., 2014). The aim was to support the children's Icelandic language skills and strengthen their social inclusion in the learning environment.

The first wave of research on school-aged educare in the Icelandic context identified several challenges to the integration of school and leisure-practices, among them various organizational barriers, such as professional boundaries between leisure and school, unclear roles of leisure-care personnel and lack of active collaboration. In other words, the social structure was in many ways not receptive to the values and goals behind the innovative integration and the professionals and staff involved had little leeway to become agents of considerable change, at least not at the organizational level (Pálsdóttir, 2017; Priestley, 2011). However, there are clear indicators of the potential benefits of linking school and leisure to systematically support the well-being of children.

Second Wave Research Projects

A second wave of research on the role of extended education in Iceland took place after the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted educational landscapes all around the globe. The pandemic was certainly a test of the resilience of education systems, professionals, students, parents and other stakeholders and bears witness to the vital role of extended education and community collaboration (United Nations, 2020). Unlike most countries, the Icelandic government never imposed a lock-down to pre-schools, compulsory schools, and public extended education programs; even though, upper-secondary schools and universities closed buildings over extensive periods and were only allowed to provide online digital teaching. The main aim was to keep schools and public recreational programs operating to ensure the rights of children to education and care during these challenging times. Amazingly, pre-schools and compulsory schools in Iceland generally managed to remain open during the pandemic, although with considerable restrictions on group sizes, health protocols and other systemic arrangements.

The first source on the role of extended education in Iceland during the pandemic is an electronic survey sent out in Spring of 2020 to leaders in public leisure-programs in the capital area. Responses were retrieved from 117 leaders, of those 69 worked in leisure-time centres for six-to-nine-year olds (N = 69) and 48 were managers of youth-centres for 13-16 year olds (N = 48) (Pálsdóttir et al., 2021). The results showed a significant difference in the impact COVID-19 had on after-school activities. Around 83% of managers of leisure-time centres reported that their programs had remained *open* during the lockdown, whereas 87% of managers in youth centres said that their program had been partially or completely *closed* during the pandemic. Disadvantaged children and youth, such as children with disability or immigrant background, were more likely to be not involved and to "fall through the cracks" (as one informant reported). Even so, few informants said that they had, out of their own initiative, reached out to marginalized children. Another significant difference between the two informant groups was the communication with parents and parental support. Leaders of leisure-time centres were much more likely to report a regular communication with the parents of the children in their care, than did the leaders of youth-centres: 70% of them reported that parents had contacted them regularly and expressed concern about their children, whereas within youth centres 45% reported such communications (Pálsdóttir et al., 2021). Some positive changes were experienced during the pandemic, such as smaller groups of children in the leisure-time centres, more collaboration with the schools and a close-knit coordination with co-workers. Nevertheless, the informants reported that they often felt marginalized as information and support from local authorities was aimed at schools and the extended education programs were forgotten.

The second source on the status of extended education in Iceland during the pandemic is found in a recent Nordic comparative study on children′s and young people's voices and participation during COVID-19 (Helfer et al., 2023; Pálsdóttir & Guðjohnsen, 2023). Data was gathered by analysing various reports and policy documents, as well as through interviews with several individuals in leadership positions at government and municipal level as well as in the non-profit youth sector. The evidence showed that policy makers and administrators had concerns of the mental well-being of children and young people, as epidemiological measures caused major disruptions in their daily lives. The informants described a specific concern, raised on many occasions, of socially disadvantaged children and young people who became even more marginalized during the pandemic, but they also reported that

too little was done or could be done. The informants agreed that even though schools made enormous efforts into continued class activities and, for the older students, transfer teaching into the digital realm, the social aspect of schooling was generally overlooked. One of the conclusions of the overall project was that "… the importance of leisure and social gatherings for the well-being of young people has been, to some extent, misrecognised during the pandemic, and it has been a serious omission" (Helfer, Ibsen, et al., 2023, p.66). Thus, it is concluded that lessons learned from the pandemic crisis calls for a vision of a holistic well-being and a community landscape in which "… Schools, educational institutions, and recreational activities play an essential role in building the everyday lives and well-being of children and young people" (Helfer et al., 2023, p.136).

Discussion

One of the more significant findings of this study is how important extended education is when considered in the light of the global focus on education as flourishing or well-being; but at the same time how marginalized extended education spaces are, considered here in the Icelandic context. The findings of this study show a strong alignment of the Icelandic educational policy with the OECD educational framework. It further shows that the field of extended education in Iceland, specifically school-age educare, has become more formalized, yet remains marginalized within the education system. This section explores the main thematic findings, the internal tension between policy and practice, the contribution of extended education to well-being and learner agency, and lastly, a call for professional agency and innovation.

Firstly, the data explored reveals a certain tension between policy and practice, both at global and local level. High level transformative competences and learner agency are put at the forefront of policy, but the connections between formal and non-formal learning spaces seem largely ignored. The current global and local educational policies centre on educational values of well-being, empowerment, and transformatory skills of student′s; values and skills that lay at the core of many extended education practices, such as those explored in this study. Educational policy seems to recognize and, to a point, legitimate extended education practices*;* however, the case of Iceland, which has set an ambitious education policy and aims for cross-sectoral alignment, shows how challenging it is to implement innovative changes. It seems hard to resist the global push in education toward a outcomes-based learning and standardized testing. Take for example the OECD Education Outlook since 2018 which centred on holistic skills as the focal aim of education systems. Yet, when the OECD works with the Icelandic Education Ministry in the following years to develop a strategic plan until 2030, no reference is made to the educational role of leisure-time centres or youth centres.[4]

Their recommendations on skills for the future first and foremost aims to "… address Iceland's challenges of decreasing levels of reading, literacy and skills mismatch, by providing students with the skills required for the future, in the labour market, and more broadly for Iceland as a country" (OECD, 2021, p.16). How this should play out is quite unclear and

4 *After-school* is mentioned twice in this policy document; in the section on Prevention and Student Voices. *Youth centres* are mentioned once, in the section on Student Voices.

no attempt is made to connect to the six holistic cross-cultural educational pillars that weave through the Icelandic national curriculum (from 2011).

The post-pandemic data from the Icelandic context also provides evidence of the mismatch between educational policy and its rollout in practice. There was a general agreement about the importance of the out-of-school spaces, and that the leisure-time centres and youth centres could be instrumental in making children feel secure and support their social connections and sense of community. However, neither the political or administrative leadership nor the leisure-leaders themselves strategically used the resources to the fullest. Leaders did not in general reach out to specific vulnerable youth or children, and public administration often failed to support or connect with the leisure managers.

Secondly, the findings of this study indicated increased governmental awareness of the potential role of extended education, both at a global and local level. The development of a specific research field of extended education has clearly demonstrated that extended education programs, such as school-aged educare, can play a significant role in the well-being and the holistic education of children. In Iceland, the shared vision is to "… ensure that all students have the opportunity to thrive and prosper on their own terms within the education system (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2021a)." Within a rapidly changing society, digitalization and, most recently, the open access to an array of artificial intelligence tools, the role of school has transformed. There is ample awareness of this in global educational policy, but the policy frameworks explored in this study introduce broad and unclear concepts, their initiatives are somewhat contradictory and become quite unclear in practice. What kind of educational spaces and practices foster those transformative competences that permeate global and local policy? In this regard, extended education programs are unfortunately largely overlooked despite the unique opportunities they can provide to empower students. This is quite evident in global educational policy and in the field of extended education literature (Noam & Triggs, 2020; Pálsdóttir, 2017; Stecher, 2020). In the Icelandic context, considerable legitimization of school-age educare has taken place that recognizes the educational role of such spaces. Still, a new strategic educational plan hardly mentioned the role of extended education in the lives of children. Although further research is needed, the evidence from this study suggests that global educational policy calls for strategic investment in extended education.

Thirdly, the findings of this study show that there are both internal and external forces that hinder professional agency in the field of extended education. The leadership within the field of extended education were vulnerable and lacked resources in their efforts to become agents of innovative practices. Social and material structures that support the agency of actors within the field of extended education do not seem to be fully in place (Priestley et al., 2020). The policy makers, as well as local administrators, did not recognize the potential contribution extended education programs and professionals can or do play in strengthening our education systems. The Well-being Act is currently being implemented in municipalities around Iceland and may become a game-changer in linking the formal and non-formal sector of education, as well as aligning the welfare and health sector with the education sector. It opens a window of opportunity that, hopefully, policy makers, administrators and educators will seize. Innovative educational policy can only be implemented with professional agency which have the internal and external resources to change social structures and cultural norms (Priestley et al., 2020). Cultural and social structures within the educational practice often resist innovation and changes, specifically if the agents (professionals) do not believe in the changes, may not have

been a part of the policy process, and choose to stick to previous practices. Activities that previously were considered to be non-school or out-of-school are now in some countries becoming an integral part of school curriculum and practices (Klerfelt et al., 2020; Pálsdóttir, 2017; Schuepbach & Lilla, 2020). Thus, there is growing evidence that the professionalization of the extended education field is contributing to educational reforms and to school development (Bae, 2020). As Noam and Triggs say:

> "We must fight for innovation and a more child-centred educational practice in all spheres of a child′s life, which makes education both extended and expanded. Just as our ideas of education are expanding, so are the opportunities for learning and the environments where these programmes takes place" (Noam & Triggs, 2020, p. 295).

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to shed light on the contribution of extended education research to current educational policy and specifically explore the links between well-being and extended education. On a global level, the emergent trend is to define the main learning outcomes of any education systems as holistic skills sets, such as social skills, creativity, collaborative skills etc. There is a push to talk about flourishing and/or well-being as the main aim of education – a vision that has roots all the way back to the ancient Greek philosophers (Kristjánsson, 2020). These are educational values and skillsets that extended education practices are proven to nurture (Noam & Triggs, 2020). These conclusions are drawn from a case study of extended education practices in Iceland in light of global educational policy. Hopefully, they will inspire readers from other countries to reflect on their respective contexts to explore how extended education may support well-being as the aim of education.

This study raises important questions about the essential links between well-being of children and youth and extended education. The findings reveal that the emergent trend of well-being in education is currently widely acknowledged as the main goal of education (Ministry of Education, Science and & Culture, 2012; OECD, 2018; Stevenson, 2022). However, the data suggests a gap between policy and practice which is a, after all, a well-known phenomenon within the field of education and has a lot to do with social reproduction of existing culture and norms, that makes educational change extremely complex (Biesta et al., 2015; Priestley, 2021). It does certainly not help that there are diverse concepts of well-being being defined as the main aim of education. The well-being and education discussion needs to develop more fully to become embodied in teachers' and educators' beliefs and their professional agency. Extended education researchers as well as practitioners have, not only an opportunity, but an obligation to speak up and show the various ways extended education programs, whether school-based or out-of-school based, contribute to the education and well-being of children and youth. The school-age educare programs in Iceland are, for example, considered essential community practices in children′s lives; however, it remains challenging for the professional workforce to be recognized, and to establish pedagogical practices within school boundaries. Further research is needed into professional agency within the extended education field, such as those that have been conducted within the field of formal schooling (Priestley et al., 2020).

To conclude, current literature on extended education and examples from the Icelandic context, suggests a strong link between well-being and extended education. Although the scope of this research was limited to the Icelandic context, the findings may have bearings for other countries. Policy makers should be encouraged to work with educators from all sectors to develop innovate educational practices within and out-side of school to secure the education and well-being of children and youth. It is also urgent that all stakeholders further conceptualize what well-being as an educational aim means and how it should be enacted within schools as well as within the field of extended education.

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Professional Dilemmatic Spaces in Swedish School-Age Educare

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Abstract: Global interest in the field of extended education has increased over the past two decades. Extended education in the context of Swedish school-age educare has a unique position in the school system due to its voluntariness and governance as well as the free time and leisure activities it offers pupils and the lack of set learning outcomes. These features create dilemmas for teachers; thus, this study aims to generate knowledge about the complex and challenging dilemmas of school-age educare teachers in their professional work. The results are derived from a thematic analysis of two sets of data: oral and written reflections from 22 school-age educare teachers. The three themes of the teachers' dilemmas identified concern compulsory school vs. SAEC, offering pupils attractive teaching methods and content, and differing experiences and perspectives among the staff. The dilemmatic spaces that are recognised actualise positions and negotiations in everyday practices in relation to the teachers' professional identities. The findings are expected to be useful as a constructive starting point for policymakers, teacher trainers, and school-age educare teachers to understand this specific educational context and the need for professional development. This study contributes to a further understanding of the multifaceted professional identities of school-age educare teachers.

Keywords: Dilemmatic spaces, extended education, leisure, pupils, school-age educare, teachers

Introduction

During the past two decades, there has been a growing global interest in the field of extended education, "which is increasingly developing into a global culture of education" (Bae & Kanefuji, 2018, p. 27). Countries in both the East and the West are investing in developing systems to support pupils' learning outside of traditional school hours (Schuepbach & Huang, 2018). These settings offer education and/or care opportunities.

This article focuses on extended education in Sweden in terms of school-age educare (SAEC). In 1996, SAEC was integrated into compulsory schooling. Almost 20 years later, Skolverket, the Swedish National Agency for Education, revised the national curriculum to encompass SAEC. These developments have placed an increased focus on the teaching and learning outcomes of SAEC; simultaneously, several economic cuts have been made regarding the structural conditions of the settings (Lager, 2020). SAEC is most often located in school buildings, thus sharing physical space with compulsory schools. The setting holds the goals to strive for, but it does not stipulate the goals to attain. The educational programme in

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International Journal for Research on Extended Education, Vol. 11, Issue 2/2023, 34–45
https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v11i2.04

Swedish SAEC should complement preschool and primary classes by offering pupils meaningful recreational and leisure activities and stimulating their holistic development and learning (Skolverket, 2022). Approximately 85% of all young pupils in Sweden attend SAEC, which is heavily subsidised by the state. Because of the high enrolment rate, SAEC constitutes a significant part of childhood for most children. It plays a very important role, therefore, when it comes to equity for disadvantaged children (Hjalmarsson & Odenbring, 2020).

Due to the new School Act (SFS 2010:800) and revised curricula (Skolverket, 2016), SAEC teachers must balance the aspects of voluntariness, care, and learning in the processes of their planning, teaching, and evaluation (Hjalmarsson, 2019). There are several challenges to introducing teaching in this educational setting. SAEC teachers should safeguard the traditional focus of SAEC (care and common values), and the pupils' initiatives, interests, and needs should be a starting point for experience-based activities. At the same time, teachers should conduct teaching that corresponds to the core content of SAEC's curriculum and includes (1) language and communication, (2) creative and aesthetic forms of expression, (3) nature and society, and (4) games, physical activities, and outdoor excursions (Skolverket, 2022). Furthermore, because SAEC is offered to pupils 6–13 years old, who are enrolled for varying amounts of time due to their parents' work or school hours, teaching should be implemented in age-heterogeneous groups that vary in size. With no traditional classroom, the physical conditions of SAEC differ from those of compulsory school, and the educational backgrounds of the staff vary and are often insufficient (Skolverket, 2021). The staff are also obligated to teach during the regular school day in compulsory schools, and mostly they collaborate with compulsory schoolteachers in teams, working in preschool classes and in compulsory settings. Taken together, these challenges can create unique opportunities for teaching and learning in SAEC and foster the potential for pupils' identity and knowledge development. The challenges and opportunities of SAEC constitute the important framework conditions for this study, which aims to deepen the understanding of the potential dilemmas SAEC teachers face.

Research Overview: Extended Education

As interest in out-of-school time and extracurricular learning during childhood and adolescence has increased (Schuepbach, 2018), many efforts have been made to expand institutional education and use after-school hours to supplement school learning in almost every country in Europe, North America, South America, Asia, and Australia. In recent years, the term *extended education* has frequently been used internationally to define the field of education (Schuepbach & Huang, 2018). Extended education refers to non-formal education in which attendance is voluntary. It can be offered in the morning before school starts, in the afternoon and evening after school ends, during breaks within school hours, and during holidays. The focus is on children's emotional, social, and academic development and learning, and the settings are structured educationally to promote participants' learning of general or specific content (Schuepbach, 2018).

Extended education varies between countries. Bae and Kanefuji (2018) compared after-school programmes in two neighbouring Asian countries, Korea and Japan. The authors

pointed out the similarities in the values and ethics of the two Eastern countries and the long tradition of interaction between them. This comparison revealed some common features of afterschool programmes: a tool for challenging social problems, the power of governmental action in the process of implementing afterschool programmes, and the notion of school buildings as safe places for these programmes. However, there were some differences in the goals and means of cooperation between schools and communities, which the authors argued stem from the different cultural, political, and social backgrounds of the two countries (Bae & Kanefuji, 2018).

In Switzerland, almost all extended education settings have general goals and are oriented towards social competencies, academics, or recreation. The Swiss settings provide staff-guided activities as well as supervised free play. The pupils can choose from different activities, which they also impact. Switzerland and other German-speaking countries are establishing and developing all-day schools (Schuepbach, 2018b). In another study, by comparing two prototypes of extended education in Sweden and Germany, Klerfelt and Stecher (2018) found that the programmes had similar aims but faced different societal expectations. Lager (2020) claimed that although this research field is growing in Sweden, there is still a lack of knowledge about the everyday lives of pupils in SAEC.

Swedish School-Age Educare

Because of the tradition of a caring orientation in Swedish SAEC and a professional identity that strongly relates to aspects of care (Hjalmarsson, 2018), many studies still focus on pupils' well-being, security, and social learning and development (e.g. Jonsson & Lillvist, 2019). The caring orientation in SAEC is crucial to the activities it offers, but this orientation is being challenged by neoliberal tendencies (Hjalmarsson, 2018), and SAEC is struggling to find methods to measure the education it carries out because no specific goals are stipulated within SAEC (Hjalmarsson, 2019). This lack of set goals for pupils may partly explain why there is still a lack of research on the didactics in SAEC (Boström, Elvstrand, & Orwehag, 2022).

Navigating Between Governance and Voluntariness

Almost a decade ago, Hjalmarsson (2013) explored the tension between certain aspects of governance and voluntariness for pupils in SAEC, which at the time was called 'leisure-time centres'. Through interviews with teachers, a paradox emerged: on the one hand, not offering pupils organised activities could be viewed as childminding, while on the other hand, the teachers simultaneously emphasised the importance of letting pupils choose activities. Similarly, Haglund (2016) showed that teachers emphasised free play, which implies that the staff assumed a peripheral subject position through which they observed pupils' free play from a distance.

By studying the SAEC in three different settings, Holmberg (2017) noted that pupils were offered possibilities to exercise influence. Many of the pupils' wishes, however, were considered inappropriate or incomprehensible and needed to be modified by the teacher, which implies that SAEC offers pupils an environment in which abilities, such as making their own choices, taking initiative, and being flexible, can be developed. Elvstrand and Närvänen (2016) found that children in SAEC appreciated activities without teacher supervision, such as

free, unstructured play. However, Elvstrand and Lago (2019) found that the process of choosing what to do in SAEC embodied more limitations and fewer free choices for pupils. Based on interviews with pupils in SAEC, Lago and Elvstrand (2021) revealed that they viewed SAEC as a setting in which they were subjected to adult control and did not have autonomy. Furthermore, they wanted to choose their own friendships without having to take SAEC norms and rules into account. They could do this at home, but they commented on the lack of access to friends if they did not attend SAEC.

Taken together, these studies target the dilemma SAEC teachers face when designing activities that pupils will find attractive while simultaneously basing these activities on the content defined in the curriculum.

Navigating Between Professional Identities and Positions

Ackesjö, Nordänger, and Lindqvist (2016) investigated how a new group of SAEC teachers understood and negotiated their professional identities and navigated the professional landscape. The teachers positioned themselves between tradition and the intentions of the new governance, and their orientation towards a new hybrid professional identity implied a struggle in legitimating the SAEC teacher profession and efforts to equalise the power relations between different professional groups. Similarly, Ackesjö and Haglund (2021) argued that SAEC teachers navigate between two intertwined value systems representing SAEC's tradition of relationally and socially orientated activities and the goal- and results-orientated school system. These studies shed light on the challenges that occur in the transition of a professional role in which different traditions meet and are negotiated. This highlights the demand to safeguard traditions that are significant in SAEC while simultaneously being open to incorporating traditions that are prominent within the compulsory school.

Based on this research overview, we identified the tensions we understood as dilemmatic for the teachers. These tensions relate to the distinctiveness of SAEC in the school system in general, and more specifically, to the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure that SAEC teachers must manage. We strove to deepen the understanding of the potential dilemmas with which SAEC teachers cope.

Theoretical Framework

The analysis aimed to identify *dilemmatic spaces* (Fransson & Grannäs, 2013). From this perspective, a dilemma is not understood as a problem or something that needs to be resolved; compared to problems that can be solved, dilemmas do not have satisfactory solutions. Fransson and Grannäs (2013) argued that "dilemmatic spaces are social constructions and resulting from structural conditions and relational aspects in everyday practices" (p. 7). From this theoretical perspective, dilemmas and spatial dimensions, i.e. 'space', as well as aspects of positions, relations, and negotiations, are important. The concept emphasises the reciprocity and relational dynamics in negotiations, positions, and manoeuvring (Fransson, 2012, 2016) and has been used in studies of, for example, social workers (Hogget, Mayo, & Miller, 2009), teachers' work, and educational contexts (Fransson & Grannäs, 2013; Ljung Egeland, 2015). The concept of dilemmatic space does not focus on single events but rather on ever-present

dilemmas. It involves both the surrounding contexts and individuals' experiences, positions, and values. Hence, a dilemmatic space appears differently to different individuals, and there is rarely one right way of acting in a particular context (Honig, 1994). Dilemmas can be either intrapersonal (certainty vs. uncertainty) or interpersonal (individual autonomy vs. collective autonomy), and they contribute to professional learning (Pareja-Roblin & Margalef, 2013). The various ways of handling a situation can involve ambivalence and contradiction, such as emotions of guilt, failure, anxiety, and distancing alongside feelings of curiosity and the joy of realising new opportunities (Hoggett, 2006).

Dilemmatic space is a theoretical perspective for framing certain contexts, such as schools or SAEC settings, and their norms, values, and patterns of action. This conceptual framework provides opportunities to reveal and deepen the understanding of the complexities of teachers' everyday work practices. Teachers must relate to the formal laws, rules, and routines that govern educational settings. However, as professionals, they must also consider informal rules, goals, and routines. This means that teachers' work is largely about dealing with complexities and changing situations. In their daily interactions with pupils, colleagues, and parents, a variety of relationships must be maintained, and many decisions must be made quickly, with little time for reflection. In some contexts, there is more time available for reflection and consideration regarding decision making, such as which actions and positions should be taken. The professionalism of teachers is expressed in these complex situations of making decisions and taking action (Fransson, 2012). Coping with dilemmas is about dealing with choices, conflicts of interest, and tensions between sometimes incompatible goals, demands, expectations, and values. Educational settings are characterised by this complexity, and dealing with dilemmas regarding different interests and positions is a central part of teachers' everyday lives (Fransson & Grannäs, 2013).

In line with Fransson and Gannäs (2013), we argue that the conceptual framework of dilemmatic space is fruitful for several reasons. First, it can help in reflecting on the existing knowledge of SAEC teachers who are dealing with the aspects of governance, voluntariness, leisure, and free time. Second, the notion of dilemmatic space provides a theoretical framework that has not been used previously to understand teaching and teachers' work in SAEC, and it can therefore offer opportunities to understand dilemmas in this setting in a new way. Third, the use of this conceptual framework offers the potential to reveal and deepen the understanding of the complexity of this distinctive educational context, which is characterised by voluntariness and a lack of set learning outcomes while governed by the same policy document as compulsory school and tasks teachers with teaching.

Methods and Analysis

The empirical data were derived from a research project funded by Utveckling Lärande Forskning/Development Learning Research (ULF), a national pilot project commissioned by the Swedish government aimed at developing and testing sustainable collaboration models between academia and schools/school systems. The purpose of the project is to understand and develop teaching with a focus on subject-specific knowledge, including the selection and

transformation of the central content games, physical activities, and outdoor excursions defined in the revised policy documents.

This study is part of the overall project and uses two datasets. First, we conducted a case study using a model of action research comprising one school, two SAEC settings, and four teachers. The action research process included individual interviews, observations of teaching, and reflective group dialogues based on what we as researchers observed throughout the process regarding the study's aim. It became evident that the teachers had to manage several dilemmas regarding voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure in SAEC settings.

These dilemmas were then presented and discussed by the research group in a podcast that SAEC teachers in the region were given access to through a website. With a view to reconciling the preliminary results and broadening the empirical base, they were invited to participate in digital exchanges of professional development experiences based on certain themes that emerged in the research process. The teachers could choose between two sessions, each of which lasted two and a half hours. They were informed in writing that their informed consent was required to participate in the research study. They signed up in advance, and due to the restrictions of the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, they were given a Zoom link for the online exchange. Four teachers registered for the first event and 14 for the second. The second dataset, comprised of recordings of the teachers' oral and written reflections, was constructed during these two events.

The data used in this study were derived from the oral and written reflections of 22 SAEC teachers. The themes focused on during the two Zoom events were (1) teaching in SAEC, (2) the teachers' tasks in SAEC, (3) the task of SAEC to complement the compulsory school, (4) collaboration between teaching in SAEC and in compulsory the school, and (5) the challenges and possibilities of teaching in SAEC. Each theme was presented separately. The teachers reflected individually and then shared their thoughts anonymously in writing using a digital bulletin board. The research group summarised what was written and asked follow-up questions before moving on to the next theme.

The researchers listened to and transcribed the individual interviews (first dataset), the reflective dialogues (first dataset), and the professional development conversations conducted over Zoom (second dataset). These transcriptions were read several times, and notes were taken. To understand the teachers' talk about their teaching and their perspectives on the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure, it was necessary to follow the transcriptions. The interviews were analysed using a joint qualitative analysis approach (cf. Boije, 2010). Through segmentation, we worked deductively with the data material and considered the interview questions and our theoretical framework of dilemmatic spaces a starting point. At the same time, we analysed the transcripts inductively to explore possible themes that emerged in the teachers' reflections.

Inspired by Braun and Clarke (2006; 2023), the process of analysis was recursive and moved between raw data, codes, and themes. Initially, all the data were coded. Thereafter, we searched for themes to guide our investigation of the relationships between other codes, and we also coded excerpts to identify patterns in the data. We were aware of the risk of taking sentences out of context and actively tried to manage that risk. When searching for patterns and links between codes, broad themes concerning the aim of the study emerged.

The themes selected focused on overall issues, which means that teachers or groups did not say the exact same things; rather, variations provided different thematic aspects. During the analysis, it became evident that the dilemmas the teachers faced about providing activities

related not only to the pupils enrolled in SAEC but also to the compulsory school and their colleagues. Each theme/dilemma was defined for clarity and consistency and named as follows: (1) compulsory school vs. SAEC, (2) offering pupils attractive teaching methods and content, and (3) differing experiences and perspectives among the staff. These themes were not mutually exclusive and partly overlapped. Data in this study were collected from a few individuals, so findings could not be generalized to a larger population. However, the findings can be transferable to other settings. To increase the trustworthiness of the study, we will present sufficient data to support this interpretation (e.g. Golafshani, 2003).

The study was conducted in accordance with the national ethical guidelines formulated by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017) and scrutinised by the university's ethical board. All participants provided informed consent in speech or writing before the data collection began.

Results

The results are presented in terms of the three dilemmatic spaces yielded through the analysis: (1) compulsory school vs. SAEC, (2) offering pupils' attractive teaching methods and content, and (3) the differing experiences and perspectives among the staff. To give voice to the teachers and substantiate the results, quotations were used. Quotes of 40 or more words are blocked, while shorter quotes are presented in single quotation marks.

Compulsory School vs. SAEC

SAEC is an educational setting on its own, but it is located in the same building as the compulsory school, and, as such, they share a physical space. It was evident that the teachers' reflections on the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure in SAEC settings were shaped with the compulsory school in mind. Indeed, SAEC teaching is planned in relation to compulsory school teaching:

> Compulsory schools are governed differently, and it is clear through the syllabi what goals to attain and so on. We also have goals, but they are not specified. We notice that when the pupils come to SAEC after school ends in the afternoon, they are exhausted; therefore, we begin with free play because that is what they need at that moment. But after the snack, we control the pupils a little bit more.

While the expressed need to offer the pupils free time after a day of limited choices in the compulsory school setting affects what the pupils are offered in SAEC, the complementary function of SAEC in relation to compulsory school is another important aspect:

> The curriculum stipulates that SAEC should complement compulsory school teaching. We do not do that so much, but sometimes we start thematic work in the compulsory school and continue working on it at SAEC. We discuss this a lot with our teacher colleagues, but it is hard to accomplish due to the time for planning and so on …

Some teachers were motivated to collaborate with compulsory schoolteachers regarding pupils working on the same project throughout the day, regardless of whether they were in the compulsory or voluntary setting. Other teachers did not have that explicit ambition, stating, 'Previously, if the teacher taught the pupils about allemansrätten (the law of Outdoor Access

Rights), I worked with them during that lesson, but we do not link compulsory teaching to SAEC teaching'. A couple of the teachers asserted the following:

We are not an extension of the school day; therefore, we make a clear division between compulsory school and the SAEC, which begins when the pupils leave school at two o'clock. It is kind of old-fashioned to view SAEC as an extension of the school day.

The fact that the pupils represent different ages and school classes also affects what the SAEC teachers organise and offer the pupils:

We welcome pupils from three different classes who have worked on different things during the day. If it is urgent for them to continue working on what they are doing in school, we do not stop them, but in that case, it should be the pupils' initiative.

The teachers claimed the importance of letting all the pupils experience the SAEC pedagogy, which focuses on creative and aesthetic forms of expression, regardless of whether they were enrolled in SAEC. Therefore, they strove to enact this pedagogy during the compulsory school day, with the aim of stimulating all pupils' holistic learning and development, regardless of whether they were in the compulsory or the voluntary setting. The teachers' views of how to navigate between the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure were clearly affected by the different tasks of compulsory school and SAEC, their own tasks in these different settings, and their ideas about what the pupils need and should be offered in SAEC.

Offering Pupils Attractive Teaching Methods and Content

Some of the teachers strongly related to the curriculum-defined tasks of SAEC, and the foremost challenge they faced related to the requirement that they stimulate pupils' holistic development and learning while at the same time conduct teaching based on the interests, needs, and initiatives of the pupils. The teachers emphasised the need to allow the pupils 'free time' while simultaneously aiming for 'a mix of the free and the teaching'.

A challenge of the SAEC teaching assignment is the difficulty of getting the pupils to be active: 'Too many pupils sit and do nothing. There are about two or three pupils who do not think it is fun to do anything'. The teachers struggled with their thoughts about whether and to what degree they should force the pupils to widen their experiences by trying activities that they did not choose themselves:

Sometimes, the SAEC setting can be very free because the pupils only want free time and reject being controlled. They think that what we have planned is boring. It is therefore difficult to know what to do and how to do it to get them interested in the planned activities.

One strategy the teachers suggested for handling the dilemma of pupils who do not want to engage in certain, or any, activities is to offer activities that are organised and led by the staff and to provide space for the pupils' initiatives and recreational needs. However, some colleagues claimed that it should be voluntary for pupils to participate in planned activities, while others regarded planned activities as mandatory for all pupils. Another suggested strategy for encouraging pupils to engage in activities planned by the staff was 'to tell [the pupils] what is in the curriculum about what to do in SAEC', which some teachers regarded as important because many pupils were not aware of the tasks of SAEC. Some teachers reflected on how to make the teaching more exciting, while others expressed curiosity about planning the activities in collaboration with the pupils. Some teachers have formalised contexts and councils in

which pupils are given the space to influence the educational setting. Sometimes, the pupils might not necessarily view the activities offered in SAEC as boring, but if they were to go home after school instead of spending time at SAEC, they would be free to do even more fun things.

I have had a problem with pupils choosing to go home when they start Grade 2 or 3 because they feel it is cool to go home after school. At home, they can sit and play online with their friends, and it has been a challenge for me to keep even those who are friends in SAEC. I say to them, 'What do you want to learn. What shall we do? It is fun to be at SAEC'. They accept that. I tell them that they can go home after snack time, at approximately half past three, and it has worked!

Obviously, the teachers are anxious to keep as many pupils as possible in SAEC, and some of them 'ask the pupils if they should call their parents and ask if they could stay longer' to participate in planned activities, such as going to the woods or the gym. They acknowledged, 'We should not really do that, but yes, we want them there because we think it is important as well'. The teachers are proud of being able to offer the pupils activities that complement compulsory school teaching, stimulate their holistic development and learning, and prevent them from spending many hours at home after school 'sitting by the computer or spending time on their cell phones'.

Differing Experiences and Perspectives of the Staff

Due to the teachers' varying educational backgrounds and work experiences, they related in different ways to the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure. Some teachers discussed different views between the teachers who only work in compulsory schools and those with responsibilities in both the compulsory and voluntary settings. For example, one participant stated, 'In the compulsory school classroom, it is strictly by the book, despite what the pupils want. In SAEC, we are free in another way'. During the discussions, differences within the group of SAEC teachers also occurred:

Where I work, there are extreme differences among the SAEC teachers regarding how they think about rules and put them into practice. Some colleagues want to control the pupils, while others prefer to offer them space to make their own choices. Of course, complexity within a group of colleagues might be positive, but it can be frustrating as well. Some SAEC teachers consider guarding the slide the most important task, while I prefer to mediate conflicts. All of us probably share a common base of values, but we have different approaches to the tasks and the pupils.

Several of the teachers had worked in SAEC for decades and had experienced several revisions in the policy documents that govern the programme. They carried out the work long before the clarified teaching commission was introduced (Skolverket, 2016), and their tasks were somewhat different. Other teachers with less work experience had not experienced significant changes in their tasks and the structural conditions. These variations might partly explain the teachers' varying views of what it means to teach in SAEC and the extent to which the pupils should influence the teaching. One participant stated, 'The teachers represent different perspectives; they know each other well, the work becomes convenient, and the teachers organise the same activities over and over'.

While complexity might be positive, it might also be challenging for colleagues: 'Several of my SAEC colleagues have extensive work experience, and they know best (laughter)'. The updated curriculum is regarded as a challenge to some teachers' colleges, and it exerts a strong

influence on the teachers' views of their task to make SAEC a learning environment while also allowing the pupils to influence and participate in the teaching.

Discussion

None of the teachers described their experiences in terms of dilemmas. However, their talk about teaching in SAEC actualised the relations, negotiations, and positioning in their everyday practices that we, supported by Fransson and Grannäs (2013), recognise as dilemmas. Our initial understanding was that the tension between the aspects of voluntariness, governance, free time, and leisure in the SAEC setting was an issue for them primarily in relation to the pupils. However, dilemmas were also shaped and emerged in relation to the two educational settings—compulsory school and SAEC—and to colleagues. This might be an example of teachers navigating two intertwined value systems (Haglund, 2016 in which they must negotiate both traditions and the tensions of the new governance (Ackesjö et al., 2016). While safeguarding the work of supporting the pupils' comfort and well-being, the teachers are also required to conduct teaching that corresponds to the core content of SAEC's curriculum.

Previous studies have shown that pupils want to choose their own friendships without having to take the SAEC norms and rules into account (Lago & Elvstrand, 2021), that the space for free choices in SAEC is limited (Elvstrand & Lago, 2019), and that although SAEC provides opportunities for pupils to exercise influence, many of the pupils' wishes are modified by the teachers (Holmberg, 2017). The teachers in our study seemed to be highly motivated to offer pupils attractive activities and content, guided by their conviction that SAEC has a positive influence on pupils' learning and development. The dilemmas they mentioned had both an intrapersonal character in the sense of actualising their feelings of (un) certainty due to conflicting formal and informal demands and goals and an interpersonal character in the sense of actualising aspects of individual vs. collective autonomy (Pareja-Roblin & Margalef, 2013) and reciprocity in the work of manoeuvring everyday practices. Still, because of the lack of goals and the less formal educational context, the teachers also expressed feelings of pride and joy when talking about their teaching in relation to the learning possibilities they offered pupils in both the SAEC and the compulsory setting. In sum, this study sheds light on the complex mission SAEC teachers have in Swedish schools.

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Unmasking Student Dynamics: the Impact of COVID-19 on Social-Emotional Development and Learning Engagement[1]

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Abstract: This study aimed to examine the impact of COVID-19 on the pattern of social-emotional development and learning engagement of Korean students. It employs latent profile analysis to categorize middle and high school students based on their social-emotional development (action-orientation, optimism, perseverance, relationship with adults) and learning engagement (cooperative learning, and self-directed learning). The analysis, conducted during the fall semester of 2019 and the spring semester of 2020 amid COVID-19 school closures, explores nuanced patterns and effects. The findings reveal distinct student groups with discernible differences across all factors both before and during school closure. Notably, the research suggests that early social-emotional development may influence subsequent developmental stages and that a student's social-emotional skills correlate with cooperative and self-directed learning. Furthermore, the study highlights the pandemic's varied impact on student groups, indicating that those with advanced social-emotional competencies and established learning practices were resilient to school closures. In contrast, 'average' students faced challenges in cooperative and active learning during lockdown. The study underscores the need for targeted educational measures, particularly for at-risk students, and suggests proactive preparation for future pandemics.

Keywords: COVID-19, Social-emotional development, Learning engagement, LPA

Introduction

In the dynamic landscape of education, children's growth and development are intricately woven into their interactions with diverse social agents, encompassing teachers, peers, and family members (Dewey, 1938). The quality and nature of these intellectual exchanges, whether within the structured confines of the educational institution or in the broader societal context, wield considerable influence over students' academic achievements and socio-emotional development. In this context, public schools actively foster diverse interactions to mitigate dropouts and enhance learning outcomes, employing strategies like learning community activities, cooperative learning, mentoring programs, and extracurricular pursuits. Notably, enriched engagements with parents and siblings at home also play a pivotal role in shaping the trajectory of a child's growth.

The landscape of education, however, underwent a seismic shift with the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, which profoundly affected students' classroom activities and daily

1 This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea(NRF) grant funded by the Korean government. (NRF-2022S1A5C2A03090888)

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https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v11i2.05

lives in the Korean context over the 2019-2020 period. The imposition of lockdowns, a consequence of social distancing policies, forced most Korean schools to close their doors, compelling students into a realm of online remote learning. This isolated them from the conventional school environment, disrupting the accustomed academic and social interactions. In this unprecedented context, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the dynamics of interpersonal interactions, whether for learning, socializing, or recreational activities, underwent significant transformations. Students may have experienced a sense of disconnection, lacking the stimuli and experiences essential for their holistic growth and development. More importantly, the lockdown might have engendered a discriminatory impact, with variations in the socioeconomic status of parents, family's social and cultural capital, and engagement in social network services (SNS) potentially differentially affecting students and, consequently, influencing their learning and social-emotional development.

The purpose of this study is to categorize students based on the degree and pattern of their social-emotional development and learning engagement. It particularly seeks to unravel the changes between two distinct periods—the fall semester of 2019, preceding the COVID-19 outbreak, and the spring semester of 2020, marked by school closures and restricted academic and social interactions. The observed variables for social-emotional development encompass activity orientation, perseverance, optimism, and relationships with adults. Concurrently, students' learning engagement patterns are examined through the lenses of cooperative learning and self-directed learning.

The onset of the pandemic precipitated alterations in the landscape of academic activities, ushering in new teaching-learning paradigms (Bae & Hwang, 2020). As schools transitioned to remote learning, students found themselves navigating predominantly pre-recorded and real-time interactive classes, markedly distinct from traditional face-to-face instruction (Bae & Cho, 2021). The learning environment, mediated by learning management systems, witnessed a shift in the modality of class management, student discussions, and teacher-student interactions. Extended education including extracurricular activities, sports, and leisure activities dwindled, limiting socio-emotional exchanges among students. Furthermore, exposure to negative news and the prolonged isolation imposed by the lockdown heightened the risk of psychological distress among students, accentuating the impact on their social and emotional development.

The significance of the study lies in its nuanced exploration of how students' socio-emotional development and learning experiences evolve amidst a lockdown situation and an online-based remote learning environment. As the specter of future pandemics looms, understanding the repercussions of COVID-19 on students becomes imperative to preemptively devise educational measures. This study not only sheds light on the adaptive strategies employed by students in online learning environments but also identifies groups that may require tailored educational support amidst the challenges posed by social distancing and school closures. In offering academic and practical implications, this study equips educational authorities with insights to navigate the unpredictable terrain of future crises, safeguarding students' growth, and fortifying the quality of education. The results of the study will contribute to providing information that can be used for educators and policymakers to identify students who need special educational measurements and develop tailored educational practices and policies in a pandemic situation that may come again in the future.

Review of the related literature

Social-emotional development

The swift progression of social-emotional development (SED) in the lives of children and youth is a pivotal aspect that can intricately shape their future trajectories. Recognizing the profound impact of this development, especially in the context of subsequent life outcomes, underscores the paramount importance of understanding and fostering the social and emotional growth of the youth.

Developmental perspectives necessitate an appreciation for the critical windows of time during which children and youth are particularly responsive to essential skills, including collaboration, self-regulation, and perseverance. This developmental process extends beyond the confines of traditional school-based curricula. It involves a holistic approach, seamlessly integrating social-emotional learning with developmentally appropriate timing to facilitate optimal youth thriving. In the scholarly domain, these social and emotional developmental experiences are often referred to as psychosocial areas, encapsulating changes in emotion, personality, identity, and interpersonal relationships (Seifert, Hoffnung, & Hoffnung, 2000).

Understanding the dimensions of each young student's social-emotional development (SED) becomes a crucial imperative for educators. This understanding enables educators to discern the evolving needs and strengths of young learners, offering insights into how these facets change over time. As a testament to the increasing recognition of the significance of SED, the PEAR Institute at Harvard University introduced the Clover Model. This model serves as a comprehensive framework elucidating the intricate interplay of physical, cognitive, and social development in shaping how young individuals learn, think, and form connections with their peers. The Clover Model stands on a solid foundation of research, emphasizing four indispensable elements—Active Engagement, Assertiveness, Belonging, and Reflection—that are integral to thriving across various stages of human development (Malti & Noam, 2009).

- Active Engagement: Active Engagement, at its core, is the innate desire to actively and physically connect with the world using one's body. This inclination is particularly pronounced in early childhood, where the specialized focus on active engagement and physical activity commences at birth and persists until approximately age 5.
- Assertiveness: The dimension of Assertiveness signifies the development of self-efficacy, the capacity to express one's inner voice. This facet gains prominence during the formative years of middle school, spanning from age 6 to 10. It underscores the significance of providing young individuals with opportunities to make decisions independently, fostering dominance and autonomy in their relationships.
- Belonging: Belonging, an essential component, denotes the child's yearning to establish connections with peers and adults in their immediate surroundings. This desire for group acceptance and identity is particularly pivotal in early adolescence, ranging from age 11 to 16.
- Reflection: Reflection, in the context of social-emotional development, represents the inclination for self-reflection and identity exploration. This dimension involves making sense of one's own identity, experiences, emotions, and thoughts. Late adolescence, from age 16 and beyond, becomes the specialized phase for Reflection, where youth actively

strive to find meaningful insights inwardly, enhancing their ability for self-awareness and gaining profound insights.

Empirical evidence indicates that developmentally sensitive assessments play a critical role in enhancing the efficacy of intervention strategies tailored to meet the developmental needs of children and youth (Malti, Chaparro, Zuffianò, & Colasante, 2016; Weisz, 1997). In line with this, the PEAR Institute developed the Holistic Student Assessment (HSA). The HSA, theoretically grounded in the Clover Model, serves as a quantitative self-report survey measuring the social-emotional developmental status of learners from kindergarten to adulthood. The assessment focuses on four critical dimensions: Action orientation, Optimism, Perseverance, and Relationship with others. The HSA, rigorously researched by Noam and Goldstein (1998) and Song (2003), strategically aligns with the four leaves of the Clover Model, measuring resiliencies essential for holistic developmental assessment. This multidimensional approach contributes significantly to advancing our understanding of social-emotional development, providing educators and researchers with a comprehensive toolkit for nuanced interventions tailored to diverse developmental needs.

Table 1. HSA Subscales as Applied to The Clover Model

Clover Model	HAS Subscales	Definition	Sample Item
Active Engagement	Action Orientation	Engagement in physical and hands-on activities	I like being physically active and moving my body.
Assertiveness	Perseverance	Confidence in putting oneself forward and standing up for what one believes	I defend myself against unfair rules.
Belonging	Relationship with Adults	Good relationship with adults	When I have a problem, I talk to the adults.
Reflection	Optimism	Enthusiasm for and hopefulness about one's life	I have more good times than bad times.

Learning engagement

The pivotal role of learning engagement in the educational landscape has been examined by seminal scholars such as Csikszentmihalyi (1992) and Deci and Ryan (1985). Engagement, as conceptualized by Csikszentmihalyi, goes beyond mere participation; it serves as a catalyst for interest and active involvement in learning. The impact of engagement extends far beyond the educational realm, permeating into various facets of life, fostering creativity, enjoyment, advanced learning experiences, skill development, and heightened self-esteem.

Deci and Ryan (1985) augment this perspective by revealing that internal motivation in learning not only enhances learning ability but also contributes to the experience of positive emotions and increased confidence. Consequently, the characteristics of engagement become crucial determinants of the quality of the learning experience. When students actively engage

in a learning situation, they not only derive enjoyment but are also more likely to exhibit curiosity and a desire to learn, thereby positively influencing academic achievement (Csikszentmihalyi et al., 1993).

In essence, learning engagement emerges as a linchpin connecting to the realms of self-directed learning and cooperative learning. The enjoyment and active participation associated with engagement lay the foundation for a dynamic and interactive learning environment.

- Cooperative Learning: Cooperative learning, as elucidated by Cabrera et al. (2002), stands as a strategic teaching method that transcends individual learning activities. It involves the sharing and interaction of learners' authority and responsibility for learning, typically manifested through peer response groups and peer tutoring. At its core, cooperative learning is not confined to the acquisition of individual knowledge; rather, it revolves around the dynamic interaction between learners. Within the context of cooperative learning, knowledge exchange among peers is not merely a means to achieve common goals but fosters the development of a peer culture and policies within a social context. This, in turn, exerts a profound influence on learners' perceptions and behaviors. The impact of cooperative learning extends beyond the immediate learning outcomes, significantly improving learners' teaching and school satisfaction (Resta & Laferrière, 2007; Swan, 2001), fostering higher-order thinking skills and academic achievement (Resta & Laferrière, 2007), and cultivating positive relationships among learners (Roseth, Johnson, & Johnson, 2008).
- Self-directed Learning: Self-directed learning, as delineated by Ellinger (2004), marks a series of learning processes where learners actively participate in shaping their educational activities. Autonomous learners, as emphasized by Loyens, Magda, and Rikers (2008) and Macaskill & Denovan (2013), play a pivotal role in this process. They take charge of diagnosing their learning needs, setting goals, identifying resources, selecting appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating outcomes. Beyond the mechanics of learning, self-directed learners embody a sense of responsibility for their educational journey. They make decisions independently, exercise emotional control, and harbor intrinsic motivation for learning. The autonomy and motivation associated with self-directed learning contribute to a proactive and empowered approach to education.

In the nuanced landscape of educational research, learning engagement, cooperative learning, and self-directed learning emerge as interconnected dimensions, shaping the multifaceted experiences of learners. Understanding and harnessing these dimensions not only enhance the educational journey but also pave the way for innovative pedagogical strategies and interventions.

Impact of COVID 19 on education and student development

The global landscape of education witnessed an unprecedented upheaval due to the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, prompting an urgent need to scrutinize student patterns of socio-emotional development and learning engagement. This study delves into the nuanced changes brought about by school closures before and after the onset of COVID 19, with a primary focus on understanding alterations in the educational environment.

Changes in teaching and learning

The seismic shift induced by COVID-19 in the educational domain, as noted by Baber (2021), propelled the world into uncharted territories. Offline activities dwindled, giving way to the prominence of online-based teaching and learning under the constraints of social distancing (Cuaton, 2020; Griffiths, 2020; Moawad, 2020; Zhang, Wang, Yang, & Wang, 2020). Concerns over diminishing academic achievement took center stage in various studies. In the U.S., the repercussions of face-to-face class losses were anticipated to disproportionately affect math and reading subjects, with a pronounced impact on lower grades and pre-existing low-achieving students (Soland et al., 2020).

Contrary voices labeled this period as a digital revolution in teaching and learning experiences (Tiwari, S′eraphin, & Chowdhary, 2021), ushering in a potential paradigm shift towards routine distance learning (Griffiths, 2020). In the Korean context, where online learning in public education was limited, the pandemic served as a catalyst for the practical implementation of online education, turning what was once considered a future prospect into a current reality (Gillis & Krull, 2020).

However, it is crucial to note that online learning during the pandemic primarily manifested as Emergency Remote Teaching (ERT), lacking the depth of a fully transitioned online learning experience (Hodges et al., 2020). Despite instances of commendable remote teaching, the unpreparedness induced by the sudden pandemic hindered efforts to enhance the quality of classes, leading to widespread student dissatisfaction.

This period of online learning accentuated educational disparities, with studies showcasing exacerbated learning gaps linked to socioeconomic backgrounds. Students from lower socioeconomic strata faced more challenges in online learning, highlighting disparities in access to digital devices and related content (Lee et al., 2020). Additionally, variations in parental support and guidance further accentuated differences in students' experiences of self-directed learning and supplementary educational support (Choi, 2022).

In essence, the pandemic reshaped the landscape of Korean education, thrusting all teaching and learning activities into the online realm and unveiling challenges related to unpreparedness and socioeconomic differentials. Amidst these changes, this study assumes a distinctive stance by investigating how active learning participation has evolved during the pandemic.

Impact on student development

The impact of COVID-19 extends beyond cognitive dimensions, permeating the social and emotional fabric of education. A monumental transformation unfolded as schools transitioned to non-face-to-face modalities, particularly in Korea, where traditional classrooms gave way to virtual meetings between teachers and students via monitor screens.

While society at large witnessed new lifestyles such as increased time due to the prevalence of working from home and strengthened social capital through digital media, learners experienced a starkly different reality. For students, according to Durkheim's theory, school is not merely a knowledge acquisition space but a crucial arena for socialization. The non-face-to-face situation during the pandemic heightened anxiety, depression, and academic stress among students (Ministry of Education, 2022). Most notably, friendships suffered in this

altered educational landscape, necessitating attention to the emotional difficulties arising during a critical period of children and adolescents' development.

COVID-19, by its nature, curtailed social contact, subjecting children to heightened stress due to reduced social activities. Concurrently, parents' stress and anxiety compounded these challenges (Elmer, Mepham, & Stadtfeld, 2020). The prolonged pandemic-induced isolation exacerbated depression and anxiety among children, disrupting the psychological stability derived from forming social relationships within the school space (Choi, 2020).

Childhood and adolescence constitute a pivotal phase for social and emotional development, where students cultivate skills to recognize and manage emotions, act ethically and responsibly, and foster positive relationships (Zins et al., 2004). Therefore, this study assumes academic significance by delving into the evolving patterns of students' social-emotional development amid the pandemic, shedding light on the intricate interplay between education and the transformative forces of COVID-19.

Methods

Data

This study aims to categorize Korean middle and high school students into distinct groups based on their levels and patterns of social-emotional development and learning engagement. The data were collected through a comprehensive survey administered before and during the school closure, specifically during the fall semester of 2019 and the spring semester of 2020. The objective is to discern the disparities in patterns and aspects between two temporal models: Before School Closure and During School Closure.

The present study draws upon empirical data obtained from a rigorously constructed survey instrument developed in collaboration between Harvard University's PEAR Institute (Noam & Goldstein, 1998) and Sungkyunkwan University's Institute for the Future of Education. Executed during the period from July 1 to July 31, 2020, the survey was administered online, targeting students in five middle schools and five high schools.

To ensure the integrity of the dataset, meticulous procedures were employed in the screening process, resulting in the inclusion of 2,006 middle school students and 1,246 high school students after the exclusion of insincere responses[2]. For a comprehensive depiction of the demographic characteristics of the sample, refer to Table 1, which provides a detailed overview of the study participants.

2 Although there are clear differences between middle and high schools, this study aggregated data considering the optimal sample size to increase the reliability of latent class group classification.

Table 2. Sample Description

Grade		Girl		Boy		Total
		n	%	*n*	%	
Middle School	7	382	52.70%	343	47.30%	725
	8	544	58.70%	382	41.30%	926
	9	180	50.70%	175	49.30%	355
High School	10	320	53.20%	282	46.80%	602
	11	285	61.60%	178	38.40%	463
	12	102	56.40%	79	43.60%	181
Total		1,813	55.80%	1439	44.20%	3,252

Variables and Measurement

Social-emotional development was measured using a measurement tool developed by the PEAR Institute of Harvard University, comprising four key factors: action orientation, optimism, perseverance, and relationship with adults. Learning engagement was assessed through two factors—cooperative learning and self-directed learning. The selection of these factors stems from the hypothesis that, amid distant learning and stringent social distancing due to school closure and the COVID-19 pandemic, students may face challenges in participating in cooperative learning, thus emphasizing the significance of self-directed learning in a remote home-based learning context. Table 3 delineates the items associated with each factor, with responses measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 to 4 (not at all=1, sometimes=2, often=3, almost always=4).

Table 3. Factors, items, and reliabilities

Factor	Item	Reliability	
		Before	During
Action orientation	I like to move my body I like being active Exercise is important to me	0.721	0.751
Optimism	Even if I am having a bad time, I am able to see good things in my life I have more good times than bad times More good things than bad things will happen to me	0.695	0.764
Perseverance	I work hard to achieve goals even if things get in the way I keep going with work even if it takes longer than I thought it would When I try to accomplish something, I achieve it	0.674	0.745
Relationship with Adults	I talk with adults if I have problems There is at least one adult I can talk to about my problems Adults are interested in what I have to say	0.554	0.604
Cooperative Learning	I have opportunities to work in groups I get feedback on my ideas from classmates I help explain schoolwork to my classmates I work with classmates on school projects outside of class	0.74	0.745
Self-directed Learning	I know what I need to learn I actively set my learning goals I set aside enough time for studying I know how to study effectively I use study strategies to reach my learning goals	0.771	0.782

Analytic Strategies: Latent Profile Analysis (LPA)

Data analysis was conducted using latent profile analysis (LPA), a mixed model categorizing observed individual data into unobserved groups. LPA operates under the assumption that latent groups possess distinct probability distributions and are mutually exclusive (Terry et al., 2006). The study employed a robust maximum likelihood (MLR) estimator to address non-normality concerns, offering robust standard error and x 2 test statistics, particularly resilient against outliers (Wang & Wang, 2012).

Model fit was rigorously assessed using a range of indices, including Akaike Information Criteria (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), Sample Sizing BIC (saBIC), Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test (LMR), Bootstrap Likelihood Ratio Test (BLRT), and entropy. AIC, BIC, and saBIC values guided the identification of the optimal model, with lower values indicating superior fit. LMR and BLRT compared k and k-1 class models based on likelihood differences, with a p-value less than .05 signifying the superiority of the k-class model. Entropy, ranging from 0 to 1, gauged the precision of class membership classification, with higher values indicating more accurate classification. The study considered class size,

aiming for each class to encompass at least 1% or 25 cases of the sample for optimal statistical power (Tein et al., 2013). Mplus 8.0 was the statistical software utilized for the aforementioned analyses.

Findings

Results of the Before School Closure

Data Fit for the Models

In employing latent profile analysis to uncover latent classes within the student population, the study assessed the model fit using various indices. As shown in Table 3, the lower AIC, BIC, and saBIC values, coupled with higher entropy, pointed to the superiority of the eight-class model. Additionally, the BLRT test robustly affirmed the appropriateness of this model.

Table 4. Data Fit for the Models of Before School Closure

Models	AIC	BIC	saBIC	LMR	BLRT	entropy
2	39270.92	39387.79	39327.42	0.00	0.00	0.78
3	38038.37	38198.30	38115.68	0.00	0.00	0.76
4	37675.20	37878.18	37773.33	0.00	0.00	0.73
5	37550.72	37796.76	37669.66	0.10	0.00	0.75
6	37340.94	37630.03	37480.69	0.03	0.00	0.71
7	37227.37	37559.52	37387.94	0.28	0.00	0.71
8	37184.78	37560.00	37366.17	0.18	0.00	0.76
9	37065.62	37483.89	37267.82	0.22	0.00	0.75

Note. LMR = Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood-ratio test; BLRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio test.

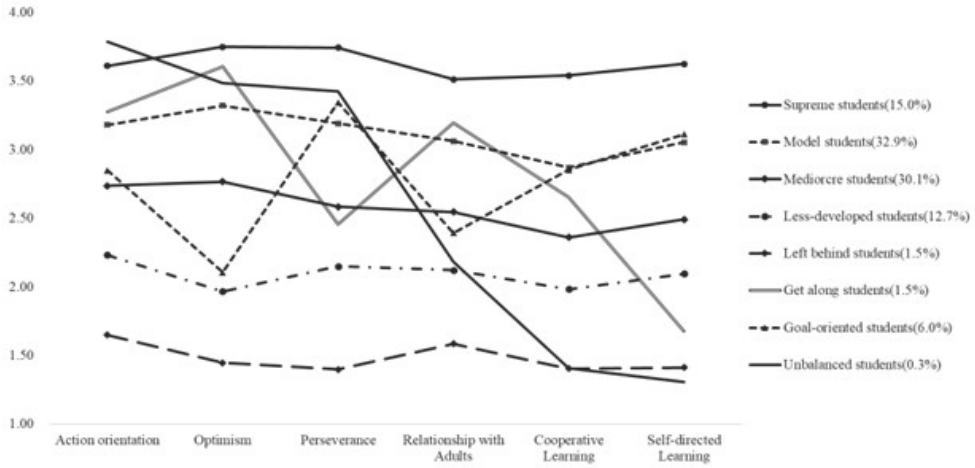
Name and features of each latent class

Figure 1 encapsulates the outcome of latent class analysis, revealing eight distinctive student groups based on their social-emotional development and learning engagement during the fall semester of 2019. A detailed breakdown of factor levels by group is provided in Table 5.

- Supreme Students (15.0%): This group, comprising the highest achievers, exhibited the pinnacle levels in both social-emotional development and learning engagement factors. Notably, these students showcased exceptional action orientation, optimism, perseverance, and strong relationships with adults.
- Model Students (32.9%): While not reaching the absolute zenith, this group demonstrated consistently high levels (3.0 or higher) across observed factors, excluding 'cooperative learning.' Their well-roundedness is evident, contributing to the largest portion of the sampled population.
- Mediocre Students (30.1%): Representing a significant portion of the sample, this group displayed moderate levels across all factors, signaling a balanced but average profile in terms of social-emotional development and learning engagement.

- Less Developed Students (12.7%): This cohort exhibited levels around 2.0, indicating 'sometime' on the scale, across all six factors. Their profile suggests a need for targeted interventions to bolster social-emotional development and learning engagement.
- Left-Behind Students (1.5%): A vulnerable group with lower levels across all social-emotional development and learning engagement factors, this cohort may be characterized as 'at-risk students.' Their profile necessitates focused attention and support.
- Get-Along Students (1.5%): Characterized by positive attitudes, physical activities, and active interaction with adults, this group displayed strengths in certain areas but exhibited lower levels of 'persistence' and 'self-directed learning.' Their unique profile suggests a need for a nuanced approach to foster holistic development.
- Goal-Oriented Students (6.0%): This group demonstrated high levels of 'perseverance' and 'self-directed learning' but lacked positive attitudes toward life and relationships with adults. Their distinct profile may indicate a focused determination to achieve academic goals.
- Unbalanced Students[3] (0.3%): With positive attitudes and physical activity, this group displayed an immature relationship with adults and low engagement in learning. Their profile suggests a need for interventions that align their enthusiasm with academic pursuits and interpersonal relationships.

Figure 1. Latent Classes of the Before School Closure Model



The outcomes of the current study unveil a predominant distribution, accounting for 92.2% of the total sample, across the first to fifth latent groups—specifically, the supreme, model, mediocre, less-developed, and left-behind student groups. An observably salient facet is the discerned variability in levels across these groups, juxtaposed with a consistent manifestation of socio-emotional development factors at commensurate levels within each group. Specifi-

3 This group shows the lowest distribution. However, it was included in the research results because it provides information showing the aspect about the impact of COVID 10 on students' socio-emotional development and learning engagement.

cally, an elevated level of the primary factor, action orientation, relates with similarly heightened levels in the ancillary factors—namely, perseverance, relationships with adults, and optimism—within these groups. Conversely, diminished levels in the primary factor align with a corresponding attenuation in the latter three factors.

This study embraces the Clover model, a developmental paradigm put forth by the PEAR Institute. This model serves as a Developmental Process Theory of social-emotional development, elucidating the evolution of emotional, interpersonal, and resiliency skills vital for success and thriving across the lifespan—from infancy through adulthood (Noam & Triggs, 2018). It maps a sequential trajectory in students' socio-emotional development, progressing from behavioral orientation to the establishment of relationships with adults. Significantly, the failure to attain requisite development in the early stages emerges as a potential hurdle, exerting adverse effects on subsequent developmental phases. In the context of our study's findings derived from a sample of Korean students, there is indirect support for the PEAR Institute's model, originally conceptualized within the framework of North American youth development.

Another noteworthy finding emerges from the observed association between a student's social-emotional development level and their predisposition towards cooperative learning and self-directed learning. The study results show that heightened levels of social-emotional development align positively with augmented proclivities towards cooperative and self-directed learning within each latent group. Conversely, lower levels of social-emotional development are associated with a concomitant attenuation in these educational factors. While the present study refrains from advancing causal inferences, these findings imply that the potential nexus may exist between students' socio-emotional development and their orientation towards cooperative and self-directed learning.

Table 5. Levels of each Factor by Group

	action orientation	optimism	perseverance	Relationship with Adults	Cooperative Learning	Self-directed Learning	n	%
Supreme students	3.61	3.75	3.74	3.51	3.54	3.63	520	15.0%
Model students	3.18	3.32	3.19	3.06	2.87	3.05	1140	32.9%
Mediorcre students	2.74	2.77	2.58	2.55	2.36	2.49	1045	30.1%
Less-developed students	2.23	1.97	2.15	2.12	1.98	2.10	439	12.7%
Left behind students	1.65	1.45	1.40	1.58	1.41	1.41	51	1.5%
Get along students	3.28	3.61	2.46	3.20	2.65	1.68	52	1.5%
Goal-oriented students	2.85	2.11	3.34	2.39	2.85	3.11	209	6.0%
Unbalanced students	3.79	3.48	3.42	2.18	1.41	1.31	11	0.3%

Results of the During School Closure Model

Data Fit for the Models

Table 5 provides insights into the latent profile analysis conducted on students' responses regarding the levels of social-emotional development and learning engagement during the COVID-19-induced school closure. AIC, BIC, and saBIC consistently decreased until the seven-class model. While BIC increased with the eight-class model, the entropy value indicated a deterioration in the quality of model classification. Based on these findings, the study opted for the seven-latent class model.

Table 6. Data Fit for the Models of During School Closure

Models	AIC	BIC	saBIC	LMR	BLRT	entropy
2	40530.26	40646.93	40586.56	0.00	0.00	0.78
3	39312.56	39472.22	39389.61	0.00	0.00	0.75
4	38923.55	39126.20	39021.34	0.00	0.00	0.76
5	38695.15	38940.79	38813.69	0.02	0.00	0.73
6	38543.26	38831.88	38682.54	0.05	0.00	0.69
7	38412.96	38744.57	38572.98	0.08	0.00	0.74
8	38379.01	38753.61	38559.78	0.76	0.00	0.72
9	38245.43	38663.01	38446.94	0.60	0.00	0.72

Note. LMR = Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood-ratio test; BLRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio test.

Name and features of each latent class

In accordance with the antecedent Before School Closure Model, discrete student cohorts, such as 'Supreme Students' (14.30%), 'Model Students' (33.40%), 'Less-Developed Students' (5.2%), and 'Left-Behind Students' (32.40%), persisted throughout the School Closure Model. However, nuanced patterns and facets emerged, delineating shifts from the fall semester of 2019. A comprehensive presentation of factor levels by group is detailed in Table 7, elucidating salient findings and noteworthy features.

- Mediocre Students (30%): This group, constituting 30% of students before school closure, underwent dissolution during the closure period.
- 'Less-Developed Students (5.2%): The group exhibited a marked reduction from 12.7% to 5.2%.
- 'Left-Behind Students (32.4%) : Conversely, the 'Left-Behind Students' group, emblematic of 'at-risk students,' experienced a notable increase from 1.5% to 32.4%. This conspicuous transformation prompts an exploration into whether students from the vanished 'Mediocre Students' group and those transitioning from the 'Less-Developed Students' group have now found themselves within the 'Left-Behind Students' category.
- Goal-Oriented Students (5.3%): The 'Goal-Oriented Students' group persisted, albeit with a marginal decrease from 6.0% to 5.3%. Notably, regarding learning engagement patterns, there was an ascension in self-directed learning coupled with a reduction in cooperative learning. This observed shift may be attributed to the increased reliance on online-based distance learning with limited interaction and cooperative activities.

- Get-Along Students (4.1%): A resurgence was evident in the 'Get-Along Students' group, registering an increase from 1.5% to 4.1%. Nevertheless, it is imperative to note that the degree of cooperative learning experiences, a hallmark of this group, significantly diminished from 2.65 to 1.99.
- Studying-Alone Students (5.2%): A novel student group emerged, characterized by heightened levels of positive attitudes toward life, reinforced perseverance, and augmented self-directed learning behaviors. Paradoxically, this group exhibited diminished levels of bodily movement and participation in cooperative learning. Coined as 'Studying-Alone Students,' this cohort constituted approximately 5.2% of the total sample.

These findings illuminate the dynamic shifts in student groups during the school closure, not only delineating the challenges posed by the transition to online learning but also accentuating the resilience and adaptability exhibited by specific groups. The substantial growth in 'Left-Behind Students' beckons a deeper examination into the socio-emotional and learning engagement experiences of students potentially at heightened risk during these exceptional circumstances. Furthermore, the nuanced alterations within existing student groups emphasize the imperative for targeted interventions and support mechanisms tailored to the evolving educational milieu.

Figure 2. Latent Classes of the During School Closure Model

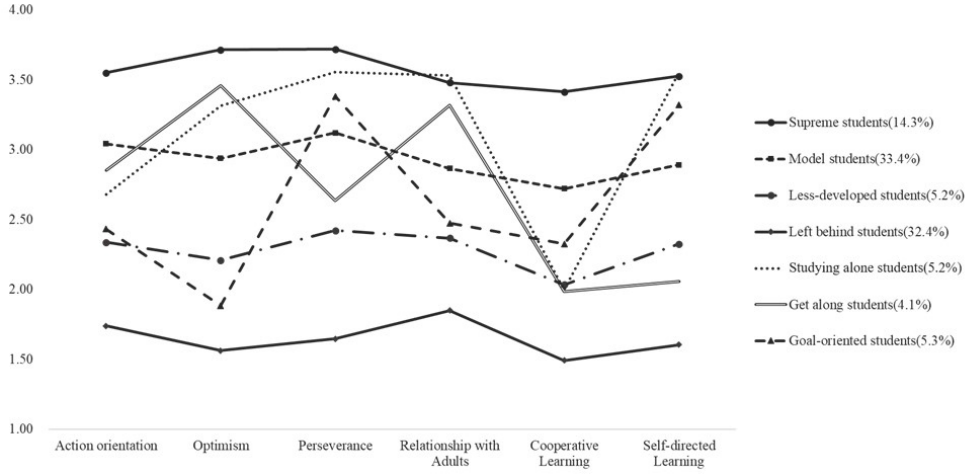


Table 7. Levels of each Factor by Group

	action orientation	optimism	perseverance	Relationship with Adults	Cooperative Learning	Self-directed Learning	n	%
Supreme students	3.55	3.72	3.72	3.48	3.41	3.53	491	14.3%
Model students	3.04	2.94	3.12	2.87	2.72	2.89	1148	33.4%
Less-developed students	2.34	2.21	2.42	2.37	2.03	2.32	178	5.2%
Left behind students	1.74	1.56	1.65	1.85	1.49	1.61	1111	32.4%
Studying alone students	2.68	3.31	3.56	3.53	2.00	3.56	180	5.2%
Get along students	2.85	3.46	2.63	3.32	1.99	2.06	141	4.1%
Goal-oriented students	2.43	1.88	3.38	2.47	2.33	3.32	183	5.3%

Changes After COVID-19 and School Closure

The goal of this study is to examine the transformations in students' social-emotional development and learning engagement patterns pre and post the outbreak of COVID-19. Experiences and activities during the fall semester of 2019 were juxtaposed with those during the period of online-based remote learning necessitated by the stringent social distancing measures imposed due to COVID-19. Employing latent profile analysis, students were classified into groups based on their social-emotional development levels and learning engagement patterns. The study delved into whether students retained their original group or transitioned to another specific group after the COVID-19 pandemic. The findings are delineated as follows.

- Persistence of 'Supreme' and 'Model' Students: Approximately 70% of students initially classified as 'Supreme Students' and 'Model Students' in the Before School Closure Model remained in their respective groups. This finding suggests that students exhibiting higher levels of social-emotional development and excelling in cooperative and self-directed learning were relatively less impacted by mandatory remote learning and social distancing prompted by COVID-19.
- Vanishing 'Mediocre Students' and Transition to 'Less Developed Students': The 'Mediocre Students' group, present before COVID-19, disappeared amidst strict social distancing and expanded distance learning. Over half of the original 'Mediocre Students' shifted to the 'Less Developed Students' group post-COVID-19, indicating substantial influence on those previously classified as 'mediocre' during normal circumstances.
- Movement from 'Less Developed' to 'Left Behind' Students: While 72.1% of students originally categorized as 'Less Developed Students' maintained their status during the school closure, 15.8% transitioned to the 'Left-Behind Students' group characterized by lower social-emotional development, limited cooperative learning experiences, and diminished self-directed learning behaviors. This smaller cohort exhibited relatively maladaptive responses to the new learning environment brought about by COVID-19.
- Adaptation of 'Get-Along Students' to 'Model Students': A modest yet significant 30.8% of students from the 'Get-Along Students' group transitioned to the 'Model Students' group, while 50% remained in their original group. This implies that students with matured social relationships and proficiency in cooperative learning successfully adapted to the challenges posed by social distancing due to COVID-19.
- Shifts in 'Goal-Oriented Students': Among 'Goal-Oriented Students,' 29% persisted in the same group, while 30.4% moved to the 'Model Students' group, and 27.1% transitioned to the 'Less Developed Students' group. Notably, activities and experiences related to social-emotional development and learning engagement for both 'Supreme Students' and 'Model Students' groups slightly decreased compared to the pre-COVID-19 circumstances.
- Disappearance of 'Mediocre Students' and Absorption into 'Less Developed' and 'Left Behind' Categories: With school closure and stringent social distancing, the 'Mediocre Students' group vanished, and its members were absorbed into either the 'Less Developed Students' or 'Left-Behind Students' groups. In these new groups, the levels of most factors were enhanced compared to the Before School Closure Model.
- Changes in 'Get Along' and 'Goal-Oriented Students': 'Get-Along Students' and 'Goal-Oriented Students' exhibited significant changes in measured values. Action orientation, optimism, and cooperative learning factors decreased, while perseverance, relationship

with adults, and self-directed learning factors increased. These shifts underscore the nuanced impact of COVID-19 on diverse student groups, influencing various aspects of their social-emotional development and learning engagement.

The changes in the levels of social-emotional development and learning engagement by group are as follows. It was found that the activities and experiences related to social-emotional development and learning engagement of both 'supreme students' and 'model students' groups decreased slightly compared to before COVID-19 circumstance. Notably, with the school closure and strong social distancing, the 'mediocre students' as a group disappeared and members of the group were absorbed into either group of 'less-developed students' or 'left behind students.' The levels of most factors in the case of 'less developed students' and 'left behind students' were enhanced compared to those of the Before School Closure Model. In addition, in the case of the 'get along students' and the 'goal-oriented students,' the measured values of action orientation, optimism, and cooperative learning factors decreased significantly, while those of perseverance, relationship with adults, and self-directed learning factors increased.

Table 8. Students' movement after COVID 19

		During school closeness						
		Supreme students	Model students	Less-developed students	Left behind students	Studying alone students	Get along students	Goal-oriented students
Before School Closure	Supreme students	307 (59.7%)	77 (15.0%)	47 (9.1%)	42 (8.2%)	11 (2.1%)	12 (2.3%)	18 (3.5%)
	Model students	149 (13.2%)	620 (55.1%)	111 (9.9%)	132 (11.7%)	27 (2.4%)	44 (3.9%)	43 (3.8%)
	Mediorcre students	14 (1.4%)	346 (33.5%)	13 (1.3%)	549 (53.1%)	25 (2.4%)	46 (4.4%)	41 (4.0%)
	Less-developed students	4 (0.9%)	21 (4.8%)	1 (0.2%)	315 (72.1%)	69 (15.8%)	7 (1.6%)	20 (4.6%)
	Left behind students	2 (3.9%)	3 (5.9%)	0 (0%)	7 (13.7%)	39 (76.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Get along students	3 (5.8%)	16 (30.8%)	0 (0%)	6 (11.5%)	0 (0%)	26 (50%)	1 (1.9%)
	Goal-oriented students	12 (5.8%)	63 (30.4%)	6 (2.9%)	56 (27.1%)	8 (3.9%)	2 (1.0%)	60 (29.0%)
	Unbalanced students	0 (0%)	2 (18.2%)	0 (0%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (9.1%)	4 (36.4%)	0 (0%)

Conclusion, Discussions, and Implications

This study aimed to categorize middle and high school students into groups based on the degree of social-emotional development (action-orientation, optimism, perseverance, relationship with adults) and learning engagement (cooperative learning, and self-directed learning). To examine the effects of COVID 19 on the pattern of social-emotional development and learning engagement of students, the analysis was conducted on data from two different times with the same samples. Students were asked to answer their perception and experiences about the social-emotional development and learning engagement during the fall semester of 2019 when they were able to interact with teachers and meet friends and during the spring semester of 2020 when COVID-19 required school closure and strict social distancing. Finally, a comparison was made on the results of the two analyses.

The study results can be summarized as follows. First, students were clearly classified into groups based on the level of social-emotional development and learning engagement patterns. In other words, the study found distinctive groups of which differences were evident across all factors both before and during the period of school closure. 'Supreme and model students' who excelled in all factors of social-emotional development and learning participation were found, while 'left-behind students who showed low levels in all factors without exception and was clearly distinguished from the excellent student group were also found to exist.

Second, looking at the patterns of social-emotional development in each group in this study, it suggests that the level of social-emotional skills and related experiences in the early stages of development can determine the level of development in the next stage as one gets older. Humans are by nature active and growth-oriented organisms and continue their relationships with others while participating in various activities and achieve integration through psychological and interpersonal experiences (Compton, 2007). In this sense, social-emotional development is essential for children and youth to pursue continuous psychological growth, integration, and well-being during their entire life (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In particular, youth and adolescence are a very important period when the basis for all growth and development is formed. In other words, socio-emotional development in childhood can be the basis for determining the degree of development in adolescence later. Social-emotional skills developed during this time would have an important influence on cognitive and emotional development in the future.

Another important finding was that a student's degree of socio-emotional development was closely related to the level of engagement in cooperative learning and self-directed learning. The social and emotional development formed in the school affects academic achievement and educational attainment. Finn (1989) suggested that negative academic self-concepts may interfere with subsequent academic achievement. Researchers found a significant relationship between academic self-concept and subsequent grades (Marsh & Yeung, 1997), and that academic self-concept was the result of prior academic achievement and also the result of future academic achievement (Marsh & Yeung, 1997). Previous studies have found that the relation exists between academic self-concept and academic achievement, which increases subsequent academic achievement, and high academic self-concept (Marsh, Hau, & Kong, 2002; Guay, Marsh, & Boivin, 2003). Students who perform well academically tend to experience positive school life, develop social abilities, and become involved in

positive social behavior (Chen, 2005; Skinner, Pappas, & Davis, 2005). On the other hand, Chen, Rubin, & Li (1997) suggested that children with academic difficulties were less likely to succeed in school than children with inappropriate social behavior (Chen et al., 1997). Elliott and Gresham (1993) also reported that children who behave improperly showed lower academic achievement than children who experienced social-emotional difficulties and showed no behavioral problems. The results of the current study imply that students who have difficulties in socio-emotional development due to COVID 19 may not be successfully engaged in self-directed learning and cooperative learning.

Therefore, educators and policymakers need to try to periodically diagnose whether students have successfully achieved the socio-emotional development required at each stage. When a student's development is found to be insufficient, education authorities must actively engage in educational interventions to help the student achieve this.

Finally, the study found that social distancing and school closure brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic had a differential effect on students. It has been found that social distancing, lockdown, and school closures do not have a significant effect on students who have already achieved a high level of socio-emotional competencies and who developed and well-practiced cooperative learning and self-directed learning attitudes and skills. It was also found that students with the persistence and self-directed learning abilities to overcome difficulties and pursue their own goals were relatively well adapted to the online-based remote learning environment that required self-focused study and time management. On the other hand, in this study, 'normal or average' students who showed an intermediate level in all factors of social-emotional development and learning engagement had difficulties in performing cooperative learning and active learning in a school closure situation. From a policy perspective, the results of this study suggest that education authorities should make efforts in advance so that students can develop self-directed learning abilities in case such a pandemic situation and the distant learning environment that it will cause in the future occur. Meanwhile, COVID-19 has shown the educational potential of online distance classes, which is likely to expand in the future. According to the results, students exist who are difficult to adapt to the online learning settings where they have to study alone. In this regard, the study suggests that educational measures should be prepared and implemented to help these at-risk students develop self-directed learning skills.

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Book Review of Youthsites: Histories of Creativity, Care, and Learning in the City

Phebe Chew*

In *Youthsites: Histories of Creativity, Care, and Learning in the City*, Poyntz, Sefton-Green, and Frey map a key sector of society that has evaded bureaucratic formalization: non-formal community arts youth organizations. The authors term these spaces "YouthSites"—youth-serving organizations that operate at the junction of community arts, education, and urban youth provision. Such spaces, the authors stipulate, are more readily defined by what they are *not*: "They are like schools but not schools, they espouse creative production but have no credentials, they are homes for many young people and yet they are transitory" (Poyntz et al., 2023, p.4).

The authors argue that YouthSites have become essential civic infrastructure for urban youth towards cultivating spaces of provision, care, creativity, and learning for youth failed by increasingly inhospitable urban landscapes and neoliberal systems and institutions. The authors map the nexus of societal domains that comprise the YouthSites sector: "their common existence on the boundaries between subculture, industry, and government provision for youth through the arts, education, training, and the creative industries" (Poyntz et al., 2023, p. 29). Through an international historical and multiple case study of YouthSites in London, Vancouver, and Toronto across a 30-year period of study, the authors provide a thorough, critical analysis of the rise, functions, and evolution of YouthSites within civil society in the Global North. Throughout the sections, the authors situate specific organizational cases within the historical phenomena they describe, allowing the reader to concretize the ways these large-scale, long-term forces shaped various aspects of the YouthSite sectors in three cities. It is through understanding context that individual experiences are resignified within societal patterns across the axis of space and time—contributing to a fuller understanding of how policy and context influence the sector, and subsequently, the lived experiences and outcomes for the youth who pass through it.

The book is organized in three parts which define, operationalize, and instantiate the Youthsites sector as shaped through historical and political events. The introductory section consists of Chapter 1, "A History of Changing Places for Learning, Creativity, and Care in the City," which introduces the concept of YouthSites and the authors' impetus for studying them with an internationally comparative, historical approach. It provides an overview of the book's primary arguments, as well as a roadmap for the structure of the book. The next part, "Section 1: Defining and Describing YouthSites," addresses the methodological processes concerning selecting contexts and YouthSites of study, data, and analytic procedures, behind mapping the sector. Chapter 2, "The Challenges of Researching the Non-Formal Learning

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International Journal for Research on Extended Education, Vol. 11, Issue 2/2023, 72–74
https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v11i2.06

Sector," describes the various considerations and challenges of studying non-formal sectors across a 30-year period of study. Chapter 3, "A Tale of Three Cities," provides historical context around the rise of YouthSites in Toronto, Vancouver, and London, to demonstrate how this sector across each of these cities in the Global North have been shaped by social and political forces. Chapter 4, "Young People's Experiences of YouthSites," then zooms into the YouthSites themselves to describe the affective lived experiences and outcomes gleaned through interviews with former YouthSite participants across cities.

With these definitions and contexts in place, the final part, "Section 2: The Achievement, Impact, and Effect of YouthSites," articulates the ways YouthSites contribute to learning, creativity, and care within urban spaces. Chapter 5, "Making a Claim for Authentic Learning amid Changing Education Ecosystems," focuses on how YouthSites offered and centered alternate pedagogical approaches, providing effective educational environments for youth otherwise failed by formal learning experiences. Chapter 6, "Aesthetics and Creativity in Youth and Community Arts," focuses on the ways that aesthetics within YouthSites provide mediate various pathways to expression, relationality, and social change. Chapter 7, "Making Spaces for Youth: Community Arts and the City," focuses on the role YouthSites play in providing space and place of refuge for youth in cities amidst displacement and gentrification. Chapter 8, "Leaders and Modes of Leadership," characterizes orientations of leadership and feminine structures of care quintessential to the sector, and maps evolutions of leadership orientations as shaped by fungible sociopolitical dynamics and inequalities. Chapter 9, "The Paradox of Enterprise: Governance, Markets, and Social Good," traces the ways funding models have influenced YouthSite organizational and program structures through time. Finally, Chapter 10, "Conclusion: What Future for YouthSites?" summarizes each previous chapter, providing a bird's eye view of the ways history and context has resulted in various accomplishments and challenges of the sector, as well as the questions that lie ahead as YouthSites inevitably continue to evolve.

Though undeniably a scholarly text, the authors' firsthand experience working in various YouthSites positions them to access dimensions of YouthSites beyond the theoretical, resulting in the nuanced and comprehensive mapping of a sector shaped by specific sociohistorical contexts, grounded in an awareness of organizational realities and practical dynamics that arise in such spaces. Take for example, discussions around functional dimensions of YouthSite organizations such as funding, leadership styles, and structures, and complex real-time tensions between "amplification of youth voice or a fetishization of youth arts" (Poyntz et al., 2023, p. 111). As such, *Youthsites* serves as a foundational text that defines and contextualizes the non-formal youth arts sector. Furthermore, because *Youthsites* spans historical and policy-based analysis across educational, welfare, and creative industries, it presents as an intellectual resource for many possible audiences connected to the non-formal youth arts sector: for scholars across disciplines looking to situate and build on otherwise scattered scholarship; for researchers and policymakers who aim to surface historical systematic challenges towards policy that sidesteps previous failings; as well as for practitioners —whether looking to develop quality practice and organizational structures, or to bolster rationale for material support from stakeholders.

By providing a historical and political context aside the lived experiences of former youth participants and leadership of YouthSites, Poyntz, Sefton-Green, and Frey make a compelling case for the ways YouthSites function as an essential societal sector in urban life, and how they came to be that way. Through their mapping of the YouthSites sector, the authors bring

definition to a sector that is otherwise challengingly heterogeneous—towards building a historical bedrock of articulative, dignifying, and useful scholarship for scholars, policy-makers, and practitioners alike who have a stake in the multifaceted and consequential spaces YouthSites provide for urban youth.

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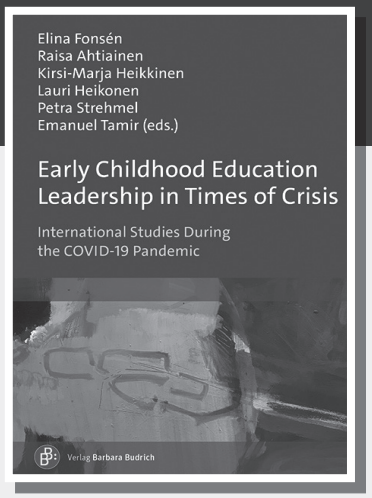

Elina Fonsén, Raisa Ahtiainen,
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Petra Strehmel, Emanuel Tamir (eds.)

Early Childhood Education Leadership in Times of Crisis

International Studies During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Claudia Equit (ed.)

Participation in Residential Childcare

Safeguarding children's rights through participation and complaint procedures

2024 • 255 pp. • Pb. • 54,90 € (D) • 56,50 € (A)
ISBN 978-3-8474-2709-4 • eISBN 978-3-8474-1879-5 (Open Access)

Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child establishes the right to participation: children and adolescents are entitled to participate and to have their views taken into account in all issues affecting them in accordance to their age and maturity. The volume explores this right to participation in residential care. The impact of participation and complaint procedures in residential care facilities are evaluated by means of crucial results from an empirical study. How do these participation and complaints procedures work? The authors discuss crucial facilitators and barriers with regard to the implementation of children's rights to participate.

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