

On the move from pedagogy to timeagogy? Or how time constitutes the work of pedagogues in the Danish Primary School and Leisure-time Center

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Abstract: This article analyzes the work of pedagogues in the Danish Primary School and Leisure-time Center. With a reform in 2014, schooldays are prolonged and hours for leisure-time pedagogy in the afternoons have become fewer. Time pressure and a focus on effectiveness have become crucial, and core pedagogical ideas are seemingly changing. On the basis of qualitative data material and sociological theories our analysis suggests a new concept: *timeagogy*. Timeagogy is a rising phenomenon deriving from the tense relationship between societal acceleration and renewed pedagogical demands on the one hand, and the pedagogue's subjective practices on the other.

Keywords: Danish Primary School; Pedagogues; Leisure-time pedagogy; Time; Qualitative research;

Introduction and Research Question

Since the 1980s, leisure time pedagogues have been a part of the Danish public school system. In Denmark, *pedagogue* (in Danish: *pædagog*) is the title for a bachelor degree in social education. An independent education, separated from the Danish Teacher Education. The bachelor degree in social education gives access to many work spheres and job positions, that all use the term *pedagogue* (e.g. preschools, Primary Schools, youth clubs, specialized institutions for children, youth and adults with disabilities, different forms of social work, etc.)¹. The pedagogues we focused on in this research, are working in Primary Schools, their working hours partly spent during the formal school hours, partly spent in the Leisure-time Center in the mornings and afternoons. Some Leisure-time Centers are physically located within the school buildings while others are located in other buildings, separated from the school. Administratively, the Leisure-time Centers have their own director, who cooperates with the principal of the school. However, the principal of the school is in charge when it comes to organizing working hours and defining the pedagogues' tasks during the school day.

1 In international contexts, however, different terms are used for such different work spheres and roles. Examples of such different terms are preschool-teachers in preschools or daycare, teachers or educators in schools, social educators in after-school programs or Leisure-time Centers and social workers in social work.

The relatively firm link between Danish schools and afternoon-based Leisure-time Centers also means that cooperation between pedagogues and teachers has existed for decades. Traditionally, the idea of free time and self-rule has been central to leisure-time pedagogues. In many aspects, leisure-time pedagogy has been formulated as an alternative to the relatively strong structure, academic focus, and overall goal orientation of traditional school pedagogy. Instead, a freer atmosphere, creativity, friendships across ages, and general well-being were priorities in leisure-time pedagogy, emphasized by the daily priorities of the pedagogues (Stanek, 2010).

However, in 2014, a reform was implemented in the Danish Primary and Lower Secondary School. The reform is of great importance to pedagogues working in the Danish Primary School and Leisure-time Centers. To a considerable extent, the School Reform from 2014 can be understood in response to receding Danish results in international tests such as the PISA test (Regeringen, 2010). Generally, the test results led politicians to conclude, that the academic standards of the pupils in the subjects *Danish* and *Mathematics* were unsatisfying. Furthermore, it was argued that too many pupils were disadvantageously located in disconnected special education services and that neither the strong nor the weak pupils were given the opportunity to achieve their best academic results and realize their full potential. Prior to the reform, the Local Danish Government, a Danish interest group and member authority of the Danish municipalities, emphasized that the Danish Primary School must range in the top five of the best schools in the world (Knudsen, 2010). In line with the Local Danish Government, the political decision makers behind the reform accentuated that the overall ambitions, the academic goals, the quality, and effectiveness ought to be improved: 'In the long term, through more extensive and better education, the students in the 8th grade must be able to do what the 9th grade students are capable of today.' (Aftaleteksten, 2007, p.3). Hereto, the aim of the reform is to challenge all pupils, regardless of social background, and key answers to these demands are more varied school days and flexible learning environments. In everyday practice, the reform means prolonged schooldays and a series of new curriculum initiatives.

Prior to the reform, pedagogues participated in formal school hours and academic activities in diverse constellations, although their working hours were primarily spent in Leisure-time Centers, in the mornings and in the afternoons. Today, due to the reform and longer schooldays, pedagogues' working hours in Leisure-time Centers are drastically reduced, while working hours during formal school hours have increased.

So far, discussions and research focusing on the work of pedagogues in the reformed school is limited. In this article, we present a qualitative research project carried out in 2014-2015 at two Danish Primary Schools and Leisure-time Centers. The aim of the research is to examine the professional routines of the pedagogues who share their working hours between the formally structured school activities and the more voluntarily based activities in the Leisure-time Center. To what extent does the reformed school milieu affect the pedagogues' daily practices and their relations to the children?

Methodological Approach

Methodologically our research is based on various qualitative data types. American sociologist Mario Small notes that ‘the strengths of qualitative work come from understanding how and why, not understanding how many’ (Small, 2008, p. 8) and Steiner Kvale & Svend Brinkmann accentuate that qualitative studies give the researcher privileged access to the informants’ everyday lives (Kvale & Brinkmann 2008). According to Daniel Bertaux empirical sociology should release itself from ‘the burden of proof’ (Bertaux, 1981, p. 41) and focus on depth in the analysis. Informants have great insight into the battles and values in their social milieu, and the sociologists’ task is to collect various types of data and thereby provide an overview and awareness through the analytical process and interpretations (Bertaux, 1981). Norman Denzin & Yvonna Lincoln note that ‘the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question’ (Denzin & Lincoln 2011, p. 5), stressing that the combination of multiple methodological practices and empirical materials adds ‘rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Inspired by such methodological notions, we² chose to collect a wide range of empirical materials throughout the process. A vital part is based on ethnographic participant observations (Hastrup, 2010; Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 1999; Spradley, 1980) carried out in two Danish Primary Schools, respectively Beechwood Primary School and Northside Primary School³. On a daily basis, throughout six weeks, we followed four pedagogues; Joan and Michael at Northside Primary School and Karen and Amanda at Beechwood Primary School. All four informants work in the Leisure-time Center in the early morning hours and in the afternoons when the school day is over. However, due to the reform, the majority of their working hours are now spent participating in and facilitating formal school activities. During the period of observations, the informants kept a diary, in which they wrote down general reflections regarding their tasks and challenges during the day.

Theorizing on researchers successively securing focus throughout a sequence of observations, Kristiansen and Krogstrup (1999) distinguish between descriptive, focused and selective observations. Gradually, throughout our period of observations, our attention moved from a general interest in the pedagogues’ activities to an intense attention towards specific categories, practices and questions. Here we focused on the following categories: *time*, *space* and *relations*. In the final and selective phase of the observations, we looked only at the activities related to those three categories. In this article, we focus on the two categories *time* and *relations* (see Gravesen & Ringskou, 2016 for our former work on *space* and *relations*). During the observations, we most often positioned ourselves as moderate partici-

2 The authors of this article arranged and conducted the empirical studies. Lea Ringskou holds a MA in educational sociology and David Thore Gravesen holds a MA and a PhD in educational sociology. They both have many years of experience with teaching and research in pedagogy and educational sociology. Alongside with the researchers, a number of students from the VIA Faculty of Education & Social Studies carried out observations and participated in follow-up focus group interviews.

3 To ensure anonymity, names of participating schools, informants and students have been changed. The two schools are located at each end of a large Danish provincial town. Beechwood Primary School and Northside Primary School are both medium-sized municipal schools with approximately 500 students from pre-school/kindergarten to 9th grade.

pants (Spradley, 1980), swapping between writing notes in our Field books while seated or standing and following the pedagogues around in the school environment. Occasionally, when it felt natural and relevant, we participated in various activities. By doing so, we gained a deeper sense of the cultural routines in the field (Hastrup, 2010).

Afterwards, field notes from the observations and data from the diaries were supplemented by two (one at Beechwood Primary School with Karen and Amanda as informants and one at Northside Primary School with Joan and Michael as informants) qualitative semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1997; Kvale & Brinkman, 2008; Spradley, 1979) carried out as focus group interviews (Halkier, 2002). Many days of transcribing field notes, diary notes and tape-recorded interviews followed to secure a clear overview of the varying data materials. Inductive data analysis was implemented using color-coding to ensure systematic search on the selected categories.

Lastly, we facilitated a dialogue seminar, in which all four participating informants and students were invited to discuss findings and analytical foci. The dialogue seminar enabled us to challenge our understandings and empirical selections and test for exaggerated interpretations. Discussions on the seminar were inspiring, and verified an overall coherence between the informants' experiences and the researchers' interpretation perspectives.

Theoretical Basis and Analytical Focus

The link between our empirical data and the analyzes in this article is the categories of time and relations. Throughout – and indeed after – our inductive readings and color-coding processes, we started searching for theoretical perspectives that could broaden and challenge our first – and more immediate – readings of the data materials. In the following, we present the theoretical apparatus that we use, respectively in the *Findings and Analysis* section and the *Discussion Section*, later in this article.

The sociological and philosophical conceptualizations of time and related cultural questions are many. The interest dates back to classic European sociologists and their take on epochal changes from a pre-modern to a modern industrialized age. Ferdinand Tönnies's distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1957; Falk, 2000) and Émile Durkheim's notions on the shift from mechanical to organic solidarity (Durkheim, 2000; Guneriussen, 2000) are examples of this. Among such classic takes were also Georg Simmel's characterization (and critique) of city-life and the modern times' influence on the individual, including the so-called 'intensification of nervous stimulation which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli' (Simmel, 1969, p. 48). When interpreting the data we collected at the two Primary Schools, Simmel's notions still come about fresh, adequate, and relevant today, as time pressure, rapidity, and continual shifts in activities appear to be highly important in the professional lives of the pedagogues when they interact with the children.

Time as a theme complements a general tendency in the field of education, with demands of efficiency and measurement dominating official objectives, curriculums, and every day practices at schools. In the introduction, we pinpointed the Danish Governments' urge to make the School system secure academic results *faster* than before, as an illustrative

example of exactly that. The tendency is described, analyzed, and criticized by Gert Biesta (2010), who questions the stressed focus on effectiveness:

Instead of simply making a case for effective education, we therefore need to ask “effective for what” and given that what might be effective for one particular student or group of students may not necessarily be effective for other individuals or groups, we also need to ask, “effective for whom?” (Biesta, 2010, p. 14)

Werner Bergmann (1992) states that it is an ongoing challenge to analyze and understand the impact of time in modern societies. Understanding time in relation to the entire society, however, is a much too complex task, and therefore empirical studies of the time structures in social subsystems are necessary and important (Bergmann, 1992, p. 126). This article is meant as a contribution to that challenge.

Our construction of the concept timeagogy is inspired by the concept of *time* and the concepts of *pedagogy* and *pedagogue*. Pedagogy⁴, meaning the method and practice of teaching, is related to the word pedagogue⁵, originally (via Latin from Greek (*pais*, *paid-* “boy” + *agōgos* “leader”)) meaning a slave who escorted children to school. In regard to timeagogy, we intend to emphasize what we see as a shifting trend from a traditional form and understanding of pedagogy (having to do with leading, supporting, and controlling children) to a practice we name *timeagogy* (focusing more on the leadership of time, the controlling of individuals and the managing of their adherence to the logistics and imperatives of time structures).

The key argument in this article is that timeagogy must be understood equally as an every-day and a societal/structural phenomenon.

In our analysis section, the concept of time is used to shed light on timeagogy as a daily phenomenon forming the daily structure of the pedagogues’ tasks and relationships with the children. In those analyses, we draw on inspiration from theoretical conceptualizations on time launched by sociologists such as Georg Simmel, Alex Szollos, Helga Nowotny, Jonas Frykman & Orvar Löfgren and philosophical thinkers Paul Virilio and Michel Foucault.

However, these every-day practical matters are indeed embedded in political demands and societal structures that also need to be scrutinized. In our discussion section, we discuss timeagogy as a societal and structural phenomenon. Here, we shed light on the concept in a broader educational perspective, drawing on inspiration from Michel Foucault, Gert Biesta, and Pierre Bourdieu. In the conclusion, we reflect on the purpose of the article and the value of the concept timeagogy.

Obviously, the analyzes and discussions in this article are based on our categorizations and interpretations of the data, and the inspiration and awareness we shared when selecting and using the theoretical perspectives. Having to make such choices is a natural part of qualitative and interpretive research, and depending on epistemological belief one can consider that a strength or a weakness. Because had we chosen differently in the different phases of our research, the analyzes and discussions would have come about different too. With that reservation, the article must be read.

4 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/pedagogy>

5 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/pedagogue>

Findings and Analysis

Timeagogy as daily practices

“Time is everything! And it hasn’t been like that before!” states Amanda, one of the pedagogues in our data. As mentioned earlier, inductive readings of our data highlight time and relations with the children as important constitutional factors in the daily routines of the pedagogues. In this section we will elaborate on such findings and analyze timeagogy as daily practices, forming the professional routines of the pedagogues. *Time*, identified in our data as eg. (feelings of) time pressure, a strict focus on timetables and adherence to time structures, constitutes the daily aspects of the timeagogy phenomenon, characterized by haste, rhythm, and disciplinary training. These aspects influence the relationships between the pedagogues and the children. To illustrate our analytical points, we support and illustrate our analysis by using specific examples from our varying data set. Of course, the quotations and extracts given below are only few among many others, but they were all chosen because they clearly represent general findings across the entire material.

The haste of things

During Michael’s education, he specialized in the field of bodily activities and physical exercise and today he draws on these competences on a daily basis. Owing to the reform in 2014, a new invention was launched in the school curriculum, named *Exercise & Movement*. Exercise & Movement is not a regular subject or class with explicit content, methods and examinations, but an intermediate line of activities carried out during the day to ensure better learning. To make room for 45 minutes of Exercise & Movement (and other novelties in the curriculum) every day, the school day for pupils up to third grade is extended with two extra school hours, now stretching from eight in the morning to two in the afternoon. When Michael practices Exercise & Movement at the Northside Primary School, he does so in between a number of other school activities, usually ordinary lessons of 45 minutes, and often, in order to have time for the pupils’ lunch and recess he has to start up, run through, and finish an activity during a period of merely 20 minutes.

Having to manage this with school classes of approximately 25 pupils is a challenge for Michael. Often things go well, but regularly some of the (more vulnerable) children test and oppose Michael’s setup, causing confusion, conflict, waiting time, and delay. During our observations, Michael states that after the reform in 2014 the pedagogues’ daily routines ‘moved deeper into structured school activities’, with fixed content, tight timetables, and less autonomy. ‘In the Leisure-time Center in the afternoon I can take 30 pupils to the gym, because it’s voluntary, and there are no conflicts, what so ever’, Michael explains, trying to elaborate on the difference between structured and voluntary activities. Michael is hardly convinced that the reformed school day is productive, asking polemically: ‘...does it create more learning or more conflict? You can judge for yourself!’

Albeit the fact that time is a highly challenging factor, Michael thrives in the new structure, more often knowing *where* to be, *what* to do, and most importantly *when*. However, according to Michael, it is very important to balance the different roles and the difficult schism between the individual and the group. Eye contact, he explains, is crucial and the re-

lational work is most powerful and influential when you are one-on-one: 'If they feel you're not there, because there are six or seven others, they're out of here!'

Another example of the hastened routines is played out when the pedagogue Karen and the teacher Susan, one morning, are headed for a trip to the nearby forest with a class of 1st graders at the Beechwood Primary School. Among the pupils is Peter, a vulnerable boy, who often finds it difficult to solve tasks and adhere to time structures in the classroom:

We walk to the forest. Susan leads. The children are walking in pairs in a long row. Susan brings a whistle and instructs the children, telling them what to do, when she blows the whistle. (...) Karen and the boy Peter team up and walk together. Later Susan instructs the children on how to write their names with organic materials they find in the forest. (...) After some time working with the assignment, the children play more freely. Seemingly, Peter did not solve the task. Susan announces it is time to walk back to the school. Karen responds impulsively: 'We barely had the time to get here, now we have to go back!'

The field note illustrates Karen's frustration caused by the lack of time. Peter, the vulnerable boy that she helps and supports, cannot keep up with the pace of the group, and the result is an unfinished task and a rushed feeling of having to move on to the next activity. For some of the pupils, the rapidity and frequent shifts is a daily challenge, and Karen's role is to help things move easier, in order to get through the activities within the allowed time.

The construction of rhythm

Joan also works as a pedagogue at the Northside Primary School. In the majority of her work during the school day, she is affiliated with a specific 1st grade class, and often she handles the class alone. One morning, however, Joan and the teacher Inga are co-working, carrying out a test on syllables in their joint class of 1st grade pupils:

Numerous children are frustrated because some of the tasks are unfamiliar to them. Loudly, a boy says that he has no eraser. Several classmates offer their eraser, including Paula. 'That was kind of you, Paula', Joan says across the class. 'I already got one' the boy answers. Shortly after Joan heads to Paula. 'You must wait for Inga' she says, 'you do not know if it's the right word ... it's great you can do it, but you must wait for Inga!'

The activity is based on testing the children's scholastic competences, and Inga and Joan share the responsibility for solving this task. While Inga takes the role of leading the class academically, explaining the content of the test and the rules that apply, Joan supports the activity in other ways, seemingly balancing between supporting some of the children emotionally, while correcting and quietly scolding others. Her relation to Paula is an illustrative example of this, as it holds both dimensions. She recognizes Paula's motivation to help a classmate, but corrects her when she is moving too fast with the test, telling her to wait for Inga and the others. Under the headline 'the control of activity', Michel Foucault highlighted aspects of time in his analysis on discipline in modern institutions (Foucault, 1977):

'But an attempt is also made to assure the quality of the time used: constant supervision, the pressure of supervisors, the elimination of anything that might disturb or distract; it is a question of constituting a totally useful time.' (Foucault 1977, p.150)

The example with Paula illustrates the coherence between the political ambitions of the school reform and the disciplinary efforts carried out on the everyday level in the classroom. The test expresses the focus of the state and the reform on learning results and effec-

tiveness at a societal and structural level, while Joan's efforts to administer the activity – partly supporting, partly scolding the children – are parts of the day-to-day disciplinary strategy, that attempts to eliminate disturbing and distracting factors in the classroom. Albeit the fact that the pupil Paula does well and actually moves ahead in the test, Joan asks her to wait and follow Inga's rhythm and the tempo of the others pupils. According to Foucault, the disciplinary time 'establishes rhythms, imposes particular occupations and regulates the cycles of repetition' (Foucault 1977, p. 149), creating series of activities and conduct that ensure the productive milieu of learning and results. Managing this in a class of 1st graders 'on time', is quite a challenge. In an informal talk during the observations, Joan accentuates that turmoil, noise and conflicts are regular symptoms of the time pressure and the many shifts during the prolonged school day:

The days are just too long, and for many, there are way too many shifts...In the morning they have one teacher, then another, then a third, then on to this, then on to that. Throughout the day, shifts, shifts, shifts! All the time they have to move on to something new... Simply, I think many of them do not benefit from those long days and the many shifts.

Seemingly the state-driven reform initiatives to create more varied learning environments and to increase the learning outcome, result in a shortage of time, not dissimilar to what Alex Szollos discusses as 'time poverty' (Szollos, 2009). In a research review, Szollos accentuates that 'one of the most pervasive experiences in contemporary society may be the shortage of time' (Szollos, 2009, p. 332). Day-to-day life for many, seemingly, feel rushed and hurried, and the sense of not having enough time is ubiquitous. Allegories such as 'the speed of life' and 'time poverty' are used to describe such modern conditions. Szollos stresses that children's school and leisure life are also characterized by 'more and more activities pressed into the same amount of time: they have to eat faster in the cafeteria, may have only three minutes to change classrooms, and after-school life is often regimented by fast-paced schedules.' (Szollos, 2009, p. 333)

The training

To make things run smoother on a daily basis, Joan trains the children in what she calls 'quiet shifts'. Speedily find a book in the drawer, line up fast, walk quickly and quietly to the bathroom, are among the routines that Joan seeks to improve during the training sessions. For many children the relentless shifts compromise the ability to connect to the next tasks and requirements, often leaving themselves and parts of their environment in a state of confusion. The challenges the pedagogues face to keep all the children engaged and willing during the repeated shifts and the hastened and speedy learning environment brings to mind Paul Virilios notions of the high-jacked individual suffering from picnolepsy, a mental state detached from the quieter structure of earlier times. Virilio developed the concept *dromology*, stating that acceleration and speed is what constitutes the lives of modern individuals (Virilio, 1986, 2008, 2009):

The techniques of rationality have ceaselessly distanced us from what we've taken as the advent of an objective world: the rapid tour, the accelerated transport of people, signs or things, reproduce - by aggravating them - the effects of picnolepsy, since they provoke a perpetually repeated hijacking of the subject from any spatial-temporal context. (Virilio, 2009, p. 110)

It might be a stretch to include Virilios' thinking and add such abstractions to the analysis of the everyday life at contemporary Danish Primary Schools. But obviously the confusion among the pupils is often so manifest that it requires that Joan uses a whistle to silence and manage the group. 'I only do it on days like this', she excuses, when explaining why she uses the whistle.

The 'quiet shifts' training that Joan carries out to socialize the pupils and have them adhere to the time structure and repeating shifts include such components as whistling, clapping rhythms, carrying out different exercises, and introducing a selection of noiseless games. Such trainings sessions can be analyzed as a series of disciplinary techniques, with learning procedures divided into small, gradually applied units to make the children behave more resourcefully. Foucault described how pupils are trained in efficacy: 'The training of schoolchildren was to be carried out in the same way: few words, no explanation, a total silence interrupted only by signals – bells, clapping of hands, gestures, a mere glance from the teacher...' (Foucault, 1977, p. 166). The different methods state the importance of effectiveness, and are used to accelerate the process of learning, teaching the pupils rapidity as a deed (Foucault, 1977).

Early mornings and late afternoons

In the early mornings in the Leisure-time Center at the Beechwood Primary School, time pressure is less present. Here, creativity, self-initiated activities and self-determination are still central elements of the pedagogical sphere, as touched upon, when describing the core characteristics of (traditional) leisure-time pedagogy in the introduction of this article. Many children arrive before formal school activities begin around 8 am. The Leisure-time Center is located in a small building next to the school. At one of Karen's morning shifts, she is sitting at a big table situated at the center of the 'living room'. Karen welcomes the children and creates an atmosphere of tranquility, based on small-talk and various minor activities in which some of the children choose to participate. Others play in the adjacent rooms away from adult interference. The social rhythm in the Leisure-time Center is based on voluntariness, which is also often the case in the late afternoons, when obligatory school is over. Like Michael at the Northside Primary School, Karen is very aware of the difference between the structured and the voluntary spheres of the job, and what role this difference plays for the children. With the school reform fewer hours of the day are earmarked for leisure-time. Paradoxically, sometimes this also speeds up time in the Leisure-time Center, namely when the pedagogues introduce specific activities in which the children can participate voluntarily. With the limited time, the pedagogues need to start up, carry out, and complete the activities within strict timeframes before the children must leave or their parents arrive to pick them up. In that respect, haste and time structures not only define the formal school events, but to an increasing degree also the leisure-time sphere.

Relationships in timeagogy

In different ways, the above stories about Michael, Joan, and Karen indicate how timeagogy affects the relational bonding between pedagogues and children. To a certain amount, the rapidity and disciplinary techniques result in instrumental relationships that offer fewer

moments spent exclusively with each child, acknowledging their personal needs and seeing them as individuals. Timetables encourage the pedagogues to move on. For Amanda, working at the Beechwood Primary School, the issue of time is also blatantly present. With the increased hours spent during formal school activities, Amanda feels it is harder to find time for the relational bonding and social care that, to her, is a crucial element in working as a pedagogue. Amanda explains that she often chooses to enter the classroom in due time before the lesson starts:

Well, when I choose to be there five to ten minutes early, of course it reduces my preparation time for the rest of the day... time I could have spent planning activities for tomorrow. But these minutes are very important. I say 'good morning' – to make each of them feel, that I've noticed them... it really results in a much more quiet atmosphere, when the lesson actually begins.

Once a week the pedagogues join in for staff meeting. At one of these meetings, Amanda speaks out irritated, problematizing that every minute of the meeting is spent coordinating and planning. Afterwards the observer follows up on her reaction. Amanda explains that their meetings are primarily used to plan and organize, which she finds frustrating and a waste of time. 'We're stuck in coordination, we never get to the important issues', she says, indicating that even at their staff meetings, sufficient time is a rarity that leaves the pedagogues in a hastened state with marginal time for discussing and reflecting on the children's well-being and physiological development.

Helga Nowotny (1992) notes that the intensification and increasing density in the use of time profoundly affects social life in advanced industrial societies, turning time into a scarce resource. Intensified economic utilization of time is the basis of economic rationalization. The former linear and mechanized time regime has given way to new patterns of time management in a modern individualized society (Nowotny, 1992, p.444). Even though Nowotny's analysis seems to capture a more dynamic application of time management than in earlier modern days, the organization of time and activities in the reformed Danish Primary School in many aspects adopts the temporal logics of linear and mechanized time structures of earlier times. Through the focus group interviews and informal talks during our observations, the pedagogues often speak of the increased number of schedules and structured activities and to perform adequately, the timetables are of utter importance in their daily business. One day, intensively looking for her personal briefcase with the important schedules, Amanda cries out: '...the briefcase is my life! It must not disappear!'

Every eight weeks at the Beechwood Primary School, the classes' weekly schedules are changed, in order to ensure a varied school experience for the children. Amanda problematizes that not only during the day, the children experience multiple shifts, but also on a broader scale, caused by these so-called 'rolling schedules':

Just when they've got it, realize the meaning and start to recognize, the whole thing changes!... and it's all because of the reform... probably to show the parents that teaching is many things... that we do a lot of different things with their kids... but the pedagogical argument is missing!

The analysis of Amanda's practice illustrates, that timeagogy in numerous ways challenges her ability to bond with the children. The haste and demand for effectiveness often leaves the pedagogues and the children equally frustrated. Metaphorically speaking, a time robbery takes place, but in ambiguous ways. On one hand, the reform and the time-based structures rob time by reducing the moments that the pedagogues can spend focusing on indi-

vidual contact and relational bonding with the children. On the other hand, the pedagogues, and in this case Amanda, steals time, seeking small cracks in the overall strict timetables and efficient organization, in order to bond with the children.

Discussion

Timeagogy – a tension between everyday practices and societal structures

On an overall basis, our analysis illustrates that time and time pressure constitutes an accelerated pedagogy that deeply affects the everyday practices of the pedagogues and their relationships with the children. However, it is important to recognize that timeagogy is a phenomenon that should not solely be interpreted as everyday events. Certainly, timeagogy arises in the interconnected tension between everyday practices and objective societal structures. In the school milieu among pupils, teachers, and pedagogues, time dominates, seemingly becoming an object in its own right -- internalized, invisible, and natural -- just as pointed out by Jonas Frykman & Orvar Löfgren in their classic work on the cultivated human (Frykman & Löfgren, 1979).

Frykman and Löfgren reflect on the idea that a culture's sense of time tells us much about the way people live and think, thus offering a key to comprehend the basic cultural structure of a specific society (Frykman & Löfgren, 1979). A rational time structure, severely formalized and divided into seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and years, gives modern societies the opportunity to standardize and measure everyday activities. For many, however, this results in a feeling of living under the tyranny of time (Frykman & Löfgren, 1979, p. 41), and, ironically, of losing control. When time pressure internalizes and thus turns invisible in the everyday life, it is seldom problematized and scrutinized (Frykman & Löfgren, 1979, p. 43). However, when talking to the pedagogues during interviews and at the subsequent dialogue seminar, as the analysis in this article illustrates, matters related to the time pressure of their everyday experiences rose to the surface. Seemingly, the pedagogues used the "research space" as a reflective room, where feelings and concerns that they would normally hide, could come to light for discharge and further scrutiny.

With Foucault's work in mind (Foucault, 1977), it can be argued, that the dominance of time in school and Leisure-time Centers functions as part of a bio-political regulation mechanism. We understand timeagogy is part of a structural flow that pervades society in multiple ways. In his scrutiny of the macrophysics of power, Foucault described how forms of bio-political power are regulating life processes in the population; the well-being of the people is crucial to the strength of the state and a series of far-reaching control techniques concerning the life style, choices and daily behavior of the population are promoted. Schools and Leisure-time Centers can be characterized as institutions that carry out such control mechanisms and discipline techniques, with the pedagogues, among other groups of professionals, being hired to perform these important tasks. The everyday training, shifts and focus on academic skills analyzed earlier in the article are everyday examples of this bio-political endeavor, aiming to harvest operative, successful, and obedient children that adhere to societal values and behavioral imperatives. Last, but not least, children are re-

quired to use time effectively by learning faster than earlier generations, cf. the phrasing in the political decision behind the reform stating that ‘in the long term, through more and better education, the students in the 8th grade must be able to do, what the 9th grade students are capable of today’.

Another way to illustrate that timeagogy is a phenomenon existing in the tension between subjective practices and objective structures, is through the work of Gerd Biesta (Biesta, 2010). The timeagogy phenomenon ties in with a societal trend in the field of education and in society in general. The dominance of new public management policy, which rules public institutions today, emphasizing measurement, accountability, input-output logics, results, and effectiveness, also permeates the educational system and its practices.

With the increased amount of working hours during the formalized school day, the practices of the pedagogues are part of a system craving effectiveness and measurement, strictly framed by time. When pedagogues progressively become members and managers of the scholastic regime, inherently, they are considered as factors, who must contribute to and improve the performance of the system -- individually and collectively as a profession -- by being effective and productive themselves (Biesta, 2015). As mentioned in the introduction and touched upon just above, in order to stand up in global competition, the policy makers behind the reform wished for academic results to materialize quicker. This desire, prior to the reform and indeed after, is related to the demand for activities and results being measured. Measuring processes that seemingly function as timeagogical concerns based on supranational imperatives, rather than traditional (leisure-time) pedagogical ones.

The system’s striving for more efficiency actualizes the question raised in the beginning of this article: who is this effective for? (Biesta, 2010). Seemingly, the day-to-day changes due to the reform, such as the accelerated rhythm of activities, the increased number of shifts during the day and the compressed relational bonding between the children and the pedagogues, challenge children in fragile positions. In a follow-up talk after a chaotic lesson with much noise and many conflicts at the Beechwood Primary School, Amanda brings up the haste and shifts, namely addressing challenges related to a fragile boy in the classroom:

...now take a look at Benjamin for instance... he’s having such a difficult time handling all the shifts and he needs much more than just a twenty minutes break. However, there isn’t time for that.

Virilio describes the speed and acceleration of our society in metaphorical and somehow abstract terms, but in our data the hastened reality of things stand out blatantly present and real. With inspiration from Virilio, one could argue that in general, with the current focus on succeeding faster, the rapid pupil conquers the slow – or to put it more gently – at least gets ahead of him in the run for scholastic competences and social acknowledgement. The situation with the vulnerable boy Peter on the fieldtrip to the forest and the unfinished task (mentioned and discussed earlier in this article) is a pictorial example of this. One could argue that the rush of things and the focus on better results and academic qualification overshadows other important elements of schooling and leisure-time, such as processes of socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2010). Seemingly, the children who are not capable of synchronizing with the rhythm, speed and overall learning demand are at risk of being underdogs of the rising timeagogical era. Perhaps the changes that came into force to diminish the importance of social background and raise the academic standard of vulnerable

children, have the opposite effect. To a certain degree, the dominance of time and the demand for better results eliminate crucial aspects of slowness, contemplation, and daily contact that are necessary learning components. Michael addresses this, while talking about the children who need a little more attention than the majority of pupils, accentuating that with the reform, especially this aspect of the job gets more challenging and difficult, due to the lack of time:

Well, I guess, that's where, in my opinion, time has been reduced the most (...). It's the children who really need that you have time for one-to-one conversation during the lessons (...). Often these moments, where they get a chance to loosen up and have a talk... well that's exactly what makes them ready to learn again...

Our data suggests that often the pedagogues take the time pressure and hastened reality for granted, as the natural order of things (Frykman & Löfgren, 1979). Through tacit day-to-day acceptance, structures internalize in the pedagogues as a natural part of their socialized bodies – their habitus (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1996; Bourdieu, 1997). On a daily basis they do what they have to do (or at least they try) and thereby contribute to the institutional doxa, shaping the system and making it function. In doing so, they also accept the conditions and their position in the field (ibid.), a position that, in multiple ways, is crafted and determined far away from the pedagogues' local anchoring as part of national policy-making, heavily inspired by global educational trends.

Conclusion

In this article, we suggested the term *timeagogy* to grasp the tense relationship between pedagogues' daily practices and the renewed societal demands in the Danish Primary School after the reform in 2014. More than just a fun play on words, we consider this a necessary update to the lexicon of pedagogy. Through our research, we experienced that pedagogues' actions, stories, and reflections are important and serious perspectives relevant for current and future discussions about the development of the Danish School System. While qualitative research does not serve the purpose of generalizations and representativeness, it rather qualifies in-depth understandings and the progress of asking new questions and fostering critique. We hope to contribute to that.

The title of this article asks if we are moving from pedagogy to timeagogy, and the answer to this question can only be answered if one accepts the premise of the suggested term. If readers and other researchers doing qualitative research on education and pedagogy find interest in the tension between everyday practices among professionals and the societal/educational trends, perhaps – through mutual debate and ongoing reflection – the term timeagogy can be developed and refined, so that the ambiguities, that our work and this article clearly represent, over time can be challenged.

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