A Glance at Professionalism of Trainees of Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy

An Imbedded Case Study

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Summary

This master thesis is an imbedded case study, which is based on focus group interviews with trainees of Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (in Norwegian the abbreviation is KRUS). In my project I attempt to explore the issues of professionalism and professionalization of Norwegian prison officers.

This master thesis appeals to the theories of professions and to adult learning theory. The former has been used in order to understand the meaning of such concepts as profession, professionalization and professionalism. Agreeing with Evetts (2005, 2013), who accepts definitional uncertainty of the key concepts in the sociologies of work, occupations and professions, this master thesis advocates the idea that professions and professionalization should be studied in relation to history and context. Further, the master thesis has its focus on a modern discourse of professionalism in knowledge-based work, and how it is particularly understood by Norwegian prison officers. Due to my idea that the theories of professions cannot explain how practitioners become professionals, my master thesis makes use of firstly Mezirow`s theory of transformative learning (1991, 2000, 2006), and secondly, the theory of the reflective practitioner Schön (1995), which, in my opinion, can help to find an answer to the raised question.

With the help of thematic analysis I present my findings of interviews with two groups of KRUS trainees, who had had their practical work in Ullersmo prison. Group A consists of trainees who have no previous work experience in prisons, and Group B represents trainees who have worked as untrained prison officers.

The main goals of the interviews are on one hand to find out if the representatives of both groups accept the theory they have learned as a means to becoming professional prison officers, and on the other hand, to understand whether the trainees agree with KRUS` interpretation of the concept of professionalism. At the same time the interviews are aimed at finding out if there are any differences between opinions of two groups, and if there are differences, what explanations can be found?

Both groups have expressed their acceptance of the theory they have learned as a means to becoming professional prison officers. Yet, the positive attitude of the groups was of various degrees. The study confirms that the existence or absence of trainees` work experience as

untrained POs has influenced the way trainees accept the theory they have learned. Mezirow`s theory of transformative learning was used as a theoretical justification in this case. On the other hand the study confirms the existence of a negative attitude towards theory, which was an expression of the idea that some parts of the theory were viewed as irrelevant for trainees` professional work.

The findings converge with the findings of Bruhn & Nylander (2013), who claim that KRUS` strategy of professionalization based on the discourse of occupation professionalism has to some degree found support among Norwegian POs. At the same time the findings are consonant with Schön (1995) who claims that practice is the only way to reveal whether theory is useful or irrelevant for professionals. These ideas can be traced in the following findings:

- The study has shown that practical work in prison can be considered as the main reason for trainees` acceptance of the theory.

- The study confirms that the possibility to work on the same terms as graduated POs did their job, and especially the fact that in Ullersmo prison trainees became responsible for the entire unit of the prison had helped the participants to accept the accuracy of the theory.

Finally the study shows that the trainees` critical assessment of their own work, as well as their critical reflection on the work of regular POs and untrained POs, caused by their communication and interaction with prison staff, have helped them to accept the theory as a means to becoming professional prison officers. Here, again, I refer to the theory of transformative learning by Mezirow.

Further, the discussion of my master thesis highlights the main findings, which, in my opinion, illustrate some moments of the participants` transformation from trainees to professional prison officers.

I believe that the main contribution of my thesis is my examination of how the stated goals and objectives of some form of professionalism are internalized in real life, and at the same time outlining the role of critical reflection or critical self-reflection if the goal is to promote and facilitate the transformation of practitioners into professionals.

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Liudmila A. Naryzhnaya

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1 Introduction

While in the 20th century it became widely acknowledged that professions contribute to social well-being and are aimed to solve social problems (Schön, 1995), in the 21st century the attention of many scientists was captured by a growing development of professionalization. (Evetts, 2013). According to Evetts (2013), professionalization has often led to changes and transformations of professional education. It also forces people to find out what should be taught and learned if the aim is to educate professionals or to help them become professionals. I believe these thoughts are echoed in the idea of Young who claims that whether we are talking about primary or secondary school, university or a program of vocational or professional education, the main concern of educators and pedagogues should be to answer the question "what do students have an entitlement to learn". (2013, p.101).

The evolution of profession education of Norwegian prison officers (POs) can be used as an example of both the development of professionalization and the attempt to find out what kind of knowledge professionals need. (Bruhn & Nylander, 2013). Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (the Norwegian abbreviation is KRUS) is an institute which has a responsibility for the education of new POs in Norway. It is also responsible for all further education of experienced POs and staff in the Probation Service. Since the eighties Norwegian PO education has been an education lasting two years. In accordance with the goal of the institute to increase professional knowledge and expertise of Norwegian POs, at the beginning of 2012 the necessary changes were made. The result of this ambition became a fact that the Norwegian PO education became accredited as a university college education. According to Bruhn & Nylander " this meant a lot of changes in educational content and how it is organized, especially when it comes to the relation to and amount of work practice out in prisons". (2013, p. 5). The main idea "was to secure teaching and research staff on the same qualitative level as other comparable institutions for professional education." (ibid). Nowadays, one year of the trainees` education takes place in the main quarters of KRUS in Oslo. There the trainees attend lectures and seminars. The other year is mostly dedicated to practical work in prisons. During that year a normal week for the trainees consists of three days of work in a prison. The other two days of the week trainees have to spend in classrooms located within the prison they work in. In the classrooms they study theoretical issues with the help of their tutors. The next scheduled step is a further development of professional education of Norwegian POs. It is planned to make it possible to apply for a third Bachelor

year. It is expected that in 2016 the first trainees will be able to apply for the third year. At the moment all applicants for the education also become fully employed as POs from the first day. They get a regular salary during the whole education. After graduation trainees must work at least one year as POs. The third year is planned to be optional, and students choosing it will not get paid. For those who are concerned with ongoing changes in the educational content of Norwegian POs, and the issues of professionalization in this context, it is clear that KRUS has a leading role in developing a professionalization strategy for Norwegian POs. (Bruhn & Nylander, 2013).

I was fortunate to have my own pedagogical practice in KRUS. There I had extremely interesting and fruitful collaboration with both teachers and trainees, and experienced POs who I met in different prisons in and around Oslo. Being and working together with KRUS lecturers and researchers helped me find out the following:

- There are some POs who don't share the idea that ongoing changes of the PO education will help solve the challenges Norwegian POs face in their professional lives. Many of those experienced POs I talked to claimed that professional education had taken too much time. In their opinion, the modern professional education of POs includes too many theoretical issues an average PO doesn't need in his/her work.

- Every year two kinds of applicants apply for training in KRUS. The first group consists of those who have no work experience in prisons. The second group represents the applicants who have already worked in prisons before they became KRUS trainees. They have worked in prisons as the assistants of professional POs, and are usually called untrained officers ("ekstrabetjenter" in Norwegian). One of the popular opinions among KRUS` teachers and lecturers is that presence or absence of working experience in prison causes the emergence of distinctions between these two groups of trainees both for their learning process and their learning outcomes.

Bruhn & Nylander claim that "prison officers are the key actors and by far the biggest occupational group transforming penal policy into daily prison practice". (2013, p. 2). Being inspired by their idea, I believe that in order to meet the challenges of professionalization of Norwegian POs, and in order to understand what can facilitate professionalism of prison officers, educators and researchers should pay attention to the experience and opinions of the people who work in Norwegian prisons. Thus, I decided to explore the ideas and experiences

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of representatives of the two mentioned groups about educational content and organization of their professional training, or as Young (2013) puts, what they think about the professional knowledge they are entitled to learn.

I believe that in spite of the invaluable contribution of theories of professions to understanding the concepts of profession and professionalization, they cannot give a clear answer to the question of how practitioners become professionals. In my opinion, theories of adult learning can be used to clarify this question. That is why in my thesis I refer to Schön`s (1995) theory of reflective practitioner and Mezirow`s (1991, 2000, 2006) theory of transformative learning.

Due to the idea that one of the purposes and distinctive features of qualitative research is to give voices to the different society members (Bogdan & Biklen 1998, Britzman, 1989), I have chosen the qualitative approach of interviewing focus groups as a method of my master thesis. In accordance with Schön`s theory, which underlines that practice is the only way to reveal whether theory is useful or irrelevant for professionals, and to the ideas of Mezirow, who emphasizes the significance of life experience for adults, I decided to talk to my informants twice. The first interview was planned to take place after they finished their first 6 months of training in KRUS` main quarter. In other words, I planned to talk to my informants for the first time when the trainees were about to start their practical work in Ullersmo prison. The second interview was supposed to happen after trainees had worked in prisons for four months and could hopefully refer to their work experience, and could either confirm or refute their original attitude about educational content and the organization of their professional training.

1.1 Research Questions

According to Kvale (1996), qualitative research often poses 3 main types of questions starting with *what*, *why* and *how*. In my master thesis I raise two of them:

- Do trainees accept the theory they have learned as a means to becoming professional prison officers?

- What are the main reasons of acceptance/denial of the theory? (And how can we explain acceptance/denial of the theory?) .

I hope that with the help of my research questions I will be able, firstly, to check if KRUS` interpretation of professionalism finds support among its trainees, and secondly, to explore what actions or circumstances can promote and facilitate the transformation of practitioners to professionals.

1.2 Thesis Structure

In the first chapter I present a historical development of theories of professions. The chapter attempts to illustrate the evolution of the terms "profession", "professionalism" and "professionalization" since the middle of the 20th century up to today.

In the first three sections of the chapter I have tried to depict numerous attempts by scientists to reach a definitional integrity of the term profession. This part also considers the different ways in which professionalism has been and is currently being interpreted, as well as a recent development of professionalization of the prison officers in Norway. The final part of this section is focused on its main ideas, which are considered important for the thesis' discussion.

The second part of the chapter considers the theories of adult learning. The first section is dedicated to the theory of *transformative learning* (TL) by Mezirow (1991, 2000, 2006), while the second section examines the theory of reflective practitioner of Schön (1995). Both sections end with summaries, which embrace the main notions and concepts of each theory.

The third chapter gives a detailed description of the research methods I have used in my thesis. In the first section I explain why I decided to appeal to focus groups. The second section outlines the process before interviews. In the third section I describe the way I applied

thematic analysis. The fourth section is a presentation of my report. In the fifth section the reader can find the main conclusions of the analysis. Finally I present the issues of validity, and generalizability of my thesis.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the main findings of my analysis. The first section explains why the theories of adult learning have been applied in order to clarify the issues of the professionalization of Norwegian prison officers. The second section highlights the main findings in the light of the theory of reflective practitioner Schön, while the third section outlines the application of Mezirow`s Transformative Learning theory in order to discuss the main findings of the analysis. The final section of the chapter represents the main conclusions of the discussion.

The final chapter consists of a synthesis of empirical findings as answers to the research questions, theoretical implications, limitations of the study, and direction for future research.

2 Theory

2.1 The Meaning of Professional Work

2.1.1 Profession and professionalization

In the 21st century professionalism and professionalization have become key concepts for many of those who work in the field of sociologies of professions or professional education. Despite numerous research efforts to highlight professional identification, researchers have struggled to reach consensus about the meaning of the terms "profession", "professionalism" or "professionalization". To some degree it can be explained by applying different theoretical standards. (Freidson 2001 in Bruhn & Nylander 2013). If we, for example, discuss the term "profession", it is important to mention an approach formulated by Sciulli (2005). He persists in distinguishing professions from other expert occupations and underlines the importance of finding agreement about definitional integrity. On the other hand, one of his opponents, Evetts, claims that "most researchers have accepted definitional uncertainty and moved on" (2005, p. 133). Despite this controversy, the idea that professions and professionalization must be studied in relation to history and context is widely accepted. (Bruhn & Nylander 2013).

According to Sciulli (2005), for a period in the 1950s and 1960s, the main concern of the researcher analysis was the concept of profession as a particular kind of occupation, or an institution with special characteristics. A great number of occupational sociologists of that time believed that there were degrees of professionalization rather than a simple dichotomy between professions and non-professions. (Ritzer, 1972). Forsyth & Danisiewicz (1985) consider the *process* approach, the *trait* approach and the *power* approach to be the prominent approaches for theorizing about professionalization in the second half of the 20th century.

Applying the process approach, Wilensky (1964) describes the sequence of steps by which an occupation or semi-profession is transformed into a recognized profession through its transaction with society. In his article "The professionalization for everyone?" (1964) Wilensky argues that the presented research could be viewed as examination of the history of eighteen occupations, and helps us to understand a typical process of how the established professions have arrived. Wilensky suggests that the following sequence of five steps,

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obtained during the study, could be used in order to find out how far an occupation had gone in professionalization. The five steps are: full-time activity at the task; establishment of university training; the emergence of professional associations; the introduction of licensing and certification; and the emergence of a formal code of ethics. The possible major barriers to professionalization are the main theses of the article. The first barrier is "organizational context", which threatens "autonomy and the service ideal". (ibid, p. 146). By organizational context the author means bureaucracy or complex organizations. Wilensky comes to the conclusion that bureaucracy can potentially weaken the service ideal more than it is able to threaten professional autonomy. The nature and structure of the knowledge-base or doctrine of occupations is another major barrier to professionalization which can threaten exclusive jurisdiction. Wilensky is convinced that:

> If the technical base consists of a vocabulary that sounds familiar to everyone (social science and the art of administration) or if the base of is scientific but so narrow that it can be learned as a set of rules by most people, then the occupation will have difficulty claiming a monopoly of skill or even a roughly exclusive jurisdiction. In short, there may be an optimal base for professional practice – neither too vague nor too precise, too broad nor too narrow. (ibid, p. 148).

The trait approach, on the other hand, was focused on a constellation of characteristics of professions. Goode claims that though one can find a list of characteristics "attributed to various occupations in order to prove that they are professions …. It is worthwhile to abstract from such lists the core, or generating trait, and those which are a predictable outcome of core characteristics." (1969, p. 276). He points out that "central generating qualities are 1) a basic body of abstract knowledge, and 2) the ideal of service" (ibid, p. 277). Both a basic body of abstract knowledge and the ideal of service were supposed to contain various dimensions and subdimensions, and each of them could be depicted as a continuum. Furthermore, Goode states that for professionalization of any occupation it is crucial whether it is able to establish an independent scientific knowledge, to avoid bureaucratic control and to build trust relationships with its service recipients.

Johnson, in his turn, also paid a lot of attention both to the traits and the role of professionalism. Yet he moved on from these perspectives and argued that the focus of the research should be on "the client – professional relationship, stressing not only variations in the potential for autonomy for an occupation, but also variations in the social characteristics of the consumer as a fundamental condition giving rise to variations in institutionalized forms of control". (1972, p. 90). He also highlights that unlike the trait approach, which suggests

that an "ideal type" of professionalism could be defined, the power approach views professionalism as a phenomenon which has been constantly reconstructed due to the social relationship between a professional and his/her client.

By the end of the 20th century many theorists were inspired by the power approach. Among them were Forsyth and Danisiewicz, who viewed the power approach as "the most theoretically promising" and argued that "power is central to the concept of profession". (1985, p. 61). Consequently, they created a model based on this approach. Using the term "power" they do not mean the power of the formal structure of an occupation. Instead the authors draw attention to the power held by practitioners in their social exchanges with society and individual clients. Furthermore, they underline that "the social process of profession can theoretically exists in the absence of a formally organized occupation". (ibid, p.61). The authors base their analysis on the concept of autonomy, i.e. "power exercised by individual members of an occupation". (ibid, p.60). They claim that the power of members of professional occupations can be observed in several varieties of autonomy. Forsyth and Danisiewicz are particularly interested in the two following varieties: the autonomy from the client and the autonomy from the employing organization. Forsyth and Danisiewicz believe that their model truly explains the phenomenon of professionalization. The model is focused neither on attempts to put in the center some mere characteristics nor on viewing professionalization as image building, which, according to the authors, is "an ideology developed for the purpose of acquiring and maintain power". (ibid, p. 61). In other words, Forsyth and Danisiewicz argue that "the nature of both the service-task and image building account for the levels of autonomy granted through public recognition". (ibid).

The first phase of the model reflects a process when a particular client-serving occupation is engaged in image-building activity. In other words an occupation attempts to claim professional status. At this phase the model addresses the occupation's potential and divides predisposing characteristics of service occupation`s service-task to the following groups: "essential (of serious importance of clients), exclusive (the occupational practitioners have a monopoly on the service-task), and complex (the service task is not routine and typically involves the individual and discretional application of a specialized body knowledge)". (ibid., p. 62). The second phase includes two processes. The first concerns the public evaluation of the claims of the occupation to professional status. The second process depicts the possible formation of professional autonomy. As Forsyth and Danisiewicz put it "the process involves

the formation of a set of beliefs by the public that an occupation performs an essential, exclusive, and complex service. Those beliefs might be responsive to the occupation`s predisposing characteristics, image-building activity, or both". (ibid., p.64).

In case of successful public recognition, which according to the authors is larger than licensure, it is very likely that the outcome of such recognition will be a grant of autonomy. Thus the respect of the public together with the uncertainty of the service-task (or the single manifestation of one of them) may result in limitation of the control of the employing organization over professionals and their tasks. Yet the opposite scenario exists. The public might not grant autonomy to an occupation despite the efforts to represent its services as essential, exclusive and complex.

The third phase of the model provides a new opportunity for image-building. In other words Forsyth and Danisiewicz suggest using "the attitudinal autonomy dimensions for classifying occupations". (ibid, p.66). According to the model, those occupations which have achieved autonomy both from their clients and employer organizations are designed as true professions. The members of semi-professions are also highly autonomous, but unlike true professions they are autonomous on only one power dimension. Furthermore, Forsyth and Danisiewicz explain that similar to some animal species that try to look like another species which obtained advantage in the course of evolution, mimic professions may have "a code of ethics and other trappings of professions" but still do not belong neither to true professions nor semi-professions due to the absence of power. (ibid, p.66). Due to the idea of dividing professional occupations to true professions, semi-professions and mimic professions was welcomed and became rather popular at the end of the last century.

However this model didn't manage to reflect the crisis of confidence in the profession, and the decline in professional self-image, which broke out in the 1980s. The crisis became the subject of study for many researchers. (e.g. see Schön, 1983). This period is characterized by its critique of professions and its analysis of the professionalization project. It was called "neo-Weberian" due to the idea that representatives of this movement linked professionalization to a bureaucratic logic of governance à la Weber. (Evetts, 2006).

Unlike the eighties, the following decade was marked by reevaluation of the significance of professionalism and its multifaceted contributions for clients, practitioners and social systems. In this period professionalism has been viewed as a normative value, moral obligations or

distinct professional values, rather than exclusively a means for protecting professions own market position through controlling the license to practice and protecting their lite positions. In other words, professionalism was defined as "a unique form of occupational control of work that has distinct advantages over market, organizational and bureaucratic forms of control". (Evetts, 2006, p.136).

As mentioned above, despite the conviction of some theorists to reach a definitional integrity and to draw a fast line between professions and other expert occupations, the idea to clarify the differences between professions and occupations have ceased to attract the attention of analysts and researchers with the onset of the 21st century. In other words, the new and predominant approach considers both professions and occupations as similar social forms, which share many common characteristics. (Olofsson 2009 in Evetts 2013).

Though the task of defining the concept of profession remains unresolved in recent years (Evetts 2013), there has been more agreement in regard to the concept of professionalization. Making reference to Abbott (1988) and Larson (1977), Evetts defines professionalization as:

> …the process to achieve the status of profession and has been interpreted as the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group in order to maintain practitioners` own occupational self-interest in terms of their salary, status and power as well as the monopoly protection of the occupational jurisdiction. (2013 p. 782).

This interpretation emerged in the 1970s and was initially considered a critical response to Johnson`s concepts of professions as ideological constructions. Though the concept of professionalization still plays an important role in the analysis of newly emerging occupations, the above interpretation of professionalization has recently declined in popularity. (ibid).

2.1.2 Professionalism

The concept of professionalism has a long history in the disciplinary sub-field. Since the end of 20th century it has undergone a lot of change. Nowadays it is regarded as a "key concept in the sociologies of work, occupation, professions and organizations". (Evetts 2013, p. 778). Evetts argues that originally professionalism was interpreted as "an occupational or normative value, as something worth preserving and promoting in work and by and for workers". (ibid, p. 782). The later interpretation of professionalism involves examination of it as a discourse

of occupational change and control. A whole number of authors have contributed to the development of the discourse. Their analyses were dedicated to the particular issues of a current interpretation of professionalism. Among them, for example, are Kaprik`s research (1989) about the importance of trust in client-practitioner relations, Grelon`s (1996) analysis of risk, as well as the analysis expertise conducted by different research groups. (Kaprik 1989, Grelon, 1996, Ericsson et al., 2006; Evetts et al., 2006; Mieg 2006 in Evetts 2013).

The discourse of professionalism has been grasped by various occupational groups. The amount of research dedicated to different occupational groups is constantly growing in present days. Summing up the discussion about issues of professionalism, Evetts comes to the conclusion that "in contemporary societies we seem to be witnessing the development of two different (and in many ways contrasting) forms of professionalism in knowledge-based, service sector work: organizational and occupational professionalism." (2013, p. 787). The main characteristics of organizational and occupational professionalism will be illustrated by the case of Norwegian prison officers.

2.1.3 Professionalization and Professionalism of Norwegian Prison Officers

In Sweden, Norway and Denmark, during the inter-war period and the first decades following the Second World War, unlike other western countries which were characterized by liberalism and market philosophy, the working class and the social democratic parties became the predominant political and party-political force. This fact gave rise to welfare politics and social security systems. (Esping-Andersen, 1985). The Nordic welfare regimes, in their turn, became a reason for the emergence of welfare occupations, or, in other words, occupations and professions within health care and the educational sector. Norwegian POs are often viewed as one of the examples of the welfare occupations whose role has been developed close to prison research and with support of unions in a long-term perspective. (Bruhn & Nylander, 2013).

As I have already mentioned, the amount of research papers addressed to the development of different occupational groups is constantly growing. Norwegian POs have not become an exception. Bruhn & Nylander (2013) have conducted extensive research which has focused on issues of professionalization of POs in Sweden and Norway. To present the core of the concept of profession in their report "Professionalization of prison officers in Sweden and

Norway: Two routes, two different goals?" they use the definition of profession given by Burrage, Jarausch, & Siegrist (1990):

> Profession means a largely non-manual, full time occupation whose practice presupposes specialized, systematic and scholarly training… Access depends upon passing certain examinations, which entitle to tittles and diplomas, thereby sanctioning its role in the division of labor... [Professions] tend to demand a monopoly of services as well as freedom from control by others as layman, the state, etc… Based on competence, professional ethics and the special importance of their work for society and common weal, the professions claim specific material rewards and higher social prestige. (Bruhn & Nylander, 2013 p. 5).

On one hand Bruhn & Nylander (2013) emphasize the importance of distinctions between the concept of profession vs. professionalism and professionalization. On the other hand they refer to Evetts` concepts (2006) of occupational and organizational professionalisms. Evetts defines the former as "a discourse constructed within professional educational groups and incorporates collegial authority" (2013, p. 787). She associates occupational professionalism with "Durkheim`s model of occupation as moral communities" (ibid, p. 788). She states that this type of professionalism:

> [Involves] relations of practitioner trust from both employers and clients. It is based on autonomy and discretionary judgement and assessment by practitioners in complex cases. It depends on common and lengthy system of education, vocational training and socialization, and the development of strong occupational identities and work cultures. (ibid, p. 787).

The organizational professionalism, in its turn, is linked to the Weberian models of organizations, and is a discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations (ibid., p. 788). Evetts explains that the organizational professionalism

> incorporates rational-legal forms of authority and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. It involves the increased standardization of work procedures and practices and managerialist control. It relies on externalized forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target-setting and performance review. (ibid, p. 787).

In their report, Bruhn & Nylander underline that occupational professionalism can be regarded as a professionalization strategy undertaken from "within", i.e. by the occupational group itself in order " to reach expertise based on scientific/academic knowledge and enough discretion to use it, and to monopolize that filed". (2013, p.5). At the same time the main target of organizational professionalism is to develop more of professional skill than

professional knowledge, i.e. "stimulating a technical skill in using detailed regulations at the expense of a more knowledge and value-based discretion". (ibid).

According to findings by Bruhn & Nylander (2013), the main actor of developing professional strategy for Norwegian POs is The Correctional Service of Norway Staff Academy (KRUS). They also claim that KRUS adheres the goals of occupational professionalism. The authors emphasize that the development of occupational professionalism for Norwegian POs became possible due to the fact that one of the main targets of KRUS has been "to secure teaching and research staff on the same qualitative level as other comparable institutions for professional education". (p.6, ibid). The following characteristics of KRUS have helped to implement the idea of occupational professionalism into practice. KRUS is responsible for all education of Norwegian POs (including further education, competence development of experienced POs and staff, and the different prison authorities). The institute also controls the recruitment of new POs. This is due to the fact that KRUS trainees become fully employed as POs from day one and receive a regular salary during the whole of their education. It is important to note that the head of the institute is also a full member of the prison board together with the directors of the five regional prison authorities, and thus has an independent position in relation to the prison authorities. And finally, the head of the institute reports to the General Director of the Correctional Service. Thus, Bruhn & Nylander came to the conclusion that "Norway is following a quite traditional and also long-term strategy for developing POs to occupational professionalism". (ibid., p.12).

2.1.4 Summary

Since the middle of the twentieth century there have been numerous attempts to give clear definitions to the concepts profession, professionalization and professionalism. In spite of this, researchers and theoreticians have not managed to reach consensus. Thus, in order to get a better understanding of the three mentioned concepts, it can be useful to create an imaginary continuum where one could enter the main ideas, which prevailed in different periods of time.

In the middle of the 20th century, the three theoretical approaches to professionalization, i.e. the process approach, the trait approach and the power approach had become a driving force for the idea of degrees of professionalization rather than a simple dichotomy between professions and non-professions. The idea of the existence degrees of professionalization

inspired the next generation of occupational sociologists to divide professional occupations into true professions, semi-professions and mimic professions. However, in the 1980s the crisis of confidence in the profession and the decline in professional self-image forced researchers to refocus their work first to issues of professionalization, and after a while to issues of professionalism. The contradictions in the field of occupational sociology have become a reason that some scientists, for example Sciulli (2005), continue to have their focus on definitional integrity and to defend their idea of the necessity of distinguishing professions from other expert occupations, while other researchers "have accepted definitional uncertainty and moved on". (Evetts, 2005, p. 133). The supporters of the latter approach are concerned with issues of professionalism and its two guises, - occupational and professional professionalisms. Norwegian POs are considered as an occupational group, which adheres the goals of occupational professionalism, and can be used to explore the issues of this type of professionalism.

2.2 How Do We Become Professionals?

Though the theory of professions explains what it means to be a professional practitioner, it gives no answer to the question of how practitioners become professionals, or what they should do in order to achieve this. I believe in this case it can be useful to appeal to theoretical perspectives of adult learning. Both Jack Mezirow and Donald Schön have made invaluable contributions to the studies of adult learning. Their theories are also unique and differ a lot form each other.

The theoretical approach of Mezirow implies that the theory of transformative learning theory (TL) can be applied to any area of human life wherever adult learning happens. He claims that his theory describes in detail the sequences and mechanisms of adult learning. Mezirow`s books are written with a sophisticated language. The author points out that TL "does not derive from a systematic extension of an existing intellectual theory or tradition" (1991, p. xiv); it should rather be viewed as an integration of his earlier research, concepts, and theories based on a wide range of disciplines such as cognitive psychology, sociology, and philosophy.

Schön, on the other hand, exclusively speaks about the issues of professional knowledge, professional competence and relations between practice and theory. The fact that Schön`s books were written in a rather plain English with lots of examples from everyday life makes it very easy and even amusing to read his theoretical works. Some researchers even consider Schön`s reflection-in-action difficult for conceptualization. (for example see Eraut, 1994; Bulman, 2004). Others speak about the necessity of transcending a number of limitations in his theorizing. (Yanov & Tsoukas, 2009).

However, the fact that both theories are dedicated to the issues of adult learning and emphasize the role of critical reflection for successful adult learning can unify them. I believe the theoretical works of Mezirow and Schön provide a unique opportunity to view adult learning from different perspectives and by this can help us to understand what people need to do in order to become professionals.

2.2.1 The Main Concepts and Elements of TL

The first concepts of TL were introduced in 1978 in the article "Perspective transformations", published in the American journal "Adult Education Quarterly". Mezirow`s intensive field study became a research basement of the theoretical concept. Since then the theory has experienced a lot of research, controversy, and promise. (Cranton & Taylor, 2012).

According to Mezirow (2000), TL theory has two goals. The first goal is to explain the adult learning process, and the second is to examine the application of it by educators who are committed to action-oriented adult education. To understand TL theory one must be aware that constructivist assumptions are inherent in the theory. Mezirow believes that one cannot find fixed truths or totally definitive knowledge. He is convinced that "meaning exists within ourselves rather than in external forms such as books and that personal meanings that we attribute to our experience are acquired and validated through human interaction and experience". (Mezirow, 1991, p. xiv). Agreeing with Kundera, he underlines that "the human condition may be best understood as a continuous effort to negotiate contested meanings". (Mezirow, 2000, p. 3). Here it is important to point out two aspects of Mezirows theory; the key role of meanings in TL, and conviction of Mezirow that it would be incorrect to represent adult learning as series of efforts to find universal truths. Instead, he argues that due to past experience, adults make meanings and at the same time they try to find justification for their meanings. (Mezirow, 2000).

In TL the concept of meanings includes our beliefs, values, and our feelings, depend on various contexts we find them in: biographical, historical, or cultural. Those meanings differ from each other by the extent of our awareness and understanding of them. To put it differently, we develop habitual expectations based on past experiences. Yet, in adulthood there is a chance that we will understand our experience more clearly if we know under what conditions an expressed idea is justified. It can be very important for us because of the impossibility of finding a fixed truth and a change in circumstances in our adult life, we cannot unconditionally trust what we know or believe. In other words, there are many situations in life when we cannot rely on our habitual expectations. The meanings in the forms of interpretations and opinions, which were valid for us in our childhood, can often lose their justification when we become grown-ups. As Mezirow puts it: "Our understanding and beliefs are more dependable when they produce interpretations and opinions that are more justifiable or true than would be those predicated upon other understanding and beliefs".

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(2000, p.4). According to Mezirow (2000), the central issues of the adult learning process can be formulated as the following:

- Formulating more dependable beliefs about past experience.

- Assessing contexts of beliefs.

- Seeking informed agreement on meaning and justifications.

- Making decisions on the resulting insight.

Understanding the process of making meaning is very important in TL theory. Mezirow supports the view of Bruner, who distinguished four modes of making meaning:

1. Establishing, shaping, and maintaining intersubjectivity.

2. Relating events, utterances, and behavior to the action taken.

3. Constructing of particulars in a normative context – deals with meaning relative to obligations, standards, conformities, and deviations.

4. Making propositions – application of rules of the symbolic, syntactic, and conceptual system used to achieve decontextualized meaning, including rules of inference and logic and such distinctions as whole part, object-attribute, and identity – otherness. (Bruner, 1996 in Mezirow, 2000, p.4).

At the same time Mezirow points out that Bruner`s approach misses a fifth mode of making meaning which is of great importance. He believes the final stage of the process allows an adult person to become critically aware both of his own tacit assumptions and expectations and those of others, and moreover he or she will assess the relevance of these assumptions in order to make an interpretation. Mezirow distinguishes between intentional and incidental learning. Though mechanisms of the two types of learning are totally different, there is one factor which brings them together. The learner is often unaware of the fact that he is engaged in the process of learning. Mezirow appeals to Weiss who claims that:

> The nonconscious capacity of people to acquire information is much more sophisticated and rapid than their conscious capacity to do this. Also human beings have no conscious access to the nonconscious process that they use to acquire information. People cannot describe them; they are conscious only of the results of their nonconscious mental activities (Weiss, 1997 in Mezirow, 2000, p.6).

Along with the notion "meanings", TL theory makes use of the term "idiosyncrasies". Mezirow concurs with Rosenfield (1988) when he represents learning as "the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretations of the meaning of one`s experience as a guide to future action". (Mezirow, 2000, p.5). Being engaged in this process implies taking over the idiosyncrasies of our parents or caretakers or to acquire them through the culture. On one hand the idiosyncrasies consist of images, on the other hand they are conditioned by affective reactions. We use those highly individualistic idiosyncrasies, or as Mezirow calls them, "frames of references", in order "to make analogies to interpret the meaning of our own sensory experience". (Rosenfield, 1988 in Mezirow, 2000, p. 5). Furthermore, Mezirow clarifies that due to the idea that people often embrace frames of reference that complement each other, our frames of reference often represent cultural paradigms, i.e. those held collectively. He believes that a frame of reference can appear in two guises, i.e., a habit of mind, and a resulting point of view. A habit of mind can be described as "a set of assumptions- broad, generalized, orienting predispositions that act as a filter for interpreting the meaning of experience". (Mezirow, 2000, p. 17). Among them Mezirow distinguishes educational, sociolinguistic, moral-ethical, epistemic, philosophical, psychological, religious, economic, political aesthetic and others. To express and to articulate our habits of mind we need to use a specific point of view. For Mezirow it is "the constellation of belief, memory, value judgment, attitude and feeling that shape a particular interpretation". (2006, p.26). He emphasizes the key role that points of view play in our lives. It lies in the fact that the way we perceive the surrounding world, as well as our self-image, depend on our points of view. As Mezirow puts it: "they suggest a line of action that we tend to follow automatically unless brought into critical reflection". (2006, p.18). In contrast to habits of mind, points of view are more accessible to awareness and to feedback to others. The best way to demonstrate the interrelation between habits of mind and a resulting point of view is, perhaps, to give a concrete example. Xenophobia can be regarded as a habit of mind. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines it as fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign. Living with such a habit of mind means to regard people outside one`s own group as untrustworthy and threatening. In this case a resulting point of view will turn into negative feelings, beliefs or judgments one can experience in regards to individuals and groups of other nationalities. Having a positive experience with one of these groups can probably change a xenophobic point of view, but it does not guarantee the release of xenophobic habits of mind regarding other groups. Mezirow notices that people often

consider viewpoints of others questioning their own frames of reference as deceptive and ill-intentioned, and even as an attempt to invade one`s personal space. TL theory explains this attitude with the idea that people`s values and conceptions of their personality are embedded in their frames of reference. In other words, our frames of reference "provide us with the sense of stability, coherence, community, and identity. Consequently they are often emotionally charged and strongly defended". (Mezirow, 2000, p.18).

Mezirow also points out that language and social practices predetermined by a culture they have been cultivated in, are implicated in learning. Therefore, our understanding is both embedded in and influenced by "the historical knowledge-power network". (ibid, p. 7). The historical knowledge networks, in their turn, are supported by ideologies. One of the main concerns of TL is to bring learners' assumptions both based on the historical knowledge networks and ideologies into awareness and critical reflection. This will enhance the degree of autonomous learning and thus will help to develop a sense of agency. Speaking about human connectedness, the desire to understand and simultaneously denying the idea that the content of a comprehensive learning theory is exclusively dictated by cultural interests, Mezirow advocates humanist assumptions. The assumptions which are founded on notions of freedom, autonomy, an unlimited potential of individuals for growth and development, as well as individuals` desire for self-actualization, and inherently good nature of human beings. (Cranton, P. & Taylor, W., 2012).

2.2.2 Domains of learning

As a foundation for his theory, Mezirow recognizes Habermas` distinction between communicative and instrumental learning, which in their turn are considered as two major domains of learning. (Habermas, 1981 in Mezirow, 2006). Instrumental learning is viewed as learning involved in controlling and manipulating the surrounding environment or other people and oriented toward improving efficiency. Humanity applies instrumental learning in such activities as to build cities, to diagnose disease or to design new products. Communicative learning in its turn allows us to learn what others mean when they communicate with us. Feelings, intentions, values, and moral issues are often involved in this process. It is important to notice that in most cases our learning contains elements of both domains.

To be involved in communicative learning means to assess the meanings behind the words. To say it differently, in this case we need to assess whether there is the truthfulness and the authenticity of expressions of feelings behind the words of the speaker. Due to the idea that the meaning of the words people communicate with depends on their assumptions, communicative learning requires that we have to become critically reflective of the assumptions of the person we are talking to. According to Mezirow (2000, p. 9), under communicative learning people have to become critical over assumptions supporting the justification of norms. He also claims that assumptions include the following:

- Intent, which can be implied as a subtext.

- Notion taken for granted, for example conventional wisdom.

- A particular religious worldview.

- Whether the meaning of a statement should be understood literally or metaphorically, i.e. the speaker refers to caricature, irony, and sarcasm.

- The frame of reference.

- The character and qualification of the person we are talking to.

- The relevance and the context of the communication – biographical, historical, and cultural – within which what is being communicated makes sense.

In contrast to instrumental learning, in which developmental logic is hypothetical-deductive, communicative learning assumes a metaphorical-abductive logic (i.e. people make an analogy, and their each step in understanding dictates the next one). The two learning domains have different purposes. While the purpose of instrumental learning is seen as a truth claim, the main goal of communicative learning is to arrive at a tentative best judgment through rational discourse. To do so one must understand both intellectually and empathetically, the frames of reference of the other. As Mezirow puts it "Our effort must be directed at seeking a consensus among informed adults communicating, when this is possible, but, at least, to clearly understand the context of the assumptions of those disagreeing" (2006, p. 25). In communicative learning rational discourse helps us to establish the validity of a belief. Our judgment will always be tentative because we will continue to refer to new evidences, arguments, and perspectives. In this case variety of experience will be crucial for our understanding. The only alternatives to rational discourse can be found in referring to tradition, authority, and force (Habermas, 1981 in Mezirow, 2006). Thought Habermas

distinguishes a third learning domain, emancipation, Mezirow considers it to be a part of the transformation process that can be found in both instrumental and communicative learning domains. (Habermas, 1984 in Mezirow, 2000).

2.2.3 Reflective Discourse

Along with critical reflection or critical self- reflection on assumptions, full and free participation in dialectical discourse is defined by Mezirow (2006) as one of two major elements of TL. As mentioned above, reflective discourse aims to validate a best reflective judgment. In the context of TL theory, discourse is viewed as a kind of dialogue, which assumes two purposes. The first purpose of the dialogue is to seek a common understanding. The second is to assess the justification of an interpretation or belief. Mezirow points out that effective participation in discourse and in TL cannot be achieved without emotional maturity. Here Mezirow refers to Goleman who suggested the notion of emotional intelligence implying "knowing and managing one`s emotions, motivating oneself, recognizing emotions in others and handling relationships – as well as clear thinking". (Goleman 1998 in Mezirow, 2000, p. 11). Goleman distinguishes between two dimensions of emotional intelligence. The first dimension comprises major social competences, which include empathy and social skills. The second dimension will include self-regulation consisting of self-control and trustworthiness (supporting standards of honesty and integrity). Mezirow (2000) warns us against understanding the nature of reflective discourse in terms of "argument culture", which according to Tannen (1998) is a cultural paradigm of western societies that conditions people to think adversarially. This approach often reduces discourse to a fight between opposing sides. Reflective discourse facilitating TL implies finding agreement, welcoming differences and an ability of discourse`s participants to listen empathically. As Mezirow puts it:

> Consensus building is an ongoing process, and a best collective judgment is always subject to review by a broader group of participants. …Agreement based on the unchallenged norms of a culture will be obviously less informed and dependable than those based on a wider range of experience…. In striving for consensus it is important not only to seek a wider range of views but to allow dissensions. Discourse requires only that participants have the will and readiness to seek understanding and to reach some reasonable agreement (2000, p. 12).

2.2.4 Transformations

Mezirow (2000) classifies four types of learning:

- • Learning occurring by elaborating existing frames.
- • Learning by learning new frames of references.
- • Learning by transforming points of view.
- • Learning by transforming habits of mind.

To transform frames of reference, whether they are our own or belong to other people, we must be involved in the process of critical reflection or critical self-reflection on assumptions – critical assessments of the sources and aware of the context and consequences of taken-for-granted beliefs. The sources of the assumptions, on which habits of mind and related points of view are based, can be of various kinds such as: epistemological, ethical, psychological, social, cultural, economic, political or spiritual. Speaking about the nature of assumptions Mezirow uses the differentiation of them proposed by Brookfield in 1995. Brookfield claims that there are three types of paradigmatic assumptions. The assumptions of the first type structure the world into fundamental categories. These assumptions are viewed as the most problematic targets for identification in oneself. Prescriptive assumptions constitute the second type. They allow us to predicate future events in a specific situation. And finally casual assumptions represent our ideas about how the world works and how it may be changed. Casual assumptions are the easiest targets for our identification. Mezirow defines transformative learning as "a way of problem solving by defining a problem or by redefining or reframing the problem". (2000, p. 20). Furthermore, he emphasizes that "we often become critically reflective of our assumptions or those of others and arrive at a transformative insight, but we need to justify our new perspective through discourse". (ibid, p.20). Mezirow claims that TL can happen within both instrumental and communicative learning. Transformations may be either mindful – being the result of repetitive affective interaction or may be akin to mindless assimilation – as in uncritically assimilation of norms and ways of thinking of a different culture. At the same time he emphasizes that in most cases transformative learning takes place outside of awareness. The goal of an educator is to help learners to bring this process into awareness. He also distinguishes between epochal transformations in habits of minds, which are sudden and often dramatic, and incremental transformations consisting of series of transformations in related points of view. They can occasionally lead to a transformation in a habit of mind. Mezirow claims that TL may occur

either through objective or through subjective reframing. Here Mezirow refers to Revans who claims the former one takes place in "action learning". (Revans, 1982 in Mezirow, 2000). In this case we will become critical reflective on the assumptions of others dealing with a narrative or with a task-oriented problem solving. Subjective reframing is about critical self-reflection of one`s own assumption. These assumptions may include a large range of issues one is faced with, such as:

- A narrative which implies the use of a reflective insight from someone else`s narrative to one`s own experience.
- Systems of various nature let it be economic, cultural, political, educational, communal one, or other. As an example of such systems Mezirow uses Freire`s (1970) conscientization.
- An organization of workplace, illustrated by Argyris`s (1982) "double loop learning".
- Interpersonal relations and feeling, can take place under the sessions of psychotherapy or coaching.
- The way one learns, including one`s own frames of references, can take place in some adult education programs, e.g. Isaac`s (1993) "triple loop learning".

Whether critical reflection concerns assumptions regarding feeling or interpersonal relationships, or it focuses on any other concepts, one can find in a wide range of belonging to cognitive, affective, and conative dimensions. The process of subjective reframing is often characterized as an intensive emotional struggle because one`s old perspectives become challenged and transformed.

Based on his study of women returning to college, Mezirow (2006, p. 28) describes the process of transformation by the sequence of the following phases of meaning:

1. a disorienting dilemma;
2. self-examination with feelings of fear, anger, guilt or shame;
3. a critical assessment of assumptions;
4. recognition that one`s discontent and the process of transformation are shared;
5. exploration of options for new roles, relationships and action;
6. planning a course of actions;
7. acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one`s plans;

8.   provisional trying of new roles;

9.   building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships;

10.   a reintegration into one`s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one`s new perspective.

2.2.5 Summary

In order to summarize the theory of TL briefly, it is necessary to point out that it's two major elements are: first, critical reflection or critical self-reflection on assumptions – critical assessment of the source, nature and consequences of our habits of minds, and secondly, participating fully and freely in dialectical discourse to validate a best reflective judgment. What King and Kitchener define as the judgment involving "the process an individual evokes to monitor the epistemic nature of problems and the truth value of alternative solutions". (King and Kitchener 1994 in Mezirow 2006). Critical reflection and critical self-reflection either occur in instrumental learning, which is involved in controlling and manipulating environment or other people and oriented to improving efficiency. Or they can take place in communicative learning, which allows us to learn what others mean when they communicate with us. Both critical reflection and critical self-reflection can cause transformations of people`s frames of references. Transformations may be either mindful – being the result of repetitive affective interaction, or may be akin to mindless assimilation – as in uncritically assimilation of norms and ways of thinking of a different culture. The goal of an educator, according to the theory of TL, is to help learners bring this process into awareness.

2.3 Reflection-in-action by Donald Schön

The main ideas of the reflection-in-action theory were formulated in the eighties of the last century. Later the study has become very influential across a number of disciplines dealing with professional work and expertise in various organizations settings. While a theoretical approach like that of Mezirow implies that the theory of TL can be applied to any segment of adult learning process, Schön speaks exclusively about the issues of professional knowledge, competence and practice.

In a way the theory has become Schön`s response to the crises of confidence in the professions, which happened to be at that time in the USA. Schön pointed out that it was not enough to trace exclusively the reasons of the crises to "the growing skepticism about professional effectiveness in the larger sense, a skeptical reassessment of the professions` actual contribution to society`s well-being through the delivery the questions of self-interest, bureaucratization, and subordination to the interest of business or government". (1995, p.13). His main point was that to deal with the crisis one should seek to advance the questions of professional knowledge.

Schön was deeply disappointed in the structures of "technical rationality" (TR) in planning and decision-making theories, the model which was increasingly popular after World War 2. He considers TR to be "the heritage of Positivism" and names it as "the Positivist epistemology of practice". (1995, p.31). Schön claimed that according to this model people used to view professional knowledge and practice-professional activity as a process of an instrumental problem-solving, a process which could be described as "a quasi-optimization process portraying practitioners as selecting the best models and tools to tackle a given problem". (Yanov & Tsoukas, 2009). In his book "The Reflective Practitioner. How professionals think in action" (1995), Schön offers a brief analysis of the model of TR. There he explains that according to the model of TR, the systematic knowledge base is meant to have four essential properties. It is ought to be specialized, firmly bounded, scientific, and standardized. He underlines the importance of the last characteristic. He believes that "it bears on the paradigmatic relationship which holds, according to Technical Rationality, between a profession`s knowledge base and practice" (ibid, p.24). He continues by explaining that professional knowledge used to be viewed as a hierarchy consisting of three components:

-      An underlying discipline or basic science

- An applied science or "engineering", which serves a source for diagnostic procedures and solutions of problems.
- A skills and attitudinal component that deals with the actual performance of service and implies the use of the underlying basic and applied knowledge.

The hierarchical model of professional knowledge has become the reason for the following status quo. On one hand it makes research institutionally separated from practice. It also presumes that research will provide the basic and applied sciences, which, in their terms, are supposed to derive methods for diagnosing and solving the problems of practice for professionals. On the other hand the hierarchical separation of research and practice, institutionalized in the professional curriculum, is reflected in the fact that "…the order of the curriculum parallels the order in which the components of professional knowledge are 'applied'. The rule is: first, the relevant basic and applied science; then, the skills of application of real-world problems of practice". (ibid, p.27).

As was mentioned above, the model of TR assumes that professional practice is a process of problem-solving. From its perspectives, problems regarding choice of decisions can be solved by the selection of available means, those which are supposed to be most appropriate or adequate to established ends. Schön was rather skeptical both to the hierarchical model of professional knowledge and to the idea that real knowledge can be found exclusively in the theories and techniques of basic and applied science. The following quote can help to highlight the core of his criticism:

> In real world practice, problems do not present themselves to the practitioner as givens. They must be constructed from the materials of problematic situations which are puzzling, troubling, and uncertain. In order to convert a problematic situation to a problem, a practitioner must do a certain kind of work. He must make sense of an uncertain situation that initially makes no sense. (ibid, p. 40).

Schön insists that professionals have to realize that the approach of TR is supposed to have a kind of agreement about ends, and this agreement must be viewed as a shortcoming of the model. As he puts it:

> When ends are fixed and clear, then the decision to act can present itself as an instrumental problem. But when end are confused and conflicting, there is yet no "problem" to solve. A conflict of ends cannot be resolved by the use of techniques derived from applied research. It is rather from the non-technical process of framing the problematic situation that we may organize and clarify both the ends to be achieved and the possible means of achieving them. (ibid, p. 41).

The author also highlights the emergence of the dilemma, which he names as the dilemma of "rigor and relevance" (ibid, p. 42). He believes that the practitioners who follow the Positivist epistemology of practice will inevitably find out that their definition of rigorous professional knowledge does not include phenomena they are used to treat as central to their practice. According to Schön the dilemma of rigor and relevance arises because positivists tend to "see laws of nature not as facts inherent in nature but as constructs created to explain observed phenomena, science became for them a hypothetical – deductive system" (ibid, p. 33). He insists that practical knowledge, in this case, does not fit into Positivist categories because on one hand it is not allowed to treat it as a form of descriptive knowledge, and on the other hand practical knowledge cannot be reduced "to the analytical schemas of logic and mathematics". (ibid.).

2.3.1 The main concepts and elements of reflection-in-action

The theory of Schön turns his attention to the existence of "a gap between professional knowledge and the demands of real-word practice". (ibid, p.45). In order to solve this problem he suggests his concept "reflection-in-action". The main idea is that knowing exists in action. Speaking about knowing in action, Schön underlines the role of tacit knowledge. He views it as implicit in human patterns of actions. He explains that though professionals apply their professional skills and make various judgements of quality of their professional work every single day, they are often neither able to articulate the rules or procedures they use, nor are they able to state the criteria necessary for their professional judgements.

Though he was not the first scientist who discussed the role of tacit knowledge, he was likely the first among those who focused their theoretical works on the minutiae of professional practice. In other words, he made an attempt to describe the kind of thinking professionals engage in and the ways they go about doing their thinking and their work.

Schön argues that the reflection-in-action can be described with a sequence of the following four stages. (ibid, p. 49 – 68):

- Routinized action, i.e. encounter of certain types of situations over and over, which results in developing of a repertoire of expectations, images and techniques of a professional.

-       The experience of surprise, when intuitive performance leads to pleasing, promising or unwanted.

-       Reflection, caused by encounter of surprise, and taking its place in the midst of action. Here Schön adopts the concept of improvisation which consists of "varying, combing, and recombining a set of figures within the schema which bounds and gives coherence to the performance". (ibid, p. 55). Improvisation helps the practitioner who deals with unique cases.

-       New action.

Schön explains that reflection-in-action should not be confused with reflection-on-action. In the case of the latter, a practitioner deliberately thinks back on his past project in order to prepare himself for future cases. The former one implies that practitioners literally "reflect on practice while they are in the midst of it". (ibid, p.62). He underlines that there is no blueprint when it comes to the zone of time. It varies according to how the action may be stretched in time: one can speak about minutes, hours, weeks, or even months, depending on the pace of activity and circumstance.

According to the theory there are various objects of reflection-in-action. Schön admits that one may reflect on different kinds of phenomena one is dealing with: on tacit norms which underline a judgement, on strategies and theories used as a base for a pattern behavior, on the feelings one may have about the situation one finds oneself in, or on one's role in this situation.

To explain the phenomenon of reflection-in-action the author uses two different images. On one hand he speaks about the art of coping with something unusual and puzzling, where reflection-in-action is considered to be in the center. On the other hand he claims:

> When someone reflects-in-action, he becomes a researcher in the practice context. He is not dependent on the categories of established theory and technique, but constructs a new theory of the unique case. …..He does not separate thinking from doing, ratiocinating his way to a decision which he must later convert to action. Because his experimenting is a kind of action, implementation is built into his inquiry. Thus reflection-in-action can proceed, even in situations of uncertainty or uniqueness, because it is not bound by the dichotomies of Technical Rationality. (ibid,p.68).

At the end of his analysis Schön makes the following conclusions (ibid, p.69):

-       Though reflection-in-action should be considered as an extraordinary process, it can happen quite often.

- Due to the fact that reflection- in –action is not bound by the dichotomies of Technical Rationality, it cannot be threatened by the situations of uncertainty or irregularity.
- The study of reflection- in –action can help "to develop an epistemology of practice, which places technical problem solving within a broader context of reflective inquiry, and thus can help to solve the dilemma of rigor and relevance".

2.3.2 Summary

With the help of the reflective practitioner theory Schön highlights the dilemma of "rigor and relevance", or to say it differently: what kind of knowledge is relevant for professionals. He doesn't question the importance of theoretical knowledge, however, he underlines the existence of a gap between theory and practice, and in order to solve this problem he suggests his concept reflection-in-action. Within this concept he emphasizes the role of tacit knowledge and an ability of professionals to reflect on their practice. Schön makes a line between reflection - in - action and reflection-on-action. He believes that reflection-in-action consists of four stages. Among them are routinized action, the experience of surprise, reflection caused by encounter of surprise and a new action. Schön underlines the importance of encouraging professionals to reflect on their professional work and not to be afraid to question the relevance of professional knowledge they are used to rely to.

3   Research Methods

3.1 Why Focus Groups

As I wrote previously I got many opportunities to communicate with the trainees as well as to observe their everyday life in the Academy, before I started to write my thesis. At the end of my pedagogical practice I came to the conclusion that the culture of team work is both integrated into the educational process of KRUS and in a professional life of Norwegian prison officers. Moreover I got a strong impression that many of the trainees do enjoy the necessity of team work. On one hand, as soon as the trainees begin to study in KRUS, they are divided into a certain number of groups or seminars. Every trainee is permanently attached to his or her seminar group, where he or she is supposed to cooperate with fellow students during their two theoretical semesters in the main quarter of KRUS in Oslo. I will also emphasize the fact that in many Norwegian prisons there is a special room for prison staff. Being a part of a bigger room, (called "fellesskap" in Norwegian), where both prisoners and POs daily spend some time together, the staff room often has glass walls or at least a big glass window. Thus POs get an opportunity to have their own area, and at the same time are able to observe prisoners. KRUS has an imitation of this room where the trainees can exercise their practical skills for the future work in prisons. During my pedagogical practice in KRUS I had to attend both lectures and seminars for trainees. After a while I got a strong impression that for many trainees it is easier and more natural to get productive discussions with their tutors and lecturers if they had meetings in groups, rather than having personal conversations with their teachers. On the basis of this observation I began to think that if I had chosen an individual interview method, my informants could become reluctant to having an open discussion. I would like to support my conclusions with the following examples. During my practice I was lucky to get a work desk in the same room as my tutor, whose main job was to be a tutor for trainees. From time to time trainees visited our room in order to discuss something with their tutor. I observed that in the majority of the cases the trainees came to visit their tutor in pairs, sometimes they were three, and very rarely would we see a trainee who came alone. One of my informants has explicitly said that he appreciates the opportunity to be a part of a professional community where every member is constantly involved in team work. He mentioned that he had heard about this practice before he decided to become a PO. This fact had a significant role when he made his choice of profession. Finally I decided that

it would be more natural for trainees if I met with them in small groups. I hoped that my focus groups would create a kind of safe environment where the trainees would feel comfortable and free to share their ideas and attitudes. As Jenny Kitzinger (2005), a well-known focus group researcher, claims, the use of focus groups is an ideal approach for those who are interested in individuals' stories, experiences, needs and concerns. Conradson (2005) emphasizes that focus groups can help researchers to see the similarities and differences of understandings held by people of different social groups, age, gender, profession and so on (Conradson 2005 in Liamputtong 2011).

When it comes to the size of my focus groups, after careful consideration I decided that it would be enough with three trainees in each group. Liamputtong (2011) confirms that there is no agreement about the "ideal" size of focus groups. Generally, it is recommended to organize each focus group with six to twelve participants. Dawson (Dawson1993 in Liamputtong 2011) emphasizes that a focus group can work well with four to twelve participants. Kitzinger (Kitzinger 2005 in Liamputtong 2011) suggests that the ideal size of a group can be between four and eight. On the other hand it is emphasized that "the size of the group needs to be shaped to suit the needs of the project. When employed on the right contexts, small focus groups can be more efficient than large ones". (Munday 2006 in Liamputtong 2011). Liamputtong gives examples of research where there were no more than 3 participants in one focus group (Hopkins` research 2007, Toner`s research 2009 in Liamputtong 2011). After a consultation with my supervisor I finally decided to gather two focus groups with three participants in each of them. I informed KRUS` s trainees about my project and got 12 volunteers who agreed to take part in my interviews. Finally I chose six trainees who were going to have practice work in the same prison. Due to logistics it had to be Ullersmo prison. Unfortunately, in one group one trainee became sick the day I undertook my interview. That is why Group B consisted of only 2 participants.

3.2 Before Interviews

My initial plan was to take 2 interviews with two groups of trainees. The first interview was supposed to be in May 2014, right before they started their practice in prisons. The main purpose was to find out the trainees` attitudes to the theoretical part of the educational programs. In other words I had to find out if they considered studying theory useful or not for

their future work in prisons. I prepared an interview guide and talked with trainees at the end of May 2014.

I planned to have the second round of interviews in September 2014. By that time the trainees would have worked in prisons for four months. Initially I thought that a four month period of practical work would be long enough to test the theoretical knowledge trainees had learned in KRUS, and to decide if their initial attitude was right or not. Unfortunately I became sick in August 2014 and had to postpone the whole work with my project. After a while it became clear for me that it was no so bad that I had to postpone the second interview. There were two reasons for this. Being at home I continued to read the literature about qualitative methods. It helped me to realize that interviewing trainees in Mai 2014 I made plenty of mistakes. I decided that my mistakes do not let me call my May conversations with trainees "qualitative interviews". That is why I have chosen to present those conversations as test interviews, and not to include their analysis in my thesis. The main contribution of my test interviews to this project was that they helped me to understand a starting point of my future research work. I found out that those trainees who had no work experience in prisons before they became students in KRUS, had a more positive attitude to study theory than those who had worked as untrained POs. I decided that I should pay special attention to the difference in attitudes in my future work. The second time I met trainees was in January 2015. I had a much better understanding of what a qualitative interview should be about. I believe that the interviews I did then were qualitative interviews. Thus my second round of interviews became the basis for the analyses in my thesis. Moreover, in January 2015 the trainees told me that in September 2014 they did not yet have enough work experience to give confident answers to my questions. When I finally met them in January 2015 they were rather sure about their attitudes and ideas in regard to the topics of our interviews.

3.3 Thematic Analysis

To find answers to the research questions I have raised in my thesis I use thematic analysis. According to Braun & Clarke, "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (2006, p. 79). Furthermore, they underline that researchers who use thematic analysis should make some important choices before they start

to analyze data (ibid., p. 83 - 86). Below I will briefly describe what these choices are about and will describe the ones that I made.

The authors explain that one can choose between "a rich description of the data, or a detailed accounts of one particular aspect". (ibid., p. 82). Taking into consideration that my goal is to present a thematic description of my entire data set I decided to provide a rich description of the data. As Braun & Clarke put it, in this case the themes a researcher identifies and analyzes, "would need to be an accurate reflection of the content of the entire data set, so that the reader gets a sense of the predominant or important themes" (ibid, p. 83). Braun & Clarke warn that in this case analysis will inevitably loose a certain part of its depth and complexity, particularly if it is presented in a short dissertation or article. However, on the other hand a rich overall description will be achieved.

There are two main ways to identify data set in thematic analysis. The first way is an inductive or "bottom up". (Frith and Gleeson, 1998 in Braun & Clarke, 2006). The second way is a deductive, theoretical or "top down". (Boyatzic, 1998 in Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since I collected data specifically for my thesis, and coded for specific research questions, it is reasonable to say that themes and patterns within my data were identified in a theoretical way. According to Braun & Clarke "a theoretical thematic analysis would tend to be driven by the researcher`s theoretical or analytical interest in the area, and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven". (ibid, p. 84).

Furthermore, in accordance with the findings of Boyatzic, the authors distinguish between a semantic or explicit level, and a latent or interpretative level, where themes are to be identified. A semantic approach is aimed to identify themes within the explicit meanings of the data. Thus the analyst will not be looking for some hidden meanings, and will analyze particularly what participants have said or what has been written. One of the main goals of a thematic analysis at the latent level, on the contrary, is searching for underlying ideas, assumptions, or conceptualizations. My analysis is focused on a semantic level. Following Braun & Clarke`s advice I have tried to conduct my analysis trying to reach a certain progression, which implies that data are to be described, summarized, and finally interpreted.

3.4 The Four Steps of My Analysis

3.4.1 Transcription of Data

I would divide the process of analyzing data into four steps. My first step was to make a transcription of my data. Both interviews were recorded on the tape and I had to transcribe them before I could start my analyses. There are many researchers who underline the importance of the process of transcription. (for example, see Bird, 2005). They believe that transcription is a way to become familiarized with the data. In my case the result of transcription was not just ready "verbatim" – account of all verbal and some nonverbal utterances (here I mean laughs and giggles of the participants). The process of transcription helped me to immense myself in the data, which in its turn played a very positive role in description, summarizing, and interpretation of my data.

3.4.2 Generating Initial Codes

After I familiarized myself with the data and began to feel that I got a solid comprehension of them, I started to think about possible initial codes for the data. According to Tuckett (2005), the aim of the process of coding is to help a researcher to organize data into meaningful groups. I decided to code the content of the entire data set. That is because I had a relatively small data set. The first interview lasted one hour and ten minutes; the second one took one hour and three minutes. That was a beginning of phase 2, which I called "generating initial codes". I chose to code manually. I had to read the transcription of the interview several times before I started to make notes in the margins on the right side of my transcript.   These notes were my first attempts at coding the data. While codes were written onto the left-hand side of the transcript page, corresponding remarks were written on the right-hand side of the page. Remembering that coding can be associated with loss of context (Bryman, 2001 in Braun & Clarke, 2006), I chose to keep a little of the surrounding data, if it was relevant.
See Table 1 as an example of my work with notes in the margins and codes.

Coded for	Data extract	Notes in the margins
It is not easy to study theory	De alle fleste jobber (studerer) på fri tid også, for å rekke ting. Fordi vi har innlevering veldig, veldig ofte.	intensive work with theory
Theory is difficult, hard to learn	Så ser jeg at det å gå tilbake til teori, bare teori, a..a..a.., kan bli litt tungt, fordi nå vi har en sånn liten avbrekk.	not happy with the idea that they have to have a new semester at KRUS
It is more exciting / interesting to work than to study	Men når vi på en måte skal gå og snake med innsatte, det får vi ikke å gjøre i fem måneder når vi skal tilbake til skole.	going to miss their job in prison
It is more exciting / interesting to work than to study	Så, får man ikke mulighet til å teste like mye som vi diskuterer ting her (I fengslet).	regrets they have to finish their work
It is not easy to study	Etter at man har jobba å komme tilbake til studiene. Det blir ganske tungt da.	regrets they have to go back to school again
Positive attitude towards theory	Teori er absolutt relevant. Den har vært nyttig, synes jeg.	experiences positive emotions towards theory

| Presents her status at work | Vi merker til og med i sommeren når vi kom hit i juni, var det veldig, veldig mange ekstra betjenter, som ble ansatt I sommerperiode. Og vi opplevde en stor forskjell på oss og dem. | speaks about work colleagues |

Table 1

3.4.3 Searching for Themes

After I had coded all my data, I started to search for themes. This step is a part of the interpretative analyses (Boyatzic, 1998 in Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes are different from codes because the latter are often broader. This phase can be characterized as the one, "which re-focuses the analyst at the broader level of themes, rather than codes, involves sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89).

In order to find the main themes of my interviews I had to organize my data in tables. This helped me to create visual representation of empirical evidences I worked with. Tanks to this visual representation it was easier to summarize my data, and later it also helped me to work with data interpretation.

Following Braun & Clarke`s advice I have tried to conduct my analysis as a progression which implies description of the data, summarizing of them, and finally data interpretation.

Tables 2, 3, 4 reflect thematic maps I worked with at this stage.

assessment / evaluation of their colleagues	assessment / evaluation of their own attitudes to the theory
positive talk / negative talk	positive talk / negative talk

Table 2

negative attitudes towards theory						
boredom	feeling inanity / they waste their time	criticism of the curriculum	anger / irritation	regret about they will have to come back to KRUS.	confusion / perplexity	feeling of being challenged

Table 3

positive attitudes towards theory				
power	confidence / trust	feeling of security	satisfaction	feeling of superiority

Table 4

After I prepared my tables I listened and read the interviews a few more times. I was thinking about the possible relationship between codes, between themes. According to Braun & Clarke (2006) there are main overarching themes and sub-themes within them. Thus my next task was to find candidates for the main themes, to separate them from sub-themes, and finally to define names for the main themes.

3.4.4 Reviewing, Defining and Renaming Themes

At this stage I had to read all the collated extracts for each theme. This helped me to decide whether they appeared to form a coherent pattern. The outcome of this process was my decision to discard a theme "assessment/evaluation of their colleagues" as well as a theme "assessment/evaluation of their own attitudes to the theory". These two themes became sub-themes of my overarching themes: "negative attitudes towards theory" and "positive attitudes towards theory".

Then I moved to the next phase – a final refinement of my thematic tables. As Braun & Clarke put it, "to consider the validity of individual themes in relations to the data set, but also whether a candidate thematic map 'accurately' reflects the meanings evident in the data

set as a whole" (2006, p. 91) is of great importance. Doing this I had to recode some of my data in order to decide if I needed to organize my codes within new themes. After a while I realized that as a result my recording got only "a more nuanced a coding frame" (ibid). At this moment I decided to stop recoding my data and to search for potential new themes. I concluded that I was able to present my final main themes.

Tables 5 and 6 are final thematic tables comprising two final main themes.

positive talk theory as a means of becoming a professional prison office	
tool for obtaining legitimacy	an integral part of the working day

Table 5

negative talk theory as a hard work	
overabundance of theory	learning theory as a challenging period of life

 Table 6

As illustrated in tables 5 and 6, I came to the conclusion that the overarching themes of my analysis should be a theme I called negative talk and a theme named positive talk respectably. The ideas which formed the basis for the main themes were expressed both by trainees who had no work experience as untrained POs and those who had worked in prisons before they became KRUS students.

An idea that theory should be considered a necessary means for those trainees who wanted to become professional POs became the main thought of the positive talk theme. I further divided this theme into two sub-themes: theory as a tool for obtaining legitimacy, and theory as an integral part of the working day. I made this choice because on one hand the leitmotiv of

both interviews was the participants' narration why and how they use the theory they learned in their everyday work. On the other hand the analysis showed that the trainees came to the conclusion that the use of the theory helped them to become professional POs.

The second main theme got the title "negative talk". The main meaning of which can, in my opinion, be revealed by the comment theory viewed as a hard work. This theme also consists of two sub-themes: overabundance of theory and learning theory as a challenging period of life. Below I will present a detailed analysis of each sub-theme in order to illustrate meanings, assumptions and implications of the overarching themes. In my analyses, the group of trainees who did not work as untrained POs prisons will be called Group A, while the other group will be called Group B.

3.5 Presentation of the Report

3.5.1 Positive Talk. Presentation of Theory as an Integral Part of a Working Day

Interviewing the two groups, I found out that representatives of both groups had a rather positive general attitude toward theory. Thus, on one hand, the general attitude of participants of Group A did not change, because in May 2014 they spoke unanimously in favor of theory. On the other hand, I found some alterations in the positive attitude of Group A. The alterations were caused by the fact that trainees considered their work in Ullersmo prison to be a kind of verification of their original attitude to the theory. In other words they became even more confident in the theory`s accuracy.

One of the first questions in my interviews was whether the trainees considered their work in Ullersmo prison to be similar to the work the graduated POs did. Both groups answered positively to this question. Moreover, the analysis has also showed that for both groups, working in the prison on the same terms as graduated POs do their job, and particularly the fact that the trainees became responsible for an entire unit, can be viewed as a key factor for changes in the trainees` attitudes.

A comment from a participant in Group A: "I mai var det mye synsing. Jeg tror at jeg kan får bruke det, jeg regner med at jeg håper at jeg skal bruke det og det skal være nyttig. Men nå har vi fått en god del bekreftelse etter at vi satt teorien i praksis"

A comment from a participant in Group B:

> Vi har vår egen aspirantavdeling. Nå kan jeg ikke si hvordan det er for de andre aspiranter i andre fengsler. Men vi her er så heldige at vi fikk vår egen enhet å styre. Det gjorde at jeg forsto at teorien var viktig. Vi aspiranter har egen avdeling på Ullersmo. Vi styrer den rett og slett selv. Kun aspiranter. Når vi har skoledager da går det faste betjenter inn, men primært er det vi som styrer den. Og da snakker vi om høy sikkerhet, man snakker om veldig brå læringskurve fra å ha en liten opplæringsperiode etter at vi ble ferdig på Teisenveien til at vi i uke 34 og 35 begynte på egen avdeling. Og den styrer vi selv. Så sånn sett ser vi hvor viktig teorien er.

The members of Group A tended to have consensuses in their opinions that the theory they had learned was very useful for their work in prison. To answer my question of whether they considered the theory they had learned to be relevant for their work in Ullersmo prison, they used unequivocal and definitive expressions. For example: "Den teorien vi studerte på KRUS er relevant. Absolutt. "; " [Uten teorien] Du kan jo ingenting da, utenom det handler om personlige erfaring fra tidligere skoler da."; " Ja, jeg er enig med dere, sant ".

There was no hint of controversy in this group. Moreover, due to the fact that it was a group interview, for these trainees it became very natural that an answer from one trainee was intended to complete an answer from his colleague.

> Den teorien vi studerte på KRUS er relevant. Absolutt. Den har vært nyttig, synes jeg. (...) Ja, det er mye som det har vært pluss å ha da. Hvis man ser hva vi hadde der og det vill skje om vi ikke hadde der.
>
> Ja er enig med dere, sant. I forhold til etikk, for eksempel. Vi har lært veldig mye om å respektere menneskene, og at alle menneskene er like mye verd, uansett hvilken bagasje de har med seg. Det tror jeg hjelper i forhold til å se forbi hva en innsatt sitter og dømt før, og fortsatt klare å respektere ham, selv om han kanskje er dømt for grove handlinger. Så det hjulpet meg. Fordi det ikke var noe jeg kunne se på meg før jeg fikk den etikken da, eller lærte den på KRUS.
>
> Alle fag hadde, på en måte, noe med seg som vekter noe, en eller annen tankegang, eller en motivasjon eller … Det var alltid noe i et fag som vi bruker i praksis. Kanskje var det noe mindre spennende for noen, kanskje noe var mer utfordrende. Men alt i alt hadde vi alltid noe å si….

I believe it is important to mention that, to answer my questions members of this group often appealed to their discussions with those trainees who previously worked as untrained POs. It looked like as members of this group argued with those trainees who apparently had skeptical or negative attitudes to the theory. Lately I referred to this observation when I came to the conclusion that both groups meant that they were different from each other.

> Ofte de som har jobba i fengsler før. Så føler de at de har erfaring fra andre fengsler, så kommer de hit og tenker de. A-a-a. Herre gud! Det er ikke sånn det fungerer i virkeligheten. Men jeg kan ikke si det, fordi jeg føler at, når jeg kom fra KRUS hit. Det er det jeg vet. Jeg har ikke vært i andre

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fengsler. Og jeg føler at det er veldig bra forhold. Kan jeg velge mellom 6 måneder med teori og så går ett år i praksis så føler jeg mye mer klar for praksis, enn 3 uker med teori og så er ett år med praksis. Du kan jo ingenting da, utenom det handler om personlige erfaring fra tidligere skoler da.

De som har vært der skjønner jo til her, og de føler at de ikke kommer til å bruke det. Men de har nok skjønt litt etter hvert når de har kommet ut igjen at det de har fått den bagasjen at det hadde vært nyttig. Der var det egentlig en bekreftelse at alt hadde vært nyttig.

As I mentioned above, in Group B I got answers, which had much more contrast between each other than in Group A. The attitude of one member of Group B has changed almost radically. In May 2014 he argued for absolute uselessness of the theory. In January 2015 what he said about relevance of the theory sounded almost enthusiastically.

Jeg har fått en helt annet mening og oppfatning. Og nå skjønner jeg hvor viktig teorien er. Ja, jeg var veldig skeptisk eller jeg syntes at det var for akademisk, for mye teori. Men når vi da har kommet ut i praksis i fengslet og sånt, så er det veldig, veldig viktig å ta med seg den, som en plattform for å kunne gjøre jobbe sin i hver dag. Så jeg er omvendt, jeg ser hvor viktig teorien er. I hvert fall kombinasjon da, av å ha den teoretiske plattformen med seg ut, kunne vite hva man skal gjøre innenfor for alt som er lover og regler og i det hele tatt. Så, ja, jeg endra meg når det gjelder det.

The other member of Group B sounded less categorical in her attitudes. When I began to work with the data, it was problematic to state definitely whether this trainee expressed a more negative or more positive attitude towards the necessity to learn the theory. On one hand her first reaction was rather negative:

Jeg er ikke helt sikker i det, men jeg synes at det er egentlig et fag som vi har behov for. Og det er sikkerhetsfaget. Det er det som skjer mest i praksis. Alt det andre vi har hatt føler jeg at ikke har behov for. mmmm… Kriminalkunnskap det har jeg også brukt. (...) Det er noen få teoretiske biter som vi bruker hver dag. Det er ofte at jeg vil åpne boka og lese men samtidig føler jeg at organisasjonsteori, for eksempel, hjelper meg ikke å være en god fengselsbetjent.

Yet, in further discussions she gave examples of the situations when she had to use theory without any hesitation. And she also admitted that she was using the theory in her everyday work in Ullersmo prison.

Jeg vil legge til dette med konflikthåndtering. Når voksne mennesker som vi passer på nå, kanskje misforstår hverandre både med kommunikasjon, det gjelder kultur, alt sammen. Så er det veldig greit å ha faktisk, selv om du ikke tenker på det der og da, så kan du tenke på det når du tenker etter på, når du evaluerer situasjonen, at du faktisk handler etter det du har lært i teori. Du får, som jeg kaller den, nesten en håndbok fra skolen, hvordan man håndtering forskjellige situasjoner.

Finally, after I analyzed all the utterances of Group B, I came to the conclusion that both participants expressed positive attitudes to the theory, though their positive attitudes were of varying degrees. Moreover, their utterances indicate that they have used the theory they have learned every day they worked in Ullersmo prison. As a confirmation of my idea I would like to use the following statement of a member in Group B, which was supported by the other member of Group B.

> Teorien setter standard. Teorien er bygget opp for å hente opp erfaringer fra tidligere betjenter, tidligere aspiranter også videre. Og særlig samler hvordan en profesjon skal være. (...) Og det lærer man i teorien så kan man bygge videre på det med sin egen identitet og bagasjen som man har med seg fra andre steder fra.

3.5.2 Positive talk. Presentation of Theory as a Tool for Obtaining Professional Legitimacy

The members of both groups told in an unambiguous way that they viewed the theory they have learned as a bare essential for those who will become professional POs. The main idea of this sub-theme came to the fore when we discussed the trainees' relationships with their work colleagues: untrained POs (ekstrabetjener) and ordinary POs. Speaking about their relationships with untrained POs, the trainees in Group A have emphasized several aspects of their formation as professional POs, where the theory they have learned got a very important role. Here are the aspects they were talking about:

1) The professional status the trainees will get after they graduate from KRUS:

    De som fnyser av teorien og KRUS. De var jo ekstra betjener. Det er ikke sikkert at de var like inkludert. Det er ikke sikkert at de ble tatt med … Det var veldig begrenset. De sier jo selv at det skal bli så godt å få striper fordi du ikke skal bli sett ned.

    Det var det snakka på at dette er med utdannelse som vi har på KRUS, det er med på å styrke profesjon. Da har du vært gjennom teorien, du hadde plattform som gjør at du fortjent den betjentstripa og det er mye på stolthet også.

2) The understanding and how to internalize the main professional goals of Norwegian POs, i.e., the ability of professional POs to understand prisoners` concerns, and their responsibility for rehabilitation of prisoners:

Det er kanskje lettere for dem som ikke har så mye bakgrunn som vi, helst å ha en maske for å bli tøff, enn å prøve å bli kjent med dem. Og de er kanskje enda mer usikre enn vi var der. Med de seks månedene fra KRUS og det vi har lært der.

Vi merker til og med i sommeren når vi kom hit i juni, var det veldig, veldig mange ekstra betjenter, som ble ansatt i sommerperiode. Og vi opplevde en stor forskjell på oss og dem. Selv om de kanskje hadde bakgrunn fra politiet, vekter, mye lignende yrker, de hadde ikke (avbryter seg)… Men veldig mange av dem kunne ikke se et menneske i en innsatte, eller fanger som de ofte kaller dem. «Og de skal gå og løse inn fanger» og de var også veldig tøffe. De virket som om de valgte et yrke som er tøft og hardt, og at de skal gå i uniform og at de på en måte glemte alt det andre, og at man bør velge et sånt yrke av litt andre grunner.

3)   Theory provides a different professional identity in contrast to untrained POs.

Og det diskuterte flere av oss aspirantene veldig ofte at vi var oppgitt og provosert av de ekstra betjentene som ikke gikk inn for jobben som vi gjorde det. Og også som skal jobbe bare på et par måned og tjene litt penger og det var det. Og de hadde null interesser til å gå på KRUS. Men så var det fire, fem som blitt igjen og har valgt å søke på KRUS, som skjønte litt mer hva denne jobben handler om. Men veldig mange forsvant veldig fort.

Talking about their relationships with untrained POs, members of both groups on one hand emphasized that they consider themselves much more professional than untrained POs. On the other hand, though, even though they criticized the way untrained POs did their job, they were able to explain the behavior of untrained POs, and it did not allow them to be too demanding. With other words, both groups explained the low level of professionalism of untrained POs by the fact that they didn't get the same training that the informants got in KRUS, and thus, the informants did not expect that untrained POs would work professionally. Like their colleagues, members of Group B pointed out that learning theory was the only reason of their comprehension that professional POs in Norway are supposed to have two, and in many ways, opposite professional goals: to take care of prisoners and to be responsible for the security situation in prison.

Forskjell mellom oss – aspiranter og ekstra betjenter var at de ikke hadde samme bakgrunn som vi har og den forståelsen vi har. Da er jeg tilbake til sikkerhetsbiten igjen. De var ikke kollegaer som hadde samme forståelse som vi, hvor viktig det var. Forståelse av å varsle kollegaer hvor du vær en hver tid, låse dører, faste rutiner som er enda viktig å gå inn, på en måte, og det kan bli ganske kritisk. (...)Jeg vil dra inn motivasjon. Mange ekstra betjenter er her bare på grunn av penger. De får lønn og bryr seg kanskje ikke så mye om alt annet som er også viktig. Det å jobba i fengsel er ikke det samme som å jobba i kassa i en butikk, for å si det sånn. Her er det tildelts farlige mennesker, uberegnelige mennesker. Hvis man ikke her den sikkerhets tenkning så kan det bli skummelt ikke bare for deg selv men for all som jobber her.

En profesjonell betjent er en person som egentlig tenker på det meste. Den som har med seg både sikkerhets tenkning og omsorgsbiten. En profesjonell betjent er jo hele pakka, kan du si han har med seg alt; kommunikasjon og moral, empati, etikk, alt som er.

I believe that for both groups, the core of the part of discussion dedicated to the participants´ relations with untrained POs can be formulated in the following way: In spite of a common practice for Norwegian prisons to hire untrained POs, and even the possibility of getting permanent employment, if an untrained PO works long enough, the informants consider such a career trajectory to be a wrong one or at least to be unsuitable for them. In other words, they believe the lack of theoretical knowledge results in the professional skills, knowledge and status of untrained POs being much lower than those of professional POs or of KRUS trainees. Moreover, the participants believe that longer work experience as an untrained Po cannot compensate for the lack of theoretical knowledge.

> Dem som jeg jobbet med som ekstrabetjent så var det da faste betjenter som ikke hadde fast tilsetning på fengselet men som hadde jobba der i ti, elleve år som da fikk permisjon varsel på grunn av økonomi. Hvor det var to som jobbet som ekstrabetjenter som hadde kommet opp fire år og fikk fasttilsetning. Og det var blodig urettferdig. Der var det noen som hadde gott på skolen, bukt mye av sin tid og så faktisk får den profesjon og blir betjenter. Mens de andre som hadde gott den enkle veien, vært som vikarer, vært vikarer lengre nok til at de da måtte få fast tilsetning.

> Uten teorien ville jeg selvfølgelig støtte meg på kollegaer, men … Når jeg jobbet som ekstrabetjent så fikk jeg hjelp av de faste ansatte. Men jeg vil si at hvis du hadde hatt en feil betjent med deg så er det alltid vært tungt. Vi blir mer selvstendige som aspiranter, når vi har den teorien å støtte oss til.

Although at first glance the groups seem to concur with each other in regard to their idea that theory can be viewed as a tool for obtaining professional legitimacy, further analysis showed that the trainees expressed very different attitudes when it comes to their working relationships with regular POs. Members of Group B described regular POs` attitude to theory as a rather positive one.

> Jeg er person som mingler mye. Jeg snakker mye med alle. Det er veldig individuelt hva folk synes og ikke synes noe sånt. Men generelt så er de fleste glad for at de er ferdige med skolen, glad at de ferdige med teorien. Men de skjønner viktigheten til teorien. På lik måte som man er midt inn i studie på KRUS begynner å tenke at nå det blir så mye teori at inn i mellom kan det være for mye fordi det hemma deg litt i hverdagen. Men alle kanskje blir enig at det er viktig. Jeg var tidligere med den oppfatning at med nok praksis og opplæring fra fastebetjenter kunne jeg fint klare meg uten skolen. Da er jeg ikke der. Det har jeg litt inntrykk nå når jeg snakket med folk rundt i sommer, så skjønner folk hvorfor folk har utdanningen. Man skjønner at teorien er viktig.

> Ja, folk er glad når de er ferdig med skolen, jeg egentlig ikke tenkt på det så mye, når jeg snakket med dem. Jeg tenker mer selv på drifta av avdelinga, mmmm, men de skjønner viktigheten at vi har utdanning på det. Det er stort sett det samme som Ivar sa.

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Moreover, these participants were ready to rely on the work experience of regular POs in their working life. As one of the members of this group put it: "Mangel på teorien kan bli kompensert av gode arbeidskollegaer. Mmmmm Jeg skulle lært av andre betjenter, men det skulle ta mye lengre tid".

While Group B considered regular POs as reliable work colleagues who in many ways shared their professional values, members of Group A claimed that regular POs did not view the theoretical part of their PO education as a necessary tool for obtaining professional legitimacy. The participants in this group have also emphasized that the regular POs' denial of the significance of theory was rather demotivating and discouraging for them.

> Vi har diskutert litt og da var det ofte at de (faste ansatte) konkluderer at du er jo aspirant, du er fersk, du har disse tankene fordi du er ny. Bare vent til om ett år, da blir du akkurat sammen med oss da sitter du med beina opp på bordet og fnyser du på teorien og KRUS og tar du livet med ro. Det var litt slitsom og demotiverende. Fordi vi sier at KRUS er bra og teorien en bra og så ler de bare av oss fordi vi er sånne ferske og ivrige aspiranter. Ja, de sier, du er jo aspirant, du må gjøre det riktig. Jeg husker at jeg var med noen som har jobba her i mange år. Og hvor negativ han var i forhold til dette yrket her. Og det var egentlig kjempe deprimerende fordi han sa så mye, ja, denne jobba her har blitt bare verre og verre.

Members of Croup A claimed that despite the fact that their commitment to viewing theory as an integral part of professionalism had often become a subject of criticism by the regular POs, they remained steadfast in their opinion.

> De faste ansatte klarte ikke å overtale oss, det klarte det ikke. Fordi vi ikke har fått noen gode argumenter. Du må ha gode argumenter, saklige argument. Jeg tenker at KRUS` måten, at den er bra. Men at selvfølgelig må jeg ha det praktiske hvis jeg vil at det skal fungere sammen. Men jeg tror ikke at jeg følte meg mye smartere hadde jeg ikke den KRUS biten, du er jo blir bare mere smartere, du kan jo få bare mer utfordrerne oppgaver.

I came to the conclusion that the discrepancy between the views of the members of two the groups in regard to regular POs allows to state that the main idea of this sub-theme was partly expressed by utterances with opposite meanings. At the same time, the statements of Group A illustrate their belief that the way POs understand and interpret professionalism is largely determined by their personal backgrounds. The statements made by this group emphasize the role of age, life experience, length of work experience, and the role of the level of education of the practitioners.

> Får å se Kriminalomsorgen… Dette har gott fra fengselsvesen til Kriminalomsorg, omsorg det er mere rehabilitering, hvor man klarer å holde dette i fokuset, som må man kanskje være litt hardere

på ansettelse av betjenter fordi det er vanskelig på et intervju å kjenne hvem kan bli enn fra 1500 stykker og velge 125 og 75 av dem skal få skole plass. Og man har så stort spekter fra veldig unge til litt eldre, de som er kanskje litt eldre kan tenke at dette er litt vanskelig fordi de ikke har vært på skolende siste 20 år. Mens de som er unge de tar den teoretiske biten veldig lett, fordi vi kommer rett fra skolen og arbeidsplass samtidig det veldig mange forskjellige syn som er veldig positiv som å lære fra hverandre på den måten nå, men fra min erfaring fra jeg sett veldig mye negativt . Så at jeg føler at om du er ung, aspirant, kan du ingenting. Du har ikke livserfaring. Men når du prøver å vise jo, jeg har lært det, jeg kan det, så på en måte

Foreløpig er den største utfordringen ikke innsatte men ansatte. Mmm De trykker deg litt ned. De som har vært her litt lengre. Veilederen vår sa det faktisk det også at det er faktisk veldig let , fordi han merker dette. Han sier at hvis du føler at noen flinkere enn deg er det lett å dytte den person i bakken, uten kanskje å mene det bevist. Jeg synes at det var så godt at han sa det .
Jeg prøver og jeg spør å ta hensyn til de jeg jobber med. Jeg spør « Synes du at dette er greit?» «Er det noe du vil gjøre?» Og da hører jeg «NEI, ikke noen ting».

3.5.3 Negative Talk. Overabundance of Theory

Analyzing utterances which were included in the sub-theme "Overabundance of theory", I came to the conclusion that no other sub-theme consists of utterances expressing such a united opinion as this sub-theme does. In other words, the members of both groups told in a rather unambiguous way that they usually benefit from the use of theory and they have a positive attitude towards it. However, in some cases they regarded the theory as irrelevant for their professional work. On one hand the main element of this discussion was, from my point of view, the participants` description of theory as too in-depth. As members of both groups expressed it: "Jeg synes at det var veldig greit på en måte å få et innblikk i den teorien jeg har hatt som vi på en måte kom hit, til fengsler og begynte. Men av og til føles det at det er så mye teori, den er for mye". "Jeg ønsker at jeg kunne velge bort noen temaer eller deler i vår utdanning. Kriminalkunnskap for eksempel kunne vi plukke opp her, på jobben. Jeg synes ikke at det er nødvendig å lese alt som står i de teoretiske bøker". "Når det gjelder kriminalkunnskap, for eksempler. Det var alltid klart for meg at noen kan havne på den slemme sida. Jeg vet også hvorfor. Jeg trenger ikke å lese så mye om bakgrunn til innsatte, jeg mener å lese alle de teoriene som finnes i boka".

On the other hand, the detailed analysis has shown that trainees point to a number of reasonsas to why they consider theory irrelevant.

1) Both groups expressed the idea that teaching methods could be different and thus more efficient.

Ja er veldig positiv til skole da. For med å finne noe som jeg ikke trodde blir relevant er vanskelig (hahaha). Men jeg kan se at den måten ting er lagt opp kan være veldig annerledes, enn a-a-a. Ting kunne bli gjort kanskje litt annerledes. At det kanskje ikke vært så stort, a-a-a, at vi på en måte fikk enda mere praksis. Av og til tenker jeg. Oh! Herregud hvorfor må jeg lese alt dette? Jeg vet ikke hvordan jeg skal forklare det riktig. Jeg tror at det blir litt feil, dere? (spør de andre) Nei.

(Aspiranten snakker om Motiverende samtale – MI) Det er ikke sånn at vi sitter og hater faget men.. Det er flau og rart å snakke på denne måten. Det er ikke sikkert at det å snakke på min måte kan hjelpe til å rehabilitere men for min del er det mye mer naturlig og riktig å snakke som jeg tenker er riktig. I et fengsel trenger du kommunikasjon, og ja, man skal ha individuelle samtaler med innsatte men MI kan føles som den drøyeste sak å være. Ja, det et veldig spesielt. Jeg tror at MI kunne bli lagt frem på en så mye mer annet, enklere måte.

2) There was also a clear opinion that a content of the curriculum had not always corresponded with skills and knowledge professional POs needed in their work.

Ja, det går litt dypt. De bøkene er ikke tiltenkt til fengselsyrke. Vi leste jo det samme i religion og livssyn for 10 år siden. Da kunne jeg skjønne hvis vi litt mere inn på det, men i det yrket der skjønte jeg ikke at det var nødvendig. Generelle er det viktig, men det går litt dypt. Det blir litt mye teori knyttet til teoretikerne. Og litt for mye etikk, det kunne vært litt mer grunnleggende.

Det var ingen bøker i selv. Det var unødvendig å ha så mye teori om de forskjellige teoretikerne or etikker som ble utforma for 300 år siden. Det kunne vært sagt med mye mer enklere ord. Og vi tenker aldri sånn, nå utførte jeg pliktetikk, det blir mer selvfølge og for oss blir de holdninger og verdier som sitter i ryggen vår. Det er derfor jeg valgte dette yrket her.

3) The participants have also raised the issue of curriculum and progression. With other words, there can be different levels of professional education, and a question of the relevance of the theory should be resolved differently for every single level.

Jeg føler at sikkerhetsfaget er det viktigste. Sikkerhet er mere enn det statiske med murer og sånt. Sikkerhet er også de menneskene du jobber med her. Men organisasjonsteori, organisasjonslæring også videre som blir mer og mer viktig antageligvis når vi er tilbake på KRUS. Jeg føler at den utdanning bør kanskje komme mede ved siden av. Jeg føler at jeg må komme på neste stadia, ikke selve fengselsutdanningen. Men når du har blitt fengselsbetjent, hvis du ønsker å gå videre som første betjent etter hvert som inspektør, kanskje, også videre. Da bør du satse på den. Nå er den klemt inn i vår utdanning og det blir med på å skape… at det blir litt mye rotete. Jeg tror at man kunne begrense seg litt.

3.5.4 Negative talk. Learning Theory as a Challenging Period of Life

The analysis shows that for all the participants the period in their lives when they had to learn theory was a hard and a challenging period of their lives. Moreover it turned out that there was an explanation of this fact shared by all the participants, and at the same time, each group named its own, unique for their group reasons.

For all the participants to learn theory was laborious, which required plenty of their time and energy. That was a reason shared by both groups.

> Jo, det er tøft å studere. Det kan også være kjedelig noen dager. Men vi har veldig mye studie nå. Selv om vi har 2 skoledager, rekker vi aldri unna det vi skal gjøre. De alle fleste jobber (studerer) på fri tida også, for å rekke ting. Fordi vi har innleveringen veldig, veldig ofte. Vi har veldig mange oppgaver vi reker ikke i løpe av skole tida, som vi driver med undervise. Jeg tror ikke at det blir så mye forskjell når vi kommer tilbake på KRUS. (de andre aspirantene sier «ja.ja»)

> Jeg tror det blir mye … Nå var det veldig mye teori til å starte med, også … er det litt mere praksis nå. Som er egentlig veldig godt fordi.. som du lest opp. Det blir godt til å sette teori i praksis. Nå får vi på en måte mulighet til det. Så ser jeg at det å gå tilbake til teori, bare teori, aaaa, kan bli litt tungt, fordi nå har vi sånn en liten avbrekk , at vi skal være på avdelingen, skal jobbe som vi skal faktis å drive med i framtida.

> Det tok 6 måneder før jeg begynte å fungere. Jeg har ikke studert i mange år før jeg begynte på KRUS. Det blir tøft å sette meg på skole benken igjen. Jeg gleder meg til å bli ferdig med utdanningen min. Jeg gleder meg ikke til skolen igjen.

Members of Group A emphasized their will and aspiration to be good students, and by this they emphasized their ambitions to become professional POs. At the same time, members of this group compared themselves to other trainees, who did not have enough motivation or interest to learn theory. According to the members of Group A, the absence of interest to learn theory of other trainees became a serious obstacle when it came to their own need for heightening their own motivation whenever they had to learn theory or to work in prison.

> Synes det er vanskelig nå. Jeg hadde veldig, veldig høy motivasjon når jeg startet. Men nå kan jeg se den motivasjonen sinker, eller går litt i bølger, som du sier. Fordi når man jobber mye med gruppeoppgaver og motivasjon er veldig lav hos de andre, merker jeg at det påvirker veldig. Å jobbe med folk som kanskje mye, mye mindre motivert som deg selv. Da di som jobber hardt da mister den motivasjon fordi at man føler hva er vits? Folk har ingen høye mål for komme gjennom og stå, da blir jeg litt skuffa, jeg i hver fall.

> Som sagt, jeg skjenner jenter veldig godt. (snakker om sine kommerater). De har en veldig høy arbeidsmoral. Og om de er syk så kommer de på jobb, ikke sant? Det er litt som, hva er du lært opp til. Vi har jobba veldig mye alle tre etter skolen, gått på skole, studert, men jobba på sida, gått på skole, studert, men jobba på sida, da er det sånn at når du kommer hit du finner en jobb du liker. Og der har du muligheter til å bare være på jobb og ikke jobba på sida, selvfølgelig har vi masse energi tiløvers til å gjøre det mye bedre her. Men det som er kanskje utfordrende er de menneskene du også jobber og studerer med.. Fordi det er noe med det.. Har ikke de andre like høye arbeidsmoraler som deg selv så mister du litt troa på hvordan jeg skal ha en kjempejobb når noen andre sitter og ler av meg.

For members of Group A to get good marks for the theoretical parts of their training meant to prove an intention to become a professional PO. From their point of view the former is a compulsory condition for the latter. They believe that those who achieve better results in

learning will work harder and better. I believe that one can see a trace of an instrumentalist approach in the trainees` assessments of their colleagues.

> Det er blitt hva man siktet på. Det marked når jeg har gått på KRUS og nå merker jeg at det er noen som sikter høyt som vil ha gode karakterer som ønsker til å bli en flink betjent, og det er noen som kanskje ikke bryr seg like mye. Og det er jo mennesker vi skal jobbe med . Så hvis jeg skal jobbe med Anna så forventer jeg at Anna, kanskje ikke sikter til topp karakter. Men kanskje at hun sikter unna, det vet jeg selv at jeg jobber godt nok for å få denne jobben, at jeg fortjent denne jobben. Det er fart å si hvis man føller at noen arbeidskollegaer av meg … fordi di ville jobbe hardere for både KRUS sin del og egen del og innsattes del, at alt ting skal bli en helhet. Fordi det er veldig mye som går inn i hverandre her. Om du er sykepleier på fengsel, om du er fengselsbetjent, om du jobber på skolen, som er fortsatt en stor del av hele puslespillet. Og det har jo veldig mye påvirkningen at vi skal like forventinger eller at man skal sikte høyt da. Jeg forventer ikke at hvis jeg kommer på en arbeids i dag at jeg kan gjøre alt alene. Jeg håper at jeg få her et kollegialt samarbeid.

Like their colleagues, Group B admitted that they were struggling with their studying. But in contrast to Group A, they attributed this situation exclusively to personal reasons. They did not make any attempts to blame someone else. "Det tok 6 måneder før jeg begynte å fungere. Jeg har ikke studert i mange år før jeg begynte på KRUS. Det blir tøft å sette meg på skole benken igjen. Jeg gleder meg til å bli ferdig med utdanningen min. Jeg gleder meg ikke til skolen igjen." "Jeg har aldri vært flink til å studere. Jeg trives mest med praktisk jobb, og jeg liker ikke å studere i det hele tatt".

In contrast to Group A, they showed more understanding and empathy in regard to their colleagues. This group sounded kinder and much less categorical in their assessments of other trainees than the trainees in Group A.

> Det er mange unge mennesker som kom på KRUS rett fra videregående skole. Nå har det blitt litt for mye av alt. Vi skal fungere ute på avdelingen og jobbe som en vanlig betjent. I tillegg for vi skole og det tar litt grepa. Jeg klarer ikke å forklare det på en annen måte. Men det er det jeg føler etter at jeg snakket med dem. Man har den livserfaring kanskje at det kan gjøre ok. Man ser at dette her er ikke så mye. Jeg er 42 år og har erfaringer fra forskjellige. Jeg har jobbet på 7-8 andre plasser. Jeg jobbet mye før. Jeg hadde ansvar, ledet en bedrift o det hele tatt. Jeg var ansatt. I tillegg har jeg 3 barn. Jeg klemmer på det jeg har på jobb, jeg klemmer på det jeg kan hver dag, så får jeg motivasjon. Jeg må. Jeg er nødt. Men noen andre kan få tilbakefallene motivasjon i denne perioden. Fordi det her blitt for mye. Da blir det helt ny hverdag fordi vi jobber, vi gjør det vi kan og i tillegg vi blir klemt på masse teorien og skole. Og det kan ta litt grep på de fleste.
>
> Jeg er litt enig med dette fordi vi snakker ofte om mennesker som er veldig unge, som kommer rett fra skolen, eller første jobben sin. Når man er voksen og hadde vært både gjennom nedturer og oppturer igjen kan det man takler dette på en helt annen måte. Jeg ser fram til å bli ferdig med skolen fordi jeg ikke er student. Nei i det hele tatt. Det blir gøy å snakke med de andre når vi er tilbake på KRUS. Det blir spennende å høre på deres historier. Men det er det. Jeg trives ikke med å studere. Nei. Jeg trives mest i jobba.

3.6 Main Conclusions of the Analysis

In the following section I would like to present a summary, the main purpose of which is to outline the main conclusions of my analysis.

1) The analysis of interviews showed the existence of distinctions between two groups of trainees. The representatives of both groups agreed with and were aware of the idea that they differed from their colleagues. Both groups meant that the distinctions were caused by the existence or absence of work experience as untrained POs.

2) For both groups working in prison on the same terms as graduated POs do their job, this should be viewed as a key factor for changes in the trainees` attitudes towards the theory they have learned. Moreover, the fact that in Ullersmo prison trainees were made responsible for the entire unit helped the participants to accept the accuracy of the theory. Expressing the idea that they view theory as a bare essential for those who will become professional POs, the trainees support KRUS`s interpretation of professionalism. On one hand trainees claimed that theory had helped them to gain a professional status they were eager to acquire, and on the other hand theory had helped them understand and internalize the main professional goals of Norwegian POs, i.e., the ability of a professional PO to understand prisoners` concerns, and his/her responsibility for the rehabilitation of prisoners.

3) Along with the fact that the participants of both groups claimed that they differed from each other, both groups distinguished themselves from the untrained POs they worked together with in Ullersmo prison. They were sure that theory managed to provide a different professional identity for them which contrasted to that of the untrained POs. Thus, they claimed that their professional knowledge was better, and their professional status was higher than the professional knowledge and status of untrained POs. The participants expressed an idea that long work experience as an untrained PO could not compensate for the lack of theoretical knowledge. Thus, a possibility to get permanent employment, in case of an untrained PO working long enough, the informants considered this to be a career trajectory which was not suitable for them.

 4) The analysis has shown that the groups assessed and reflected differently on the work of regular POs. While Group B considered regular POs to be reliable work colleagues, who in many ways shared their professional values, members of Group A claimed that regular POs

did not view the theoretical part of their education as POs as a necessary tool for obtaining professional legitimacy. Moreover, in contrast to Group B, Group A expressed an idea that the way POs understood and interpreted professionalism was largely determined by their personal backgrounds.

5) Though the groups viewed theory as a bare essential for those who want to become professional POs, however in some cases they regarded theory as irrelevant for their professional work. The main argument of the participants in this case was an idea that theory was too in-depth. Along with this reason all the participants had raised the issues of inefficient teaching methods, an issue with the content of the curriculum, as well as issues with curriculum progression.

6) On one hand the analysis has also shown that the representatives of both groups assessed the process of learning theory as laborious, time-consuming and sometimes unnecessary. With other words the period of life when the participants had to learn theory was a hard and a challenging period in their lives. On the other hand, unlike Group B, members of Group A compared themselves to other trainees, who did not have enough motivation or interest to learn theory. They claimed that the' other trainees lack of motivation to study theory became for them a serious obstacle for becoming highly motivated whenever they had to learn theory or to work in prison. Like their colleagues, Group B admitted that they were struggling with their studying. But in contrast to Group A, they explained this situation exclusively as being caused by personal reasons.

7) The analysis suggests that differences of trainees` personal backgrounds could influence their attitude towards the theory they had to learn.

3.7 Generalization and Validity of My Thesis

In accordance with the ideas of Quine and Suppe, Salner claims that no form of human science research can lead to absolute certainty because "the methodological goal of pure observation, free form theoretical, social, historical, or cultural bias has proven unrealistic". (1989, 50). Due to this idea I believe that issues of validity and generalization must be viewed as a serious challenge for a human science researcher. To resolve this problem in my thesis I

chose to refer to the theoretical approach of Kvale (1996). Following Schofield` ideas, Kvale (ibid, p. 234) suggests three targets of generalization. The first is dedicated to the "studying of what is", which seeks to find the typical and the ordinary. The second target is "what may be", as Kvale puts it; "here the aim of generalization is not what it is, but what may be" (ibid.). The third target is "what could be", which represents a situation that we believe is exceptional. I believe this is a target I should use in my thesis. I advocate this idea because Ullersmo prison is the only prison in Norway where trainees are given the responsibility of running an entire unit. In other words, this situation is unique, and it influenced both the participants in my interviews and the findings of my project. This idea is reflected in the analysis and discussion of my thesis. Kvale emphasized that such cases are of great importance because "rather than telling it like it is", because such cases underline the challenge of "to tell it as it may become". (ibid, p. 235).

According to Kvale (1996) validation of qualitative research rests on the quality of craftsmanship in research. He explains that his concept of craftsmanship implies that "validation becomes the issue of choosing among competing and falsifiable interpretations, of examining and providing arguments for the relative credibility of alternative knowledge claims". (ibid, p. 240). Kvale (1989) also suggests that in order to acquire the craftsmanship of validation a researcher should learn to check and to question. In other words, for Kvale to validate means to check and to question. Following Kvale`s ideas, I have done the following "check" during my work with my thesis. Firstly I tried to check the theoretical presuppositions of my study (these issues are discussed in my introduction.) I have also tried to check the adequacy of the design and the methods I used (detailed information can be found in the third part of this thesis.) Kvale also explains that "validation of an interview consists of continually questioning the interpretations. An ideal interview may be considered as one interpreted – with the interpretations verified and communicated – in the interview situation". (1989, p. 80). In accordance with this idea, I used an interview guide and was aware of the necessity to improvise with new questions during my interviews. In other words, I questioned the meaning of what was said and checked the information obtained during my interviews. After I finished my interviews I continued to question throughout the process of working with my project. For example, during my work with data transcription I constantly questioned whether the way I transcribed the data could constitute a valid translation from oral to written language. Analyzing my data I questioned whether the logic of my interpretation met with the data. Writing my report I questioned whether my report was a

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valid account of the main findings of my study. I do not pretend that my project has reached the level of the quality of craftsmanship described by Kvale. Yet, at the same time I would like to underline that I have tried to do my best in order to resolve the issue of validity in my thesis.

4 Discussion

4.1 Understanding Professionalization and Professionalism with the Help of Theories of Adult Learning

For many decades, scientists who were involved in the field of professional work and education were used to having their focus on the concepts of profession and professionalization. However, in recent years, for many researchers it has become clear that in modern reality, even if clear and unambiguous definitions of the terms profession and professionalization were find, it would not be enough to find an answer to the question of what makes a practitioner become a professional. Thus, in knowledge-based service sector work many researchers refer to two discourses of professionalism: organizational and occupational. (Evetts, 2013). These discourses illustrate what mechanisms different occupational groups use to facilitate and promote occupational change. In other words, these two forms of professionalism are used to understand what a practitioner needs in order to become a professional one. However, though the theory of professions explains what it means to be a professional, it gives no answer to the question of how practitioners become professionals or what they should do to become professionals. I believe that in this regard, it can be very useful to refer to theories, the main concern of which is to explain how adults acquire new knowledge, i.e. the theories dedicated to the issues of adult learning. Thus, on one hand the central points of my thesis are inextricably linked with issues of professionalism, and on the other hand they require the application of concepts and notions of adult learning theory.

Evetts (2013, p. 787- 788) links occupational professionalism to Durkheim`s model of occupation as moral communities, and characterizes it as a discourse constructed within professional groups. She claims that occupational professionalism based on collegial authority, discretion and occupational control of the work, and collegial authority. Within this discourse control is operationalized by the practitioners themselves who are guided by professional ethics, and which in turn is monitored by professional associations. According to the findings of Bruhn & Nylander (2013), the historical development of professional occupation of Norwegian POs has evolved in such a way that nowadays KRUS is considered

to be the main actor of developing professionalization strategy of POs. KRUS has chosen to follow a discourse of occupational professionalism. As an institute KRUS has used many tools to promote this choice. According to KRUS` curriculum (2014), the theory trainees have to learn contains expertise and knowledge, which are necessary for their professional work as Norwegian POs. And thus the theory the trainees of KRUS have to learn can be viewed as one of tools, which helps KRUS to promote and facilitate occupational professionalism. (Evetts, 2013, Bruhn & Nylander, 2013).

I believe that the trainees` positive attitude towards the theory can be seen as an indication that the participants support the way KRUS determines professionalism. The analysis of the interviews confirms the participants` positive attitude toward the theory they have learned in KRUS. It also showed that the trainees` positive attitude was expressed in different ways and in various contexts. It can be traced, for example, in short quotations like: "Den teorien vi studerte på KRUS er relevant. Absolutt. Den har vært nyttig, synes jeg", and " Og nå skjønner jeg hvor viktig teorien er", and "Teorien setter standard" and " Det er veldig viktig å ta med seg teorien, som en plattform for å kunne gjøre jobbe sin i hver dag".

4.2 Practice as the Best Way to Assess the Relevance of the Theory

As I have already described in the theoretical part of this thesis, from the point of view of Schön`s theory of reflective practitioner (1995), in order to determine what professionalism is, one has to solve the dilemma of "rigor and relevance". On this basis, trainees` positive attitude to the theory can be also interpreted as the trainees support to the way KRUS has solved this dilemma in regard of professional knowledge for POs. According to Schön, the dilemma of "rigor and relevance" of professional knowledge is inevitably connected with the following issues of the field of professional work and expertise:

> • Practice is the only way to reveal whether theory is useful or irrelevant for professionals;
> • Professionals will always have to deal with the gap between theory and practice;
> • A reflective practitioner has to manage to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

The interviews didn't include the trainees` suggestions concerning how to bridge the gap between theory and practice. However, both groups claimed that they viewed their work in Ullersmo prison as a circumstance, under which they realized the accuracy of the theory. Moreover, the participants had a strong opinion about the irrelevance of some parts of the theory. These findings correspond with Schön`s conviction of the existence of a gap between theory and practice, and his belief in an exceptional role of practice for understanding of theory`s relevance for professional work.

4.3 Professionalism from the Point of View of Theory of Transformative Learning

The analysis indicates the existence of distinctions between two groups of trainees. The representatives of both groups agreed with and were aware of the idea that they differed from their colleagues. They expressed this idea several times and rather distinctively during the interviews. Both groups were of the opinion that the distinctions were caused by the existence or absence of work experience as untrained POs.

In order to understand what caused the existence of distinctions between these two groups, it can be useful to refer to the theory of TL, which is presented in detail in the theoretical part of this thesis. According to Mezirow (2000), due to past experience, adults make meanings and at the same time they try to find justification for their meanings. By "meanings" he understands our ideas about truth. He explains that "meaning exists within ourselves rather than in external forms such as books and that personal meanings that we attribute to our experience are acquired and validated through human interaction and experience". (Mezirow, 1991, p. xiv). Thus, the various personal experiences of the groups of trainees became a reason that the trainees identified themselves differently. And in their opinion they belonged to two different groups.

I believe that the trainees` positive attitude to the theory can be viewed as a part of the trainees` meanings. According to Mezirow (2000), our meanings reflect what kind of truth or knowledge people choose to rely on. He claims that "the human condition may be best understood as a continuous effort to negotiate contested meanings". (Mezirow, 2000, p. 3). Thus, if trainees express a positive attitude to the theory, if they accept the theory, it means

that they believe that it is right. And by this, they support KRUS` interpretation of professionalism.

In TL the concept of meanings includes our beliefs, values, and our feelings, which depend on various contexts we find them in: biographical, historical, or cultural ones. When I asked the trainees how they could describe the main contribution of the theory they have learned to their formation as professional POs, they often emphasized the role of humanistic ideals embedded in it. I believe that the two following quotations can illustrate this idea: "En profesjonell betjent er en person som egentlig tenker på det meste. Den som har med seg både sikkerhets tenkning og omsorgsbiten. En profesjonell betjent er jo hele pakka, kan du si han har med seg alt; kommunikasjon og moral, empati, etikk, alt som er" and "Den største utfordringen vi fikk in KRUS, at du skal klare til å snakke med hver enkel innsatt, uansett hvilken handling sitter han for, for eksempel".

In other words, the trainees have accepted the idea that the theory they have learned was intended to reflect their values and feelings as professional POs. That is why the trainees did not consider the theory exclusively as a simple list of work procedures and practices they have to follow, but first of all as a code of professional ethics.

 Mezirow (2000) emphasizes that meanings differ from each other by the extent of our awareness and understanding of them. We develop habitual expectations based on past experiences. He emphasizes that in adulthood there is a chance that we will understand our experience more clearly if we know under what conditions an expressed idea is justified. That was exactly the case with the trainees. They were aware of the conditions under which they justified the ideas embodied in the theory. During the interviews the participants in both groups told me that their work in Ullersmo prison had helped them to understand that the theory was true.

Furthermore, Mezirow writes that adults tend to realize that there are many situations inlife when they cannot rely on their habitual expectations. He believes that "Our understandings and beliefs are more dependable when they produce interpretations and opinions that are more justifiable or true than would be those predicated upon other understanding and beliefs". (2000, p.4) . This idea can be traced in both interviews. In the first interview the participants in Group A expressed their support of the theory. In the second interview they had the same opinion. The difference was that during the second interview they mentioned that they had

become more confident in the accuracy of the theory because they got an opportunity to justify this idea themselves. With other words, they did not have to rely on points of view exclusively predicated upon understandings and the beliefs of others. As one of the participants puts it: "I mai var det mye synsing. Jeg tror at jeg kan får bruke det, jeg regner med at jeg håper at jeg skal bruke det og det skal være nyttig. Men nå har vi fått en god del bekreftelse etter at vi satt teorien i praksis."

The case was different with Group B. One part of their meanings – a biographical context caused their original attitude to the theory to be rather skeptical and even negative. They admitted during the second interview, that they viewed their work experience as untrained POs, and especially their communication with other POs at that time, as the main reason of their original negative attitude. "Der er helt klart at jeg hadde latt å påvirke meg både inspektører og førstebetjenter i det fengslet jeg jobba, som mente at kanskje denne utdanning gikk feil retning. At det burde være mer praktisk også videre."

But can we really state that their negative attitude was exclusively predicated upon their understanding of and beliefs about their former work colleagues? I believe that to find an answer to this question we should refer to the next notion of TL theory: "idiosyncrasies". According to Mezirow, on one hand, idiosyncrasies consist of images, while on the other hand they are conditioned by affective reactions. We use those highly individualistic idiosyncrasies, or as Mezirow calls them "frames of reference", in order "to make analogies to interpret the meaning of our own sensory experience". (Rosenfield, 1988 in Mezirow, 2000, p. 5). At the same time the author underlines that due to the idea that people often embrace frames of reference that complement each other, our frames of references often represent cultural paradigms, i.e. those held collectively. Frames of reference can appear in two guises, i.e. a habit of mind or a resulting point of view. A habit of mind can be described as "a set of assumptions-broad, generalized, orienting predispositions that act as a filter for interpreting the meaning of experience". (Mezirow, 2000, p. 17). Among them Mezirow distinguishes educational, sociolinguistic, moral-ethical, epistemic, philosophical, psychological, religious, economic, political aesthetic and others. To express and to articulate our habits of mind we need to use a specific point of view. For Mezirow it is "the constellation of belief, memory, value judgment, attitude and feeling that shape a particular interpretation". (2006, p.26). The participants of Groups B mentioned several times that they had never liked to go to any kind of school. They also stated that they preferred to learn new things by doing something rather

than by reading books and spending their time in classrooms. That is why I believe it would be fair to suggest that in Group B the trainees` educational habit of mind was the belief that to learn theory is boring and often not useful. I also believe that the analysis confirms that the habit of mind of Group B is in opposition to the habit of mind of the participants of Group A, who claim that they have always understood the importance of theoretical knowledge. I would like to use the following quotation of a trainee of Group A as an illustration of the contrast between the two habits of mind: "Ja, jeg er veldig positiv til skole da. … For oss som ønsker å lære, og er vant å gå på skole og er vant å vite at man kan faktisk sette teorien opp mot praksis. Den [teorien] er nyttig".

Mezirow emphasizes that habits of mind are not accessible to awareness and to feedback to others. However, how can we explain the fact that the participants of Group B changed their attitude to the theory they learned in KRUS after seven months of practical work in Ullersmo prison? I believe that the trainees have changed their point of view in this case, and not their habit of mind. In other words, though they did not feel any joy about going back to the KRUS head quarter and spend their days in the classrooms, they understood that they needed theory and the reasons why they needed it.

> Det tok 6 måneder før jeg begynte å fungere. Jeg har ikke studert i mange år før jeg begynte på KRUS. Det blir tøft å sette meg på skole benken igjen. Jeg gleder meg til å bli ferdig med utdanningen min. Jeg gleder meg ikke til skolen igjen. Nei. Men. Nå er jeg annerledes. Eller, jeg har et annet utgangspunkt. Jeg vet at teorien er sunn. Teorien gjør at jeg kan hjelpe innsatte.

The next notion of TL theory "transformations" can explain why and how the trainees managed to change their point of view. By transformations Mezirow means four different types of learning. (Mezirow, 2000). Among them are learning occurring by elaborating existing frames, learning by learning new frames of references, learning by transforming points of view, and learning by transforming habits of mind. For all types of learning it is important that in case of transformation of frames of reference, whether they are our own or belong to other people, we must first be involved in the process of critical reflection or critical self-reflection on assumptions – critical assessments of the sources, and secondly we have to be aware of the context and consequences of taken-for-granted beliefs.

Based on his study of women returning to college Mezirow (2006, p. 28) describes the process of transformation by the sequence of the following phases of meaning:

1. a disorienting dilemma;
2. self-examination with feelings of fear, anger, guilt or shame;
3. a critical assessment of assumptions;
4. recognition that one`s discontent and the process of transformation are shared;
5. exploration of options for new roles, relationships and action;
6. planning a course of actions;
7. acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one`s plans;
8. provisional trying of new roles;
9. building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships;
10. a reintegration into one`s life on the basis of conditions dictated by one`s new perspective.

I believe my interview with Group B, and particularly the story of one of the participants, helped to trace at least some stages of this sequence. In the case of this trainee a disorienting dilemma became a starting-point for his leaning. The fact that the trainees had to manage one unit in Ullersmo prison became the dilemma Mezirow described in his sequence. It became a dilemma because it meant that the trainees were entirely responsible for running the section. As the participant explained during the interview:

> Vi styrer vår egen avdeling og det gjør at vi må gjøre oss selvstendige … Det merker jeg at det er stor forskjell på. Etter at vi styrer vår egen avdeling er jeg mer selvstendig i forhold hva jeg kunne som ekstrabetjent. Fordi der var det faste folk. Der var at om vi ikke kunne noe, da sa de «nei», bare spør betjent som jobber her, så støttet jeg mye på den. Nå løser vi denne biten helt selv. Vi har fått den tilliten at vi faktisk, selv om vi har med oss veileder, som har den grunn erfaringen og den teorien inne, så blander ikke veilederen seg inn i hverdagen…

Moreover, the statement of the participants of both groups that they were not ready to have a fruitful discussion in September 2014, because they had not had enough time to form any clear opinion or to give confident answers to my questions, can in my opinion be viewed as an indirect confirmation of the emergence of this dilemma. With other words the trainees were confused and they needed some time to make clear a new situation in which they found themselves. Understanding the responsibility they were given by the prison authorities forced the trainee to assess critically his previous assumptions about the uselessness of theory. Due to his wish to perform as well as possible in his job, and thus, to work professionally, and due to his wish to meet the expectations of the prison authorities, he had to turn to the books and

theories he studied in KRUS. Putting into practice what he had been taught, and trying his new role, a role of a professional PO who was trusted to work independently, he could build his self-confidence in his new role. The result of this sequence was his idea that learning theory gives a chance to become a professional PO, and thus, he had to accept the theory and to change his original negative attitude.

In the final part of my discussion I would like to return to the subject of two discourses of professionalism: organizational and occupational. I believe it is reasonable to draw parallels between another concept of the theory of TL - a concept of domains of learning and the nature and the structure of professional learning, which have been integral components in discourses of professions, professionalization, and professionalism since the middle of the 20th century (for example see Wilensky, 1964, Schön 1995, Bruhn & Nylander, 2013). I believe that Mezirow`s approach can be used in order to understand the difference between the nature and structure of professional learning imbedded in the discourses of organizational and occupational professionalisms. Mezirow (2006) distinguishes between two major domains of learning: communicative and instrumental learning. The detailed description of both domains of learning is presented in the theoretical chapter of my thesis. In this part I choose to refer to the main characteristic features of the domains. Instrumental learning can be described as learning involved in controlling and manipulating the environment or other people and which is oriented towards improving efficiency. Organizational professionalism, in its turn, "[i]nvolves the increased standardization of work procedures and managerialist controls…. It relies on externalized forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target-setting and performance review". (Evetts, 2013, p. 787).   That is why I believe that organizational professionalism has its focus on the aims of instrumental learning. Occupational professionalism, as a contrast, assumes that a practitioner is supposed to master the principles of communicative learning. While the former "involves relations of practitioner trust from both employers and clients, and is based on autonomy and discretionary judgement and assessment by practitioners in complex cases" (ibid.), the latter implies that we can learn what others mean when they communicate with us. The core of communicative learning lies in the idea that feelings, intentions, values, and moral issues are often involved in leaning process. During the interviews, the trainees claimed several times that in contrast to untrained POs they have learned to understand and assess the feelings and intentions of prisoners. From their point of view, the fact that they can understand prisoners helps them to identify themselves as

professional POs, and this can also be used as an example of where one can draw the line between professionalism and its antipode.

> Det er kanskje lettere for dem som ikke har så mye bakgrunn som vi, helst å ha en maske for å bli tøff, enn å prøve å bli kjent med dem. Og de er kanskje enda mer usikre enn vi var der. Med de seks månedene fra KRUS og det vi har lært der.

> Det å jobba i fengsel er ikke det samme som å jobba i kassa i en butikk…Her er det tildelts farlige mennesker, uberegnelige mennesker. Hvis man ikke her den sikkerhets tenkning så kan det bli skummelt ikke bare for deg selv men for alle som jobber her.

Thus, speaking in favor of the theory they have learned, the trainees advocate the main ideas of communicative learning, which in my opinion are imbedded in the discourse of occupational professionalism.

4.4 Conclusion

We can see from the preceding discussion that the appeal to professionalism and its two discourses is expected to clarify how modern organizations and other institutions facilitate and promote occupational change. The professionalization strategy of Norwegian POs is mostly defined by KRUS, which in its turn pursues a strategy of occupational professionalism. The theory that KRUS` trainees have to learn is used in order to promote occupational professionalism in the area of professional expertise and knowledge. Due to the idea that theories of professions cannot describe the process of how practitioners become professionals, Schön`s theory of reflective practitioner (1995) and the theory of TL of Mezirow (2000) were applied in this thesis. In other words, the presented discussion has attempted to examine critically the findings of the analysis in the light of the theories highlighted in a theoretical part of the thesis.

From the point of Schön`s theory of reflective practitioner, a choice of KRUS in regard of occupational professionalism can be interpreted as a means to solve the problem of the dilemma of "rigor and relevance" of professional knowledge. Furthermore, the positive attitude of the trainees towards theory is viewed as their acceptance of KRUS` interpretation of professionalism. At the same time the statements of the trainees about irrelevance of some parts of the theory are regarded as an indication of the existence of the gap between theory and practice outlined in Schön`s theory.

The existence of distinctions between two groups of trainees, and the explanation of the emergence of distinctions, were examined with the help of a concept of theory of TL - "meanings", which includes our beliefs, values, and our feelings, and depends on the various contexts we find them in: biographical, historical, or cultural ones. It is also suggested that the trainees` acceptance of the theory can be regarded as an indication that theory has become a part of their meanings, which reflect what kind of truth or knowledge they choose to rely on. In order to explain why the participants of Group B changed their original negative attitude to the theory, the notion of "frames of reference" was applied. It is claimed that in accordance with the theory of TL, which divides frames of reference into habits of mind and resulting point of view, Group B has apparently changed their resulting point of view. In other words, though the participants were not happy about the idea of learning the theory they began to regard the theory as a necessary condition for their formation as professional POs. It was also claimed that Group A kept their original education habit of mind and continued to view theory as relevant and useful.

In order to explain mechanisms of change of resulting point of view of one of the participants of Group B, the sequence of transformation of meanings was used. The discussion illustrated some of the phases of the sequence and highlighted the key role of critical reflection and critical self-reflection on assumptions as well as the role of awareness of the context and consequences of taken-for-granted beliefs.

In the final part of the discussion a correlation between domains of instrumental and communicative learning on one side and the nature and the structure of professional learning, applied by organizational and occupational professionalisms were traced.

5 Conclusion

Due to the increased attention of scientists and educators pay the issues of professionalization of Norwegian POs, and the recent changes in the professional education of POs initiated by KRUS in order to promote discourse of occupational professionalism, the study was set to explore what can facilitate professionalism of prison officers in Norway. The study has also sought to find out what kind of attitude KRUS` trainees have about the educational content and organization of their professional training. The general theoretical literature on this subject and specifically in the context of the trainees' experiences in regard to developing professionalism is inconclusive on several vital questions within discourses of professionalism. The study sought to answer two of these questions:

1) Do trainees accept the theory they have learned as a means to become professional prison officers?

2) What are the main reasons of acceptance/denial of the theory?

The main empirical findings were summarized within the empirical chapter: "Research Methods". The goal of this chapter is to synthesize the empirical findings in order to answer the study`s two research questions.

In regard to the first research question of whether trainees accept the theory they have learned as a means to become professional prison officers, the study provides the following answers:

a. The study confirms the existence of two different groups of trainees.
The distinction between the groups is caused by the existence or absence of trainees` work experience as untrained POs. Both groups have expressed their acceptance of the theory they have learned as a means to becoming professional prison officers. The positive attitude of the groups was of various degrees.

b. The study confirms the existence of a negative attitude towards theory.
Though both groups viewed theory as a bare essential for those who will become professional POs, in some cases the trainees viewed theory as irrelevant for their professional work.

In regard to the second research question of what the main reasons of acceptance/denial of the theory are the study provides the following answers:

a. The study has shown that practical work in prison can be considered as the main reason for trainees` acceptance of the theory.

b. The study confirms that the possibility to work on the same terms as graduated POs did their job, and especially the fact that in Ullersmo prison trainees became responsible for the entire unit of the prison had helped the participants to accept the accuracy of the theory.

c. The trainees` critical assessment of their own work, as well as their critical reflection on the work of regular POs and untrained POs, caused by their communication and interaction with prison staff, have helped them to accept the theory as a means to becoming professional prison officers.

On the basis of the above presentation of the project`s findings I would like to present my ideas about the implications of the syntheses presented above. Or with other words, I would like to illustrate how the findings of my thesis may impinge on the existing understanding of professionalism and professionalization. On one hand the findings are consonant with Schön (1995) who claims that practice is the only way to reveal whether theory is useful or irrelevant for professionals. On the other hand, the findings converge with the findings of Bruhn & Nylander (2013), who claim that KRUS` strategy of professionalization based on the discourse of occupation professionalism has to some degree found support among Norwegian POs. Yet, I believe that, along with the results echoed in the well-known body of knowledge of the areas of study, my study has its own contribution to the understanding of professionalization and professionalism of Norwegian POs. I am convinced that my thesis has illustrated the role of critical reflection or critical self-reflection for those who will become professionals. I also suggest that the study can be interesting and useful for the educators, who are concerned with the fostering of professionalism and would like to facilitate professionalism. In the last of the recent trends which underline the demand on professional societies for clarifying the issues of professionalization and professionalism, it is important to outline potential research, which could meet the challenges of the future. As I have already mentioned, there are not so many studies which either investigate how practitioners become professionals or explore how trainees become professional POs or what

can facilitate the professionalism of Norwegian POs. The fact that Ullersmo prison is the only prison where trainees become responsible for the entire unite, and thus get a unique work environment to test their professional knowledge and skills, forces to view my study as an investigation of a unique case. Thus, I believe that the studies based on trainees` practical work in other prisons of Norway are needed. Such future research works could "fill in the gaps" of my study. To refer again to Kvale (1996, p.234), such future studies could illustrate how Norwegian trainees become professional POs from the perspective of "studying of what it is", while my study presents the same topic from the perspective of "what could be".

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Appendix

Interview Guide

1. Er det riktig å si at dere har vanlige arbeidsoppgaver? Med andre ord, har dere en vanlig fengselsbetjent` jobb nå?

2. Synes dere at den teorien dere har studert er relevant for deres nåværende arbeid? Hvorfor det?

3. Kan dere fortelle hvordan bruker dere teorien på jobb?

4. Er det noen forandringer i deres mening om teorirelevans siden vårt siste møte i mai? Hvorfor?

5. Kan dere fortelle om deres samarbeid med faste ansatte? Hva sier de om teorianvendelse? (Jeg ber om eksempler).

6. Kan dere fortelle om deres samarbeid med ekstra betjenter? (Jeg ber om eksempler).

7. Har dere diskutert teorianvendelse med andre aspiranter? Hva snakket dere om?

8. Hvilke emner har blitt spesielt viktige for deres yrkesutøvelse? Hvorfor?

9. Er det noen irrelevante emner for deres yrkesutøvelse? Hvorfor?

10. Hva skulle dere gjøre uten teori?

11. Hva tenker dere om å gå tilbake på KRUS` skolebenk igjen?

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