Institutional memories in school
Narratives from a closed school

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Abstract
This paper focuses on how educational policy changes take shape in a local school-context. Specifically, the aim is to show how discursive fragments (Ball, 2007) and/or nested narratives (Linde, 2009) stand out in teachers’ institutional memories.

The new ‘meta-narrative’ about education is characterized by neoliberal’s ideas about privatization and marketization. To catch and understand these changes, from the teacher’s perspectives, we focus on institutional memories (Linde, op cit). These working memories are told and retold by teachers, and in times of change, they are guides to future actions. New versions of memories of past events are produced and reshaped in the time of the telling. Empirically, this study is anchored in 15 life-history interviews conducted with 8 teachers who have been working at the same secondary high-school in a Swedish middle-sized town. The school was recently shut down. The narratives cover a 40-year period of school-history. All interviews have been transcribed and screened for institutional memories.

Results show how versions of institutional memories, framed by different discursive fragments and nested narratives, form a new local mosaic of narratives about education.
Introduction
This paper focuses on how educational policy changes take shape in a Swedish local school context. We understand the institutional memory (Linde, 2009) investigated in this paper, as a part of a “story fabric” (Boje, 2007, p.330) where stories about past events and current interests meet and are given meaning both individually and collectively. It is a fabric where teachers’ professional identities are molded and “bets” on new narratives about education are proposed. A “bet” is not necessarily a coherent and complete narrative with a beginning, middle and end. It is rather “a prestory” (Boje, 2007, p. 332), a possibility suggested in a local context, it gives meaning to what it means to be a teacher for those involved in the telling. In the end of this paper we suggest a “bet” or “a prestory“ about schooling and the trade of teaching as it is told in a local context in Sweden.

Three basic conditions frame our analysis. First, we consider the frequently discussed narrative about market influences on the education sector as an important metanarrative (Lauder et al. 2006). This metanarrative about education is characterized by neoliberal’s ideas about privatization and marketization in school (Apple, 2006). Every local school context in the Western world has to manage these policy-ideas, and fragments of this narrative are a part of every local mosaic of stories about education (Ball, 2007). Schools and teachers have to adapt to the competition between schools in a way that they did not have to do before and find new ways to tell and frame their stories about their own school and their profession. Second, we do not think that the neoliberal narrative is the only metanarrative forming the local mosaic of stories, fragments of other narratives are likely to show up when we ask teachers to tell about their past experiences. If we want to understand the institutional memory and the way the teachers’ use it we also must be attentive to other metanarratives about education, not only the most obvious one. Therefore we are looking for fragments of different metanarratives within the teachers’ stories. Third, when embracing the situated and located character of storytelling and identity construction (Mishler, 1999) as we do, it is important to take into consideration both mutual and individual aspects of stories. This is the reason to why we have chosen to focus on institutional memories as an object of analysis. An institutional memory is a working memory which is told and retold by all members of an institution (Linde, 2009), in this case by the teachers in a school. New versions of an institutional memory are produced and reshaped at the time of the telling. When trying to understand the changes in education policy from the teacher’s perspectives, and the “bet”, or “prestory” about teacher profession in the local context we focus on one specific institutional memory in this paper. We consider this institutional memory a crucial part of a local mosaic of stories and thus a part of the “story fabric” producing alternative stories about the teacher profession in Sweden.

The paper is disposed to illustrate how an institutional memory about a criminal gang in a school takes form in teachers’ stories, how this memory is used differently by different teachers, and how it is shaped in relation to metanarratives about school and education. In the conclusion we discuss the “bet” of an alternative story of the teacher profession.

Empirically, this study is anchored in 15 life-history interviews (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Mishler, 1999; Pérez Prieto, 2003) conducted with 8 teachers during the years 2007 – 2009. They have been working at the same upper level compulsory school, here called the Lake...
school\textsuperscript{1}, in a Swedish middle-sized town. The school was started in the 1960s and recently closed down. The stories cover a 40-year period of school history. Most of the teachers were still active as teachers in the 2000s and some of them started working very early in the school. All interviews have been transcribed and screened for institutional memories.

The Swedish education policy context in short

In 1960s there was a baby boom in Sweden and a social democratic policy called ‘The million program’ was implemented. The idea was to build one million apartments that anyone could afford and a lot of new residential areas were created and old unhealthy houses were demolished, the Lake School was built in one of these new areas. At the same time an education reform with a common school for all was introduced. Under the slogan ‘A school for all’ (Englund, 1995) democratic ideals and fairness became increasingly influential in the ‘70s curriculum. For the first time different categories of students and teachers were gathered under the same roof and the whole system was publicly financed. This reform was an important part of the Swedish Welfare model including a strong vision of an equal society and reduced differences between social classes.

In the 1980s and 1990s – like as in other westerns countries (Lauder et al 2006) – there was a political disappointment from both the political left and right because the social differences tended to maintain and the education system was expensive for the taxpayers (Persson, 2008). Simultaneously immigration raised and the segregation between different areas started to become visible (Bunar, 2009). In that political climate reforms including freedom of choice in different aspects within and between schools became important. At the same time the costs for schooling were decentralized to the local municipalities and a system of ‘free schools’ and a school voucher system was introduced. Since the millennium there has been a severe increase in the number of ‘free schools’ in Sweden. The number of school closures has also increased as a result of a falling number of pupils and the establishment of new schools (Skolverket, 2009). Now national tests and assessment is an important issue for policymakers and school administrators since the results in mathematics and science has dropped in the latest PISA survey. There is a debate between those who try to find the reasons for the descending results and those who question the relevance of the results in a national context (Lie, 2010).

An institutional memory from the 1960s

In the early 1960s the residential area Lakeside was newly built and so was the Lake-school, where the teachers we interviewed worked. They tell us about a group of boys that stood out in several ways in those early days of the school-and area’s history. The boys, it was said, used drugs of various kinds, they committed criminal acts including battering other young people in the area and they stole. Their names and actions were soon publicized in the local newspaper and they received a nick-name that did well in headlines, the name brought to mind the area where they lived, but also the name of the school. \footnote{All names that occur in this paper are changed in accordance with the ethical codes that prevail in Sweden.}
We call them ‘The Lake Gang’. According to the teachers their reputation had consequences for the school all the way into 21st century.

This story is a short version of the institutional memory which is the focus of this paper and it is this memory we refer to as ‘the institutional memory of the Lake Gang’ in the text. It is interesting because it is one out of six institutional memories that all members of the school independent of each other talk about. When the teachers tell their versions of the institutional memory they relate to their institution’s history while highlighting their own points, they angle the story in a way that suits them, and the situation, and thus perform different identities (Mishler, 1999). The institutional memory is ‘alive’ because it is told and retold; it is adapted and reshaped to new situations. It matters when teachers form their professional identities in the local context and it is of particular importance for the identification process because it emphasizes and articulates a shared past (Linde, 2009). A narrow analysis of individual teachers’ stories, institutional memories and identities in a local context open for a broader analysis of metanarratives of schooling and teachers. It is important to contextualize the teacher’s stories so they do not become anecdotal. The analysis of institutional memories is part of a process that moves from individual life stories to a life history analysis (Goodson & Sikes 2001; Goodson, 2005; Pérez Prieto, 2006). In this paper we search for fragments from different metanarratives about schooling and teachers that are linked within versions of the institutional memory of The Lake Gang.

The ambition to search for different metanarratives is born out of an assumption that a one-sided emphasis of the neoliberal metanarrative of dominance of market forces in education (Apple, 2006) is not a sufficient basis for an analysis of teachers’ professional identities. An analysis of teacher identities based only on the neoliberal narrative risks losing important nuances in the collected data. The nest of stories included in the institutional memory is a complex mixture of alternative stories, counter-narratives (Soreide, 2007) and fragments of metanarratives. It is important to address this complexity when dealing with teacher identity formation if one embrace the situated, relational and sometimes contradictory character in the comprehension of the concept of identity (Mishler, 1999; Pérez Prieto, 2003) which is common in teacher research today (White, 2009).

Stories included in the institutional memory are an exclusive collection of stories as they should be known by all members of the institution and be worth retelling by those who were not there. These analytical requirements of the stories which can be included in the institutional memory crystallize out only a small group of stories with a certain importance for both the institution and its members (Linde, 2009). The stories are impregnated with both the historical context in which they occurred and the time in which they are told. Trying to understand how institutional memories are constructed and used is about trying to understand how people comprehend their common history and how they interpret events when constructing their professional identities. In other words, how people use their history.

The Lake Gang and the school's reputation
The institutional memory of The Lake Gang is definitely a retold tale (Linde, 2009), only one of the teachers worked at the school when the events took place and the teachers tell different versions of the story. In the short version of this memory we reported it as it appeared to us after reading the transcripts stressing the similarities between different teachers’ stories. In the following we will present different versions of the institutional
memory, as they were told by the teachers. Thus, inspired by the combined methods suggested by Goodson and Choi (2008), we conduct an analysis of similarities and differences in their versions of the institutional memory and how they use this memory to make their own points of what it meant to be a teacher in Lake-school. By recounting these different versions, we also hope to make visible how fragments of various metanarratives about education are linked within the institutional memory.

This institutional memory, and its various relevance to the teachers, has emerged in the analysis after we finished the interviews. The stories of this memory are distinct and demarcated. Most of the teachers tell about The Lake Gang, but some just tell that it has always existed unruly students in the school, without using The Lake Gang headline in their stories. In many cases the teachers use the institutional memory to explain the origin of an ‘undeserved’ bad reputation of the school and its students. Living with this memory seems to be a part of what it means to be a Lake School-teacher and they give it different meanings in their stories about themselves as teachers.

In the following sections we present different versions of the Lake Gang memory as they were told by the teachers. We begin with Gerd’s version as it is the most detailed one. She is now retired but worked at the Lake School in the ‘60s.

Gerd’s version.

G: So it was, Lake School became well known, a bit for The North Lake Gang.
(2009-04-20)

This is what she first said in response to my question about the character of the students when she came to the school in the ‘60s. In particular she tells me about a continuity of students with a lack of a stable social background in the school followed by a rather full version of the Lake Gang story.

G: They (newspapers) sometimes overindulged if something happened in a school. Feeling free to write that students from Lake School have done this and this and this. Then in fact, it was like this, these students, they were making trouble at the Lake School. But they came from the neighboring school. They were actually students in the neighboring school. But they lived close by. And yes, that is. They were called the North Lake Gang, Or North Lake Mob.
H: There are perhaps more related to the Center?
G: Yes. [H: Lake Shopping Center?] Exactly. [H: Than to school?] I think so. I think that you interpret correct. But the school did get a bad reputation. And ‘My goodness’ people could say. ‘Can you work there? With those?’ They were not so many, it was four or five boys who were on the rampage. And in different ways. Of those, maybe no more than one is living today. They drove themselves to death. They were drowned out on the lake. They stole a motorboat. And ran wild and did not get So, it was of course, it was, it was wild yes. Yes. But I’ll have to say that I didn’t notice, I never noticed as a teacher anything of what they did, it was at leisure. Of course they did not do this in school, in school-time.
H: No. Was this something you talked about?
G: Yes, of course when things happened and the newspapers wrote and so on. And we said ‘Damn, why should they tie this to the North Lake School?’ And you know, by that time freedom of choice eventually begun. It was not just then, but the free choice of parents. And if a school gets such a reputation, then you can almost figure out the rest.
H: Did you think that you got rid of that reputation?
G: Yes, it slowed down. But it still exists. (2009-04-20)

She talked about a small group of boys who ‘were making trouble’ when the school was newly started and they gave the school a bad reputation that they could never completely get rid of. In her story she is creating a distance between The Lake Gang-story and the school-history in various ways, making a point that essentially what happened had nothing to do with the school, or herself as a teacher.

But the point in this analysis is not an essentialist one, rather it is to discuss how the Lake Gang memory is constructed and used. By connecting the story to the reputation of the school and the influences of local media she gives an explanation as to why the school encountered problems when schools in the area began to compete with one another. When new problems occurred in school they were linked to the Lake Gang memory and the teachers became a part of the retelling, giving their own versions. The memory of the Lake Gang became a part of the framing when the teachers formed their professional identities. This link between The Lake Gang - the newspapers - the reputation appears in several other versions of these teachers’ stories. Also the statement ‘Can you work there?’ recurs in various forms in many stories.

A fragment of the metanarrative about competition is explicit in this version and an alternative narrative about a school managing their students much better than its reputation is also suggested.

**Hedvig’s and Anna’s versions**

Hedvig and Anna have been working at the school since the ‘70s. They both connect the Lake Gang-story with a bad reputation of the school in their stories about how it was when they arrived at the school a long time ago. Here this reputation is recalled by Hedvig.

He: That it was a really bad school, that it was a school with a bunch of thugs. And there was something called the ‘North Lake Gang’ which has raged around the youth recreation center. And it was, therefore, it was not good in terms of student supply. (2008-09-09)

Both Anna and Hedvig mention the students’ poor reputation emphasizing the continuity of a category of students with social problems. But they position themselves somewhat differently in relation to the institutional memory of the Lake Gang.

A: Thus, there has never been so, that we have had to put up like a facade that you do not have a problem. And therefore, it does not make much difference if you get another kind of pupils then. They perhaps are hard to handle in their own way or have
Anna does not deny that “that there has always been a tough clientele at the Lake School.”, but instead highlights the fact that the staff were good at being open about problems. The other ‘kind of pupils’ she mentions are immigrants whose number has increased at the Lake School since 1995. It is clear that she considers the openness about problems as a strength when working with different categories of students. Hedwig’s point is also related to the teachers but in another way, here contrasted to the rumor of the students.

He: It, it was that it was considered that the students, the rumor said, the students were very low achievers and socially inferior. The teachers were great and strong and strict and good. Perhaps above all strict. (2008-09-09)

The institutional memory of The Lake Gang and the rumor of the students serve as a contrast to highlight that the ‘reality’ was better when focusing on the ‘strict’ teachers that could deal with the problems. Hedwig emphasize that the teachers were good and Anna underlines the openness among them. Both use the memory as a marker of the existence of a category of students with problems in the school.

In these versions fragments of metanarratives about discipline, control and social classes/immigration take shape.

**Olof’s version**
Olof is the teacher who stresses most strongly the injustice of the reputation of the school and draws the most dramatic conclusions of the Lake Gang memory in his version. He also talks about ambient reactions when he remembers his working life at the school. He was concerned about the injustice he felt over how the Lake Gang-story of the past was used.

O: There was a gang who used drugs. And by the middle of the 90s a lot of them were deceased. [H: They were heavy?] Not so much, it was criminality, it was when the area was young. Before security was settled. That is the way I see it. And it is so terribly unfair! Towards the students in school, who doesn’t have anything to do with it. And towards the staff which neither can be blamed for it. But in a city, some areas, some schools, some sites, are pointed out to make you feel a bit better. (2008-11-28)

He linked the events of the past with people’s attitude towards him as a Lake school-teacher today and how it affected his students and his work as a teacher. In his version the change of the school’s name is a consequence of the school’s bad reputation, it was an attempt to change peoples’ views on the school. He also links the memory of the Lake Gang with newspapers reporting about the school when a drug incident occurred in the 1990s.

O: And it became headlines in the newspaper. And even if it is balanced written, by these reporters who actually understand that this is good. Or yes, know how the school management was working with it. So anyway people do not read it that way, to see the positive. ‘Now it is drugs in the Lake School’. And The Lake Gang this and that. I thought it was terrible. In my conspiracy theory, I think it was because of that the school was shut down. No, but then, it's not just that it’s so incredibly, unbelievably to understand that they made that decision. The fact that they wanted, they wanted to
remove it, the terrible communal. The terrible communal school. And simultaneously when meeting parents, and parents were satisfied with having it, to have their children there. So, so the image doesn’t fit. (2008-11-28)

Here he goes one step further in his interpretation of how the memory of the Lake Gang has played a role in the school’s future by presenting his ‘conspiracy theory’ suggesting that this institutional memory could be an argument for the school’s closure. By extension of this logic, he talks about it all as part of a regime change in which public schools are disadvantaged in favor of private schools (frisko lori). Although the Lake Gang-story was not the only reason that the school was shut down, it is clear that he considers the reputation important when people interpreted reports on how the school dealt with the drug problem. His point is that people took note of a continuity of problems in the school rather than an openness and willingness to address the problems and deal with them.

O: And the school did not hide away the concern. That was crap for school, for the local newspaper highlighted the drug, ‘drugs in Lake School’, or something like that.

H: Of course, then there will be headlines.

O: Yes. And if you know the reality you know that there are drugs in virtually all schools. But not to see that it was a good example to see the problem and find the problem and show a will solve the problem. And get crap for it. But the ‘nice’ school might hide it? ‘This is not our business, this is the students leisure’. But there the status declined. As ‘it flourishes drugs on Lake School’.

(2008-11-19)

This openness about problems is something he is proud of in his story, and so is the will to treat the students in a fair/equal way.

O: Yes, and I very much liked that workplace I saw something else. Yes, to claim fairness. (2008-11-28)

Olof’s story is clearly framed by two different metanarratives about teacher profession and schooling. His version includes fragments of the metanarrative about competition between schools when he tells about the problems with openness. And the metanarrative about a fair school for all typical of the Swedish model seams to be important to him. The narrative fragments are linked to each other as two contradictory alternatives within his story. Olof is proud of working in what he considers a fair school that welcomes all categories of students and solve the problems that occur, and he is suspicious to the competing ’nice school’ who do not openly declare their problems.

Discussion

By initially presenting a shortened version of the memory about the Lake Gang and then adding the different teachers’ versions of it we have shown how the institutional memory of the Gang have emerged in my analysis. Of course it is not the essence of this memory that really matters, but the way it is important to the institution and its members. The teachers talk about the Lake Gang memory as a ‘stamp’ linked to a reputation which does not disappear, as if it is something which all teachers at Lake School must respond to. The local newspaper keeps coming back to the story, forcing the teachers to retell it and take a stand.
Most versions have the character of a counter narrative, where the teachers defend their school and contradict its reputation. The Lake Gang story has become one of the school’s institutional memories (Linde, 2009) and most members have their own version and recall it when we ask about the past. In short this institutional memory seems to be a part of the framing of what it means to be a teacher in this local context. This brings us to function of the institutional memory and how the teachers use it.

On the one hand, this memory is used to confirm that there was a category of socially disadvantaged students who were a challenge to manage for the teachers. Two different teacher identity performances (Mishler, 1999) emerge from this standpoint. Some emphasize the strictness of the teachers as a way of coping with the problems. Others emphasize the openness among the teachers as a way of managing the problematic students. On the other hand, the Lake Gang memory is also used as a contrast with ‘what it really was like’. Many of the teachers talk about The Lake Gang and their reputation in connection with stories about how it was when they got their jobs at the school. The typical story is that they had heard about the Gang and the school’s bad reputation, but they quickly realized how wrong the reputation was. The institutional memory is used to create a sense of us, in contrast to the external image of the school.

Finally, we highlight fragments of three metanarratives on schooling and teaching profession, which emerged from the analysis. They deal with control, fairness and freedom of choice and are linked differently in the various versions of the institutional memory of the Lake Gang.

The metanarrative about control indicated in the data is vividly discussed by historians both in Sweden (Sandin, 1986) and internationally (Katz, 1976). When analyzing the start of modern educational systems in Sweden and the US they point out that schooling was not mainly about knowledge but was a way to stop poor children in the cities from begging or getting bad influences in the factories or at home. School was a way of maintaining social control of a certain category of children. In some versions of the memory of the Lake Gang this is highlighted, in others it is more implicit that there was, and has always been, a category of students in the school who were considered hard to handle. From this point of view this institutional memory can be considered a memory of a past failure of an important mission of the school. The teachers’ versions are a kind of counter-narrative (Soreide, 2007) which emphasizes that this has not happened since the ‘60s. The teachers are proud of their strategies to manage this mission, highlighting the strictness or openness among their colleagues.

“The teachers were great and strong and strict and good. Perhaps above all strict.”
(Hedvig, 2008-09-09)

The teachers claim to have done a good job with controlling these children, and the memory of the Lake Gang reminds them of problems that might occur if they lose control. The institutional memory is used within the school as a reminder of the importance of doing a good job with this group of students, if only to avoid further unfair criticism from the community. Fragments of the metanarrative of school as an institution for control are nested into the memory of The Lake Gang. The ‘good’ teacher in this story is a person who has control of the situation and the students.
The two metanarratives about fair schooling within the welfare state and competition between schools, which are nested in the institutional memory of The Lake Gang are extensively discussed by educational researchers (Lauder et al., 2006). Ball (2007) has analysed how these narratives are involved in negotiations of policy in local contexts. The metanarrative of a fair school for all as part of a Swedish welfare model (Englund, 1996) has a strong position in our data. In the various versions of the memory of The Lake Gang fragments from this metanarrative appears most explicit in Olof’s version, but it can be glimpsed also in others. When Olof argues against the injustice in the bad reputation the sharp edge is directed towards the private schools (friskolorna). He is proud of their work in the Lake-school, the parents were satisfied and he links this to the idea of a communal school. Anna implies that they had experiences of helping different categories of students. We link these statements to the school for all narrative and thus as fragments of a national narrative of the Swedish welfare model. The ideal-teacher is someone who ‘claims fairness’ for all students in this narrative.

The neoliberal story of a school system characterized by freedom of choice and competition between schools as part of a market model is in many ways relevant today. Since the 1990s, the choice has been a central concept in the school system in Sweden. Students change schools more frequently than before and individual schools have to adapt (Bunar, 2009).

Competition and market adjustment have become part of everyday schooling and therefore a part of what it might mean to be a teacher (Goodson, 2005; Hargreaves, 2006; Ball, 2006). The most obvious fragment of this metanarrative in the Lake Gang memory is that the Lake School and the teachers did not get rid of this memory and the reputation connected to it, it was like a ‘stamp’ a teacher said and it became a problem when trying to attract students. Gerd points clearly to this problem and Olof focus on it in his ‘conspiracy theory’ where he sees it as a factor that had implications on why the school was closed. The institutional memory of the Lake Gang and the reputation connected to it can be seen as part of the ‘hot knowledge’ (Bunar, 2009; Ball, 2003) which parents and children use when they make their choice of school. Several of the teachers tell of negative reactions when they said that they worked at the Lake School. A part of being a teacher at Lake School in the 2000s therefore was to fight for a better reputation of the school, and taking a stand against the institutional memory of the Lake Gang was a part of that work.

Then it is perhaps not surprising that the institutional memory, however old and spectacular, was something they talked about among colleagues at the school. The teachers’ express an irritation with the way the local press connected current events with the memory of the Lake Gang and thereby enhanced the negative reputation of the school. The teacher identity performed here is looking quite a lot like the defense of a trade-mark, they had to fight the bad reputation if the school should compete on the free school market.

Conclusion

One conclusion is that it is obvious that the neoliberal narrative has an important role to play when teachers form their professional identities in a local context. No school can ignore the educational market where parents’ free choice of school decides if there will come any pupils next year, and the reputation of a school is a key factor in the hot knowledge they use in
their decisions. No one can work as a teacher and ignore this fact. But more important, we are equally convinced that fragments of other metanarratives are involved in the local nest of narratives gathered within an institutional memory. And these fragments are not only about being popular on a market, but about identity. In short being a teacher at the Lake School and telling the memory of the Lake Gang is a way to show what you think is important as a teacher, some emphasize discipline and control of the students, and others underlines openness with problems or fairness to all children. Institutional memories are used to create a common history and identity. A common history and identity addressing not only the past but also the future. These memories are also a possibility for teachers to use in their own way when they form their professional identities in the present.

Another conclusion is that this institutional memory seen as a part of a local “story fabric” help us understand the “bet” (Boje, 2007) that the teachers are producing about the changes in the education system and the teaching profession. The “bet”, or the “prestory” about the professional teacher identities at Lake School as far as we can see from the analysis of the institutional memory of the Lake Gang is about multiple narratives rather than single ones, it is about ‘and’ rather than ‘or’. The narratives included in the institutional memory are collective rather than individual and the versions are complementary rather than excluding. Some versions indicate that teachers should be in control of their students, especially the ones that fall into the same category as the boys in the Lake Gang who had a weak support from their families. Other versions give a strong support to a teacher identity claiming fairness to all students, emphasizing equal rights to all and openness about problems that occur and a strong will to deal with them. These versions have different origin, fragments from different metanarratives are linked differently, but they become coherent within this local story fabric. All versions agree on that the institutional memory of the Lake Gang and the negative reputation that was connected to it gave the school a special position in the town. The teachers had to deal with the reputation and take a stand for their school, often in opposition to the social surroundings in general and towards the local newspaper in particular. In short the “bet” about the professional teacher, from this local context so far, is a story about a teacher who has strict control of the students, and claim fair rights to the students, and solve problems in an open manner and is ready to publicly defend the way they dealt with the problems. When competition about students between schools became more common the openness became a problem and defense an important task, but that does not exclude the other narratives.

References


