

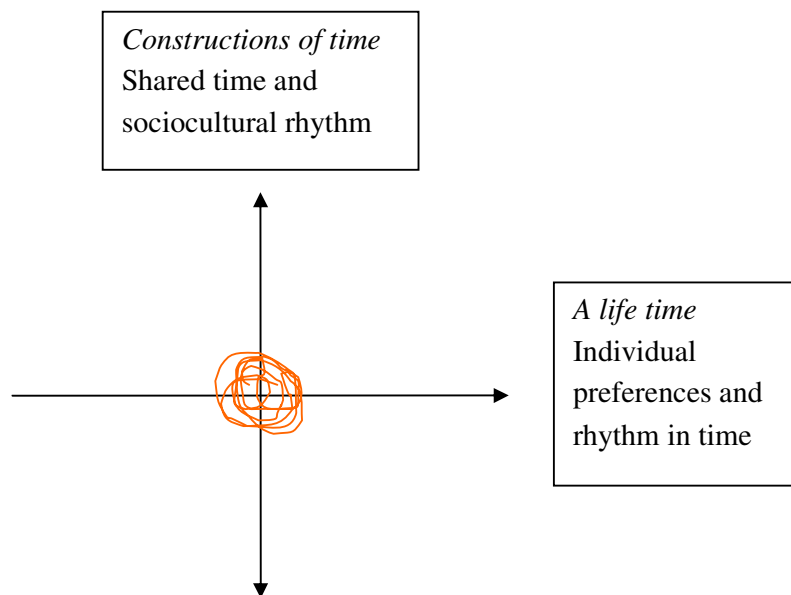
*Time matters,*

*high school pupils about temporal conditions in school*

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This article discusses a cultural-pedagogic problem with its roots in two different dimensions of time, and above all in the intersection *in-between* those two. These dimensions are, as two sides of a coin, important and fundamental to us. First of all we have the life span which is a stretched, but also definitive line. Second, but crossing the first one, there is the communication and interaction between individuals, creating sociocultural frames and positions in time. In the crossroads there is also another bunch of temporalities, those inner movements and rhythms in our dreams, plays, fantasies and learning, temporally different from the everyday time in which we meet and do things together, though they always arouse from and are influenced by this (Schutz 1962:1999; Berger and Luckmann 1966:1989).

In the crossroads between different temporalities and rhythms we live our lives; in this time *in-between*, our perspectives and interpretations of the everyday life are created and shaped. Here we are, *balancing between* inner feelings of a time either slowly or quickly passing away, happy moments or boring hours, thick experiences or empty days, ideas and plans for life as well as conversations with friends that seems to slide away, and on the other side, outer sociocultural signs of time, schedules, norms and ideals.



Our movements between different dimensions of time are more complex than the above figure show, but it is one way of getting closer to the phenomenon of time and its conditions in everyday life. According to Alfred Schutz (1999) our minds constantly move through and between different provinces of meaning, each with its specific frames in time and space, rules and possibilities. Each province exists only when we experience it, and we pay attention to it because it has meaning to us. It is our experiences in terms of *meaning* that constitute what we call reality, and the everyday life is therefore not more real than other provinces of meaning, even if it appears as if it were. Every province of meaning seem real and natural to us, until something forces us to break through the actual frames and take a mental jump to another dimension of reality. Those experiences make us conscious of the dimensions in life and that 'everyday time' isn't *the* time, but only one possible way of understanding it.

The article builds on a study using *crossroads in time* as analytical filter trying to grasp *the perspectives of high school pupils and their experiences of time in school*. The everyday time in life is organized in a very specific socio-cultural way that gives meaning, but also decide what is possible and not. Mondays are given meaning in relation to the days before and after, as well as Monday is the day after weekend and the first day of a new week at work or in school. We give time specific meaning by organizing our lives and activities around specific days, weeks, years and so on (Zerubavel 1981, 1991). Henri Bergson (1889:1992) once wrote that it was exactly this organized way of dealing with time, the way of exposing moments in

time, one after the other, that make us forget or hide the qualities that lies in the flow of time, the rhythms and the varieties. However, as even Bergson admits, we cannot live together without organizing time in ways that both bring us together and separates us. We need frames to think and act in the everyday life.

Erving Goffman (1974) gave time a specific social meaning by his theories of *frames*; for example frames between private and public time that settle interventions, engagements and availability in everyday life. You do not get phone-calls at three o'clock in the morning except if something very *very* important has happened. In formal institutions you are given a specific time and place which is supervised and legitimize other people to interrupt and share your time and space. School is such a time and space, though, and as Zerubavel (1981) also points out, there is no *definitive* line between private and public in everyday life, why even formal institutions as "school" contains hidden spaces in time; or temporal spaces *in-between*.

Spaces, as well as times in between are seen as something important in the lives of children and young people (see for example Erikson 1968; Ziehe 1982; Qvarsell 2003). Time and space in-between can be given by school and society, as the psychosocial moratorium, minted by E H Erikson and defined as a space free from responsibilities and demands. But it is a moratorium for development per se. More interesting in this study are those times in-between, created by the youngsters themselves, though they always depend on what temporal spaces or non spaces that are available. Those times in-between illustrate what conditions young people in school recognize, as well as their own preferences and rhythm in time.

The *locus* of this study is three different schools, partly because school in itself encompasses various temporal dimensions, and partly because the differences between those schools hopefully illustrate the problem from different directions and contexts; creating a thicker description of the phenomenon.

The lifelong perspective, as well as the actions here and now, is fundamental in the curriculum, but always from the perspectives of adults, and inspired of political goals and cultural representations of the needs, aims and abilities of children and young pupils. This time is here called *school-time*.

On the other hand, from the perspectives of pupils there is *time in school*; pupils own and personal experiences and feelings in time. Young pupils in school can learn and understand the rules for school-time, but how they experience and cope with those frames differ. The school-time has its own rhythm, measure and rules; scheduled and already planned, while time in school is an experience which cannot be planned beforehand; its rhythm is influenced by individual moods and experiences, as well as feelings of how time sometimes stretches, runs away or even stand still. Time in school is also shaped by underlying rules (the hidden

curriculum) of how to interact with other pupils as well as teachers, when and how to socialise, move, act and talk.

As Philip W Jackson (1968) writes, there are three main conditions to handle in the classroom, namely “the crowds, the praise and the power”. In school there are certain aspects of organisation and constraint, certain rules about how to act, interact and wait. As a pupil you must learn to wait, it is a basic rule, otherwise the coordination of pupils as a group would be impossible to arrange. To wait for others, to finish without being done, and to start with something new without being ready, is part of the hidden signs in time. “School is a place where things often happen, not because students want them to, but because it is time for them to occur” (Jackson p 13). The *crowds* in the classroom legitimize some sort of participation, but also demands sociability and certain sociocultural rules. As a pupil you must learn to work and perform alone, though be *praised* and judged in front of others. You must accept a time schedule made up of others than yourself, and you must know how to keep up with that schedule, without losing control of the rhythms in relations to classmates, your own understanding and positioning in time. Controlling time, as well as understanding its underlying rules is therefore a matter of *power*.

There is a certain ability needed, knowing how to be a good student and a good classmate at the same time; how to be in time but still find space to socialize with others and to position one self in time.

A Canadian study of young high school girls bring up the fact that “the waltz of sociability” in school is a dance on tiptoes between formal and informal times; an ability to turn a classmate to a friend, and a lesson to an opportunity for developing intimate relations, though time passes in an highly supervised institution (Amit-Talai 1995). Failing to take up the waltz or not being able to balance between different times, temporal spaces and spaces in-between, the feeling of being alienated can colour experiences and descriptions of time in school. In a study of young working-class males, Mats Trondman (2001) argues that their sense of being misunderstood in school, have an impact on their sense of time; they try to escape school-time by mental jumps and by physically demonstrating their uneasiness, for example by staring out of the window. In her ethnographic study on language, Shirley Brice Heath (1983), explain how childrens’ varied sociocultural background (here; black and white working-class) and different ways of interpret time is mirrored in words and acting, which can have implications in school. Those who understand time differently than their teachers are seen as different and hard to understand, as well as the pupils themselves feel alienated and misunderstood. Growing up in a temporal flow, where eating times, play and work do not have a specific order but occur when needed, do not mean living without a rhythm or

without any rules, but it differs from school-time where “once engaged in an activity, one was not bound by the limit of completion of the task, but by the time allotted for that task” (p 275).

However, even within similar sociocultural frames there are uneasiness and mental jumps in time, in school. Research on childrens’ experiences and descriptions of time in school (see for example Westlund 1996; Christensen & James 2001) makes it clear that time in school is a varied experience even if age, social background, and culture coincide. Many children agree on the fact that time outside school often passes quickly while time in school is slow, as well as fun and stimulating lessons move along in another pace than when you are bored... These studies also show how children use their bodies as a shield for inner movements during lessons. By leaning over a book or pretend listen they mentally move to other dimensions of reality, to dreams or plans for other parts of the day or of the weekend. Those movements appear more frequently in situations where pupils feel bored and time seems to move really slow. Making jumps between different times is a way of creating temporal space in-between, to do something else, reflect, learn or just escape boring moments and a sense of slow time.

*Time in school*, as well as what children and young people experience and see as meaningful qualities in time, is cultural and context related. Balancing and positioning in the intersection between time in school and school-time are acts filled with challenges and opportunities. To grasp the perspectives of pupils, research must always include both dimensions; both agency and structure. To be able to understand young people’s preferences in time, research must take into account the specific signs in time and space that put the frames for their ways of thinking, feeling and acting.

The different schools in this study do not vary in education offered, or the temporal frames for terms, holidays, and school years, but in the time of studies here and now. The everyday time in school, where pupils are suppose to read, write and learn, to fulfil specific tasks and test, on the other hand, differs.

The first school, called *Earth*, is one of the most popular schools in Stockholm, with a long history, a grand old fashioned building, attractive programs in music, theatre and painting. The school has high admission credits, but induces pupils from different parts of Stockholm and the suburbs. The pupils study on schedule and meet in classrooms every day. When I met them they worked with a parallel project for their exam. This project stretched over the last year of high school and was not scheduled, but counted and was judged as other subjects.

The second school is a private school, here called *Water*. The pupils at Water all have their own portable computer, within which they can find information and with which they can

work with given tasks, communicate with teachers and classmates, present written works and have they commented, discuss and solve tasks in group with classmates and so on. The point is that they can carry their schoolwork around and are not bound to any specific place or time, except for some lessons at the center. The school has two centers in Stockholm, situated in office buildings. Their classrooms have walls of glass, as well as rooms for teachers and for seminars and lessons are mixed, and everybody is close to each other. The pupils' schedules are, especially during the last year, individual, and in class they met different mates. They have approximately two days of lessons and the rest of the week they are supposed to study on their own. This specific way of studying, induces pupils with different backgrounds and experiences of school from all over Stockholm and its surroundings.

The third school, called *Air*, offer education on distance to high school pupils living abroad. But studying on distance from teachers, classmates, classrooms and common schedules, also induces pupils with bad experiences of school as well as very motivated pupils. The pupils have individual schedules and are given week-plans from school at the beginning of each week. The pupils can decide for themselves which subject they want to study at what time, as long as it is within the plan. They have e-mail contact with teachers when they need help or when they have finished with a specific task of the week. Most of the pupils study at home, though some have the possibility, and prefer, to study at a nearby school together with others also studying on distance, though not the same subjects or even in the same "class".

Ten pupils from each school have participated in interviews, or in the case of pupils abroad, exchanges of letters (attachments to e-mails). Letters and transcripts have been complemented with drawings, observations and in some cases the youngsters have recorded themselves on given themes. In their descriptions of time in school there is differences linked to specific schools, but also similarities and differences among pupils within the same school. As written above, the different schools are primarily chosen because they pose pupils in different and somewhat new temporal situations, which illustrate the phenomenon (conditions in time in school) from different angles and deepens the description of it.

### *Conditions for positioning; three analytical tools*

The hidden (temporal) curriculum has implications if you cannot see and understand those underlying rules, or if you cannot balance or easily dance between different dimensions in time, but within school. The problem in *focus* is which temporal conditions young pupils in school recognize and describe and how they deal with them. In the temporal space in-between; between individual preferences and rhythms and cultural representations about time,

lies the pedagogical conditions; conditions for how to find a way in time and a position in balance. Balancing always includes a risk, either to hang to much on one side, to loose control of the situation or to fall down. But there is also chances and opportunities in our way through time; balancing is also developing and learning, through dealing with cultural challenges and by identify and adopt affordances.

In line with a methodological theory developed by Birgitta Qvarsell (1996), and called *pedagogic ethnography*, the study uses “opening” or senzitising concepts in a way to grasp conditions in the intersection between individual and cultural signs, but from the perspective of the individual. In this study two cultural-pedagogical concepts are being used to zoom in conditions, and a third is used in an aim of underlining the relevance of grasping different *perspectives* of the phenomenon, and not the individuals themselves.

The first concept is *cultural challenge*, which has its ground in developmental psychology and the concept “developmental task” minted by R J Havighurst and influenced by E H Erikson’s theory of how the individual develops by coping and solving problems or tasks given by the environment during specific time periods in life. The concept has been worked up and given a more cultural meaning by Qvarsell (1996). Instead of focusing and describing the development of children and young people from the perspective of adults, one should bring forth surrounding cultural conditions by studying the intersection between cultural structures and the individual and the conditions that he or she recognizes. The tasks as well as their solutions are then constructions of the individual. They differ from person to person, from situation to situation, and cannot be seen as something given at any specific moment in time. Any how, it is important for the individual to be able to solve the challenges in order to move on and cope with other cultural challenges.

The second senzitising concept is *cultural affordance* or “invitation to acting” as Qvarsell (2000, 2001) also describes it. Even affordances are seen and used as constructions of the individual, though potential space for action as well as potential meaning must exist in the environment, as conditions for acting, learning and positioning. The concept was originally outlined by James Gibson (1979) but has since then been used in different research approaches and in varied ways. Edward Reed (1993) for example, puts the concept in relation to the *possibilities* of the individual to take up and realize affordances on behalf of his or her intentions and preferences, as well as cultural norms, ideals and identified challenges. Qvarsell (2001) has used affordance as an analytical tool in different studies with children and as an aim to find out what qualities they see and describe in their everyday life. What is it that *invite* people to action in different situations and contexts?

The third concept is picked up from Lars H Gustafsson (1996) and is used to describe how individuals construct and develop “a temporal self”, which is partly cultural, partly a result of social backgrounds, experiences and life situations. The *temporal self* is developed and constructed in relation to its environment and to people in its surroundings; to people that matter and to daily rhythms that dominate in everyday life. A rich self is a self with confidence to itself, to the environment and to other people. It is a self with a strong feeling about where and what to be, do and need, positioning itself as independent and confident, with an ability to move from closeness to distance without losing sight of itself. It has an ability to move between different angles in time; between the lifelong perspective and the closeness in feelings, actions and interplay here and now. The richness is due to experiences of continuity early in life; continuity, though not rigidity, and flexibility, but not chaos. In a means a balanced rhythm through time, including rules and play, closeness and distance without exaggerating or losing any part of it.

A temporal self is constructed and developed where individual preferences and cultural norms and ideals traverse. Its shape and richness has importance for how the individual recognizes, meets and deals with cultural challenges as well as identifies and takes up cultural affordances in everyday life, for example in an institution as school.

Within a pedagogically ethnographic approach the child or youngster is seen as an active social individual, a being and not a becoming, a perspective with rights and abilities to create time and space, to deal with different dimensions in time. In line with modern childhood/youth studies (see for example Wyn and White 1997; James, Jenks and Prout 1998) the child/young person is seen as an individual on equal terms as adults (not immature and future-oriented), and its perspective is therefore as important to grasp and retell, as those of adults. Children and young people create time, as well as adults.

There are some specific points in the data from each school that separate them, but there are even more articulated and temporal conditions that unite. To be a youngster, to be a pupil, and to be on your way out of school seems to mean specific things according to time. Young people are seen as positioned in an overlapping time in a few different ways; some situations demand independence, some obedience, in time, and in relations to adults and to surrounding situations. But from the perspective of young people their time is both important and lasting here and now, in its memories and for future possibilities (see for example Holmberg 1998; Balldin 2000). According to Amit-Talai (1995) (above) there is a gap between cultural representations of youth and their relationships as both temporary and superficial, but youngsters describe their friendship as both lasting and deep. It is rather their way of developing and keeping up their friendship in the temporal



spaces in-between, in the cafeteria of school, at toilets or behind the backs of teachers in classrooms, that contributes to the picture of their relations as passing. The context and supervised spaces set the conditions, but the relations themselves are something else. There is always the question of context; those cultural signs and frames in time that matter in young peoples positioning. Youth as a concept is, as well as childhood and adulthood, a social construction, but it has meaning in the everyday life and regulates our thoughts on time, acts and rhythm.



*From the perspective of a temporal self*

Transcripts, drawings and letters have been collected and analyzed guided by the opening concepts and with a specific search for temporal conditions *in-between*. The pupils are *informants* of a phenomenon; they see and interpret what happens in the intersection as well as their temporal self is shaped and sometimes re-shaped and developed, by meeting and dealing with challenges and affordances. Below follows some of the points of meaning shown and analyzed in the material. Research and studies presented above brings up a time in school as normative and excluding, boring and slow, but there are other conditions and also qualities in the lines of the cultural time that pupils in those different schools experience and explain.

*Freedom from frames*

Frames in time and space can be frustrating if they stop you from doing what you like or need, but they can also be a condition for several doings and meetings in ordinary life. The study on *Water* shows that when some frames suddenly are taken away and left for you to build on your own, new challenges and affordances are seen and experienced.

Vera at *Water* explains how ordinary doings as drinking, eating and resting suddenly becomes her responsibility, something she must plan for, something that used to be written in the schedule where time was set aside to eat, as well as to take a break. Vera is one of the pupils at *Water* who thought this way of studying would make her time more effective, productive and rich. She saw an opportunity to take more subjects than in an ordinary school, keep up her part time job, and still have time for her exercise and friends. She thought in fact that free and partly individual time, would release more time, as well as more opportunities and

experiences. After a time at *Water* she realizes that suddenly there is no time for rest or hardly for anything else except her studies. Her goals and willingness to do more than is possible within an ordinary schedule at school, ends up in a feeling of inadequateness; “as when the water in the glass is to overflow, constantly”.

Instead of following a schedule she writes notes; list all the things she feels she must do. The problem is that those lists are never completely done, there is always more. As Vera *says*;

there is nothing called free time

because

you are never done

you cannot be

its not that we don't have tasks to finish

but it also counts if you search for more information on the Internet

or go through different books

you study without limits

you

you study as much as you have time to or can

Vera doesn't seem to be able to draw here own lines or set the frames in time so that some things came to an end, and other things such as be with friends or just take a break, be legitimized. Time in school never ends, because she cannot fell done, and there is no schedule that guarantees an ending of school work. When time has become a responsibility of one's own, a temporal self which has high demands on one self, is future oriented and give specific experiences and doings more importance than personal preferences in time, risk ending up with no time at all.

Erich Fromm (1943:1993) minted the concepts of *freedom to* and *freedom from* as a way of explaining the complexities of individual freedom. To feel free in a positive manner, free to do certain things, free to develop in specific ways, free to use time in a way that correspond to personal preferences, has its ground in the context, but is also a matter of temporal selves. Freedom can be offered, but does not always correspond to a feeling of freedom to. Freedom from frames is for Vera a negative experience, because she looses control over time; her own time and rhythm. According to Fromm, freedom to is a feeling sprung out from a self consciousness and confident self. But to know what to want and be able to, is a challenge in everyday life. Feelings of desire and thoughts of what I should desire is mixed up, as well as feelings of what I can and should be able to, what I want or should want...

Even in the study at *Air* the frames in time are missing, especially those frames that guarantee private spaces as well as common moments in time and meetings. Letters from pupils studying on distance tell stories about freedom to autonomy, but also about loneliness and an individualised time, separating them from others. Their descriptions about how they plan their school work and what frames they set up indicate a freedom from frames leading to a reproduction of socially enclosing lines in time. They begin and end their time “in” school when family members and friends go to work or school, as well as when they come back home or finish. Then they set up and follow specific rhythms within those frames, but the reproduction of times to start and times to finish guarantee some crossing with other peoples’ frames; they guarantee meetings and free them from isolation and feelings of not belonging. Anna writes;

I always study at daytime. I also try to get up early and begin my school work so that it corresponds to a traditional way in school. Even if I could turn the clock and sleep late in the mornings I feel more comfortable being finished early. In the afternoons and evenings everybody else is free, so then I would like to be with my friends.

Anna reproduces those temporal frames she used to follow in school, but not because of their accordance with her own rhythms and preferences, but because they make her belong and be with others. Anna feels free to do what she likes, but she chooses common lines. One reason is social and the other could be a matter of habit or a convincement about being done early is “good” for her positioning in time.

Letters from pupils at *Air* also retell feelings of freedom to their *own* time and rhythm. An affordance about doing subjects and tests in a somewhat free order and rhythm, is maybe easier to accept and go through with if you are within common, and socioculturally accepted frames? Being on distance from everybody else makes you feel spatially aside, why re-create ordinary lines in time is a way of balancing and maybe an opportunity of positioning yourself as both unique and free, though not strange and socially apart.

Vera, on the other hand, tries to create time in a context which underlying signs tell her to do something on her own, something unique and apart from the ordinary. Instead of reproducing ordinary and socially common frames, she then strives to fill her time with as much as possible, in a time without any frames at all.

### *Freedom to rhythm*

For pupils at *Air* the spatial, and even temporal, distance is a various experience, and that, in itself, carry both cultural challenges and affordances. Some pupils create and follow their own rhythm in time, while others have asked for a more detailed schedule from school, some don’t

have a plan at all, but do subjects and tasks in the order subjects are presented in the week-plan. The difference between the pupils ways of handling their independence have probably many reasons, but also indicates that we have different preferences in studying and learning; one subject a day, or ten, maths in the morning or in the afternoon. Various subjects need various amounts of time to do and finish, between pupils and situations, between days and specific times of the day. As Robert Levine (1997 p 4) writes;

*We may play the same notes in the same sequence, but there is always that question of tempo. It depends upon the person, the task and the setting. One student may stay up all night to learn the same material that a gifted friend absorbs in an evening.*

The pace in life is, according to Levine, a fundamental quality in relation to what we value as important and meaningful. Henri Lefebvre (2004) says pace and rhythm is something we all possess, but have different ideas about. In the western culture we tend to separate and analyze space and time, the linear and the cyclical aside, when they actually interfere with each other. Sometimes the linear gives rise to a compromise to the cyclical, sometimes they disturb each other, though they both exist in the everyday life. The watch in its traditional shape goes round and round but its tick-tack sound tells us time is running out. Everything is, according to Lefebvre, cyclical repetition through linear repetitions. Rhythm is fast or slow only in relation to other rhythms, even if each rhythm has its own and specific measure; speed, frequency, consistency, it can only be measured against other rhythms.

*Spontaneously, each of us has our preferences, references, frequencies; each must appreciate rhythms by referring them to oneself, one's heart or breathing, but also one's hours of work, of rest, of walking and of sleep.*

Lefebvre (p 10) uses rhythm as an analytical tool, a way of understanding how we live and develop. Balancing in time impose a sense of rhythm; a sense of how to move through time and between different temporalities. At *Air*, as well as at *Water*, the balance between surrounding rhythms and schedules in time, and the rhythm of ones own school work for some pupils leads to negative feelings of freedom, a freedom from fellowship, for others a positive feelings of invitations to acting in a specific but individual rhythm.

Pupils that experience an affordance to find a personal rhythm in their daily work, develop a way of studying that is within specific weekly frames but differ from day to day. Common for pupils at *Air* is that they choose one or mostly two subjects a day, two subjects and related

tasks and tests that they know they can finish within the day, and then send with e-mail to a responsible teacher and hopefully get a response. The response is then an answer to their work, but above all an attention to their existence; their creative being. The chosen rhythm has a social meaning as well as a temporal; to feel finished is also a way of setting frames for the day, or to take a break. But it is the weekly frames, given by school that allows and legitimize an ending. Instead of working with different subjects during the day, as is usual in the classroom, pupils at *Air* pick one or two subjects and work until they are done, not until a specific lesson is done according to time. That difference matter.

*Without presence in school, or frames to be within*

At *Earth* some pupils express frustration about the schedule and, as they feel, rigid time, already planned and measured, but regardless of their various rhythms, preferences and abilities in time. Elias at *Earth* explains how he constantly feel a bit behind school-time. Something is moving ahead of him as if he was in a competition; a competition with time. He says that the rigid and future oriented time in school makes him longing for meetings here and now, meetings that are not planned in time but occurs because you want them to. Why is time a measure for learning? Elias question not only school-time in itself, but a cultural way of measuring and value time, where the future, as well as his future maturity and knowledge are goals. We tend to think of time as linear and with a specific direction. In school this direction is future work and abilities, or in other words; socialisation and cultural reproduction, which means school even have cyclical moves. But Elias experience linear and future oriented movements alone. He misses presence and affirmativeness of a learning that takes place here and now, *and* for the sake of its own. As Elias says;

quality time for me is  
time which is  
present  
that you are where you are  
really  
that you are within  
and not in something else

Elias describes time in school as superficial, not really there, but always ahead, in the future. He describes a time in school that doesn't see and meet learning that occur and develops in the present, with a rhythm of its own, though growing with others and in both cyclical and linear ways. Elias cannot find or feel comfortable in any temporal spaces in between. He wants to experience presence here and now, and with other peoples, but also opportunities to

go back, to stop the already planned and directed movements of time and to turn around. According to Lefevbre (2004) the rhythm of learning or studying is an interaction between preferences of the body and mind, sounds and smells in the classroom, the colours of the sky, and time of the day. But to grasp those various rhythms and preferences we need presence. Elias temporal self can not stretch out, neither find a place to be in time in school. He either feels alienated or chased and he doesn't know how to balance his own rhythm with the rhythm of school.

In the same class at *Earth* there is Egon. Egon doesn't feel chased by time, he plays with it. Time in school is from the perspective of Egon a frame to be stretched out, but also a frame to be and feel free within. He follows inner preferences and rhythms; it is more important to sleep when you are tired than be in time for class. Maybe he is not seen as the most successful pupil from the perspective of teachers, maybe he is even seen as lazy, but he doesn't bother. What concerns him is the project in school that is not scheduled and which he must plan for himself. Suddenly there are no frames to play with, no time to be in. Egon doesn't want to plan time, maybe because time doesn't have meaning for him as something to follow, but to use. With the project he feel lost, and he doesn't know what is expected of him. In contrast to Elias, Egon knows how to dance between different times in school; he knows when to be in time, and when to sleep late, when to keep up to deadlines and when it is possible to hand in exams a week later, as well as he can find and create times in-between where it is possible. For Egon there is only here and now, future is not something he plans for; "it always turns out fine anyway", he says. How can two pupils in the same classroom experience time in school in such varied ways? One of them cannot find presence while the other lives in the moment and have confidence in time (as long as he knows where the frames in time are). One of them feels chased and obliged by a future-oriented time, while the other doesn't even think of any possible futures. One of them misses meetings while the other creates them when he feels like it.

Temporal selves are different, why conditions in time couldn't be summarized without simplifying. The point here is that they make difference and that temporal frames have importance as socially confirming as well as they can be alienating. As long as the temporal self know how to balance between frames and individual rhythms, frames can be something to feel safe in, something to challenge and develop from within.

Frames do matter, though not as a quality in itself, but from the perspective of the temporal self. It is the temporal self that recognize and experience specific challenges and affordances in time. Time can be written in a schedule, but it can as well be a feeling of loneliness and stress, of belonging and freedom to. Elias story shows that frames do not

guarantee any temporal spaces in-between, neither any affordances of rhythms and pace in life. Vera's story, on the other hand, shows that without frames there are no crossroads, nor any possibilities to see and follow a rhythm of one's own. Anna brings up the qualities of time in her way of balancing between autonomy and distance; qualities and possibilities that lies within frames that are not rigid, nor chaotic. Egon as well, explain how frames in time can be an affordance, an invitation to create own rhythms and positions, safe and secure within already planned lines. These various selves experience time in different ways, as well as they move differently through time. The different schools and their rules in time have importance, but the stories also indicate that it is not specific and outspoken designs and rules that makes the difference. It is rather the unspoken time, the feelings of a time either moving ahead, forcing you to follow, or an enclosing quality in life, something to be oneself within.

Everyday time is a sociocultural construction as well as part of a life time. From the perspective of the individual the crossing links between those angles have different meaning, in different periods in life and at different places. School is only one of those places, but its wider and underlying frames and times in-between stretches both in time and space.

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