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Between Pedagogical Quality and Educational Needs—A Bernsteinian Analysis of K–12 Remote Teaching Policy Regulation

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the interrelation between policy regulation and K–12 remote teaching, an increasingly used pedagogic practice worldwide. By applying Bernstein's conceptual framework, it analyses the struggle between the official recontextualisation field (ORF) and the pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF) that underpins K–12 remote teaching policy regulations. Data in the study are generated from policy documents, specialised journal articles, news articles and interviews with regional officials, directors and school leaders. The study indicates that K–12 remote teaching is strongly controlled by extensive policy regulations, whose 'symbolic rule' imposes pedagogical and educational quality standards derived from traditional teaching on the realisation of the pedagogic practice. However, to ensure quality standards in K–12 remote teaching, policymakers need to consider the multifarious organisational work within the different realisations, as well as regional, municipal and local needs when evaluating educational and pedagogical quality.

1 | Introduction

Educational policy always resides in the background of formal education (Ball 2005) and governs everything from objectives, organisation, content, criteria and directives for technology usage (Siljebo 2024; Tröhler et al. 2011). This means that ideas and perceptions at the policy level aim to regulate educational conditions of pedagogic practice in schools (Bernstein 2000; Lundgren 2015). In the words of Ball (1994): '[p]olicies create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set' (p. 19). The interconnection between educational policies and the organisational and educational work in schools concerns how representatives of the state and those working in or linked to the pedagogical realm try to impact the formation of educational policy (Bernstein 2000). This is achieved, for example, through evaluation reports, public inquiries and input from school representatives on educational policies.

This is also the case in K–12 distance and remote teaching and maybe, even more so, as to the specificity of the policy regulations. Due to the increased use of these pedagogic practices in recent decades to support life-long learning and to address educational inequalities (Leaton Gray 2017; Zhang 2024), specific policy regulations have been formed (Barbour 2018; Johnson et al. 2023). These regulations, for example, concern organisational and technical aspects (Barbour 2017; Öjefors Stark and From 2020; Pettersson and Hjelm 2020), educational and pedagogical aspects (Grammens et al. 2022; Hilli and Åkerfeldt 2022; Hrastinski et al. 2023; Rehn et al. 2018) and collaborative aspects in the cases in which some sort of a facilitator is involved (Borup 2018; Siljebo and Pettersson 2022; Skog et al. 2024). Embedded in these, as in all policy regulation, are perceptions of educational and pedagogical quality that originate at the state level (Ball 2017; Bernstein 2000; Singh et al. 2013). Although this relation between policy regulations and the organising of the pedagogic practice in K–12

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distance and remote teaching has been recognised (Barbour et al. 2011; Johnson et al. 2023; Schwirzke et al. 2018), the struggle over the policy formation and how it conditions the realisation of the pedagogic practice in remote teaching has not previously been examined specifically.

Distance- and remote teaching are currently often associated with COVID-19-related ‘emergency’ remote teaching (Barbour 2022). During the pandemic, remote teaching was considered a deviation from, and an inferior substitute for, in-person teaching. This perception appears to persist, despite the fact that remote teaching has been carried out at K–12 levels internationally since the 1990s (Siko and Barbour 2022). However, the focus in this study is solely on how remote teaching in regular K–12 schooling is regulated in policy and is organised and implemented.

Subsequently, this study aims to analyse the struggle over the formation of policy regulations and how it impacts the realisation of K–12 remote teaching as a pedagogic practice in Sweden. Impact, more specifically, refers to how the policy regulations in various regards impose perceptions of and regulate the pedagogic practice.

The conceptual framework of Bernstein (2000) is applied to display how the production of policy regulations is underpinned by a recontextualisation process, which thereby also impacts the reproduction of policy regulations (i.e., the realisation of the pedagogic practice in schools). Regarding the recontextualisation process, Bernstein speaks of a struggle between an official recontextualisation field (ORF) and a pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF). In this study, the ORF concerns state public inquiries and reports undertaken by representatives appointed by the state, and PRF concerns specialised journals and news articles in which representatives of the pedagogical realm express their perceptions on various issues related to remote teaching. Two research questions are posted:

1. How has K–12 remote teaching been recontextualised in the struggle between the ORF and the PRF, over the formation of policy regulations?
2. How has this recontextualisation process impacted the realisation of the pedagogic practice in K–12 remote teaching?

1.1 | Policy Regulations and K–12 Remote Teaching Development

The enterprise of education in our societies is in many respects characterised by an inherent tension between the reproduction of predetermined knowledge and skills (Hordern 2021; Singh et al. 2013) and the transfer of social values and standards considered to be of importance to society (Ball 2017; Lundgren 2015; Tröhler et al. 2011). Education is very much a political and societal matter, and policy can be regarded as an outcome of the struggles between various competing political and societal interests trying to impact its formulation (Bernstein 2000; Singh 2017). Moreover, like policy in general, educational policy also comprises different discourses of instructional and regulative nature that operate in the background (Singh et al. 2013). These discourses are infused with perceptions of, for example, values and standards,

pedagogical quality aspects and issues (e.g., organisational work and digital technology usage), impacting the realisation of the pedagogic practice in various ways. Consequently, the struggle is ultimately about gaining power over the production of policy regulations at the macro level to control the implementation of the pedagogic practice and what is to be reproduced in it at the micro level (Bernstein 2000; Singh et al. 2013).

Concerning policy regulation of distance and remote teaching, it can be seen as a slow journey that began in the 19th century (Garrison 1985; Holmberg 2005), not gaining any real intensity until the 1990s through the widespread implementation of digital technologies in schools (Larreamendy-Joerns and Leinhardt 2006; Schwirzke et al. 2018). Initially, remote teaching was about letter correspondence and a way to reach adult learners in foremost rural and sparsely populated areas (Holmberg 2005; Jaldemark 2011). By the beginning of the 20th century in Sweden, correspondence courses and programmes were delivered to secondary-level students due to the lack of specific prohibitions in regulations (Gaddén 1973; Jaldemark 2011). Furthermore, in the 1920s in the United States, K–12 students were legally allowed to participate in correspondence courses with print-based material in Nebraska (Clark 2013; Schwirzke et al. 2018; Watson and Murin 2014). This approval of K–12 remote teaching in educational policy was, for instance, also the case in Canada, New Zealand and Australia at this time (Barbour 2018; Watson and Murin 2014).

Looking back, the emergence of new technologies for the interaction between teachers and students has affected the development of distance and remote teaching in various ways. In the 1920s, it was about the radio; in the 1950s, it was about educational TV; in the 1970s, it was about digital technology in the form of asynchronous learning networks; and since the 1990s, it has been about digital technology that enables fully synchronous interactions (Agostinelli 2019; Bates 2008; Clark and Barbour 2023). This has, over time, resulted in several ways of implementing remote teaching at K–12 levels, as educational policy in different countries has various restrictions regarding the scope, subjects and age of students, as well as several organisational regulations (Rice and Skelcher 2018). Nowadays, K–12 remote teaching can concern a single lesson, a significant part of the school week, or full time at all K–12 levels (Barbour 2018; Martin et al. 2021). In recent decades, educational policy has also more often stipulated that some sort of facilitator must be provided to support teachers and students in various ways (Borup 2018; Borup et al. 2019).

Consequently, research on the development of distance and remote teaching has indicated a connection between the organisation of pedagogic practice and the formation of educational policy regulations, which are underpinned by perceptions of educational and pedagogical issues.

1.2 | K–12 Remote Teaching in Sweden and Its Policy Regulation

Concerning the development of K–12 remote teaching in Sweden, the context of this study, it has in many ways followed the path of the international development but at a slower pace. From the 1970s and onwards, urbanisation increased the need for qualified teachers and equal education in sparsely populated

areas (Skog 2022; Stenman and Pettersson 2020). In the 1990s, a handful of secondary school units started to carry out remote teaching in order to handle regional and local educational needs, and in the early 2000s, the number increased due to the further possibilities of synchronous interactions via ICT. The schools took advantage of the fact that remote teaching at secondary levels was only implicitly prohibited in the educational policy (From et al. 2020; Häll et al. 2007). However, this drew the attention of the Schools Inspectorate and schools were criticised for breaking the law by using remote teaching, although they did it to meet the requirements of qualified teachers and equivalent educational offerings (SVT 2014).

When remote teaching was incorporated in the Education Act (2010: 800) in 2015, the policy regulations initially heavily restricted its use as a pedagogic practice regarding subjects, grades and scope (Stenman and Pettersson 2020). Pedagogical quality was of main concern to the policymakers, and for this purpose, the policy regulations also required that a facilitator was to be provided to support teachers and students in real time during the lesson (Education Act). In the following years, the limitations were gradually eased in various respects, for example, regarding subjects and possibilities for outsourcing (Skog 2022; Siljebo and Pettersson 2022). However, it is, for example, still hard to be granted an exemption from the School Inspectorate to homeschool students via remote teaching as the students are required to be in premises of the schools' disposal for pedagogical reasons (Lundberg 2024). Hence, a takeaway of this brief outline of the development of K–12 remote teaching is that it displays a tension between concerns regarding pedagogical quality and regional and local needs to be met by remote teaching.

1.3 | Conceptual Framework

Basil Bernstein (1924–2000) developed a conceptual framework which focused on how the power and control of those in governance in society are maintained and reproduced through pedagogic practices (Bernstein 1990; Bernstein 2000; Singh 2002). Bernstein argued that power and control over knowledge production and

distribution ultimately function as a ruler of realised consciousness at the level of pedagogic practice in schools (Bernstein 2000). To capture and display the movement from the macro to the micro level, Bernstein developed a conceptual model to analyse the processes by which expert knowledge from various domains is pedagogised to constitute school knowledge (i.e., curriculum, textbooks and teacher–student talk; Neves and Morais 2001; Singh 2002).

The model, which Bernstein calls the pedagogic device, consists of three separate fields displayed in Figure 1. In the field of production, it is decided which forms of knowledge that are considered legitimate and how they should be distributed to whom (Bernstein 2000; Moore 2001). In the field of recontextualisation the work of various specialists who construct the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of the pedagogic discourse is regulated. Bernstein points out that the pedagogic discourse, however, is not a discourse in itself but a principle for appropriating legitimate discourses from the field of production. In the process, the various discourses are ideologically moulded as they are incorporated into the pedagogic discourse. To display the dynamic recontextualisation process, Bernstein speaks of an ORF and a PRF (Bernstein 2000; Neves and Morais 2001). The ORF is dominated by the state and its appointed agents, ministries and departments, and the PRF is made up of representatives of the pedagogical realm, such as teachers, school heads, school leaders, departments of education and specialised journals (Bernstein 2000; Kwok 2023). Between the ORF and the PRF, there is a struggle regarding what discourses to appropriate, that is, which ‘what’ and ‘how’ are to dominate the pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 2000; Singh et al. 2013). In this struggle, ORF wants to orient the pedagogic discourse to be regulative in nature, while PRF wants to orient it to be more instructional. The former focuses on the ‘how’ and the latter on the ‘what’ concerning the organisation and implementing remote teaching.

In the field of reproduction, the pedagogic discourse is transformed into a pedagogic practice. The field establishes the evaluation nodal points that are to be acquired in the pedagogic practice, stipulating the specialised consciousness to be

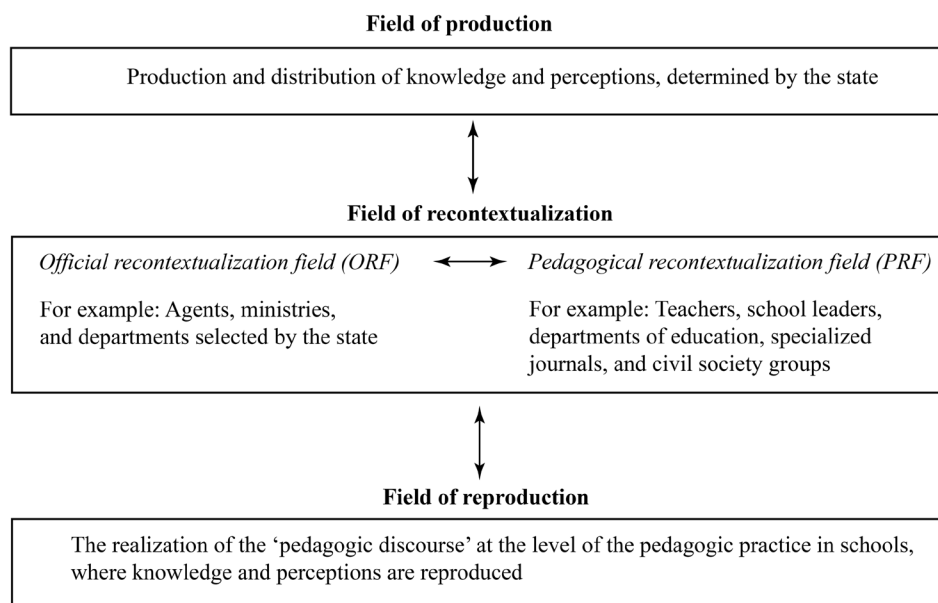


FIGURE 1 | The pedagogic device based on Bernstein (2000).

realised within the students (Maton and Muller 2007). Therefore, Bernstein (2000) spoke of the pedagogic device as: ‘a symbolic ruler, ruling consciousness, in the sense of having power over it, and ruling, in the sense of measuring the legitimacy of the realisations of consciousness’ (p. 114). The pedagogic device does not, however, stipulate a solely one-way impact from top to down in the model; it also recognises a reversed directed impact due to the dynamics between the fields (Bernstein 2000; Neves and Morais 2001).

In research, Bernstein’s pedagogic device has been used in numerous studies to analyse how macro-level regulations aim to regulate various subjects (Barrett 2017; Barrett and McPhail 2023) or to unpack the recontextualisation process of a curriculum or educational policy to display the underpinning perceptions that are set out to rule the consciousness of the students in various ways (Chiang et al. 2023; Hordern 2021; Singh et al. 2013). Hence, in line with these studies, the pedagogic device in this study is used to analyse the struggle over the formation of policy regulations, as well as how it impacts the realisation of K–12 remote teaching as a pedagogic practice in Sweden. ORF and PRF function as analytical tools when unpacking the recontextualisation process of K–12 remote teaching, and the dynamics between the fields are recognised in terms of how pedagogic practice is affected.

2 | Methods

2.1 | Context of the Study

The context of this study is set in a northern area of Sweden, ranging from the larger cities near the Baltic Sea in the east to small towns and villages near the mountains in the west. In the sparsely populated municipalities in the west, remote teaching has been a solution to challenges such as small school units, long distances between schools and a lack of qualified teachers. In the larger cities in the east, remote teaching has addressed increased demand and logistical challenges related to offering mother tongue instruction both within and outside the cities. Over the past two decades, there has been considerable experience in organising remote teaching at the regional, municipal and local levels. This has been particularly prominent in modern languages (i.e., French, German and Spanish), Sami, mother tongue instruction and study guidance at the primary level, as well as in any permitted subject at

the secondary level (Häll et al. 2007; Öjefors Stark and From 2020; Pettersson and Hjelm 2020; Skog et al. 2024).

2.2 | Data Sources

The collection of data in the study was guided by the conceptual framework of Bernstein (2000), as it was applied to meet the aim. Therefore, to cover the various fields of the framework, data were generated through policy documents, specialised journal articles, news articles and semi-structured interviews with school leaders, school directors and regional officials (see Table 1 or Appendix A for a complete and detailed presentation of the data).

Data of the field of production includes governmental policy documents concerning remote teaching (i.e., Education Act, governmental directives, bills and ordinances and amendments of acts and ordinances) from 2000 to 2023. Data of the field of recontextualisation regarding the ORF include public inquiries (SOU), evaluation reports and regulations and advice, produced by investigators selected by the state (Bernstein 1990; Bernstein 2000) and the National Agency of Education, between 2001 and 2023. All of these are public documents and were digitally retrieved. Regarding the PRF, data include articles from the specialised educational journal, *The School World*, and from the Swedish Radio digital archive (sverigesradio.se), between 2000 and 2023, that report on practical examples, opinions and perceptions of remote teaching of representatives of the pedagogical realm (see Appendix B for a list of all articles). These were also digitally retrieved, except for the articles in *The School World* before 2011, as they needed to be retrieved from a public library archive. Lastly, data of the field of reproduction include interviews with regional officials, directors and school leaders.

2.3 | Participants

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using a set of pre-defined questions (Cohen et al. 2011) targeting various aspects of organising remote teaching, while also leaving space for the respondents to reflect more freely on their experiences. Respondents were selected by purposive sampling (Cohen et al. 2011), based on their extensive experience and long-time

TABLE 1 | Data in the study, placed in the fields of production, recontextualisation and reproduction.

Field of production	Pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF)
Education Act, directives, bills and ordinances and amendments of acts and ordinances ($N = 13$)	
Field of recontextualisation	
Official recontextualisation field (ORF)	Pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF)
State public inquiries (SOU) ($N = 3$)	Articles from <i>The School world</i> ($N = 37$)
National Agency of Education Reports ($N = 6$)	Articles on Swedish Radio webpage ($N = 79$)
Regulations and advice ($N = 3$)	
Field of reproduction	
Interviews with regional officials ($N = 5$), directors ($N = 2$) and school leaders ($N = 4$)	

engagement in the realisation (i.e., the organising of remote teaching). More specifically, the regional officials ($n=5$) had been involved in organising remote teaching since 2015, and the directors ($n=2$) since 2015 and 2020, respectively, at centres for multilingualism; in addition, the school leaders ($n=4$) had between 2 and 12 years of experience. Therefore, the interviews provided profound insights regarding the organisational work of remote teaching (i.e., the realisation) carried out at various levels in the same region.

Before the interviews, conducted via Zoom during fall 2022 and spring 2024, an email was sent to the respondents with a letter of information that described the study and how their participation could add to it. It also addressed ethical issues, such as consent, confidentiality and anonymity, as well as how collected data would be processed, stored and protected in line with good research practice (ALLEA 2023).

2.4 | Analysing Data

The process of analysing data was guided by the instructions provided by Krippendorff (2019) framework of content analysis. According to Krippendorff (2019), different samples of data constitute different coding units, which in this study are about the samples of data included in the various fields of the conceptual framework (see Table 1). In the analysis of each coding unit, structured observations were made in the initial readings to extract textual units of relevance to the aim of the study. Therefore, structured observations were made in the initial readings of the data included in each field of the conceptual framework, focusing on textual units containing arguments, regulations, organisational examples, perceptions of possibilities and limitations and expectations of remote teaching. Thereafter, categories and themes were formed based on the relevant textual units (Krippendorff 2019).

Thereafter, a meta-analysis using the conceptual framework of Bernstein (2000) was made, focusing on how the separate fields dynamically impact each other, informed by the theoretical reasoning. In this process, data on the field of production and reproduction were analysed while following the initial steps outlined above, for example, without forming any categories or themes. In the iterative process, the field of re-contextualisation was revisited and the pedagogic discourse of remote teaching was constructed. Hence, the outcome of the meta-analysis concerned how the field of production was informed by the pedagogical discourse, and how the field of reproduction was impacted in the next step by the produced policy regulations.

3 | Results

3.1 | The Field of Production

In 2000, the government launched pilot interventions using asynchronous distance education at the secondary level to gain practical experience and explore its potential to contribute to flexible, accessible and equitable education (SFS 2000:158). The formulated guidelines can be seen as an attempt by the

field of production to regulate the variety of distance education that had already been taking place in secondary schools since the 1990s (Bernstein 2000). The first round of pilot interventions continued until 2008, and in 2011, the government issued a directive prescribing further investigations into the possibilities and problems associated with distance education (Dir. 2011:85).

In the governmental bill (Prop. 2014/15:44) of 2014, remote teaching was distinguished from the broader concept of distance education and described as an interactive and synchronous way of teaching using information and communication technology (ICT). This distinction arose from new and partly different perceptions of organisational, pedagogical and quality issues in the field of production, which then underpinned the policy formulations when amending the Education Act (2010:800) and the School Ordinance (SFS 2015:293) in 2015. New pilot interventions were also launched in late 2015 (SFS 2015:481) to gain further insights into how the organisation of remote teaching ruled the socialisation of students, given the new possibility of conducting remote teaching regularly. In 2016 (Prop. 2015/16:173) and 2019 (Prop. 2019/20:127), bills were introduced that lifted some initial limitations regarding scope, subjects, ages and possibilities for outsourcing remote teaching. Following these developments, the Education Act, the School Ordinance and the Upper School Ordinance were further amended based on new insights (see SFS 2020:778; SFS 2020:779; SFS 2020:778). Consequently, in 2023, remote teaching was permitted in all subjects except aesthetics and practical ones, with significant possibilities for outsourcing to another municipality (SFS 2023:654). The hesitation within the field of production to ease outsourcing possibilities can be seen as a fear of losing control over the realisation of remote teaching and the potential compromise of quality standards (Bernstein 2000).

There are, however, conditions to be met and restrictions to be followed when organising and implementing K–12 remote teaching, controlled by the National School Inspectorate. For example, remote teaching is only allowed to be carried out in K–12 contexts from Grade 4 (age 10) under the conditions that the school unit has group sizes of less than five students, or when they have failed to recruit a qualified teacher despite efforts, except for social and medical reasons for individual students. The organisation is that the teacher is spatially separated from the students, teaching synchronously using ICT. The students are to be located at the premises of their school unit, and a facilitator must be on site in real time at primary levels and nearby at secondary levels (SFS 2010:800). Moreover, remote teaching must be notified to the National Agency of Education before each school year, and the amount of teaching time must be reported on afterwards due to limitations of 25% at primary levels and 50% at secondary levels for the individual student (SFS 2010:800; SKOLFS 2021:28; SKOLFS 2023:113). There are also more specific regulations; for example, mother tongue and Sami languages are allowed from Grade 1 (age 7), and the mother tongue must be carried out outside regular teaching hours (SFS 2010:800). All these conditions and restrictions can be seen as a way to exercise control over the field of reproduction, in which the conceptions underpinning the policy regulations are set to rule the realisation (Bernstein 2000).

3.2 | The Field of Recontextualisation

In the field of recontextualisation, the theme of the ORF, *remote teaching as an educational and pedagogical possibility but a challenge to quality aspects*, is struggling against the theme of the PRF, *remote teaching as a solution to educational and pedagogical needs at the regional, municipal and local levels*, concerning the nature of the pedagogical discourse produced. ORF's theme is made up of the categories: *teacher shortages*, *flexible learning*, *accessible and equitable education* and *educational and pedagogical quality*, as well as PRF's theme of *teacher shortages*, *accessible and equitable education*, *breaking the law* and *demand for reduced restrictions* (see Table 2).

3.3 | The Official Recontextualisation Field

The three categories, *teacher shortages*, *flexible learning* and *accessible and equitable education*, all concern perceptions of the benefits and opportunities of distance and remote teaching, in which the ORF wants to have an impact on the pedagogical discourse. All the reports and inquiries present *teacher shortages* as an incentive for remote teaching. Especially regarding small school units in sparsely populated areas where it is extra difficult to recruit qualified teachers, remote teaching has been portrayed as a great possibility. Both distance and remote teaching have also frequently been regarded as *flexible learning* by the ORF, regarding easing logistics for individual students and teachers. For example, it is stated that students have been able to read modern languages in Grade 6 due to collaboration between schools within a municipality concerning remote teaching, and mother tongue teachers have been able to form student groups using remote teaching instead of spending time traveling to each school and teaching students individually. The category *accessible and equitable education* is about how remote teaching can enable school units to offer subjects and educational programmes that they would not otherwise be able to offer.

However, the category *educational and pedagogical quality* has always been present and prevailing and the one with which the ORF has had the most impact on the pedagogical discourse. Initially, it mostly concerned the functionality of the digital equipment and organisational issues, such as the school's duty of supervision and students' rights to a certain amount of guaranteed teacher-led teaching time. The ORF expressed, for example, concerns that schools' obliged teacher-led teaching time would be converted into time students spent on a digital learning platform by themselves. Later, the focus shifted to ensuring pedagogical interactions between teachers and students, which also

involved safeguarding students' rights to receive the teachers' attention and support during class.

A recurring concern of the PRF was that remote teaching would undermine the schools' socialisation and value mission. This issue was problematized in all the SOUs concerning the curriculum's wording on the transfer of social and democratic values. Something else that has been constantly problematised by the ORF is the regulations regarding the outsourcing of remote teaching. Between the lines, there have been concerns that private schools could engage in remote teaching in a predatory manner for profit, which could impact the realisation of remote teaching in a bad way, concerning quality aspects of the teaching and, in the end, the students' socialisation. This hesitant perception of outsourcing opportunities is reflected in the SOUs. There is an underlying and dominant perception that remote teaching is not as adequate an alternative as traditional teaching.

3.4 | The Pedagogical Recontextualisation Field

The categories *teacher shortages* and *accessible and equitable education* were also relevant to the PRF. Many articles portrayed remote teaching as a game-changer regarding enabling schools to offer qualified teachers, as well as subjects and programmes they otherwise could not. Foremost reported on, concerning dealing with *teacher shortages*, were modern languages, Sami, mother tongue instruction and study guidance in sparsely populated areas, as well as mother tongue in larger cities. Therefore, remote teaching is perceived by the PRF to contribute to more *accessible and equitable education* because qualified teachers stand for an assurance of the quality of teaching. The category *breaking the law* draws on articles describing how, prior to 2015, schools were often forced to choose between breaking regulations requiring qualified teachers or carrying out remote teaching. It also draws on articles reporting on schools that were engaged in remote teaching in intra- or intermunicipal collaborations before the legal authorisation of various kinds of outsourcing possibilities. Thus, the PRF has tried to impact the pedagogical discourse by continuously displaying remote teaching as a solution to educational and pedagogical needs on regional, municipal and local levels. These needs have also been about easing logistics for students and teachers, dealing with undersized student groups, and being able to offer full-time teaching positions by sharing the costs with other school units. Hence, this is where the last category, *demands for reduced restrictions*, comes in, which refers to the PRF's continuous efforts to influence policymakers in favour of more extensive use of remote teaching. The demand has concerned subjects and ages,

TABLE 2 | Themes and categories of ORF and PRF.

	ORF	PRF
Themes	Remote teaching as an educational and pedagogical possibility, but a challenge to quality aspects	Remote teaching as a solution to educational and pedagogical needs at the regional, municipal and local levels.
Categories	Teacher shortages Flexible learning Accessible and equitable education Educational and pedagogical quality	Teacher shortages Breaking the law Accessible and equitable education Demand for reduced restrictions

but mostly the possibility of collaborating within and between municipalities, as it has been a crucial issue for the PRF.

Quality issues have also been present in the PRF, but only as obstacles to overcome. The PRF's overall perception is that the advantages of organising and carrying out remote teaching have always outweighed the various disadvantages.

3.5 | The Pedagogical Discourse of K–12 Remote Teaching in Sweden

Even with the mutual aim to develop remote teaching as a qualitative pedagogic practice in K–12 contexts, the ORF and PRF have different focal points. ORF wants to push for a regulative discourse within the pedagogical discourse, while the PRF wants to push for an instrumental discourse. Considering the focus of the produced policy regulations, the ORF dominates the construction of the pedagogical discourse of K–12 remote teaching in its favour. Although the pedagogical discourse acknowledges various practice-based educational needs, it stresses the regulation of pedagogical quality issues. This means that the pedagogical discourse turns out to be *remote teaching as a solution to regional, municipal and local educational and pedagogical needs, though a second-best option due to educational and pedagogical quality aspects*.

3.6 | The Field of Reproduction

The pedagogic practice of remote teaching has been realised in several ways because of somewhat differentiated remote teaching policy regulations. This means that differentiated regulations regarding subject, age, group sizes and the role of the facilitator, besides contextual factors such as different needs, the suitability of the premises and the technology provided, influence and condition the realisations in various ways. These differently ruled and conditioned realisations are presented below, in which T stands for teacher, S for student and F for facilitator. In addition, R stands for regional official, SL stands for school leader and D stands for director.

3.6.1 | The Realisation of Remote Teaching in Modern Languages, Grades 6–9

Remote teaching in modern languages in Grades 6–9 (ages 13–16) has been organised at a regional level since 2015 by officials at the Regional Development Centre (RDC) in cooperation with 10 rural municipalities, Region 10. This is to meet the need for qualified teachers, dealing with small student groups and logistical challenges. A regional official encapsulated their vision regarding remote teaching in the region as *'quality, equity, educational provision regardless of where the student lives'* (R2). The RCD's organisational work has also been about presenting remote teaching at the regional policy level, pursuing educational political decisions and engaging school heads and school leaders.

Regional politicians have supported our lobbying efforts on a national level to open up the legislation so that there would be

more opportunities to use remote teaching based on the needs we identified in the region. (R4).

The RCD has also been coordinating participating schools' schedules, assisting in recruiting remote teachers, arranging weekly collegial meetings for remote modern languages teachers and facilitators and together with R10 representatives, forming a joint expectation document to address the responsibilities of remote teachers, facilitators and school leaders in remote teaching. At the level of the school units, school leaders have been those who have arranged premises with suitable technical equipment, dealt with scheduling issues, coordinated remote teachers shared by other schools and provided facilitators.

There are three somewhat different realisations of remote teaching in modern languages (see Figure 2). The unifying factor is that the students always have one laptop each, sit in premises equipped with a large screen, a camera and microphones and there is a facilitator present. Also, the size of the student group varies between 7 and 25 students in total. In the first realisation, the remote teacher instructs one group of students using ICT. The second realisation is about a hybrid mode, in which the teacher is together with a few students in a school's premises and simultaneously teaches students located at another school unit. The last realisation is about the teacher instructing two groups of students sitting at two separate school units, although united into one group.

3.6.2 | The Realisation of Remote Teaching in Mother tongue instruction, Grades 2–12

Remote teaching in mother tongue instruction has been organised by directors of centres for multilingualism at a municipal level, located in two larger cities in the region. In 2015 and 2019, respectively, these centres started to use remote teaching on a small scale and thereafter scaled up to offer remote teaching in mother tongue instruction from Grades 2 to 12 (ages 8–18) regularly. The organisational work undertaken at these centres was initiated as a political solution to deal with logistical issues and to meet the increased demand for mother tongue instruction. By organising remote teaching, the mother tongue teachers, instead of travelling by bus to schools in or outside the cities, were able to sit at the centres for multilingualism and teach a group of students sitting at different school units at the same time. One of the directors explained:

With remote teaching, we can have students from three different village schools meeting online and forming a joint student group, and the mother tongue teacher does not have to travel by bus to each school anymore. Remote teaching has made the education much more efficient with pedagogical benefits for the students.

(D1)

Hence, the realisation of remote teaching in the mother tongue instruction is about the students sitting together in designated premises at their school, as well as using a laptop and headphones together with a facilitator. The students work individually at each location, as they all may have different languages, while also being united online with 1–4 students reading the same language (see Figure 3).

3.6.3 | The Realisation of Remote Teaching in Any Permitted Subject, Grades 10–12

Remote teaching in any permitted subject in Grades 10–12 (i.e., secondary school) has been organised by school leaders at the municipal level. The organisational work has foremost been carried out within a Municipal Alliance for Secondary Schools, of which

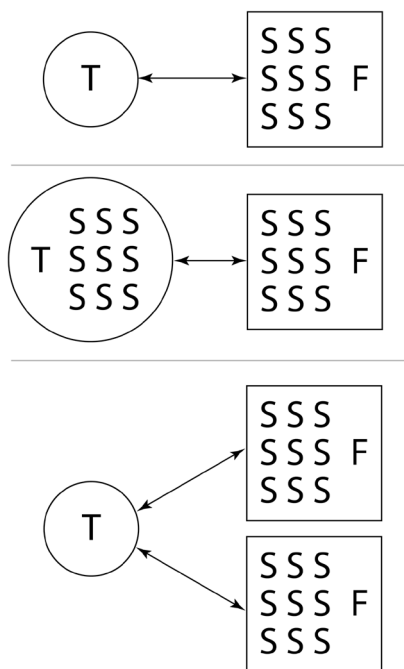


FIGURE 2 | Different realisations of remote teaching in modern languages, Grades 6–9.

there are two in the area. These alliances were both formed due to the need to collaborate between municipalities concerning educational needs, such as small student groups, logistical issues and teacher competence issues. One of the school leaders said that:

One incentive for the formation of our Municipal Alliance for Secondary Schools was to increase the range of programs and qualified teachers; another was that cooperation between school units could cut economic costs.

(SL3)

One of the alliances was, moreover, formed as a way to circumvent the prohibition of outsourcing remote teaching before it was allowed. A school leader stated that:

The National Agency for Education was afraid at the beginning, as it had major concerns that private school actors could take advantage of remote teaching, especially if it was allowed to be outsourced, always concerned with quality issues.

(SL6)

By organising remote teaching within these alliances, students can receive remote teaching in one, two, or several subjects, all determined by which subjects the teachers are qualified in at the school unit where the student is located.

The realisation of remote teaching in any permitted subject concerns two separate realisations. These are quite similar to the first two realisations of remote teaching in a modern language. The

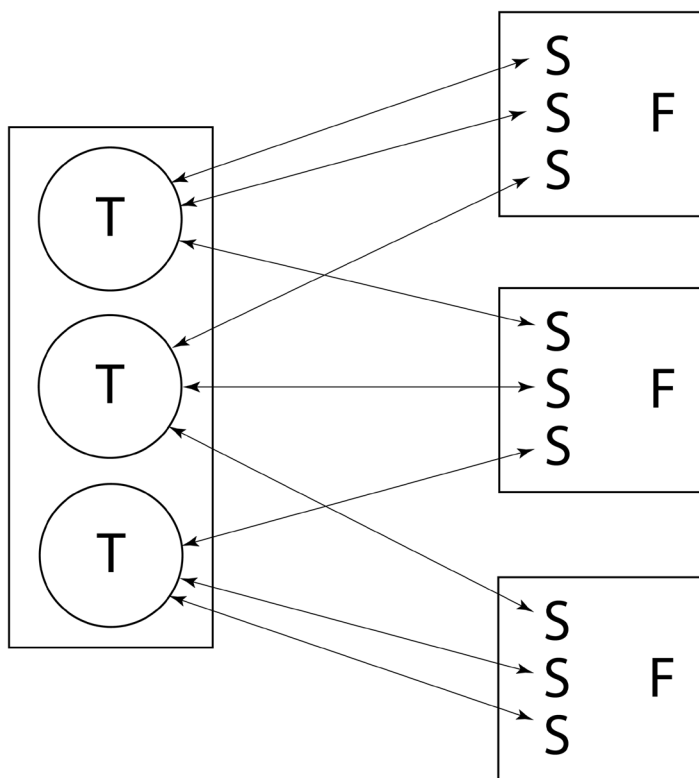


FIGURE 3 | The realisation of remote teaching in mother tongue instruction, Grades 2–12.

difference is, though, that the facilitator is not tied to any specific teacher but needs to be at hand and ready to support a parallel on-going remote teaching situation at the school unit (see Figure 4).

3.7 | The Recontextualisation Process and Its Impact on K–12 Remote Teaching

In the recontextualisation process, both the ORF and PRF perceive remote teaching as a solution to various needs, such as teacher shortages and accessible and equitable education. However, the underpinnings of the policy regulations are primarily influenced by ORF's concerns about educational and pedagogical quality, at the expense of PRF's focus on educational needs, that is, regional, municipal, local and individual students' needs. The ORF fears the misuse of remote teaching in K–12 contexts and is hesitant about the effective transfer of subject knowledge and democratic values and norms, therefore pushing for regulative discourses (Ball 2017; Bernstein 2000; Lundgren 2015). In contrast, the PRF calls for reduced restrictions to prevent schools from having to break the law in different regards, pushing for instrumental discourses. Based on the pedagogical discourse, foremost influenced by ORF, remote teaching policy regulations have been produced to reproduce a state-approved realisation K–12 remote teaching, mainly focusing on ensuring educational and pedagogical quality. Regarding the different realisations of K–12 remote teaching, they are at the same time different ways of how educational and pedagogical quality is realised and expressions of solutions of how regional, municipal and local needs are met. Despite extensive policy regulations, these realisations are difficult to control due to their inevitable dual task—to address both quality and needs.

4 | Discussion

This study indicates that the produced policy regulations of K–12 remote teaching in Sweden are similar to the ones in international contexts (Johnson et al. 2023; Schwirzke et al. 2018). To ensure educational and pedagogical quality, they address aspects such as scope and subjects, practical implementation, conditions for use and outsourcing possibilities, all creating specific educational and

pedagogical opportunities and restrictions for K–12 remote teaching (From et al. 2020; Grammens et al. 2022; Johnson et al. 2023). According to Bernstein's (2000) reasoning, the policymakers have exercised strong control over the reproduction of K–12 remote teaching to secure, by the state considered legitimate realisation of the pedagogic practice. This is due to a recontextualisation process that has established certain perceptions of educational and pedagogical quality as a 'symbolic ruler,' exercising its rule through the policy regulations (Bernstein 2000).

It can be argued that the recontextualisation process has not yet resulted in 'creating the fundamental autonomy of education' (Bernstein 2000, 33), as quality aspects have triumphed over educational needs. It also raises the question of which standards of educational and pedagogical quality are imposed by the symbolic ruler. This study indicates that the educational and pedagogical quality to be reproduced possesses the traditional way of carrying out K–12 schooling (i.e., teacher and students being in the same physical space) as a point of departure. Therefore, the very format of remote teaching (i.e., the teacher separated in time and/or space and digitally mediated teaching) seems to challenge the predominant perceptions of educational and pedagogical quality. The prevalent symbolic ruler is threatened, and to maintain control, remote teaching policy regulations have been produced to ensure a realisation of a pedagogic practice equivalent in educational and pedagogical quality to traditional teaching (Bernstein 2000). This explains why the remote teaching policy regulations in Sweden are extensive and, for example, stress the synchronous mode, restrict the scope and the subjects allowed and stipulate the location of the students and the need for a facilitator (From et al. 2020; Siljebo and Pettersson 2022). Also, this points to the dominion of the regulative discourses over the formation of the policy regulations.

As to the transformation of the pedagogic discourse from policy to pedagogic practice, those who organise K–12 remote teaching at various levels can be seen as the reproducers of the educational and pedagogical quality demanded by the symbolic ruler. More specifically, they are to reproduce a pedagogic practice in which knowledge (i.e., subject content), as well as social values and standards, is transferred to the students as in a traditional teaching setting (Bernstein 2000; Lundgren 2015; Tröhler et al. 2011). While doing this, they also need to consider educational and pedagogical needs, to which K–12 remote teaching is a solution, which means that they, in many ways, embody the struggle within the recontextualisation process. Their organisational work involves various additional administrative issues, such as school collaboration, synchronised scheduling and logistics, in addition to securing a sufficient digital infrastructure, arranging collegial meetings and advocating remote teaching to caregivers and policymakers. The reproduction of quality standards is also about how remote teachers develop specific remote teaching pedagogies and how their collaboration with the facilitator, present with the students, shapes the pedagogic practice (Borup 2018; Skog et al. 2024).

Therefore, this study indicates that reproducing educational and pedagogical quality in K–12 remote teaching inevitably comprises more factors than in traditional face-to-face teaching settings. It is dependent on the multifarious organisational work, somewhat different for each realisation of the pedagogical practice, and on how remote teachers and facilitators carry out

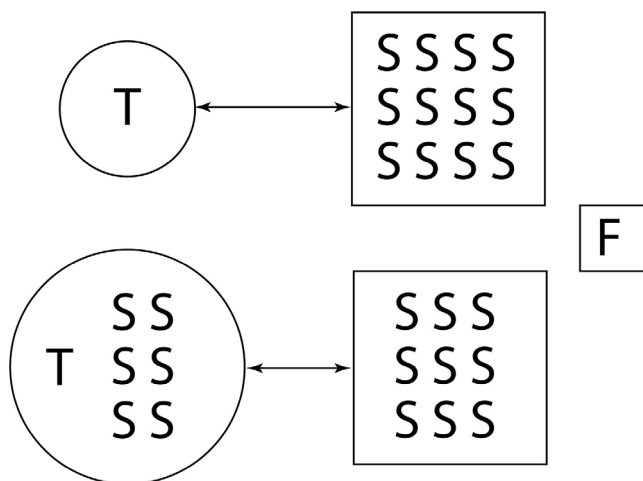


FIGURE 4 | The realisation of remote teaching in any permitted subject, Grades 10–12.

the teaching. Whether or not remote teaching in K–12 contexts is the second-best option due to educational and pedagogical aspects, it might still be a qualitative one and the best option available, as it often is the only option. Hence, this study also indicates that policymakers need to look beyond the somewhat misdirected symbolic ruler concerning the reproduction of educational and pedagogical quality in K–12 remote teaching. They need to consider that educational and pedagogical quality cannot be reproduced without also addressing the various regional, municipal and local needs that condition and necessitate the use of the pedagogic practice, in addition to adhering to policy regulations.

5 | Conclusions

A first conclusion of this study is that policymakers exercise strong control over K–12 remote teaching as a pedagogic practice in Sweden through the production of extensive policy regulations. The policy regulations are underpinned by the perception that remote teaching is a solution to regional, municipal and local educational and pedagogical needs, as well as a second-best option due to educational and pedagogical quality aspects. This perception functions as a symbolic ruler that regulates and controls the reproduction of K–12 remote teaching as a pedagogic practice. A second conclusion is that there are several realisations of K–12 remote teaching as a pedagogic practice. Each is controlled by the symbolic ruler in different regards and represents a way through which educational and pedagogical quality is realized, while also meeting various regional, municipal and local needs that condition and necessitate the pedagogic practice. A third conclusion is that the (re)production of educational and pedagogical quality is about the multifarious organisational work at regional, municipal and local levels, as well as about how remote teachers and facilitators collaborate when carrying out the teaching.

6 | Limitations and Future Research

The limitations of the study pertain both to the data and its sampling. The data regarding the perceptions of representatives of the pedagogical realm, as well as the realisations of the pedagogic practice, could have been more comprehensive and might have benefited from a broader range of sources. Another limitation involves the transferability of the study's results to other contexts, given that remote teaching is regulated differently in other contexts. From a theoretical standpoint, the study is constrained by the conceptual framework employed, which can only partially unpack the recontextualisation process and its varied impacts. Consequently, future research on remote teaching and policy regulations should be conducted across diverse K–12 contexts to validate the contribution of this study.

7 | Concluding Remarks

The data that support the results of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to restrictions; for example, they contain information that could compromise the privacy of research participants.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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Appendix A

Field of production

Education Act. SFS 2010:800.
 Ordinance (2000:158) on pilot activities with distance education in upper secondary schools (SFS 2000:158).
 Governmental directive. Dir. 2011:85. *Education for children and young people in community care and distance education*.
 Governmental bill. Prop. 2014/15:44. *Remote teaching opportunities* (SFS 2015:194).
 Act amending the Education Act (2010:800) (SFS 2015:194).
 Ordinance amending the School Ordinance (2011:185). (SFS 2015:293).
 Ordinance (2015:481) on pilot activities with remote teaching (SFS 2015:481).
 Government bill. Prop. 2015/16:173. *Remote teaching and outsourcing—new opportunities for teaching and study guidance in mother tongue*.
 Governmental bill. Prop. 2019/20:127. *Distance learning, remote teaching and some outsourcing issues*.
 Act amending the Education Act (2010:800) (SFS 2020:605).
 Ordinance amending the School Ordinance (2011:185). (SFS 2020:779).
 Ordinance amending the Upper Secondary School Ordinance (2010:2039). (SFS 2020:780).
 Ordinance amending the Upper Secondary School Ordinance (2010:2039). (SFS 2023:654).

Field of recontextualisation

Official recontextualisation field (ORF)

National Agency for Education (2001).
 Report to the Government on distance education/flexible learning, October 2001.
 National Agency for Education (2002).
 Report to the Government on distance education/flexible learning, October 2002.
 National Agency for Education (2008).
Report on distance education for students in primary and secondary schools.
 SOU 2012:76.
 State public inquiries (SOU 2012:76).
Education for students in community care and remote- and distance education.
 Report on government assignment.
Remote teaching—Report of government assignment according to appropriation directions 2015.
 (National Agency of Education, 2017a).
 Report on government assignment.
Remote teaching—Second report of government assignment according to appropriation directions 2015.
 (National Agency of Education, 2017b).
 SOU 2016:12.
 State public inquiries (SOU 2016:12).
Increased opportunities for mother tongue teaching and study guidance in mother tongue.
 SOU 2017:44.
 State public inquiries (SOU 2017:44).
Inquiry into improving remote teaching and outsourcing opportunities.
 National Agency for Education (2018).
Report on the remote teaching assignment.
 U2015/04701/S 2015-10-01.
 SKOLFS 2020:227.
Regulations of the State Education Inspectorate on notification to conduct remote teaching.
 SKOLFS 2021:28.
The Swedish National Agency for Education's regulations and general advice on remote teaching
 SKOLF 2023:113.
Regulations amending the National Agency for Education's regulations and general advice (SKOLFS 2021:28) on remote teaching.

Field of reproduction

The realisation of K–12 remote teaching, that is, organisation at regional and local level.
 Interviews with regional officials ($N = 5$), directors ($N = 2$), and school leaders ($N = 4$).

Pedagogical recontextualisation field (PRF)

Articles from *The School world* ($N = 97$).
 2000–2023.
 Articles on Swedish Radio webpage (sverigesradio.se)
 ($N = 89$).
 2000–2023

Appendix B

Articles from *The School world [Skolvärlden]* 2000–2023. Please note that *The School world* was replaced by *Us Teachers [Vi Lärare]* in spring 2025, and articles prior to 2017 have not been given a new link address at www.vilarare.se.

Skolvärlden		
2000	feb nr. 3	Internetbaserade lektioner öppnar för en ny lärarroll
2003	aug nr. 12	Varken varken eller eller eller utan både och
2005	okt Nr 17	Skolverket kritiserar hemstudier
2008	nov nr. 19	It i skolan under lupp
2009	jan nr. 1	Mossigt dessa messen
2012	feb nr. 2	Algoritmen bakom framgångsrika mattektioner
2014	sep	Distansundervisning en juridisk gråzon https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/distansundervisning-en-juridisk-grazon
	nov	Skolinspektionen sågar distansutbildning i glesbygd https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/skolinspektionen-sagar-distansutbildning-i-glesbygd
2015	jan	‘-Det är självklart ett stort problem’. https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/det-ar-sjalvklart-ett-stort-problem
	jan	Fler modersmålstimmar vore ett slag i luften https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/fler-modersmalstimmer-vore-slag-i-luften
	aug	Se över lagen snarast https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/se-over-lagen-snarast
	aug	Brott mot elevens rättigheter https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/brott-mot-lagen-elevens-ratt
	okt	Vädjar till regeringen om lagändring https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/vadjar-till-regeringen-om-lagandring
	nov	Regeringen lovar lagändring om fjärrundervisning https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/regeringen-lovar-lagandring-om-fjarrundervisning
2016	feb	Tillåt fjärrundervisning i fler ämnen https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/tillat-fjarrundervisning-i-fler-amnen
	jun	Fritt fram för fjärrundervisning i modersmål https://skolvarden.se/artiklar/fritt-fram-fjarrundervisning-i-modersmal
Vi Lärare		
2017	juni	Strid väntar om fjärrundervisning https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/senaste-nytt/strid-vantar-omfjarrundervisning/
	aug	Läraryrket hotar flera ämnen: Alarmerande. https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/lararbristen-hotar-flera-amnen-alarmerande/
	sep	‘Obligatoriskt språkval i sexan förvärrar läraryrket’ https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/obligatoriskt-sprakval-i-sexan-forvarrar-lararbristen/
2018	jan	Stark kritik mot kommunens språkstopp: ‘Oroväckande’ https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/stark-kritik-mot-kommunens-sprakstopp-orovackande/
	mars	Fjärrundervisning hjälper barn behålla sitt modersmål https://www.vilarare.se/grundskollararen/annat/fjarrundervisning-hjalper-barn-behalla-sitt-modersmal/
	april	Fjärrundervisning håller skärgårdsskolan öppen https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/reportage/fjarrundervisning-haller-skargardsskolan-oppen/
	sep	Tvingas till fjärrundervisning för att lösa läraryrket https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/tvingas-till-fjarrundervisning-for-att-losa-lararbristen/
	nov	Ny statistik: Akut brist på språklärare https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/ny-i-yrket/ny-statistik-akut-brist-pa-spraklarare/
	nov	Skolverket föreslår mer fjärrundervisning. https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/skolverket-foreslar-mer-fjarrundervisning/
	dec	Fjärrundervisning ger bättre resultat än vanliga lektioner. https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/debatt/fjarrundervisning-ger-battre-resultat-an-vanliga-lektioner/
2019	maj	Så ska undervisning i modersmål få större plats i skolan https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/modersmalsundervisning/sa-ska-undervisning-i-modersmal-fa-storre-plats-i-skolan/
	jun	Kommunerna prioriterar språkundervisning olika https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/kommunerna-prioriterar-sprakundervisning-olika/
	dec	Eva har en arbetsplats men lektion på fyra orter https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/i-skolan/eva-har-en-arbetsplats-men-lektion-pa-fyra-orter/

	dec		Skolverket: 'Det ska inte ersätta reguljär undervisning' https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/skolverket-det-ska-inte-ersatta-reguljar-undervisning/
2020	feb	Fjärrundervisning ska tillåtas i fler ämnen	https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/fjarrundervisning-ska-tillatas-i-fler-amnen/
	feb		Fler ska kunna få distansundervisning https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/senaste-nytt/flu-ska-kunna-fa-distansundervisning/
	april		Kommunens plan: Fortsätta undervisa på distans efter coronakrisen https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/kommunens-plan-fortsatta-undervisa-pa-distans-efter-coronakrisen/
	april	Oro bland lärare: Mer distansundervisning efter krisen	https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/oro-bland-larare-mer-distansundervisning-efter-krisen/
	maj		Regeringens nya förslag – så ska distansundervisningen fungera framöver https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/digital-undervisning/regeringens-nya-forslag-sa-ska-distansundervisningen-fungera-framover/
2021	mars	Läraren om sin fjärrundervisning: 'Hur gör de på tv?'	https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/intervju/lararen-om-sin-fjarrundervisning-hur-gor-de-pa-tv/
	nov	Tak för antal elever på distans men inte i klassrummet: 'Förvånande'	https://www.vilarare.se/nyheter/arbetsmiljo/tak-for-antal-elever-pa-distans-men-inte-i-klassrummet-forvanande/
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2008	okt	Skolverket satsar på samiska språk	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/2373051
2009	sep	Ingen umesamisk undervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/3091040
2010	maj	Utökad distansundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/3710687
2010	nov	Söker dispens för distansundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/4155833
2011	nov	Kräver svar om distansundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/4831676
	sep	Handledning på modersmål ska hjälpa upp betyg	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/5268698
2014	aug	Vanligt att läsa modersmål på distans	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/5943162
	aug	Stefan Löfven (S) vill inte se fler språkskolor	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/5941231
	sep	Populärt med distansundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/5966800
	sep	Samiska på distans möjligt i USA – hopplöst i Sverige	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/5959265
2015	mars	Sameskolan får ordna fjärrundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6128268
	jun	Köpa fjärrundervisning av andra kommuner lösningen för nyanlända	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6180113
	jul	Fjärrundervisning får kritik	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6215086
	jul	'Fjärrundervisning kan lösa modersmålsundervisningen'	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6262372
	jul	Lag om fjärrundervisning löser inte glesbygdspöblem	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6203995
	sep	Solna beklagar problemen med distansundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6263264
	sep	Sameskolstyrelsen börjar erbjuda undervisning på distans	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6246316
	sep	Kommuner vill erbjuda fjärrundervisning i #minoritetsspråk	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/kommuner-vill-erbjuda-fjarrundervisning-i-minoritetssprak
	sep	Fler kan få möjlighet till samiskundervisning	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6263709
	dec	Fjärrundervisning får fortsätta trots lagbrott	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6329804
	dec	Charlotta Kappfjell: Det är förtvivlan	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6328665
2016	feb	Fjärrundervisning ett lyft för samiskan	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6364762
	mars	Fjärrundervisning i samiska ökar från norr till söder	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6380451
	mars	Fjärrundervisning i samiska ökar	https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6385308

	mars	Nu blir modermålsundervisningen på Ådalsskolan laglig https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6401340
	april	Lagrådet sågar skollagsförslag https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6416874
	april	Regeringen driver igenom kritiserat förslag om fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6421477
	sep	Nu kan man köpa och sälja undervisning i modersmål https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/nu-kan-man-kopa-och-salja-undervisning-i-modersmal
	okt	Unga i Krokoms kommun har inte fått läsa sydsamiska https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6542826
	dec	Statssekreterare svarar om olaglig fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6596646
	dec	Regeringen utreder fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6592237
2017	maj	Utredare vill tillåta mer fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6707309
	maj	Det hettade till när partiledarna debatterade fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6696314
	april	Lite anslag till samisk fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6665502
	aug	Hård kamp för barnens utbildning i samiska gav resultat https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6762361
2018	mars	Utökad fjärrundervisning i skolan dröjer https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6913988
	mars	Kan fjärrundervisning lösa lärarbristen? https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6914205
	april	Framtiden för Värmdö skärgårdsskola kan vara säkrad https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/6935002
	sep	Tvingas till fjärrundervisning på grund av lärarbrist https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7041748
	nov	Skolverket föreslår att regeringen tillåter fjärrundervisning i fler ämnen och i lägre årskurser. https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7094356
	nov	Skolverket vill ha mer fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7093796
	nov	L: Ser risker med mer fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7094148
	nov	Skolverket öppnar för mer fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7093804
	nov	Naim Tahiri modersmållärare uttrycker sig om fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7094359
	nov	Politiker i Örebro län positiva till fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7093936
	nov	Rektor: Fjärrundervisning kan vara ett bra komplement. https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7094516
	dec	Spanska på 150 mils avstånd – från Kullavik till Gällivare https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7104856
	dec	Fjärrundervisning ska öka i Sverige https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/fjarrundervisning-ska-oka-i-sverige
2019	jan	Järåsen (S) vill se utökad fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7123907
	jan	Tre av sexton kommuner erbjuder fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7105982
	jan	Fjärrundervisning ska locka fler behöriga lärare https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7125503
	jan	Läraryrket kritiskt mot utökad fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7118833
	feb	Umeå ledande i hemspråksundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7159995
	feb	Elever hoppar av - fjärrundervisningen fungerar dåligt https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7159413
	feb	Elever i Idre undervisas i sydsamiska av lärare 115 mil bort https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7159190
	feb	Meänkielieleverna har läraren fem mil bort https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7159437
	april	Försöksverksamhet om fjärrundervisning förlängs https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/forsoksverksamhet-om-fjarrundervisning-forlang
	sep	Napat Khiyapat prisad för fjärrundervisning i Skellefteå https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7311761
	okt	Elever köar till fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7334182
	nov	Reihana lär sig sitt modersmål via datorn https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7338602
	dec	Fjärrundervisning när behöriga lärare saknas https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7361750
2020	feb	Beslut om fjärrundervisning välkomnas https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7417355
	feb	Experten: Fjärrundervisning är inte lösningen https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7417259

	sep	Unik läringsutbildning med fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7544223
	nov	Regeringen vill öka möjligheten för fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/7602342
2021	maj	Här är förslagen som ska förbättra undervisningen i minoritetsspråken. https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/har-ar-forslagen-som-ska-forbattra-undervisningen-i-minoritetsspraken
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2023	mars	Sena lektioner ensam vid datorn – Melodie väljer lek framför modersmål https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/sena-lektioner-ensam-vid-datorn-melodie-valjer-lek-framfor-modersmal
	maj	Elevkritik mot fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/elevkritik-mot-fjarrundervisning
	april	Krokoms kommun får mest bidrag till fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/krokoms-kommun-far-mest-bidrag-till-fjarrunderivnsning
	april	Miljoner till fjärrundervisning – då missade många kommuner att söka https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/miljoner-till-fjarrundervisning-da-missade-manga-kommuner-att-soka
	april	Som natt och dag – stora skillnader i fjärrundervisning på minoritetsspråk https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/som-natt-och-dag-stora-skillnader-i-fjarrundervisning-pa-minoritetssprak
	april	Forskare: Fjärrundervisning bra för nationella minoritetsspråken https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/forskare-fjarrunderivnsning-bra-for-nationella-minoritetsspraken
	april	Tumme upp från läraren i fjärrundervisning https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/tumme-upp-fran-lararen-i-fjarrunderivnsning
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	maj	Läraren är i Finland och eleverna i skolan i Gävle – så funkar fjärrundervisningen i finska https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/lararen-ar-i-finland-och-eleverna-i-skolan-i-gavle-sa-funkar-fjarrundervisning-i-finska
	okt	Tyskalektion via länk: 'Glesbygdens framtid' https://www.sverigesradio.se/artikel/tyskalektion-via-lank-glesbygdens-framtid
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