

‘Pedagogic Schizoid Identity’: A Comparative Analysis of Policy in an Integrated Teacher Education Program in Norway and OECD Policy

Monika Merket

Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway

Abstract

This paper investigates the educational field by focusing on an integrated teacher education program [ITE] in Norway and OECD policy. The author centers attention on Norwegian teacher education and how globalization through such international agents as the OECD has had impact on national policy documents. Basil Bernstein’s concept of pedagogical identities has been used to guide the analysis (Bernstein, 2000). The findings reveal a pedagogic schizoid identity in the policy documents regulating the ITE program. A non-direct transmission between OECD policy and the educational policy in Norway is reaffirmed. However, concurrently, the entrance of new discourses into the Norwegian educational field is acknowledged through a ‘pedagogic schizoid identity’.

Keywords: *Norway, Integrated Teacher Education, Policy, OECD, Nordic Model of Education*

Introduction

As the globalization of education is a hotly debated topic (cf. Ball, 2017), globalization and changes in national policies are frequently researched topics in the field of education studies. International research has been searching for a balance between globalization and the specialty of national values (Ball, 2017) by studying the effects of the globalization and denationalization of the education system (Resnik, 2012) and by examining global policy formation (Singh, 2015). Nationally, in Norway and the Nordic countries, research has focused on the Nordic model for education and its past, present, and future existence (Antikainen, 2006; Arnesen and Lundahl, 2006; Haugen, 2013; Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2004) and on a balance between globalization and national diversity (Haugen, 2010, 2011; Volckmar, 2018). Thus, education and policy are debated both through a global and national perspective.

In the Norwegian context, changes and reforms in education are part of global processes where there is broad political agreement that elements of New Public Management [NPM] have been introduced in the Norwegian education system (Helgøy et al., 2019). NPM aims to organize the public sector according to the private-sector model, where accountability and a close relation to market ideals are seen as important instruments for creating an effective high-quality organization (Hammersley, 2002). Research has claimed that neo-liberalism has gained more ground in the Nordic countries (cf. Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2004). Sjøberg (2014b) argues that this has changed Norwegian education, where such traditional values as *bildung*¹, social responsibility, and solidarity are being replaced by test scores and a call for learning (p. 199). Similarly, Smith (2011, 2018) argues that new curriculums have put more focus on knowledge through learning outcomes and the measurement of competencies. However, at the same time, Norwegian research verifies the Nordic model’s resistance to the global approach to education by employing a wide concept of

education (Haugen, 2013), still including a recognizable social-democratic progressivism (Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2006), where *bildung* is still embodied in the Norwegian tradition (Smith, 2018). Aasen and colleagues argue that the Nordic approach employs a cooperative model that searches for a balance between different values and agents through cooperation and compromise (Aasen, Prøitz and Sandberg, 2014). Bearing this in mind, there is a struggle between different actors and values in education that can also be traced in Norwegian policy formation.

Education is seen as an arena for power struggles and compromises (cf. Apple, 2012, 2018). There are various theories that attempt to understand education and why it is the site of power struggles, one of these being presented by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein. In his theory, he argues that there are two classes of knowledge in play in education: thinkable and unthinkable knowledge, where the structuring of meaning assumes a form which refers to a material and immaterial world (Bernstein, 2000, p. 28-31). He claims that if there is an indirect relation to the material base, this creates a space and constitutes an arena for power struggles. More specifically, the distribution of power will attempt to regulate the realization of the potential (unthinkable) knowledge ‘yet to be thought’ and, at the same time, educational institutions will distribute educational (thinkable) knowledge constructed by the state. As a result, curriculums can inform about what counts as legitimate knowledge and what shapes the formal educational knowledge (Bernstein, 1971/2003). This sheds light on how new knowledge can occur through change introduced in curriculum reforms, and also on to how these reforms can emerge out of a power struggle between state policy and practice, and between state policy and international agents.

The fact that education has the power to legitimize knowledge indicates that both international and national agents are interested in impacting education through policy documents (Helgøy et al., 2019) and in playing a role in setting the agenda in national policy debates (Volckmar, 2018). One agent striving for globalization of education is the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], which has gained an advisory role for policymakers (Ball, 2017; Sjøberg, 2014b). In Norway this can be exemplified through OECD reports to the Norwegian government that give advice to policymakers (cf. Nusche et al., 2011). The OECD itself ranks its influence on Norwegian policies at ‘a high degree of impact’ (Breakspear, 2012, p. 14). This actualizes the OECD’s influential role that can represent how international agents and trends have an impact on Norwegian policies.

Bearing this in mind, if research explores which type of educational knowledge is given legitimacy in curriculums, we could learn something about which knowledge is distributed and constructed by the state in its policies. Hovdenak (2014a) argues that by using Bernstein’s concept of pedagogical identities it is possible to illuminate how values and interests in educational policy are developed at the macro level. Bernstein (2000) claims that through the concept of pedagogic identities he is concerned with how curriculum reforms today arise out of requirements to engage with societal changes, where he is interested in the biases and focus on knowledge in curriculum reforms. To explore how globalization has impacted national policies, this paper has chosen to center attention on a Norwegian integrated teacher education [ITE] program (see next section), whereas the OECD has been chosen to represent international agents. The aim is to explore how globalization through such international agents as the OECD has had an impact on the ITE program’s regulative framework. To accomplish this, Bernstein’s concept of pedagogical identities has been applied through the following research question: Which pedagogical identities are

revealed when comparing a Norwegian ITE program with OECD policy? In the next section, why the ITE program has been chosen as a representative of national policy will be explained before the methodological approach is presented. Following this, some of the findings will be presented and discussed, followed by a summary discussion.

Norwegian policy and the development of the ITE program

The educational system in Norway has traditionally been anchored in the Nordic education model. Characteristics of this model have been examined by researchers in the Nordic countries in order to find its place in the contemporary setting. Through strong state governance this model has made it possible to focus on such values as social inclusion, equality, equity, and the building of a democratic nation (cf. Antikainen, 2006; Imsen, Blossing and Moos, 2017; Lundahl, 2016). Therefore, and traditionally, Norwegian education policy has been a major player in nation building, where the aim has been to create a common identity through a strong nation state. As a result, the Norwegian educational system has had the aim to: "...promote national and cultural traditions, democracy, basic values, tolerance, human rights, cultural diversity, individual growth, and the pragmatic knowledge needed to participate as an independent citizen in society" (Imsen, Blossing and Moos, 2017, p. 574). Consequently, Norwegian teacher education is responsible for instructing teachers in accordance with these intentions, which necessitates a focus on solidarity and fellowship. These intentions have been accentuated through a progressive pedagogy and such values as democracy, participation, and community (Hovdenak and Stray, 2015), and through a strong state government, strict control, and creative use of institutional autonomy (Karlsen, 2005).

However, in the 1990s, Norway entered a period of educational policy reforms, and the educational system was seen as a device to increase the nation state’s international competitiveness (Hovdenak, 2014a). This process culminated in 2000 with Norway entering the PISA² test regime and headlines in the Norwegian press declaimed a crisis in the Norwegian Educational System (Sjøberg, 2014a; 2019). This crisis “was used politically as a lever for educational change” (Volckmar, 2018, p. 2) and accelerated educational policy processes in Norwegian education. Policy documents therefore expressed a change in focus, from the process of learning towards measuring the quality of learning, and used an economically motivated rhetoric that focused on the utility function of education (Hovdenak and Stray, 2015). As part of this process, in 2003, a new reform for higher education, the Quality Reform, was implemented in Norway to act in accordance with the Bologna Declaration³ (Ministry of Education, 2001; Ministry of Education and Research, 2003). As part of this reform, the intention was to improve students’ completion rates and academic competence through integrated studies (Ministry of Education, 2002). Therefore, the argument was that this reform emphasized academic skills and subject knowledge in teacher education (Garm and Karlsen, 2004; Karlsen, 2005). As a result, in 2013 a new teacher education program was introduced in Norway, the ITE program. This was given a new regulative framework plan in 2013, and National Guidelines were then derived from this in 2014 and adjusted in 2017. This is a discipline-based education program that gives the students a Master’s degree level of competence in one subject and professional competence through professional studies integrated in the program (Regulations for the framework plan, 2013; Universities Norway [UHR], 2017). Consequently, the ITE program was seen as an answer to the global call for a research-based, high-quality teacher education that was close to practice and that fit with the new international standard in accordance with the Bologna Declaration.

Method

Policies in Norwegian teacher education are created in an educational discourse field with different international and national actors, and values, that are interested in influencing it. Consequently, the educational field represents a mix of discourses trying to influence which knowledge is constructed and given legitimacy, which in turn creates an ideological arena where there is a power struggle over which discourses are to be recontextualized to educational institutions (Bernstein, 2000). Consequently, reforms in education construct and distribute different pedagogical identities. Therefore, to investigate these ideological positions in educational policy and to see how policy documents arise out of the requirements to engage with contemporary change, Bernstein's concept of pedagogical identities has been used as an analytical tool (Bernstein, 2000). Bernstein's theory on discourse provides a coherent way of connecting language analysis with sociological analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) and Singh (2018) argue that through pedagogical identities Bernstein takes the emergence of different discourses and forms of state governance into account. As a result, this makes Bernstein's theory of pedagogic identities an appropriate approach for exploring how the ITE program has been impacted by globalization.

Pedagogical Identities

To highlight change in policy, Bernstein (2000) has shaped four positions representing the official field of production with their biases and foci. He claims these positions have different approaches that are used to regulate and manage change: the moral, cultural, and economic approaches (p. 66). Bernstein (2000) distinguishes between (1) Retrospective pedagogic identities, (2) Prospective pedagogic identities, (3) De-centralized market identities and (4) De-centralized therapeutic identities (Bernstein, 2000). He classifies the retrospective and prospective identities as centralized, and the market and therapeutic identities as

de-centralized. The centralized identities are shaped by a national discourse that originates in the past, where the future is seen in the derivation of the past, whereas the de-centralized identities are drawn from local discourses and focus on the future. These identities will be further elaborated on below.

First, the retrospective identity is shaped by national religious, cultural, and grand narrative resources from the past (Bernstein, 2000, p. 66-67). These narratives are recontextualized to stabilize the past into the future and focus on a social base, educational content, and discursive inputs, not outputs. A collective social base is foregrounded to construct the identity; individual careers are of less interest. This discourse is not engaged with or related to economic issues.

Second, the prospective identity is also engaged with the past but with a different focus and bias (Bernstein, 2000, p. 67-68). This identity is constructed to cope with future changes within the cultural, economic, and technical areas, and is shaped by selective recontextualizing qualities from the past to defend or raise economic performance. This discourse focuses on both inputs and outputs, and not only a social base, but also embedding careers foregrounded in the selective past. The state controls both input and output where there is an emphasis on performance that has an exchange value.

Third, a market identity is dependent on autonomy and is shaped by market demands. “The transmission here arises to produce an identity whose product has an exchange value in a market” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 69). This discourse focuses on input to optimize exchange values, efficiency, and procedures of accountability, where the transmission process views knowledge as money. The market identity constructs an identity that is motivated by outwarded response rather than an inner dedication, where market demands are seen as a measurement of individual success.

Fourth, the therapeutic identity, also dependent on autonomy, is produced by theories of personal, cognitive, and social development (Bernstein, 2000, p. 68).

This identity focuses on flexible thinking and cooperation, where output is not something that can be easily measured but where the participants are active in the process. The therapeutic identity projects stable and integrated identities with adaptable co-operative practices (Bernstein, 2000, p. 70).

Bernstein's theory of pedagogical identities reveals which types of knowledge agents are used to provide legitimacy. However, the general direction of education policies is framed differently and influenced by the state regime (Arnesen and Lundahl, 2006). Norway is historically settled in the Nordic Education Model and through research on this model, Arnesen and Lundahl (2006) distinguish between it, and its social democratic education policy, and liberal education policy (p. 288-289). Using Archer (1985) and Hudson and Lindström (2002), Arnesen and Lundahl (2006) have outlined an approach to analyzing policies through three dimensions: Instrumentality of education, value basis of education and initiation of education change. Through these dimensions they endeavor to explain and elaborate on the discursive power struggle the Nordic model has been exposed to, describing its distinctive quality and pointing out the exercise of power and influence through knowledge, beliefs, values, and curriculums. The first dimension refers to the relative emphasis on the sociocultural and economic functions of education. The instrumentality of education is related to social inclusion and the belief in a common nation state. The second dimension and the value basis of the education refer to the degree of equality and comprehensiveness versus differentiation and elitism in education. In this way, this dimension is concerned with whether collective or individual resources are used to create equality and equity. The third dimension refers to the sources or agency for educational change. The initiation of educational change is related to who is controlling and initiating the change, where the point of departure is Archer's (1985) perspective on internal initiation and external transaction.

Analytical Framework

Here, Bernstein’s analytical concept of pedagogical identities is used to create an analytical model for analyzing policy documents to visualize how the textual documents aim to regulate and control change. However, to center attention on focal aspects of the functions and values in contemporary policy and education, Arnesen and Lundahl’s dimensions are used to categorize the different identities. The analytical framework is outlined in Table 1.

	Retrospective identity	Prospective identity	Market identity	Therapeutic identity
Instrumentality of the education	Knowledge is based on an emphasis on social and cultural functions. Focus on input, not related to market.	Knowledge is based on a selective emphasis on social and cultural functions. Focus on input and output, related to the market.	Knowledge is based on economic functions. Focus on measurable output, related to the market.	Knowledge is legitimized through individual functions in the present society. Focus on non-measurable output.
Value basis of the education	Common social base. Solidarity and social responsibility form a social basis for the use of human resources.	New common social base to raise or defend economic performance and to cope with contemporary change in society.	Individual development based on private responsibility and individual choice.	Individual development within a framework of social community and social security.
Initiation of the education change	Centered, strong state.	Centered, strong state.	De-centralized state, internal and external actors.	De-centralized state, internal and external actors.

Table 1 Analytical framework

Data Collection

The ITE program was introduced to increase the quality of Norwegian teacher education in accordance with international standards and the Bologna Declaration. As the OECD is an international agent in the educational field (see introduction) it has been chosen as the representative source in this paper. However, several other documents could have been used as the data source, therefore arguments will be given below to explain why the documents have been chosen and what characterizes the data collection. First, the documents have been chosen according to three criteria, that: (1) the documents are relevant for teacher education and the ITE program, (2) the documents capture the historical development of Norwegian teacher education and (3) the

documents represent the discursive foundation of Norwegian teacher education and the OECD.

First, the regulative framework for the ITE program is Regulations for the framework plan for the integrated teacher education program 8-13 (Regulations for the Framework Plan, 2013) and National guidelines for the integrated teacher education program 8-13 (UHR, 2017). Consequently, these documents have been chosen to represent the ITE program. Second, while several other documents could have been chosen to represent the OECD, one stands out, as in 1996 the OECD published the report, *The Knowledge Economy* (OECD, 1996). This report has been described by Hovdenak and Stray (2015) as one of the OECD's core- or reference-textual documents relating to the new knowledge policy. This report is elaborated on and contextualized in a learning environment in the book "*Knowledge Management in the Learning Society*" (OECD, 2000). Thus, to point out the historical storyline and the course of change that allegedly took place after Norway entered the PISA test regime, this book has been chosen to represent the OECD. In this way, the cumulative effect the discourses have on each other can be visualized (Jørgensen and Phillips, 1999). With these considerations in mind, these three documents have thus been chosen as the data source:

- (1) *Knowledge Management in the Learning Society* (OECD, 2000)
- (2) *Regulations for the framework plan for the ITE program 8-13*
(Regulations for the Framework Plan, 2013)
- (3) *National Guidelines for the ITE program 8-13* (UHR, 2017)

However, these documents have been written with different functions in mind. Documents (2) and (3) constitute the regulative framework for the ITE program and are, thus, policy documents for regulating and managing the education

program. Consequently, the documents in their entirety are included in the analysis and are labeled as “Norway”.

Document (1) from the OECD is written as informal enlightenment that aims to describe the intention of merging education and market ideals in a new knowledge policy. This document is a book in which the OECD describes its intentions behind it:

Part I constitutes an important, enlightening conceptual piece of work on issues concerning knowledge and learning in an economic innovation context. A comparative study of the production, mediation and use of knowledge in different sectors has been undertaken to achieve two purposes: first, to illuminate the general nature of these processes in modern economies; and second, to clarify how the education sector manages knowledge and how it might improve it (OECD, 2000, p. 3).

This book has been written to state how the OECD perceives the educational system and how it can be improved. It is in two parts: Part one clarifies the OECD’s understanding of knowledge; Chapter one aims to understand education in relation to the learning economy, Chapter two compares different sectors’ mediation and use of knowledge, Chapter three explains how education can create a learning system, and finally, Chapter four reviews how research can supplement this creation. As this paper aims to understand and uncover the knowledge that is given legitimacy, Chapters one, three and four in Part one have been selected. Part two has not been included as it is not relevant to the research question. The entire book covers 253 pages (Part one 107 pages and Part two 146 pages), where the selected material amounts to 66 of the 107 pages in Part one. Thus, these 66 pages outline the selected data collection from document (1) and are labeled below as “OECD”.

Analysis

The analytical process, conducted by focusing on the sentences constructing the documents, is outlined in Figure 1.

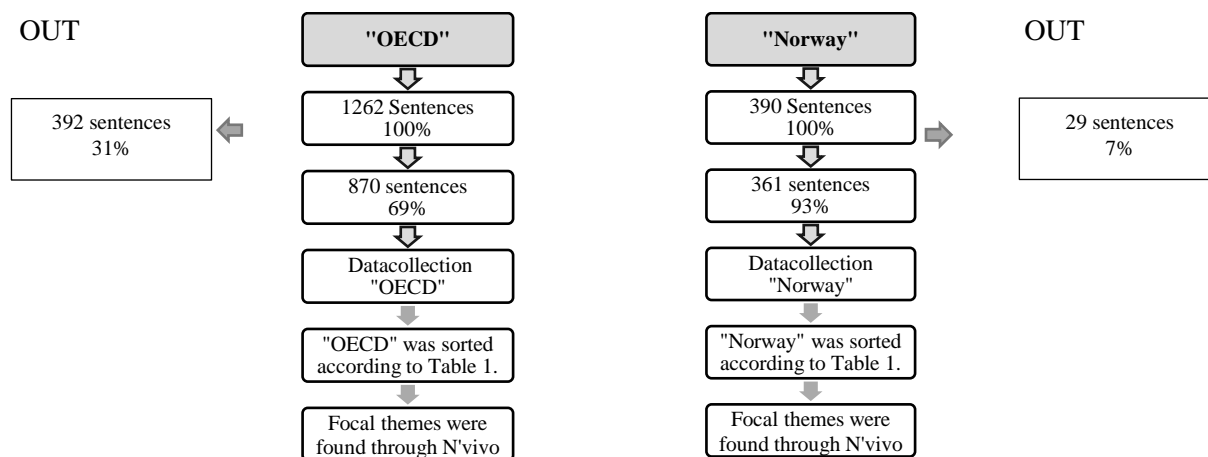


Figure 1: The analytical process

The first step was to sort and mark the sentences relating to the research question, which focuses on comparing the way educational knowledge is described in the documents. Therefore, sentences that were not relevant with this aim in mind were not included. In "OECD", one example is: "At the system level, ways have to be found to bring teachers together in such an activity" (OECD, 2000, p. 74). Sentences like this were not relevant when it comes to the aim of the paper and were thus not included. At the same time, sentences that were related to the structure of the book were also omitted, for example: "The above concepts can be applied as follows" (OECD, 2000, p. 21). In a similar way, two entire sections were not included as they were not relevant for this paper. These two sections focus on ICT and networking among teachers. In total, 392 sentences in "OECD" were not included and constitute 31% of the total work. In "Norway", only 29 sentences were not included (7%). These sentences were focused on describing the structure of the framework, for example: "As of autumn 2014, all institutions offering the integrated teacher education program 8-13 should follow this framework" (Regulations for the

Framework Plan, 2013, §6, my translation). No sentences were excluded for lack of relevance, only sentences that described the structure and organization of the paper.

In the second step, 870 sentences were included in “OECD” and 361 sentences in “Norway”. Examples of sentences included were related to the aim of the paper and are given in the result section as examples of the coded data material (see results). The included sentences were categorized according to the analytical framework. This process was conducted in “NVivo” through preselected codes (nodes) based on the analytical framework (Table 1). In this process and as an initial phase, each of the sentences in “Norway” and “OECD” were marked and sorted into one of the 12 preselected categories by the researcher. This process was carried out by reading one and one section and then categorizing each of the sentences in the section into one of the 12 preselected nodes.

Then, as a third step, and to highlight the main feature for each category, a classification through the NVivo program and the “Three-Map” function was outlined. This procedure, indicating how the most frequent words relate to each other, led to keywords or central sentences and illustrated the thematical focal points for each category. Therefore, in the findings section below, tables will be used to visualize the focal themes that were found.

Findings

“OECD” will be presented first, due to the historical timeline, to visualize the cumulating effect argued above.

“OECD”

In this section, a table of each pedagogical identity will be presented, where column one consists of the three dimensions, the second column presents the thematical focal points, and the third column has exemplifications from the document. This table aims to visualize and ensure transparency through the analytical process. First, a “market identity” is illustrated in Table 2.

Market Identity

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of the education	Knowledge as an economic output	Knowledge can be regarded as an economic output, in the form of a production blueprint (p. 21).
	Knowledge created in relation to the market	The other major perspective is one in which knowledge is regarded as an asset (p. 13).
Value basis of the education	An individual’s quality is measured by the market	Carriers of such knowledge may have a problem demonstrating the quality of their competence to potential buyers and buyers may have a problem locating the best offers in terms of quality (p. 26).
	Individual responsibility	An alternative hypothesis is that we are moving into a “learning economy”, where the success of individuals, firms, regions and countries will reflect, more than anything else, their ability to learn (p. 29).
Initiation of education change	Weak state, de-centralized structure	The education system can learn much from knowledge-intensive industries at the regional and local levels. Rather than being orchestrated as top-down intervention or bureaucratic guidance, policy initiatives should evolve as interested local parties exchange information, negotiate and collaborate (p. 89).

Table 2 Market Identity “OECD”

A market identity is shaped through the instrumentality dimension by seeing knowledge as an economic output and by focusing on what works and is needed in the market. Resources shaping a discourse on knowledge are realized through a focus on the output of knowledge and a form of output that could compete in the market as a form of capital. In this perspective, knowledge is legitimized as a product that is produced and sold according to market demands. Thus, a weak classification between knowledge and market is preferred. The document criticizes the educational sector for being too concerned about educational input and argues for merging education and industry which in turn will generate output that has an exchange value in the market. As a result, knowledge is

assumed to give a certain outcome where there is a linear understanding between the elements, ordering knowledge, production, product, and transaction. Thus, the market controls both input and output that is judged by the demands of the market.

The value basis of education in the market identity is shaped through a focus on individual responsibility where the quality of the individual is measured by the market. In this perspective, the skills and competences of the individual are intended to cope with market demands. In the document, this aspect is shown when it describes individuals as “carriers of knowledge” and that their competences and skills are core elements to ensure economic development in society. One part of this perspective is that knowledge is not only related to the school context but is something to be found in different contexts and across life. Therefore, life-long learning is accentuated as an individual responsibility and thus requires that knowledge is seen as an output that is materialized into something measurable and transformable.

Educational change is related to the market, where weak governmental control is required so that industry will be encouraged to invest in the educational sector. In this way, knowledge is to be transmitted and used in more effective ways. The de-centralized state results in the perspective where the educational institution is comparable to a company where education and industry merge and thus create knowledge that is needed in the market.

Prospective Identity

A prospective identity is also created in the document, as shown in Table 3.

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of the education	Knowledge to cope with change	This project is based upon the assumption that our societies are undergoing a transformation as important as the industrial revolution that began more than two centuries ago. Knowledge is the core element in the emerging mode of production, and learning is the most important process (p. 11).
	Knowledge and basic skills	To play an active part in society and in local, national and global politics, general skills related to one’s mother tongue, foreign languages, mathematics and information technology become increasingly important. Even coping with the challenges of daily life is becoming more demanding in these respects and in relation to sharing a cultural heritage (p. 12).
Value basis of the education	Common global knowledge and comparison	The national socio-economic context differs as well and gives the education and the wider learning system different functions and objectives. There is a great potential for using cross-country comparisons to learn how schools interact with firms and other knowledge institutions in building tacit and explicit knowledge (p. 30).
	Individual skills and life-long learning	Lifelong learning involves people learning in a variety of places – leisure, work, home – not just formal educational organisations, which requires a fundamental shift in how people define education, take personal control over it, and shape it to their own goals and lives (p. 67).
Initiation of education change		

Table 3 Prospective Identity “OECD”

The instrumentality of education in “OECD” is specified through a focus on knowledge as an economic output in close relation to the market. However, at the same time, knowledge is related to basic skills that are needed to cope with contemporary change. A new complex society is described which in turn requires a new knowledge discourse. In this perspective, knowledge is seen as a core element for change that will ensure future economic development. In order to do so, the document uses resources from the past as “cultural heritage” to focus on the individual’s basic skills, such as native language, mathematics, and information, and where the skills are seen as essential to be able to acquire access to knowledge.

A new value base is called for to deal with a complex society, where a new common base requires individual skills. A new knowledge base is shaped by merging a traditional historical and social base with individual responsibility. Life-long learning and a redefinition of education are described as important for

creating new learning communities where learning is comparable and measurable and where competition is a key component within learning.

Therapeutic Identity

As illustrated in Table 4, a therapeutic identity is shaped through some contrasting and some complementary perspectives pointed out as resources that shape the market and prospective identities.

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of education	Knowledge and output not always measurable	Measurements of some of the crucial aspects of learning may be even more difficult. It is for example difficult to capture competence building through learning. Many kinds of competence can only be revealed through application, rather than through testing in artificial contexts (p. 100).
Value basis of education	Individual responsibility in a flexible and social learning context	This is reflected in the increasing demand for workers willing to learn and, at the same time, skillful, flexible, co-operative and willing to shoulder responsibility (p. 24). Learning is a social not just a technical process (p. 29).
Initiation of education change	Weak state, de-centralized structure to ensure innovation	Innovation based on interaction and institutional-level innovation is more appropriate for today’s knowledge societies than a model of bureaucratic control (p. 101).

Table 4 Therapeutic Identity “OECD”

The instrumentality of education is shown through a focus on knowledge as an output, however, not only with a focus that is always on measurable output but also on innovation as an outcome of learning. Innovation is connected to the use of competence in practical and social situations. At the same time, there is a focus on individual learning and research on mental functioning to ascertain the individual’s learning capacity.

Values of education are shown through individual responsibility and the ability to cooperate in a team. Bearing this in mind, the document promotes an active and innovative student who can cope with contemporary society and personal achievement. To shape a therapeutic identity, the document points to the individual’s responsibility to acquire knowledge and learning in co-operative and social situations.

The initiative for change is grounded on a de-centralized state that emphasizes innovation. In the document, bureaucratic and factory models of education are described as creating standardized output that undermines an innovation culture.

Summary “OECD”

Summarizing the sentences shaping the opposing (and sometimes compatible) identities, the allocation of identities is visualized in Figure 2. This figure also shows the distribution (in percentages) between the different identities in the document.

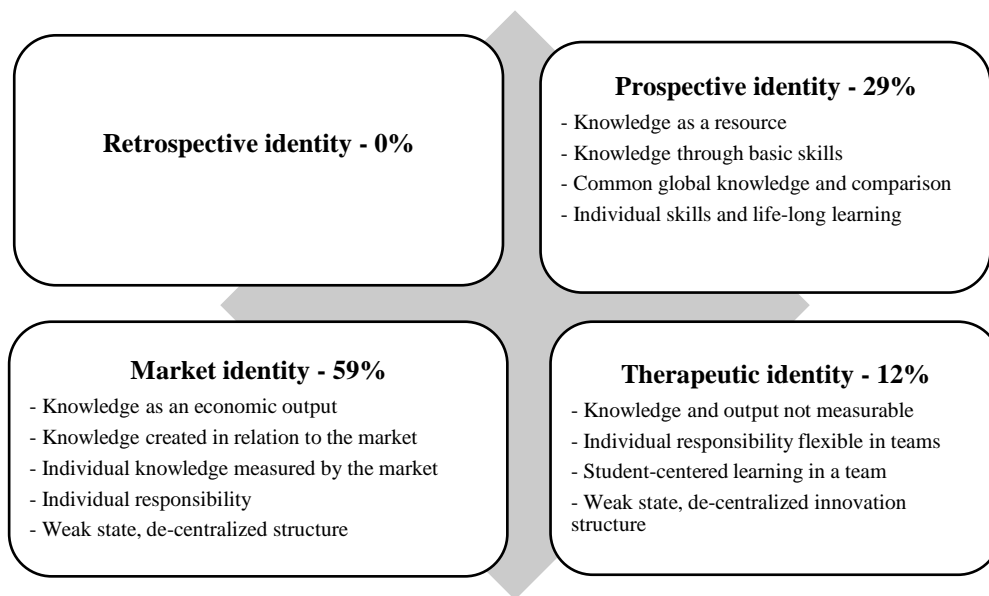


Figure 2 “OECD” Pedagogical identities

While a number of identities are shaped in “OECD”, the market and prospective identities are the main ones (88%). Consequently, these findings support their own aim, that is to merge the educational and economic discourse. However, the distinctive feature here is that none of the sentences shape a retrospective identity that focuses on resources from the past and a strong state presence. For the most part, the ideals and demands of the market are utilized as resources for shaping the revealed identities.

“Norway”

The two documents that outline “Norway” are analyzed separately here but are presented in the one table because they are based on each other and, thus, positioned similarly. Structurally, the tables are outlined in the same way as “OECD”. The sentences are marked according to their paragraphs “(§xx)” if they are selected from the regulations for the framework plan and by page “(p. xx)” if they have been selected from the national guidelines. The National Guidelines and the Framework Plan are Norwegian-language documents and thus, I have translated all the excerpts into English. First, the retrospective identity will be presented, illustrated in Table 5.

Retrospective Identity

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of the education	Knowledge as a historic and social foundation	The ITE program shall qualify the students to promote school development as an institution for teaching and Bildung in a democratic and multicultural society (§1).
	Knowledge and input	Practical learning should entail activities included in a teacher’s daily work schedule, including tutoring, preparation, assessment, talks with pupils, parental collaboration, collegial collaboration and academic development (p. 15).
Value basis of the education	Common cultural and social base	The program shall qualify the student to include teaching about Sami conditions. (...). Sami culture and society are an important part of the common cultural heritage (p. 17).
	Individual trust - autonomy	Teachers constantly face new situations entailing ethical challenges and dilemmas not covered by one concrete answer and have to find solutions based on professional judgment (p. 12).
Initiation of education change	Strong state structure	All the subjects included in the education shall be research-based and established in a research-active environment. Students shall encounter interdisciplinary proficiency-relevant issues, regularly participating in exchanges of experience and the opportunity to participate in school-relevant R&D projects (§3).

Table 5 Retrospective Identity “Norway”

The first dimension, the instrumentality of education, is seen through a strong belief in a common nation state. This is seen through a focus on knowledge that is related to Norway’s historical and social foundation and through a focus on educational input and common content. In this way, a retrospective identity is shaped through using common cultural and social narratives from the past to generate social inclusion. Knowledge is related to such common values as

democracy and bildung and where the function of the educational system is to support social inclusion in a community. Thus, the document focuses on giving the students a common origin and including the students in a professional career.

The value basis of education is realized by means of a common cultural and social base where equality and equity are important resources, and solidarity and social responsibility are created for an individual who is incorporated in a professional collaboration. In this way, the individual is given autonomy and the opportunity to act ethically and promote solidarity. Resources creating a retrospective identity in the documents focus on building a common historical, social, and cultural knowledge base for the students. As a result, the focus is on constructing a common identity as teachers by emphasizing integration in a professional community at the school.

Education is seen as an institution that is shaped through a strong state, not only structurally but also through a focus on common content and input. There is a weak classification between the state and knowledge, and a strong classification between knowledge and the market. Potential change is realized through the state, and requirements are explicitly expressed through hierarchically bounded structures.

Prospective Identity

A strong state is also revealed through a prospective identity but through additional perspectives and focal areas. This is illustrated in Table 6.

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of the education	Knowledge and output	After completing the integrated teacher education program 8–13, the students shall have had a learning outcome defined through knowledge, skills, and general competence (§2)
Value basis of the education	Common responsibility ensuring quality	Collectively these areas of knowledge shall contribute to realizing the learning outcome suggested by the national framework plan by providing an education that is professionally oriented, research-based, close to practice, and academically demanding (p. 10).
	New competencies and skills in a global society	Internationalization of society and the labor market presupposes knowledge of language and culture and international experiences. The student shall have obtained knowledge and understanding of the multicultural society. (...) The teacher education shall promote international collaboration and solidarity to achieve sustainable evolution and social equalization (p. 17).
Initiation of education change	State controlling output and input	Based on the regulative framework plan and the national guidelines, the different institutions shall define an education program plan for the content in teacher education; providing regulations concerning academic content, including Sami themes, practical training, organization, work methods, and assessment regulations (§4)

Table 6 Prospective Identity “Norway”

Even though the documents focus on input and common content as resources for shaping a common base, the instrumentality of education is also created by centering on output. Both the framework plan and the national guidelines are defined through learning outcome descriptors for each knowledge area, and, thus, expected learning outcomes are presented to the students. This shapes a prospective identity that focuses on the effect of the students’ learning process. Moreover, the document defines a quality system that ensures the students’ learning outcome and the quality of the education.

The value basis of the education program is expressed by referring to its quality as a common responsibility between university and schools, and where close collaboration is related to an education of high quality. A new collective social base is provided by focusing on optimizing the students’ learning outcome. To do so, the aim is to have a close interconnection between research, academic knowledge, and professional knowledge in practice. In this way, a collective base is not seen as an aim in itself but as a way of measuring the quality of the education. Individual skills, such as digital competence and internalization, are seen as core elements for creating an education program of high quality. At the

same time, these individual skills are seen as essential for coping with changes in society and for being part of the new global economy. In this perspective, academic knowledge is presented as a core element needed for dealing with change and biases in society. Selective knowledge and historical values, such as Sami history, are recontextualized to preserve such values as solidarity and the historical aspect to cope with future challenges in a multicultural society.

Educational change is governed by the state through a strong structure that controls both input and output. The national framework specifies what is legitimate and approved as content, and at the same time what is regarded as expected output. Furthermore, the state controls input and output through specific assignments within research and development projects and through the Master’s degree requirement. There is a weak classification between state and knowledge that indicates a strong state controlling educational change.

Therapeutic Identity

A therapeutic identity is illustrated and described in Table 7.

Dimension	Thematic focus	Sentence as an exemplification
Instrumentality of education	Knowledge output	The students shall have an active role in their own learning process and know what is expected to succeed as a student (p. 4).
Value basis of education	Individual development and autonomy	A focal point in primary and higher education is pupils and students developing knowledge on their own learning process and academic development (p. 18).
	Active student in a team	The education program has a strong orientation towards research and development, and through facilitating students’ active and research-based learning the education shall develop knowledge and strategies to explore one’s own and others’ practice (p. 4).
Initiation of education change		

Table 7 Therapeutic Identity “Norway”

The instrumentality of education is highlighted in the documents through a focus on common input and output. However, at the same time, a therapeutic identity is shaped through a focus on output that is not always a measurable mechanism. There is a focus on the students participating and playing an active part in their own learning process and thus, the learning process is valued as an

aim in itself. In this way, the learning process is not only reduced to a quantifiable outcome but valued because it realizes the intentions in the national framework plan.

The value of education is distinguished through a therapeutic identity where the focus is on the student’s internal development, where an active student cooperates in a professional environment. Cognitive resources are described as essential elements that construct a teacher identity and where there is a focus on the students’ individual development and progression. In this way, the students’ abilities to cope with future challenges in a global society are realized through a focus on cognitive processes. However, the document underlines the importance of the individual being involved in a team and an individual that is given the autonomy to initiate personal development.

Summary “Norway”

All in all, “Norway” constructs a diversity of pedagogical identities. Figure 3 depicts the distribution (in percentages) between the different identities in the documents and the focal themes identified.

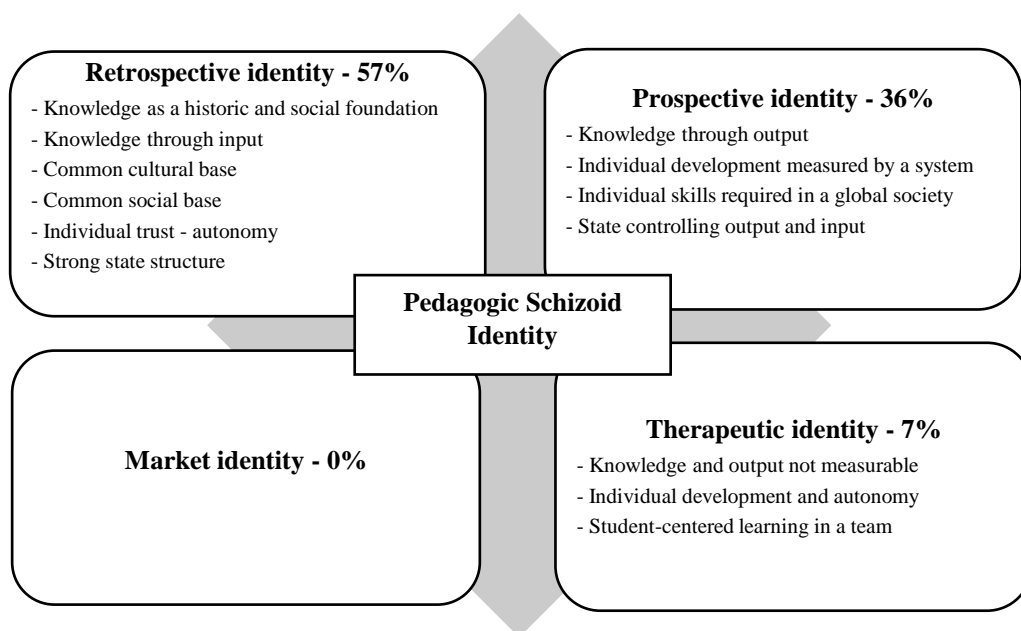


Figure 3 “Norway” Pedagogical identities

Traditionally, in Norwegian teacher education and the Nordic model for education, retrospective and therapeutic identities are shaped by centering around resources as a common social base and around individual cognitive development. However, in these documents the retrospective and prospective identities together constitute the resources that shape the main foundation (93%). These identities commonly utilize a strong nation state as a resource but, on the other hand, are also dealing with market ideals through a prospective identity. The official institutionalizing of a market model and legitimation of the identity it projects shape a new identity in education – a pedagogic schizoid position (Bernstein, 2000). In this way, collective and stable resources in the construction of identities are weakened, indicating a new positional identity. Thus, this new identity does not replace the other identities but exists in addition to them. This verifies that “Norway” is somewhere in-between historical traditions and contemporary challenges. The market identity is not identified in the national framework plan, which indicates that the market position and international agents, such as the OECD, have not gained a defining impact on the policy documents, even though the pedagogic schizoid identity indicates a field where there is a power struggle. This aspect will be further discussed in the next section.

Discussion and conclusions

This section will discuss and compare the findings from the study of “OECD” and “Norway”. The discussion is structured according to the dimensions and the complexity of analyzing policy documents.

In the instrumentality of education dimension there is a distinction between “OECD” and “Norway” in market relevance. Bernstein (1990) claims that if market relevance is the key orientating criterion for the selection of discourses, this could have profound implications for education (p. 155). In “OECD”,

knowledge is related to basic skills, economic output and knowledge as a resource and asset, whereas “Norway” relates knowledge to a cultural and historical foundation and focuses on input and output of knowledge. As a result, in “Norway”, core elements, such as social inclusion, are realized through common content and the belief in a common nation state. This is a value that is derived from the Nordic model for education and verifies its existence (Haugen, 2013, Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2004, 2006). However, a common factor in these documents is that the resources shaping a prospective identity through focusing on the output and knowledge are measurable. Ball (2017) argues that such words in policies as benchmark and performance reconstruct the meaning of education and indicate a change from a focus on common content to individual learning outcome. In this way, the change described by Sjøberg (2014b) and Smith (2011, 2018) is verified, which points to the emerging prominence of expected learning outcome in education.

In “Norway”, attention is paid to selective narratives from the past to justify the focus on learning outcome and quality measuring systems: “Knowledge relating to human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples” (UHR, 2017, p. 17, my translation). In this example, Norwegian history is used to rationalize the use of expected learning outcome to ensure the students’ competence. However, in “OECD”, the current resources in the market are used to describe output that has an exchange value: “In analysing knowledge as an asset, its properties in terms of transferability across time, space and people are central” (OECD, 2000, p. 13). In this statement, knowledge is not related to any historical or social foundation, but to how it could be transferred and exchanged without contextual foundation. Bernstein (1990) describes this as a dislocation, which opens for the creation of two independent markets, one of knowledge and another of knowers. In “Norway”, the learning process is valued as an intrinsic value in itself and knowledge is contextualized to Norwegian history and culture, and through this

the knower and knowledge still are intertwined through utilizing resources that create a therapeutic and retrospective identity. In spite of this, “Norway’s” focus on learning outcome and measuring the students’ knowledge creates a distinction between the student and the knowledge achieved. As earlier research has found (Haugen, 2013; Nygård, 2016; Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2006), this implies a field of similarities and contradictions, and a complex and non-linear process that gives form to the national policy documents.

When it comes to the value basis of education, this complexity persists in “Norway”, whereas “OECD” pursues its aim to merge economy and education. It relates knowledge to competition, life-long learning, and individual responsibility. In this way, “OECD” values skills that are compatible with the market and a global comparison, for example through the PISA tests. “OECD” has an open agenda to stimulate the creation of knowledge through competition and comparison in order to motivate individuals to pursue life-long learning and to serve as a cornerstone to increase economic development. In such a perspective, performance is a key concept for maximizing the profit and the inherent value of knowledge as a product that can be sold in the market. Apple (2006) claims that in such a perspective the students are to be given skills to compete efficiently and effectively.

“Norway” takes a more ambiguous position where the value basis of education is related to a focus on a common social and cultural base, autonomy, social inclusion, equality, and individual skills that are all ensured through a quality system. In this way, “Norway” values equity and equality through a common social and cultural base and individual autonomy in a professional environment as core values in the education system. However, at the same time, “Norway” expresses the value of a quality system to ensure quality and an individual responsibility expressed through expected learning outcome. Consequently,

“Norway” values learning and knowledge as both a social and individual responsibility; a social responsibility that is traditionally anchored in the Nordic model for education where at the same time a new perspective through individual responsibility is added. This confirms the persistent balancing in Norwegian educational policy between community and individualism and between equality and independence that was pointed out by Telhaug (2002) at the beginning of this century. At the same time, this verifies changes identified in policy documents on a knowledge economy (Fosse and Hovdenak, 2014; Hovdenak and Stray, 2015; Hovdenak, 2014b) and the introduction of a marketization practice in the Nordic model of education (Lundahl, 2016).

Comparing these dimensions, “Norway” and “OECD” agree on several aspects that are found to be important for education. However, their realization of these aspects can be different. One example is social inclusion, a core value that both “OECD” and “Norway” agree on. However, in “Norway”, social inclusion is realized through a strong state, collective input, and individual autonomy, and in “OECD”, through individual responsibility, life-long learning, and competition. Thus, in “Norway” social inclusion is considered to be a collective responsibility and in “OECD” an individual responsibility. In this way, social inclusion is realized through access to a common knowledge base or through an individual knowledge base that opens for social inclusion. This unveils the complexity in comparing values inherent in policy documents. Ball (2017) cautions against this dual denotation of words and describes how new and old terms can change the meaning of education.

Another example of this aspect can be seen through the concept of competence, which is frequently used in both “Norway” and “OECD”. “Norway” uses the concept in statements such as: “The education program emphasizes that the student must develop abilities to reflect, be creative, critically review, and judge

competences that will contribute to preparing them for life-long learning” (UHR, 2017, p. 4, my translation), whereas “OECD” says: “Carriers of such knowledge may have a problem demonstrating the quality of their competence to potential buyers and buyers may have a problem locating the best offers in terms of quality” (OECD, 2000, p. 26). As a result, in “Norway”, competence is understood as a resource shaping a therapeutic identity, and in “OECD”, it is understood as a resource shaping a market identity. In “Norway” competence is related to reflection and creativity, values and output that cannot be measured. However, “OECD” sees the concept as an asset and a measurable output that has an exchange value in terms of market value. Therefore, values in Norwegian teacher education described through democracy, participation, and fellowship (Hovdenak and Stray, 2015), and strong state and institutional autonomy, (Karlsen, 2005) are apparently preserved in the national framework plan for the new teacher education program that has been investigated here. However, at the same time, it reaffirms the complex course of action materializing policy documents (Aasen, Prøitz and Sandberg, 2014; Haugen, 2013; Nygård, 2016; Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2006). Consequently, this exemplifies the complexity in a pedagogic schizoid identity identified in Norway through the tension between the intrinsic and extrinsic value of discourse that is described by Bernstein (2000).

In conclusion, the resources that shape the identities found in the ITE program are positioned as a pedagogic schizoid identity. This identity position confirms earlier research that has pointed out that policy is a process of struggle and compromise. At the same time, “OECD” ranks its degree of impact on Norwegian policy to be high (Breakspear, 2012). However, this paper cannot verify this claim. The market position has not gained ground in the ITE program. Core values distinguished through the Nordic model for education and Norwegian Teacher Education are apparently preserved through a perspective

on knowledge that is legitimated according to social inclusion, strong governmental control, equality, and *bildung*. However, the finding of a pedagogical schizoid identity in “Norway” through the introduction of such concepts as expected learning outcome and quality measuring systems indicates that new discourses are entering the educational field. “OECD” has an open agenda to merge economic and educational resources. This paper reaffirms a non-linear line from “OECD” to the national framework plan, but it is not possible to say anything about the general impact of globalization on Norwegian teacher education. Therefore, future research should focus on investigating the OECD’s and other international agents’ impact on policy documents in Norwegian Teacher Education. However, the findings in this paper indicate that the Nordic education model is still a persistent part of Norwegian teacher education. At the same time, it verifies the emergence of new discourses and questions a future invisible change where a word can have different meanings and shape different pedagogical identities.

Disclosure statement

The author has no competing interests to declare.

Endnotes

¹ The German word *bildung* is used as the translation for the Norwegian word *danning*.

² PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment.

³ The Bologna process is a comprehensive international collaboration in higher education in Europe that started in 1999. This cooperation is also called the European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

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Author Details

Monika Merket is an Associate Professor in Pedagogy at the Institute for Teacher Education at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). Her main research interest is teacher education, the relation between university and practice, and mentoring of students in practice. In this context, how global agents, such as the OECD, have impacted Norwegian Teacher Education and its practical training has been of particular interest.

E-mail address: monika.merket@ntnu.no

ORCID-ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1959-6620>