Globalization and Citizenship Education

A case study on recent education reforms in Norway

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Abstract

Situated in a climate of dramatic changes in worldwide educational policies over the last 25 years, my thesis aimed to uncover how globalization and neoliberalism have affected Norwegian education for citizenship through a qualitative collective case study. The chosen theoretical framework was based on Ecological Systems Theory. The relevant comparative dimensions were the Steiner Waldorf School and the Public School in Norway. Education policy documents, books and articles were analyzed through a critical discourse analysis in order to gain a comprehensive picture of developments in citizenship education over the last 25 years. Fieldwork was also conducted whereby 12 participants (teachers, lecturers) were interviewed regarding their perceptions on the influences of globalization on citizenship education at a global level (macrosystem), at the level of the education system (exosystem) and at the individual and social level (mesosystem).

The results indicated that globalization and the inherent neoliberal ideology have affected the education system through the policy indicators of accountability-based governance, decentralization, New Public Management, the culture of educational measurement and competences. Disparities and variations in viewpoints were uncovered in the Public School, while the Steiner Waldorf School appeared to be increasingly affected by educational measurement and competences. In addition, the Steiner Waldorf School was heavily influenced by social dimensions related to intellectual weighing/measurement, and ICT. On the basis of these findings the outlooks for citizenship education are discussed within the relevant theoretical framework and literature. A main argument made is that accountability-based governance, the culture of educational measurement and competences as the basis of citizenship education may be insufficient to counter social and environmental challenges.

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1 Introduction: Globalization, Citizenship and the Nation State

This study investigates the institutional dynamics of globalization and citizenship education in Norway, in which I will be comparing two schools systems: The Public School and the Steiner Waldorf School. The research strategy and methodology is a collective qualitative case study that takes place in and around Oslo, Norway.

1.1 Background of Study: The Education Act, the Nordic Model and Ideological Shifts

The purpose of education, according to the Norwegian Education Act § 1-1 (Opplæringslova, 1998), is the following (authors translation):

> Education should be built on fundamental values in Christian and Humanistic heritage and tradition, like the respect for the value of humans and nature, on freedom of spirit, love for others, forgiveness, equity and solidarity, values that are also expressed in the many religions and views on life and that are founded in Human Rights (Opplæringslova, 1998, § 1-1).

Norway has traditionally sworn to uphold values connected with the Nordic welfare model (Antikainen, 2006), values that are reflected in The Education Act stated above (Opplæringslova, 1998). This model has, in academic literature, been associated with the social democratic tradition. Equity, participation, and welfare are the main goals and ideals inherent in the Nordic model (Antikainen, 2006).

In the period following the Second World War, the education system in Norway has been characterized by rapid expansion (Jensen 1999). This expansion, closely connected with the worldwide industrial and technological development, was met with radical critique from the 1960s (Telhaug, 1994). Nonetheless, the Norwegian education system underwent significant

reforms and structural adjustments from 1950 – 1970 (Telhaug, 1994). Telhaug (1994) claims that, from 1970, political and civic engagement decreased (Telhaug, 1994, p. 387).

The rapid expansion of the education system in Norway can be seen in relation to the phenomenon of globalization, one that is fundamentally connected with free trade and cultural exchanges between nations (Olssen, 2004). Such exchanges have accelerated with the help of new communication technologies spreading worldwide (Webster, 2010). A recent economic shift since the 1970s to the corporate-driven forms of market that privilege multinational corporations has defined the nature of the current form of globalization (Olssen, 2004). As a result, globalization has taken an ideological turn in the last 30-40 years, which is reflected in the shifting of economic power from the public and local sphere to the global and private one (Ball,2013). Powerful multinational educational organizations such as the OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO as well as other companies and organizations are increasingly defining the public policies in education within nations worldwide (Ball,2013).

As an ideology, neoliberalism has been seen as a major driving force in this global economic policy change within the education sector (Ball, 2013). This form of ideology could potentially lead to a set of challenges, including posing a challenge to democracy, equality, public education and citizenship education (Giroux, 2012; Torres, 1998). According to Ball (2013), neoliberalism brings reforms that propose business-like models to be implemented in schools and makes schools resemble companies, which lies at the core of the neoliberal shift. This business model increases competition between schools and pupils. It also leads to increased pressure on teachers (Ball, 2013).

The neoliberal policy movement, also known as the 'Global Education Reform Movement' (GERM), has been claimed to create competition and privatization rather than educating for the cultural good and and social cohesion in schools worldwide (National Union of Teachers, 2015). Researchers also find that this movement erodes traditional human, cultural, and religious values, leaving humans as market actors stripped of their free will and leaving them prone to be exploited by the will of the market (Dufour, 2008). If not adapted to the national context, globalization, with its implied neoliberal ideology, may lead to increasing divisions, polarization and extremism (Carnoy, 1999).

The influences of more human-oriented transnational institutions, such as UNESCO, UNICEF as well as NGOs (Samoff, 2013), must also be recognized. The ways of thinking that these actors represent may, in the same manner as neoliberalism, influence nations through a particular form of globalization outlined by Olssen (2004), leading to an increased interconnectedness between different parts of the world (through trade, cultural exchanges). Nonetheless, the World Bank, claimed to represent a neoliberal ideology, has "effectively eclipsed UNESCOs education influence" (Samoff, 2013, p. 63). Furthermore, UNESCO "has lost much of its advisory role to the World Bank" since the 1990s (Samoff, 2013, p. 63). In addition, local traditions of citizenship and educational governance may run counter to or mediate humanistic, economic, and neoliberal influences through increased state control resulting from globalization (Codd, Olssen & O'Neill, 2004).

Norway is situated in Western Europe. According to certain literature, Norway has been influenced by neoliberalism since the 1970s (Karlsen, 2006). At this moment of history, neoconservative and neoliberal political movements have gained ground in the United States and Britain. This also inspired the Nordic states and several other countries worldwide in adopting a corporate structure to the public sector (Ball, 2013; Karlsen, 2006; Telhaug, 1994). The adoption of this new structure has led to a type of policy named 'restorative' education policies (Telhaug, 1994).

Literature suggests that after the reforms in the 1980s and structural and cultural changes that were put into practice from the beginning of the 1990s,, the education system in Norway has seen an accelerated growth in the direction of neoliberalism (Antikainen, 2006; Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Telhaug & Mediås, 2003; Telhaug, 1994, 2006; Trippestad, 2009; Volckmar, 2004; Wiborg, 2013). These reform efforts during the 1980s and the 1990s seem to have many political dimensions, amongst them decentralization of responsibilities (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Myhre, 1997), New Public Management (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Solhaug, 2011), and the accountability-based model of governance can be perceived to have been gaining ground (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Karlsen, 2006). The accountability-based model of educational governance means that the schools will account for results rather than for process-oriented learning (Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008) to a greater extent. Despite the structural and cultural changes taking place during the 1990s, Norway has proved to be more resilient to the adoption of neoliberal reforms than the other Nordic countries (Wiborg, 2013). In support of this view, and despite the influences from the restorative movement, social

democratic progressivism could still be present in the education sector. This presence is idicated by the fact that the knowledge and state in Norway are directed by these traditional influences (Aasen, Prøitz & Sandberg, 2014).

1.1.1   Personal Reflections

I too have been a part of the Norwegian public education system over the years as a pupil and student, and now as a teacher, researcher, and facilitator of peace education community programs for crime and violence prevention. From my own experience, I have witnessed significant challenges throughout this time. My main concern is what I perceive as a decreasing sense of community and a devaluation of the Norwegian welfare-oriented values such as equality, tolerance and respect for different socio-economic backgrounds and cultures in the schools. From my own experience of attending Norwegian schools, there is an increasing sense of alienation in modern capitalist society. Moreover, there are indications of problems with democracy and freedom of speech in the Norwegian schools. This can be exemplified through the recent headlines based on a study in Norway, which reflect that two out of three school headmasters are unable to state their opinions about Norwegian schools to authorities. This could indicate a lack in freedom of speech (Johansen, 2015). The finding from this study makes one prone to question the current state of affairs in the Norwegian schools in regard to citizenship and democracy.

My core concern and motivation for doing this research is that globalization and the neoliberal ideology it brings pose more of a challenge to the traditional welfare system of education and social cohesion in Norway than previously acknowledged. If this is the case, it underlines the importance of conducting research on the possible impacts of these ideologies on a local level.

Local Context of Citizenship Education

The focus on competences, especially in the last education reform of Knowledge Promotion (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004) have been claimed to point to a market-led shift (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). Competence as a concept has recently been criticized in light of the traditional citizenship education ideal in Norway (Willbergh, 2015). Despite the Public School system and the Steiner Waldorf school system sharing a common orientation based on

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the curriculum of Knowledge Promotion (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004) and being based on the Education Act (Opplæringslova, 1998), they both appear to have different pedagogical foundations of citizenship education. In addition, the Steiner Waldorf School is a 'free school', which means that it depends on state-support to function (Eriksen, 2008). On this basis, it appears reasonable to consider the fact that the Steiner Waldorf School may be equally subject to influences from globalization and neoliberalism as the Public School.

The main idea behind citizenship education in the Steiner Waldorf School is anthroposophy, which essentially means a focus on the human in learning (En lærerplan for Steinerskolene, 2014). The purpose of education in the Steiner Waldorf School is not goal oriented to the extent of that in the Public School. Anthroposophy is explained under the heading 'The spiritual foundation of Steiner pedagogy': "The antroposophy relates to human, community and nature on a spiritual as well as in a material manner" (En lærerplan for Steinerskolene, 2014, p.4). In addition, the Steiner Waldorf School appears to increasingly focus on creativity and artistic education in comparison with the Public School, although the approach also appears to have a scientific grounding for their views (Mazzone, 2010).

In exploring how these school systems are coping with the influence of globalization and neoliberalism, it may be possible to uncover how particular forms of citizenship education work or interact with neoliberal influences. Furthermore, my research may explain how the schools are preserving the traditions of democracy and welfare-oriented values such as equality, participation and community building (all related to citizenship and the Education Act) in a climate where neoliberal economic policies can be seen to be gaining ground.

1.2   Aim of Study

In the context of radical changes in Norwegian education over the last 25 years, this study aims to investigate the extent to which the education system has taken a neoliberal turn by means of globalization, and how this is reflected in education for citizenship. This will be explored from the viewpoints of lecturers and teachers in the Public School and in the Steiner Waldorf School.

This is thought to further uncover the extent to which Norway, with its populist and social democratic values, has been resistant to the neoliberal ideals implied in the 'restorative' education policy movement and to other influences of globalization.

1.2.1   Rationale

This problem statement is important as it could be used as a tool to uncover how Norway is continually adapting to the influences of globalization and international policy changes in a possible neoliberal socio-economic climate. This could inform future policy directions and research related to the adaptation and response to international and global influences. Hopefully, my thesis could inform future research and policy which could enhance the manner Norway would adapt to, change, or reform education policies in response to globalization.

What follows are specific research questions based on this purpose.

Research Questions

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

2. What role have Teacher Training Colleges had in mediating/promoting these policy indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism in the regular schools?

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

I will attempt to answer the above problem statements with a qualitative research strategy, using a collective case study.

The assumption here is that the Teacher Training Colleges have a great deal of influence in the education of teachers: The education that teachers receive will affect how they cope with influence of globalization.

Another important aspect is worth noting in the research questions (question 1 in particular): The global influence may not be recognized over a short timespan (days, weeks), but rather throughout the years. Accordingly, the focus on educational reforms over a certain timeframe may uncover global influence as educational policies may reflect globalization and neoliberalism.

1.3   Limitations

One important limitation in this study concerns methodology. It needs to be noted that the validity of this study would have been stronger if more stakeholders had been interviewed. For example, the perspectives of school headmasters and politicians can greatly contribute to understanding how globalization and neoliberalism affect citizenship education in the current policy climate at the levels of exosystem (school system) and macrosystem (international and national system). Hopefully, my study could contribute to future research that would be able to further analyze similar problem statements in relation to the meso, exo and macro levels (these levels will be specified in a later section).

A more in-depth look at the possible limitations of this study with regards to methodological considerations will be offered in chapter 3, on methodology.

2 Review of International Literature on Globalization and Citizenship Education

This chapter will present the international perspectives and influences on citizenship education. These influences are thought to have affected the general outlook on citizenship education in the Western world.

The current chapter is structured to provide an overview of the key concepts that I will use in my thesis; namely globalization and citizenship education. What follows will be a more detailed section classified into the mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem, which explain the influences of globalization and neoliberalism with a focus on education reforms in Norway.

In the context of my thesis, mesosystem means the level of the individual and the school community. The exosystem means the level of the education system on a national level. The macrosystem will mean the level of the national and international system. This framework is also used later in the chapter on developments in Norway over the last 25 years (chapter 4).

This thesis will utilize the broad concepts of globalization, neoliberalism and citizenship education. This chapter is intended to present how these concepts and realities may affect citizenship education, ending with an abbreviated theoretical framework. A later chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of the Norwegian context. Initially, however, the background and context of educational change in some parts of Europe, and a general introduction to the Norwegian context, will be provided.

2.1 The Background of Education Change in Western-Europe and Norway

From the 1970s and onwards right-wing governments increasingly gained ground in central countries such as the United States and Britain. From about 1980, Ronald Reagan and

Margaret Thatcher came to power, representing a neo-conservative government in these countries (Karlsen, 2006).

In Europe, a political climate dominated by social democratic thinking in many countries was soon to undergo a transformation (Telhaug, 1994) For example, the economy was rapidly becoming weaker in England during the 1970s, reflecting an 'inner crisis' marked by labor strikes, increasing crime rates, and a general decline of social and moral values (Telhaug, 1994, p. 378). This was a time where the individualistic, competition-oriented free enterprise constituted the new values inherent in the free market that was to dominate the coming decades (Telhaug, 1994). This market-led logic also had particular impacts on the education system (Ball, 2008).

New education reforms were implemented in 1979 by the neo-conservative Thatcher-led government (Ball, 2008). New Labor continued to expand these policies into the rhetoric of transformation, modernization and enterprise, which were among the key aspects of education and reform in the public sector (Ball, 2008).

These policy changes became widespread in countries that had previously adhered to socially democratic values (Ball, 2013). New Zealand, the Nordic states, and post-Soviet states all initiated reforms in education (Telhaug, 1994). This development can be seen as a reflection of the Global Education Reform Movement, explained by Stephen Ball (2013).

The major factor that defined Norwegian education after the Second World War was the rapid expansion of the education system (Telhaug, 1994). The reason for this was economic growth followed by the re-building of the nation state after the war (Telhaug, 1994).

Norway was no exception to the rule with regards to the implementation of market-led reforms. In Norway, the right-wing reforms started as early as 1976, which challenged the social democratic tradition in the country (Telhaug, 1994). These reforms came as a result of a weakened private sector, and a low gross national product (Telhaug, 1994). The right- wing party in Norway ("Høyre") formed a government with Kåre Willoch in 1981 (Karlsen 2006), which marked a period of right-wing political governance (Telhaug, 1994). Still, Norway has, to some degree, been resilient to the influences of what has been labeled 'new', or 'restorative' neoliberal influence. Despite of this, neoliberalism appears to have significant

influence on the education system (Telhaug, 1994; Wiborg, 2013). Furthermore, some research also highlights how Norway has been preserving the Nordic model reflected in the values of equity, participation and welfare (Antikainen, 2006). The aspects of this neoliberal policy influence will be specified later in the chapter on policy developments in Norway.

Prior to the right-wing reforms in Norway, there were already rapid protests of the nine-year inclusive, equality-based Public School that was implemented in 1975 (Jensen, 1999). These protests came from groups that were in a position of socio-economic disadvantage, or adhered to traditional lifestyles (Jensen, 1999). These protests reflected heavy debates on the forming of education in Norway from 1976 (Jensen, 1999). Interestingly, these protests came to a halt during the 1970s due to the fact that the majority of pupils and students chose the disco culture instead of being politically engaged (Telhaug, 1994, p. 86). This proves the importance of, and the power of community engagement (and the lack thereof).

2.2 Key Concepts

2.2.1 Globalization

Globalization has been defined by several authors (see Eriksen, 2014; Carnoy, 1999; Olssen, 2004). There continues to be considerable discussion around the meaning and nature of globalization (Dale, 2007). Several definitions have attempted to cover the concept. Below is given what could be considered a comprehensive definition of globalization:

> A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough & Halsey, 2006, p.30).

Eriksen's (2014) central assumption relating to globalization appears to support the above definition, as technological communication includes space-time compression: One central concept that relates to globalization is referred to as the 'disembedding' of communication, which essentially means separating communication from the traditional space-time (i.e. that

takes place in a normal, everyday conversation). Instead, technology brings communication into a form of 'hyper reality', such as chatting over the Internet and other telecommunication networks (Eriksen, 2014).

On a broader level, the most common features of globalization appear to be processes such as the integration of the world economy, new information and communication technologies, the presence of an international knowledge network, the increasing role of English language and forces beyond control of academic institutions (Schugurensky, 2013).

In the field of economics, a classic distinction has been made between globalization types 1 and 2. Type 1 has been mostly connected to the trading of physical assets, while type 2 has been the abstract form of globalization exemplified through the abstraction of communication. The first form of globalization (type 1) is also elaborated in terms of "increased speed and volume of private trans-border transactions, especially related to capital and communication systems" and "New developments in technology, which have assisted mobility of cross border flows, increasing possibility of transport" (Olssen, 2004 p. 263). Conversely, globalization type 2 refers to:

> ..the replacement of the Bretton Woods agreement with neoliberal orthodoxy (open boarders, floating exchange rates, abolition of capital controls, etc.), deregulation and liberalization of government policy and establishment of highly integrated private transnational systems of alliances, privatization and marketization; the establishment of central banks (i.e. the European Central Bank) which reside within countries but adopt a market-independent monetary policy and which are largely autonomous from political interference. Also, the growth of private international authorities, including consultants, advisors and globalization specialists (Olssen, 2004 p.263).

According to Olssen (2004), globalization type 1 leads to increased interconnectedness, while the second type of leads to a separation of financial institutions from the wider society. This is exemplified by the fact that central banks residing within countries (like the European Central Bank) operate without political interference in their financial activities. This could mean that these institutions are not accountable to any authorities. This could serve the neoliberal ideal of institutions such as banks, and not the people.

In relation to education, the spread of knowledge is a very central aspect of globalization: The flow of capital depends on information, communication and knowledge on a global basis (Carnoy, 1999). Knowledge is easily transferred to other parts of the world, making it a part of globalization (Carnoy, 1999). Carnoy (1999) further assumes that "if knowledge is fundamental to globalization, globalization should also have a profound impact on the transmission of knowledge" (p.14). According to Carnoy, globalization impacts both the policy level of the education system at the national level, as well as on the educational delivery on the local classroom level.

According to Hovdenak and Stray, there are three ways to understand the globalization of education, (2015). The first is to understand it as an empirical fact that describes the changes that have taken place in the world. The second way of understanding is to perceive globalization as an ideology that covers power and political interests. The third manner of understanding is in terms of a social construction that expresses the way in which people understand their identities and possibilities as global citizens.

In my thesis, I argue that all three are relevant perspectives to be considered when researching how globalization influences local education systems. What I consider especially relevant is the role of power and political interest. Power and political interests often manifest in finance-driven reforms, which will be explained later.

2.2.2 Neoliberalism

If one assumes the standpoint of Carnoy (1999), that globalization would also impact the transmission of knowledge, then this would indicate that globalization and the transmission of knowledge are two separate processes. This suggests that globalization facilitates the spread of knowledge in a more rapid form (through, for example, ICT).

A different question is what *type* of knowledge and norms are being increasingly disseminated as a result of globalization. What emerges as important in this regard is that globalization has an ideological dimension in the form of neoliberalism, as has been highlighted by many researchers (Carnoy, 1999; Lauder et al., 2006, Hovdenak & Stray, 2015).

As a result, one may separate the form of globalization mentioned above (integration of the world economy, increasing information technologies and so forth) with an ideological agenda closely tied to globalization. This ideological agenda, known as neoliberalism, directs the global economy in a particular manner (Carnoy, 1999). This ideology is used as a driving force of globalization through particular policy changes, which, in turn, steer globalization in a particular direction through its ideological packaging (Carnoy, 1999). This ideological agenda appears to be closely connected with 'globalization type 2' explained by Olssen (2004) (see above).

Lauder et al. (2006) cite Hirst and Thompson (1999:2), claiming that globalization is a construct that conveys a particular neoliberal agenda. Seen from a historical perspective, Hirst and Thompson (1999:2), point out that current the global economy is, in many ways, less integrated and open than the system that prevailed from 1870 - 1914 (Lauder et al., 2006, p. 31).

With this background in mind, neoliberalism (although being a term widely used) has been properly defined. Neoliberalism:

> Is treated neither as a concrete economic doctrine nor as a definite set of political projects. Rather, I treat neoliberalism as a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around certain imagination of the 'market' as a basis for 'the universalization of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or practice of commodification, capital-accumulation and profit-making' (Ball 2013 p.3, citing Shamir, 2008 p.3).

The role of globalization has in many ways been a means to achieve economic success for international corporations and companies (Giroux, 2012). This has been a result of certain writings that have inspired this form of development. For example, through his book, "The World is Flat: The Globalized World in the Twenty-first Century", Thomas L. Friedman (Friedman, 2007) has inspired companies and world leaders to adopt market-oriented thinking and to adapt this thinking into social institutions. These institutions were traditionally a responsibility of the state, as a means to providing education, healthcare,

electricity and so forth. According to the neoliberal ideal, the state would only serve the market in order to advance commercialization (Lauder et al., 2006).Accordingly, we can sense a shift in regard to the role of the state in providing public services through the restructuring of the state in a neoliberal policy climate (Lauder et al., 2006).

Neolibeal Globalization and the Global Spread of Knowledge

Through the spread of Information and Communication Technologies ICT, globalization has contributed to the disembedding of time and space in terms of communication and knowledge transmission (Carnoy, 1999; Eriksen, 2014). This resulted in a significant impact of the global market economy and globalization upon nation states. Upon encountering this, some local groups feel pressured to find different cultural identities that are not reflected in the market (Carnoy, 1999). For example, this may lead groups who feel threatened by globalization to oppose it (Eriksen, 2014). In extreme cases, people may turn to extremism, either religious or cultural forms of extremism (Carnoy, 1999).

Knowledge and education possess an incredible power in upholding prevailing cultural values for all groups (Carnoy, 1999). The importance of including all groups represented in a society is clearly stated by Carnoy:

> The education system has enormous resources devoted to knowledge formation for dominant groups. Why should not education in a democratic society serve all groups, even those that differ markedly from the ideal of the new, competitive, globally sensitive worker? It is no accident that much of the struggle, for example, between religious fundamentalists and the secular, rational state, is over state education (Carnoy,1999, p.80).

It would be natural to include all groups in a democratic society, and anyway, is important to maintain stability and to avoid social divisions. When turning attention to education, one can see that standardized testing and decentralization are two policy changes that closely relate to the ideology of neoliberalism and economic globalization in general (Ball, 2013; Carnoy, 1999). The reason that these policies could pose a threat to democracy is the market-led thinking that is inherent in these policies (Giroux, 2012). This leads to market-led forces to govern education at the expense of state control (Giroux, 2012). Though competition may not

be a negative aspect for the market in itself, it may not be appropriate as a leading policy in educational institutions, nor as a governing principle in the social sphere.

The purpose of the implementation of decentralization policies is well formulated by Carnoy (1999, p.38): "If the local educational authorities see themselves and are seen as responsible for educational delivery, reformers reason, educational quality will improve". This assumption may be questioned (Carnoy, 1999): Decentralization may increase the burden of responsibility for teachers by making them increasingly responsible for the outcomes of test-results. This is in addition to working through the curriculum, as well as providing general citizenship education for the pupils. This means increased workload for the teachers in their daily activities.

The basis for these policy reforms (aspects related to competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, standardized testing and decentralization, amongst others) has been referred to as the Global Education 'Reform' Movement, or GERM (National Union of Teachers, 2015). This movement poses a challenge to high-quality public education through the imposition of a business model (National Union of Teachers, 2015), including test-based accountability, performance-related rewards, and attacks on teaching unions. The specific mechanisms used by GERM to reform education are testing, technology, the weakening of teachers' collective professional voice and the promotion of corporate capitalism (Ball, 2013). In this manner, education may move away from benefiting the public good and educating students for thoughtful and critical citizenship (Giroux, 2012). Consequently, education aims instead at producing consumers (Giroux, 2012). The GERM movement affects nearly every country in the world (Ball, 2013). The OECD, the World Bank as well as other organizations that operate as non-state actors promote these policy changes. The OECD imposes policies on nations which relate to the human capital perspective. This perspective has close ties with the knowledge economy (Grek, 2009).

The phenomenon of the global education reform movement seems to have originated in the New Rights movement in England during the 1970s (Ball, 2008; Hovednak & Stray, 2015). The neoliberal ideal was the major incentive of policy shifts in England, which also served as a model for other European nations (Ball, 2013, Hovdenak & Stray, 2015).

In the Scandinavian context, Sweden has seen increasing neo-liberal changes, coupled with issues of immigration. It started out with a model of liberal multiculturalism in the 1970s. Later, an increase in neo-liberal policies merging with neo-conservative communitarianism (closely connected with radical anti-immigration, securitization and the global war on terror) led to street riots in sub-urban areas (Schierup & Alund, 2011). France and Denmark struggle with the same issues of radical anti-immigration populist parties in the political arena, as well as heavy critique of multiculturalism (Schierup & Alund, 2011).

To counter this form of development, it may be argued that benefiting the public good and being a unifying institution through education for citizenship in the community should be a central role for schools. The market-led ideology as promoted by neoliberalism falls short in the creation of equality in citizenship, as well as justice in the market and in the community (Centre for Labour and Social Studies, 2013). This ideology, reflected in policies, seems to deliberately exclude these aspects in the favor of competition in and between schools.

This is particularly interesting in the context of Norway, where the more rapid appearance of neoliberal thinking appeared to become more explicit with the reform of Knowledge Promotion in 2004 (Hovednak & Stray, 2015). Furthermore, neoliberal policies could interact with Norwegian education policies that are traditionally rooted in the social democratic tradition, and are often connected with the values inherent in the Nordic model.

Despite Norway's commitment to the Nordic model, there is no doubt that neoliberalism appears as a widespread ideology on the international arena, which is reflected throughout the literature on comparative and international education (Arnove, Franz & Torres, 2013; Lauder et al.,, 2006). This points to the importance of assessing the impact of this ideology at the community level, while also acknowledging that local policies may also be classified as neoliberal. The particular influence of neoliberalism and other indicators inherent in globalization throughout the last 25 years will be explored in more depth over the following chapters.

What follows is a short explanation of the most central indicators of a theoretical framework that can comprehensively analyse the Norwegian case. This will serve as an outline of how the indicators and dimensions inherent in globalization and neoliberalism affect the policy

climate in the Norwegian educational context. However, first it would be natural to explore how citizenship education relates to globalization and neoliberalism.

2.2.3   Citizenship Education

Citizenship education could be seen as one of the basic elements of education, as the purpose of citizenship education is to define the relationship between the individual and the state (Fogel & Zarrow, 1997). This means that citizenship education grants citizens specific values to adhere to in order to become a member of their society. The concept of citizenship originates from ancient Greece (Fogel & Zarrow, 1997). Accordingly, the concept of citizenship is a Western concept, not an Eastern concept. The subject as citizen was an idea that was promoted by Aristotle (Fogel & Zarrow, 1997).

The main point Aristoteles made was that citizenship education doesn't simply consist of providing skills to prepare students for the labor market (techne). He emphasized the concept phronesis as part of citizenship education (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). Phronesis is based on the cardinal deeds, and relates to what we could think of in modern society as traditional values like respect, patience and dignity. In essence, becoming a caring citizen who contributes to the wellbeing of society was the main idea behind phronesis. The concept of phronesis could resemble certain values inherent in traditional citizenship education in Norway, as phronesis relates to Bildung (Green, 2012) –which is the root of Norwegian citizenship education (Willbergh, 2015): "In Bildung as an educational concept, the idea of teacher and student autonomy is the fundamental bridge between school and real life and school and future" (Willbergh, 2015, p. 341). Additionally, the concept of Bildung means responsibility and ethical reasoning (Willbergh, 2015). Traditional citizenship in Norway, which is in accordance with social democratic principles (Willbergh, 2015), could have been challenged by the goal-oriented neoliberal ideal that has formed education since the 1970s (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015).

Citizenship education has to be contextualized in the particular socio-political environment in which it takes place. It is not enough to merely think of citizenship education as "one size fits all". This is particularly true when considering the historical fact of colonization and the inequalities that result from globalization (Peters & Britton, 2008). Moreover, the current

challenges of emerging globalism, conflicts and migration must also be taken into consideration when discussing citizenship education in a particular context (Peters & Britton, 2008).

A considerable volume of research has connected citizenship with globalization, often reflected in terms such as 'global citizenship education'. One very important aspect with regards to the new rhetoric of 'global citizenship education' is the question of what it means to be a global citizen (White & Openshaw, 2005). Is it a realistic practice to achieve, or just political rhetoric?

One could go as far as to say that the current ideas of citizenship education could be named political socialization (Peters & Britton, 2008). Its roots in Western democratic thinking has led to the belief that 'global citizenship education' will lead to the increased rights of individuals and that all social groups are protected by governments around the world (Peters & Britton, 2008).

Global citizenship education could conceivably mean a form of citizenship whereby a typical citizen bears the responsibility for the whole world's problems. If citizenship is limited to a form of political discourse that upholds the neoliberal globalized economy as argued by Peters & Britton (2008), then 'global citizenship education' could surely be the way to go as the basis for forming education.

If, in contrast, citizenship education meant a response to the more immediate environment such as the challenges faced by local communities, then this form of citizenship education could be worth the attention of governments and educational authorities. At present, there is a pressing need for skills to engage and participate in handling challenges in civil communities, and, as highlighted by D. R. Cole (2012), in particular those struck by the ongoing economic crisis (Wrigley, Lingard & Thomson, 2012).

One approach would be for schools to arrange inclusive community activities, or a general awareness raising on the current social, environmental and economic problems in the school communities and in broader society (Wrigley et al., 2012). Critical peace education is an example of this type of approach, and one which is specifically adapted to handle the contemporary challenges in society (Brantmeyer, 2013).

Indeed, an educational alternative to the neoliberal model and its manifestation within educational institutions that focus on testing and shallow learning is needed (Wrigley et al., 2012). What is needed is a form of education that is active, hands-on, practical and relevant, which includes the use of peace education and environmental education (Evans, Whitehouse, & Hickey, 2012; Wrigley et al., 2012). I argue in line with this approach that the meaning of citizenship education must include the meaning of critical peace education and transformation pedagogies, beyond "becoming political".

On this basis, I will limit the meaning of citizenship education to refer to pupils and students receiving the education needed to handle the immediate issues of social and environmental problems in and around their local school communities. This will go beyond the meaning of political terms like 'democratic citizenship' or 'global citizenship education'.

This does not mean excluding the aspect of democracy as an important part of citizenship education. The main point here is that I will focus on aspects of citizenship that go beyond the dimension of democratic participation, to include awareness and consciousness of the pupils' role in the communities and what they can do to improve it socially and environmentally.

A new pedagogical approach would have to include moral obligations towards future generations, as well as recognizing the intrinsic value of nature (Postma, 2002). This pedagogical approach should be free of the liberal conceptions and rhetoric of "sustainable development", which mostly revolves around what people can do to improve the environment in their daily activities, and can be seen as lacking in long-term thinking and planning (Postma,2002).

One example of an educational approach is the integration of peace education with a continual reflection on the self, which extends to an increase in environmental awareness (Brantmeyer, 2013). This implies increasing consciousness through dialogue about different types of violence, imagining non-violent alternatives (in social, economic and political spheres), empowerment (like conflict resolution, critical thinking and inner peace), and transformative action through direct practice (Brantmeyer, 2013). The policy dimensions of

this environmental education would have to sustain small communities as well as the rural communities (Alston, 2002; Brantmeyer, 2013).

Defining Citizenship Education in a Complex Society

This recent concept of an international approach to create an international, multicultural, or global citizen originates from the global challenges that face the world: Not only are local communities experiencing social and environmental challenges, but so are the local communities at the other side of the planet. Whether there is a war breaking out, or the risk a nuclear power plant melting down, people across different parts of the world will simultaneously be at risk. As a result, some researchers and policy documents argue that there is a need for individuals to participate and take responsibility for challenges that are increasingly larger than themselves and their communities.

The idea of creating this global citizen is one approach when defining citizenship education. Moreover, UNESCO is one actor on the international scene that has defined citizenship education from another angle in order to tackle contemporary challenges (neoliberal capitalism, technology and the integration of ethnic minorities). UNESCO (2014) defines the concept as educating pupils for becoming active and responsible members in the local community, and to prepare them to participate in problems and challenges that arise in their communities. These challenges could mean ecological and social problems (UNESCO, 2014).

From reviewing international literature on citizenship education within the field of comparative and international education, one particular definition appeared to be very comprehensive, taking into account the current state of affairs and challenges. From this perspective, citizenship education is defined as "the system of values, efforts and institutionalized practices required for creating and maintaining conditions for living together in a complex society" (Petrovic & Kurtz, 2014 p. xiii citing Dimitrov & Boyadijeva).

This definition substantiates the fact that specific forms of values, efforts and practices must be adapted to the current complex society. This must take place in order to handle the issues of migration and identity confusion, technological influences, and the crisis of capitalism that we witness today.

Petrovic and Kurtz (2014) argue that the contextual factors required for the complex society is what constitutes the idea of citizenship. This seems like a very reasonable approach: The idea of citizenship is as important as ever, although the old paradigms of local citizenship do not work in the same way as they once did. How one can only be a citizen belonging to one particular minority group when society consists of many ethnic groups is one of the complex factors to which Petrovic and Kurtz refer. Additionally, Petrovic and Kurtz (2014) refer to the complex society as the nation state and the global society, also emphasizing the importance of challenging the larger socio-political context as a part of citizenship education.

A further area of concern is how globalization and the neoliberal hegemony influences citizenship education. This crosses to the 'tension areas' relating to identity and belonging, as well as on the influence of globalization. It has been argued that national identities are becoming more obscure as a result of migration (Ganz, 2005). Moreover, the influence of neoliberal capitalism complicates the rights implied in citizenship. This is well formulated by Ganz (2005):

> Two aspects of globalization have implications for citizenship. First, the movement of people across national boundaries to live and work calls into question issues of national identity and belonging, of membership in a polity, and of the rights that accrue to that membership. Second, a hallmark of globalization is the existence of transnational and multinational organizations that are overlays on national sovereignty. These exist in parallel with the nation state and both complicate and diffuse the rights and privileges that accrue to citizenship (Ganz,2005).

The residual effects of the "Crash of 08", or the global economic downturn of 2008 are still felt worldwide. This collapse was, according to popular literature, a result of an unsustainable neoliberal economic policy. On top of this comes the rise of fascism and islamophobia in the public discourse, even merging with politics in some European nations (M. Cole, 2012). This may relate to alienation and the risk of increasing divisions between social groups (Carnoy, 1999). In general, a risk society is implied in this climate, a climate where citizenship education must take place.

A fight for the future is emerging, as to what kind of society we value. This is where education for citizenship versus education to form consumers are the two directions that

appear offered (Ball, 2012). This is crucial act upon and research, if we want to uphold public education that make a just, fair, and stable society where we are able to live together.

In conclusion, new perspectives are needed on citizenship education to handle issues at a local level, in order to make a global and local change. I argue that citizenship education must include the meaning of engagement and awareness in the local community as reflected in critical peace education (Brantmeyer, 2013). This goes beyond the form of citizenship with the inherent civil, political and social rights explained by Marshall (Torres, 1998).

To summarize, the definition that I will use for citizenship education will synthesize the understandings of Petrovic and Kurtz (2014) with that of Brantmeyer (2013), which would be a form of citizenship education in a complex society of the nation state that goes beyond the civil, political and social rights to include engagement and awareness in the local community sphere. The two approaches will be used in discussion of findings (chapter 6).

Albert Einstein once noted that a problem cannot be solved by the same level of thinking that created the very same problem. A parallel could thus be drawn with today's dominant social and economic situation. We must lift ourselves out of trying to save institutions and society from the current level of neoliberal thinking. On the basis of the preceding literature, it may be argued that only by raising awareness and engagement through education will it be possible to peacefully lift society out of the current social and ecological turmoil created by neoliberalism and the implied structural inequalities, poverty and crisis.

What follows is a point-by-point summary of this section.

- Citizenship education is a Western construct, starting with Aristoteles.
- Citizenship education later took different forms in attempting to handle the challenges facing modern society.
- Citizenship education must be seen in relation to particular political discourses that dominate in our age, amongst them neoliberalism and globalization, which stem from the age of colonialism and economic expansion from the West.
- The main focus for citizenship education for this thesis will be how schools in local communities educate pupils and students to participate in alleviating environmental

and social challenges in their immediate surroundings and school communities. This form of education should transcend current politically correct paradigms from terms like global citizenship education and democratic participation, and into the spheres of awareness of the self and the environment.

- Conditions such as the global economic crash and current environmental problems challenge this form of citizenship participation, as the current institutions attempt to survive and operate within the current socio-economic paradigm of neoliberalism.

2.3   Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework draws inspiration from a classic sociological model by Urie Bronfenbrenner (Patel, 2011). On the basis of the preceding general literature review, I chose to classify the main concepts into three different levels: Mesosystem (individual, community and social interactions), exosystem (the school system) and macrosystem (the international and national system). Some of these concepts reflect the policy-indicators of globalization and neoliberalism, while others are key issues or challenging aspects (dimensions) resulting from globalization that are reflected at a national level or at the institutional level.

These levels (macro-exo-meso) represent a model named Ecological Systems Theory, as proposed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (Patel, 2011). The model aims to describe the systems of interaction (i.e. family, home, institutions) that influence the development of the child (or human being):

> Within the frame of the bioecological theory, Bronfenbrenner defines development as "a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment" Development can further be defined as an individual's "evolving conception of the ecological environment and his relation to it, as well as the person's growing capacity to discover, sustain, or alter its properties (Patel, 2011).

In this model, a number of levels that affect the individual in relation to the society and institutions are presented. The characteristics of the three chosen levels are described below.

Macrosystem

In my study, the macro system is defined as "the culture, society, and belief systems that exist within the overarching social framework the child exists in" (Patel, 2011). On this basis, the macro system will be defined as the culture, society and belief systems that are thought to be a result or reflection of the level of national educational governance. These aspects (cultures, society and beliefs) are ideally reflected in the central educational policy statements.

Exosystem

In my study, the actors involved in the school will also include the lecturers at the Public Teacher Training Colleges who convey the cultures, social norms and beliefs from the macro level onto the teachers working in the regular schools. Drawing on works of Patel (2011), the exosystem is defined in my study as: "events that take place in settings in which the child does not actively participate. Although these events may not directly impact the child, they impact the settings in which the child is developing and thereby indirectly impact the child" (Patel, 2011). Accordingly, the exosystem will refer to the broader education system as it exists on a national level, including the Teacher Training Colleges. Throughout my thesis, I will use the term 'exosystem level' interchangeably with the abbreviation 'exo level' to explain the exosystem.

Mesosystem

In my thesis, I will include the micro-system level in the same category as meso-system level for practical reasons relating to analysis. I will use the following definition to characterize the micro system "The subsystem most proximal to the child (*microsystem*) includes factors such as biological or innate characteristics of the child" (Patel, 2011). As a result, the main focus on the micro-system will be on the psychosocial aspects relating to citizenship education for pupils in the home setting.

The meso system will be defined as "Relationships and interactions between settings in which a child functions (such as the home, school, and/or church)."(Patel, 2011).
Accordingly, the school and school communities (the actors involved at the school) will be defined as the mesosystem. One additional assumption also made regarding the meso level is that changes in learning take place through educational reforms. As a result, changes in citizenship education and democratic education occur through educational reforms, which appears to be an assumption by Ludvigsenutvalget (Sandsmark, 2014): Ludvigsenutvalget is an official policy committee initiated by the Ministry of Education that evaluates the degree

to which the Norwegian school system equips pupils with the skills and or/competences required for the future, and what changes have to be made in order for these to be realized.

From the three levels of the education system presented above, a theoretical framework was formed. This framework consisted of the policy indicators and dimensions that can be seen in Figure 1. It can be reasoned that these policy indicators and dimensions may overlap, making this framework complex and dynamic rather than linear. For example, governance, competences, measurement and inequalities may interconnect.

I decided to investigate perceptions of teachers who work in 10th grade at lower secondary schools. It appeared that very little research on citizenship education had been performed at this grade level. It is also assumed that citizenship education in the lower secondary school is of great importance. The reason for this is the well-known fact that pupils of this age (13-15) are particularly susceptible to external influences (like social pressure, norms, theory and factors that relate to globalization). The reason to investigate this particular level of education would be to uncover the institutional effects of globalization, and how it impacts the youth.

A central topic of the interviews was education reforms in relation to citizenship, and how these changes of citizenship may have affected the perceptions of teachers. It therefore proved relevant to inquire into the structures of the educational reforms documents, in order to identify changes with regards to citizenship education and influences of globalization. The specific curriculums related to reforms that were analyzed will be specified in chapter 3 and 4.

In my empirical study, the perceptions of teachers will primarily relate to the mesosystem level; individual and community in and around the institutions/schools and at the level of social interactions. Second, the exosystem concepts are the most relevant for the perceptions of lecturers at the Teacher Training Colleges. Lastly, the review from Norwegian policy documents, books and articles will closely relate to the macro level.

The following concepts are derived from, and build upon, the literature reviewed and presented. The goal of the following section is to briefly explain the main concepts to be used for data analysis of the policy developments in Norway, as well as for the data derived from my empirical work. I must mention that these points should be seen as factors that will

interfere with citizenship education in a complex society, in line with the definition of citizenship education.

Figure 1: Overview of Theoretical Framework: Complex Ecological Systems

Counter initiatives: Strikes, protests, reform practices

Social Interactions: Individual, School And Community

Education System

Global System

Psycho-social
Culture of competition

MESO

Equality, equity
Competences
Standardization
Culture of educational measurement
Teacher performance

EXO

Globalization
Neoliberalism
Competitiveness-driven reforms
Decentralization
Finance-driven reforms,
NPM
ICT
Governance

MACRO

Note: Levels of influences mainly run from the macro level. The opposition to reforms points 'outwards'. The circles explain the evolving conceptions of an individual's ecological environment. The arrows represent influences from globalization and neoliberalism.

2.3.1   Macro Level: International Level and National Governance

Globalization

The key concepts of globalization and neoliberalism (defined on page 10 and 13, respectively) will be used as policy indicators on a broad level for use in the data analysis (document analysis and empirical fieldwork).

Competitiveness-driven Reforms

Competition is central in a market-based concept, and appears to be the ideal of the neo-liberal economy (Ball, 2013). In education, this has taken the form of increasing competition

between pupils in terms of grades. It has also increased the competition between teachers and schools, as all education stakeholders have to keep up with the market-based standards (Ball, 2013).

Carnoy (1999) describes competitiveness-driven reforms in the following manner "Such reforms [competition-oriented reforms] attempt to improve the quantity and quality of skills in the labor force, including an increased emphasis on teaching science and mathematics, and on educational measurement to monitor and stimulate educational improvement" (Carnoy, 1999, p.61).

This is the comprehensive definition that I will adopt in order to analyze policy changes related to education reforms in Norway. In this regard, special attention is given to the aspect of monitoring and stimulation in education improvement. From an initial review of policy changes, this aspect appears to be most relevant in the Norwegian context (Telhaug, 2006).

Decentralization

Decentralization is mentioned as the primary element that characterizes competitiveness-driven reforms (Carnoy, 1999). Decentralization means the shift of governance from a central level to a local level. Essentially, this means a shift in governance from the state level to the municipal or school level. The definition that I have chosen for decentralization is derived from the writing of Martin Carnoy:

Where municipalities and, in some places, schools, are given greater educational autonomy in decision-making. The purpose of such reforms is to increase the control over curriculum and teaching methods of local communities and the teachers and principals of the schools themselves (Carnoy, 1999, p. 38).

One must keep in mind that decentralization is based on the assumption that increased flexibility and control leads to greater accountability for educational results (Carnoy, 1999, p. 38).

Equally, it must also be acknowledged that education systems are mostly not one thing or the other in respect to centralization and decentralization, but are a dynamic blend of both

approaches (Bray, 2013). Despite this, Norway has primarily gone through a process of decentralization since the 1960s (Telhaug, 2006), as will be explored later.

Finance-driven Reforms, Privatization

Finance-driven reforms are implemented by nations in order to adjust to the global economic climate. (Carnoy, 1999). These reforms are a result of what is referred to as 'structural adjustments' (Carnoy, 1999, p. 41). The main driver of these types of reforms is the IMF (International Monetary Fund) (Carnoy, 1999, p. 41). The aim with these reforms is to "reduce public spending" (Carnoy, 1999, p.42). This has taken the form of diverting public spending from higher to lower education, as lower education demands less public expenditure. It has also led to the privatization of higher and secondary education, as well as reducing the cost per student by increasing the classroom size (Carnoy, 1999 pp. 41-44). The following definition is derived from Carnoy, which I will use in my theoretical framework:

> Their [finance-driven reforms] main goal is to reduce public spending on education. Since their ultimate objective is the same as in competitiveness-driven reforms -to improve the productivity of labour -they are also concerned with improving the efficiency of resource use and educational quality (Carnoy, 1999, p. 42).

New Public Management

The content of New Public Management (NPM) is explained by Solhaug: "Key elements in NPM are hands-on management, a greater emphasis on output control and accountability systems, increased competition, devolution, a customer service orientation and private sector management techniques" (Solhaug, 2011, p.268). NPM is a market-oriented reform and management restructuring, which is in close alignment with both the competitiveness-driven reforms and privatization referred to by Carnoy (1999) and the definition of neoliberalism.

Educational Technology (ICT)

ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) implementation has been a central factor in the influence of globalization, both in society and in the education system (Carnoy, 1999; Schugurensky, 2013). In my research and fieldwork, ICT will primarily be defined to mean the internet, television and computers (Carnoy, 1999), yet also more recent

technologies like laptops, iPads, and smartphones will be included-. The definition will include the educational setting and outside the schools.

Models of Governance

The neoliberal policy changes explained above have been connected with the accountability model of educational governance; decentralization and standardized testing lead to increased accountability for the schools as well as for individuals (Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008). This contrasts with the traditional governance model in Norwegian education, which reflects an indirect control of curriculum through the use of a formal curriculum (Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008). This indirect model of educational governance with a formal curriculum allows for influences of globalization. This influence will also be dependent on the policy documents related to the reform of the national curriculum. In my thesis, I will specifically define models of governance to mean curricular work manifested in curriculum reforms (on a national level): "Shortly said, one can say that a curriculum provides a framework for goals and tasks for teaching and learning in the course of studies" (Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008, p.69).

2.3.2   Exosystem Level: Education System and Teacher Training Colleges

Equality, Equity

In a globalized and multicultural society, citizenship may be discussed in the context of democracy and equality (Olssen, 2004; Torres, 1998). Torres highlights Marshall's theory of civil, political and social rights, which states that individuals should live a full life backed by economic welfare and security but also "to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society. The institutions most closely connected with welfare are the educational system and social services". (Torres, 1998, p.539). There is also an intricate connection between the welfare state and insurance of the principle of equality (Codd et al., 2004, pp. 245-281). A clear and concise definition of equality in education is described below:

> ...the concept can be recast in more precise terms which include a focus on *access, needs fulfillment, social justice, and self-realization*. In addition, the term sometimes

conflates concerns such as equality of opportunity with universal provision and with equality of outcomes (Gregor McLennan, 1993:109, cited by Codd et al., 2004, p.253).

Accordingly, all policies that somehow work counter to the elements in the definition provided above will be seen as indicators of inequality (and possibly inequity) in the context of education.

Competences

The OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) is an international collaborative organization that includes states mainly from Europe and North America. One policy influence from the OECD on the national level is the increased weight placed on education aimed at meeting the needs of the market, and the focus on competences and skills (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). The skills, promoted by the OECD on an international level through the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) tests, are specified to measure skills in reading, natural sciences, and mathematics. The tests also aim at reporting on pupils' learning strategies, motivation and self-image (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). Moreover, the PISA tests measure skills on literacy (problem solving, analytical skills), and lifelong learning which implies the pupils' own awareness on the process of learning (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015, pp. 69-70). The ultimate aim of the PISA tests is to compare the achievements of pupils (on average) across nations in a climate of the neoliberal globalized economy (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Telhaug, 2006).

Standardization

Standardization is highlighted as a second aspect of the competitiveness-driven reform strategy (Carnoy, 1999). When most people speak about standardization, they refer to standardizing in assessments with regards to performance, often in the form of national tests.

Culture of Educational Measurement

The culture of educational measurement was initiated with the intention to increase the competition between schools (Carnoy, 1999). This trend has been claimed to have originated in the 1980s in Chile. The military government wanted to phase out public spending on schools, and increasingly privatize education (Carnoy, 1999). This inspired other countries to take a similar route (Carnoy, 1999). Educational measurement increased competition between

schools, and also between students in terms of achievements (Carnoy, 1999). The culture of educational measurement could affect classroom teachers, and takes place in a climate where competitiveness-driven reforms are 'accelerated' by finance-driven reforms (Carnoy, 1999). The culture of educational measurement can be defined in the following manner:

> An increasing number of developing and developed countries are moving from what is now almost universal in-school individual student evaluation and end-of-school-level examinations with almost no diagnostic implications, towards system/school assessment examinations. These are intended to identify poorly performing municipalities/schools and either 'shame' such schools into doing better (Carnoy, 1999, p.62).

Teacher Performance

A democratic classroom climate that creates space for discussion and development of pupils is central for the development of citizenship (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Dam, 2013). For this citizenship education to take place, it is arguably important for teachers to have the freedom and possibilities for creating such a classroom climate. Therefore, the central aspect derived into my theoretical framework is the degree of freedom and possibilities granted to classroom teachers.

The increasing pressure on teachers in terms of accounting for the results of the standardized testing of pupils, as well in reducing public expenditure for teachers (like salaries) worsen the teaching conditions (Carnoy, 1999). In light of this, it is important to assess how the teachers perceive this to have affected citizenship education, and the participation in citizenship education in particular.

Strikes, Protests, Reform Practices

The Union of Education Norway is the Norwegian Union for teaching personnel (Union of Education Norway, 2010). Under the heading of 'Unite for Quality Education', the Union has called for reaction and protest to neoliberal reform initiatives in Norway (Union of Education Norway, 2014). Recent strikes are worth noting, ones which opposed the implementation of specific education policies. These will be explained in depth in chapter 4.

The definition of this dimension, which I will be using in my thesis, will regard any strikes, protests or practices that will somehow mediate or moderate the influences of globalization and neoliberalism.

2.3.3   Meso Level: The Level of Social Interactions

Citizenship Education

Here the definition will be used that was described in section 2.2 (page 20).

Psychosocial: Social Divisions

The neoliberal global policy influences may create divisions on a community level (Centre for Labor and Social Studies, 2013). In particular, this is reflected in prejudices or neglecting of rights towards certain groups such as Muslims (M. Cole, 2012). This point is of greatest relevance to modern society, especially since September 11th 2001 as Muslims have experienced increased stigmatization and prejudice worldwide. Divisions could also mean a psychological state resulting from the lack of cultural identity and other values resulting from globalization (Carnoy, 1999). These concerns will guide the fieldwork and evaluate the extent to which social divisions exist in the education sector in Norway after the reforms initiated in 1990. In this respect, it would be natural to think that competition-oriented reforms (see page 24) would increase divisions between already conflicting groups in society. This relates to the next and last point in my chosen theoretical framework.

Culture of Competition

A culture of competition can be seen to directly relate to standardization and competitiveness-driven reforms. It creates a situation where the pupils are required to acquire competences in a competitiveness-driven market, rather than acquiring the classic citizenship skills (Hovednak & Stray, 2015), which can be seen as a basis of social cohesion.

3 Methodology

As was stated in chapter 1 in the introduction, the goal of my research is to evaluate to what extent the two school systems in Norway have changed in a neoliberal direction the last 25 years, and how these changes may have manifested themselves in education for citizenship at the levels of exosystem, mesosystem and macrosystem.

In this context, an in-depth document analysis will be performed in regard to the macro level influences on the two school systems: followed by empirical research in the form of interviews. The results of these will be presented in chapter 4 and 5, following the general literature review and the theoretical framework (last chapter) as well as the current chapter on methodology. Having explored the theoretical background in the preceding chapters, what follows will be an empirical part, where the in-depth focus on Norway is undertaken. The findings from the two following chapters (chapters 4 and 5) will help answer the research questions posed in chapter 1 in the last chapter (chapter 6) on discussion. This will discuss the findings from chapter 4 and 5 in light of the theoretical framework.

This chapter will explain the methodology of the chosen case study.

3.1 Research Strategy and Process

3.1.1 Research Strategy

The process of the research started out with initial interviews (pilot interviews) on the thematic area of globalization and citizenship education. This was done in order to adapt the research to a relevant field of inquiry. On this basis, I decided that the best course of the research would be to follow its development in particular school systems, due to the fact that the teachers appeared to have different opinions on globalization and citizenship in the two school systems. This proved to be a worthy line of investigation.

Accordingly, a qualitative research project was initiated at one Steiner Waldorf lower secondary school located in Oslo, as well as at a suburban lower secondary state school located near Oslo. The research was performed in three stages, described below. This took

the form of a collective case study where the perceptions of teachers and lecturers were the unit of analysis.

3.1.2 Research Process

First, reform documents as well as other documentation were reviewed, which formed the literature review and analysis of documentation (see chapters 2 and 4). The main ideas and concepts were derived from international literature on globalization and citizenship education, as well as reform documents and other relevant documentation on education reforms in Norway. As mentioned, the aim was to evaluate the direction that the education reforms in Norway had in regard to the influences of globalization and neoliberalism development on citizenship education since 1990.

Secondly, opinions and experiences (perceptions) were gathered from teachers and lecturers at Teacher Training Colleges. The stakeholders had worked in education, and had experience of at least some of the last education reforms.

Following this, data was collected from key stakeholders (teachers) through empirical interviews in the Steiner Waldorf regular school and at the state school. These perceptions on changes in citizenship education principally orientated around the major educational reforms of L97 (Reform of 97) and K06 (Knowledge Promotion), as reflected in the interview guide (see appendix 1).

After these perceptions were mapped, the top-down analysis was performed using the policy indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism (explained in chapter 2), as a theoretical lens to analyze whether certain responses reflect specific influences of globalization and neoliberalism on citizenship education in the two school systems. In this sense, it was useful to perform semi-structured, open-ended interviews, which offered a solid basis for performing a content analysis (Bryman, 2012). A content analysis uncovers categories and themes that emerge from the data (Bryman, 2012). What is meant by a 'top down' approach is that the policy-indicators and dimensions of globalization (see theoretical framework) were used to identify themes and categories from the data. It was further reasoned that these themes and categories ('bottom up' categories) would then be related to the overarching policy-indicators and dimensions derived from the theoretical framework.

These top-down concepts were not referred to directly. The reason for this was to avoid bias in the form of 'prompting', as explained by Bryman (2012). Accordingly, the principal focus of the research questions was to uncover challenges in citizenship eduction resulting from education reforms. My research aimed at uncovering influences of globalization, which suggests that the main concerns may not emerge from the respondents if the issues (answers) are given through the questions. This was the rationale behind the choice of the semi-structured interview to collect data. The choice of this data collection method offered the possibility for a wider response than if the questions were structured and closed.

Figure 3 explains the relationship between the theoretical framework and data material, as explained above.

3.1.3 The Collective Case Study

In the course of my research I decided that I would interview the teachers and lecturers who had first-hand experience with pupils and students. I would not interview politicians and those working on a governance and administrative level. This does not mean that this is not a relevant line of inquiry, but in order to adhere to the approach, and avoid an overly large sample of qualitative data, I decided to focus on the experiences of the stakeholders who were closest to the phenomenon of interest over time; developments related to citizenship education of pupils. This phenomenon was investigated through the unit of analysis, which were the experiences and perceptions of the teachers and lecturers.

On this basis, a collective case study approach was chosen. According to Suryani (2008), such a case study is characterized by the following:

> a case might be layered. It is possible to combine studies of individuals into studies of program or organizations, but we have to collect data on the lowest level unit of analysis which is possible. For instance, if we want to investigate how culture of a school influences a teachers' motivation, we can start collecting data about the teacher's motivation through interview (Suryani, 2008, p. 119).

My research was performed in a manner that synthesized the bottom-up with the top-down approach of analysis. The advantage of this synthesis was to achieve a broader perspective in the realm of social reality (Amoroso & Ragin, 2011). In particular, what characterizes my study as a collective case study is the focus on multiple levels of a case or issue under investigation. In this case, a focus on the developments of citizenship education was investigated through the perception of both teachers and lecturers, in which lecturers represent a higher level. For this reason, a collective case study has also been labeled as a multiple case study (Suryani, 2008). Understanding cases in terms of levels is one way of interpreting a collective case study (Suryani, 2008), a second is to examine it in terms of comparing different cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In my fieldwork it was two different cases of citizenship education taking place in the two schools, as there was a significant difference in the theoretical foundations of citizenship education happening in the two school systems.

Resulting from this, my empirical fieldwork was based on a synthesis of these two understandings of the collective case study. This methodology involves certain methods of data collection that will be explained in-depth later in this chapter. The collective case study would be context-sensitive, comprehensive and systematic (Suryani, 2008). Considering the complexity of globalization as a phenomenon, and the fact that I would investigate the development of citizenship over time and in different education systems, it can be argued that this is a multi-layered phenomenon or case. It would follow from this that a collective case study is the suitable method for analyzing the perceptions of teachers and lecturers.

Figure 2. Theoretical Framework and Data Material
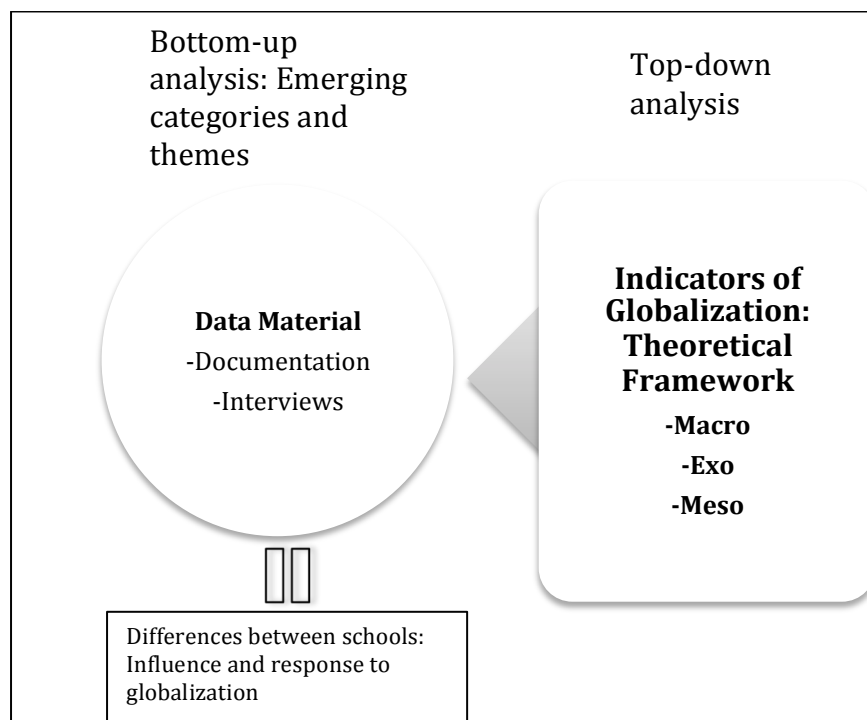
Differences in attitudes, perceptions, as well as curriculum are evident between the school systems. Before the results are presented, some more explanation will be given on the data collection and analysis.

3.1.4   Data Collection

The initial stage was to interview two lecturers from each Teacher Training College representing each school system. In total, four lecturers were interviewed prior to interviewing the teachers. This laid the foundation for interviewing four additional teachers from each school system, which was represented by two regular schools in or around the urban area of Oslo, Norway. The state school was located in a sub-urban district of Akershus, while the Steiner Waldorf lower secondary school was located close to Oslo. Interviewing lecturers from each school system offered a solid foundation for specifying the research instruments for this work.

The original research layout was to interview four to five teachers in each regular school in addition to around three lecturers in the Teacher Training Colleges, as well as making observations. Two pilot interviews were performed, which were not included in the data (one

policy maker and one teacher not representing the schools which were investigated). Observations were not included, as it was decided in the course of the research to focus on the perceptions of teachers and lecturers as the unit of analysis.

3.2 Quality: Limitations, Reliability and Validity

The quality of this project was like, any other research project, heavily dependent on operationalization. The operationalization in this project would not be flawless by any means: Citizenship education is a concept that may be difficult to grasp and measure. Nonetheless, it should be stated here that this would be the case within any social science study aimed at uncovering large social phenomenon like globalization and citizenship.

The most pivotal aim for this study was adopt specific concepts that, while hard to quantify, would provide a framework clear enough for analysis. On the basis of a literature review, certain policies and other globalization influences such as competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, ICT and immigration, created a framework of key concepts to make meaningful data from the interview transcripts as well as other data material. This theoretical framework (see chapter 2) proved of value in interpreting the perceptions of teachers with regards to the influences of globalization on citizenship education. This again reflects the process of merging the top-down analysis with the bottom up analysis, as explained by Amoroso & Ragin (2011).

Citizenship education (named "medborgerskap" or "danning" in Norwegian) appears as a relatively new term in the Norwegian context. This proved somewhat challenging, and the term had to be explained to some informants, particularly to the teachers working in the regular schools.

This could potentially influence the validity of the study, as validity points to whether one measures the construct that is intended to be measured (Bryman, 2012). It is a question of debate in my thesis as to whether 'citizenship competence' (mentioned to some teachers) and 'citizenship education' convey the same meaning. However, when comparing the answers, using the word competences did not seem to matter significantly. Even though the formulation differs, both terms involve the basic understanding of citizenship.

A limitation to what I intended to do was that my thesis was intended to be based on an ethnographic inquiry rather than being a case study. This would allow the project to explore the dynamics of globalization and neoliberalism at work on the institutional level more comprehensively.

The limitation mentioned above goes hand in hand with the difficulties experienced when I tried to access institutions It demanded some level of patience to gain access to institutions to perform the research, and I received several refusals. This appeared to be due to time constraints on the personnel working in the schools, including the school headmasters that were initially contacted.

Once access was granted, however, the experience was generally a positive one. The school headmasters at the research sites appeared to perceive the value of the research. Furthermore, the participants were often engaged in the topic that I presented to them, and they were very willing to set off some time at the end of the day to perform the interviews.

3.3 Levels and Units of Analysis

3.3.1 Levels of Analysis

The primary level of analysis with regards to my empirical fieldwork is the lower-secondary education in Norway, with a particular focus on the teachers working with pupils in the 10th grade. The second level of analysis is the exosystem level (Teacher Training Colleges), while the third is the macro level (international and national system). The macro-level research required the analysis of education policy documents and related material. These levels were elaborated in the previous chapter on theoretical framework (chapter 2).

3.3.2 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was the perceptions of teachers, which was considered to uncover the phenomenon of citizenship education over the two last major education reforms. The specific elements of their perceptions were derived from Bryman (2012): Values, standards, knowledge and attitudes relating to changes in citizenship education and education reforms in Norway. Other important sources of data considered to inform this were books and articles connected with developments in education for citizenship over the last 25 years. For a full list

of participants, see Table 1, chapter 5. The way of sampling the participants was by snowball sampling after accessing the institutions. Strict levels of confidentiality were maintained throughout the data collection phase: No names or personal information were gathered during the interviews (only gender). Informed consent was sought from each interviewee (see appendix 2).

3.4   Empirical Data Collection Methods

3.4.1   Data Collection Procedures

All data that has been collected has been obtained by the following methods: Semi-structured interviews and a document analysis (critical discourse analysis), as well as literature that has analyzed these documents. The main documents that were analyzed were the government policy documents; NOU 2003:16 (Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet, 2003), st.meld.nr.030 (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004), formal curricula for the ten year basic education (Kirke-, Utdannings -og Forskningsdepartementet, 1997). Moreover, the recent curriculum documents in the Steiner Waldorf School were analyzed in-depth (En Læreplan for Steinerskolene 2007; 2014).

The data for the interviews has been collected with the help of a digital tape-recorder. In this way, all nuances and aspects of the conversations have been recorded. The questions for the interviews have been informed by an interview guide (research instruments, see appendix 1). This was helpful, although some adjustments have had to be made during the progress. For example, one or two of the questions were removed as they were merely reiterating what other participants had already stated through previous questions in the interview. The interview guide was also adapted to include the words citizenship competences during the process of interviews, as the teachers in the regular schools were not comfortable with, or did not comprehend the traditional meaning of citizenship.

3.4.2   Transcribing, Coding and Presenting Data

The transcription process was done with the help of a program called 'Transcriptions', creating a .RTF file (Rich Text File) for each interview. These .RTF files were then imported

into a data analysis program called F4Analyze. By using F4Analyze, relevant items related to the theoretical framework were identified. Subsequently, these items offered the basis for creating broader categories and themes. In this manner, it was easier to look for possible categories that could relate to the key concepts of globalization and citizenship education. The categories primarily emerged from deductive parameters; key concepts related to the theoretical framework. The deductive concepts were derived from the conceptual framework (competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms and so forth) that was checked with the emerging concepts and categories.

As for presenting the data, a distribution sheet was generated with the help of F4Analyze software. In this manner, items relevant for each theoretical variable/concept were constructed for all teachers in both schools.

3.4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

The documents that will be analyzed (see section 3.4.1) are thought to reveal the social action of citizenship education relating to the three different levels: The national and international level (macroystem), the level of the education system (exosystem), and the level of social interactions (mesosystem). I assume in line with Faircloughs' approach (Fairclough, 1995) that discursive structures affect or relate to social action in citizenship education at these three levels:

> […] the social structures which are the focus of attention for many social scientists with 'macro' social interests are in a dialectical relationship with social action (the concern of 'micro' social analysis), such that the former are both conditions and resources for the latter, and constituted by the latter (Giddens, 1984; Callinicos, 1987). Texts constitute one important form of social action (Fairclough, 1995, p. 208).

3.4.4   Semi-Structured Interviews

The interviews were the most time-demanding data collection method. It was time demanding because of the length of the interviews and the vast amount of information that was generated by them. My topic of choice attracted much engagement in the participants.

Interviews with lecturers were the most time demanding. The reason for this was their huge amount ofknowledge of the reforms, and their extended duration of experience working in the schools and Teacher Training Colleges.

Semi-structured interviews involved asking 12-15 questions that revolve around the central concepts of citizenship/citizenship competence, globalization, and educational reforms. The aim of asking these questions was to explore the experiences the teachers had in regard to the development of citizenship education during the timespan of the last one or two educational reforms (which equals the last 10 – 20 years). The teachers had much experience in teaching at secondary school level. Most teachers had between ten and twelve years of experience within secondary education.

Changes with regards to the last two reforms of Reform of 97 and Knowledge Promotion, and curricular reforms in the Steiner Waldorf School were the focus of the interviews. By keeping the questions open would allow the participants own interpretation of globalization and citizenship education to surface.

The phenomenon of citizenship education is itself partly an abstract, subjective process for each individual. This points to the importance of taking into consideration the teachers' own perspectives, as teachers are central in picking up each process and every unique experience of all pupils and accumulating this over time. Considering the fact that citizenship education is a subjective process raises concern regarding the nature of citizenship education; should it be understood as a single, uniform process for a group, or a process for each individual? Should we speak of citizenship education as a one-size-fits-all solution?

Certainly, the perception of citizenship as being one-size-fits-all is neither inclusive, nor is it realistic in a pluralistic and culturally diverse society. Despite the definition of citizenship was given at the start of each interview, no definite 'final answer' regarding the meaning of citizenship was offered. By making clear that the experiences and interpretations was the main interest proved to be valuable in bringing on board the participants' own understanding of the concept. The interpretations of citizenship were far from uniform amongst the interviewees, and some subjects even used Norwegian synonyms to describe citizenship education in a way that was the most appropriate to them. The personnel in the two school systems had different understandings of the concept of citizenship.

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One possible limitation of the interviews was the fact that one of the Steiner Waldorf teachers did not currently work in the Steiner Waldorf lower secondary school under investigation. This teacher (interviewee 1 in the Steiner Waldorf lower secondary school) had retired from working there. Including this participant would still be an advantage, as she had experience of working in a state school after working at the Steiner Waldorf school. Accordingly, she could provide perspectives from both school systems, which was a comparative advantage.

What follows in the coming chapter is an in-depth analysis on Norway.

4 Analysis of Developments in Globalization and Citizenship Education in Norway

The aim with this chapter is to provide answers to research question 1: What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)? Findings about the extent that the policy-indicators and dimensions have influenced the education system will also be answered.

This chapter is structured into two main parts. First, the background and context of educational changes in Norway is explained. The sub-section of background and context is divided into two parts; the period from 1968-1990 and the period from 1990 onwards. The section of 1968-1990 is included in order to understand the background of the more recent education reforms taking place from the 1990s. The second part that follows will be an exploration of each policy-indicator/dimension in the context of Norway. The second part will also provide some historical background if it helps the reader in understanding the present context.

4.1 Background and Context

4.1.1 The Period 1968-1990: New Radicalism, Progressivism and Right Wing Reforms

The period of 1968-1976 is important in order to understand the right-wing reforms related to citizenship that occurred in Norway from 1976 onwards. The period from 1968 in Norway marked a period of what has been called a time of 'new radicalism' (Myhre, 1997; Telhaug, 1994). 'new radicalism' should not be interpreted as what we today understand by radicalism, such as extremism. As explained by Telhaug (1994), it is instead to be understood as a time of protests towards several side effects of modern development. Amongst others, critics were raised of the pollution of nature and contamination by fertilizers. Critics also pointed out that

farmland was destroyed as a result of urban expansion (Telhaug, 1994, pp. 78-79). The form of social critique that arose in the time of new radicalism clearly represents a form of citizenship engagement that is close to the transformative pedagogy of Wrigley et al. (2012).

The critique of the unfortunate consequences of modern development arose at a time of increasing capital growth that began in the 1970s (Myhre, 1997, p. 88). This growth came with a price: Increased debt, irresponsible consumption and inflation were the emerging problems (Myhre, 1997). Economic problems culminated in the stock market crash of 1987 (Myhre, 1997).

Critics further pointed towards trouble in the social sphere, and the increasing global inequality, claiming that the modern industrial society 'creates social clients' (Telhaug, 1994, p. 81). For example, it became common to observe connections between psychiatry and industrial development, and between extreme urbanization and nevrosis (Telhaug, 1994 p. 81). There were also concerns about the unjust distribution of foods and goods on a global level (Telhaug, 1994, p. 81). Jensen (1999) claims that with the education reform of 1974, Norway implemented a new standardized school system, (Jensen, 1999), and right-wing reforms were gradually implemented from 1976-1981 (Telhaug, 1994).

In general, it appears that the type of critical citizenship engagement which questioned the workings and purpose of education, was dominant in the academic discourse in Norway during the 1970s (Myhre, 1997; Telhaug, 1994). Serving as an example of this type of engagement was the 'deschooling' movement inspired by Ivan Illich, with Nils Christie as the Norwegian front figure (Myhre, 1997). The 'deschooling' movement questioned the legitimacy of the school in defining citizenship during the 1970s. From the mid-1970s onwards, the radical opinions were not heard to the same extent (Telhaug, 1994), which marked the end of the period named new radicalism. This was also the beginning of the time period when right-wing reforms were implemented (Telhaug, 1994).

The critique of the welfare state started with the government of Willoch in the 1980s. Around this time, right-wing conservatives began attacks on the welfare state. These attacks precipitated a diverse range of market-oriented reforms in Norway (Karlsen, 2006). With the onset of neoliberal reforms of the 1990s (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015), it is evident that opposition and critique again surfaced, although it did not emerge in the same critical and

radical form. More recently, the reform of Knowledge Promotion has been met with critique for deregulation, and for granting authority regarding policy decisions "downwards in the education system" (Aasen et al., 2014, p. 720). While this appears to connect with decentralization, the social democratic welfare state model aims at promoting inclusion, equality and participation in education (Aasen et al., 2014).

As mentioned earlier, the Steiner Waldorf School is a free school (Eriksen, 2008). From the law of free schools stemming from 1970 (which accepted schools based on pedagogical alternatives or religious foundation), until the act was revised in 2003, the Steiner Waldorf School has maintained its status as a free school with alternative pedagogical practices (Eriksen, 2008). For this reason, the Steiner Waldorf School has its own curriculum and is a relatively autonomous school system (En lærerplan for Steinerskolene, 2014). Of the 88 private schools in Norway in 2000/2001, 25 were Steiner Waldorf schools (Opheim, 2004).

4.1.2   The Period from 1990: Indications of Neoliberal Policy Reforms

It was not until the 1990s that the more serious neoliberal reforms in Norway commenced (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). Gudmund Hernes became the education minister in 1987, and initiated reform works. According to some critics, the manner in which these reforms were implemented was not in accordance with the democratic principles regarding the governance of education (Hovednak & Stray, 2015). It was through the Reforms of 93, 97 and the last reform of Knowledge Promotion that the policies implied in New Public Management, as well as standardized testing and result-oriented governance were implemented (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Solhaug, 2011).

It would be natural to think that these reforms were the result of right-wing policies, as was the case in the reforms starting from 1976 onward. However, some research indicates that this was not the case (Volckmar, 2004; Wiborg, 2013). In particular, Wiborg (2013) explains that the Social Democratic Party, after returning to power after a period of conservative rule during the 1990s, embraced neoliberal policies of the continuing support of private schools and the privatization of education (Wiborg, 2013). Consequently, as a result, the Social

Democratic Party did not oppose the neoliberal reforms that were initiated by Hernes, but largely encouraged the existence of these policies.

Some literature states that Education Minister Gudmund Hernes implemented serious neoliberal reforms in Norway (Karlsen, 2006). First, he was met with opposition from both conservatives and neoliberals in Norway (Telhaug, 2006). Despite this, he continued the implementation of neoliberal reforms. In 1988, he published "With Knowledge and Will" on the basis of a committee that evaluated higher education reforms in Norway. The booklet is a call for continued emphasis on the notion of competences, and the need to achieve results in conjunction with the skills that are emphasized in education (Telhaug, 2006). The weight that is put on competences, skills and results in the words of Hernes seems to resonate with the OECD policy recommendations. This is clearly seen in the work of Hovdenak and Stray (2015): The weight on skills and competences reflects the forming of education for market needs, as explained by Willbergh (2015). Moreover, the emphasis on results is explained through the culture of educational measurement at the level of the education system.

The OECD does not have a supranational authority. Nonetheless, due to their status on the international arena, this global institution has a profound influence on policy recommendations (Karlsen, 2006, p. 202). It must be said that the focus on testing and measurement in education as promoted by the OECD is not a problem in and of itself. Despite this, a noticeable problem is the uncritical use of test results and the lack of other relevant research used in the forming of education (Karlsen, 2006, p.203).

4.1.3 Presentation of School Systems

Both the Public School and the Steiner Waldorf School have been introduced in the previous chapters, but is briefly repeated here with an additional focus on the municipal and school level.

The Steiner Waldorf School

The pedagogical approach of Rudolf Steiner clearly states that the human is in focus, as reflected in the name, anthroposophy (Mazzone, 2010). It primarily takes a holistic approach, including the education for the physical, intellectual and spiritual dimensions of the human being (Mazzone, 2010). As a result, the Steiner Waldorf education differs in the conception

of citizenship from 'mainstream' education, which, according to some research, could be a useful perspective in a time of globalization and multiculturalism (Dahlin, 2010).

There are 88 private schools in Norway, of which are 25 Steiner Waldorf schools (Opheim, 2004). The school that I am investigating is located in an urban district in Norway. This school does not have a significant presence of pupils from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. This could be due to the fact that it is a private school. In this school I performed interviews with four teachers, getting to know their perspectives on globalization and the effects on citizenship education. In my thesis, I will refer to the Steiner Waldorf school system with capital letters (Steiner Waldorf School), while the research site – the lower secondary school – will be denoted as the Steiner Waldorf school, or the Steiner Waldorf regular school.

Public School

The Public school system in Norway is related to the traditional welfare state that characterizes Norway in the social sphere (Antikainen, 2006). Values such as participation, democracy, tolerance and respect all have long traditions in Norway (Antikainen, 2006). Indeed, skills and values like equity, respect, critical thinking, and participation are all reflected in the recent policy statement (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004) as well as being reflected in the Education Act, adhering to Christian and Humanistic values (Opplæringslova, 1998). These are embedded in the system, at least at a policy level, and reflect Norwegian cultural heritage.

The state school I investigated is located in a suburban area close to Oslo in the district of Akershus. The school has pupils from many different cultural and ethnic minority backgrounds. At this school, I interviewed four teachers with regard to their view on globalization and the effects on citizenship education. The reason I chose Akershus was because it is the neighboring district to Oslo, which could uncover the extent that policy indicators have affected nearby areas of an urban district. The reason for choosing the urban area of Oslo was the assumption that the market-led policy shifts increasingly affect urban areas compared with rural areas.

4.2   Document Analysis - Critical Discourse Analysis

The following sections will provide a comprehensive description of the policy indicators and dimensions of globalization in the context of Norway from the period 1990 until the present. This will be conducted on the basis of the theoretical framework that was presented in chapter 2.

The main reforms in basic education, including the secondary schools in Norway since 1990 are the following: Reform of 1990-1991 (Kirke-,Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet, 1990-1991) which concerned the governance of education, the Reform of 1997 (Det Kongelige Kirke-,Utdannings -og Forskningsdepartement, 1997) which was aimed at basic education, and the more recent reform of Knowledge Promotion (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004) aimed at both basic education and secondary education. Additional policy statements have also been released on top of these reforms. One reform of particular interest is the Official Norwegian Report NOU 2003:16 released in 2003, which concerned increased quality in basic education in Norway (Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet, 2003).

The documents listed above will be analyzed in light of the main policy indicators and dimensions of globalization. In addition, further literature that concerns these reforms will be reviewed. This will be performed on the basis of a critical discourse analysis of policy documents (Fairclough, 1995). The aim in this will be to uncover social action related to the microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem (explained in chapter 3).

4.2.1 Macro Level: National Level and Governance

Competitiveness-driven reforms

As previously indicated, the education reform of Knowledge Promotion in Norway was intended to counter the low results on international PISA tests in Norwegian schools (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). The low results of Norwegian pupils in these test scores increased the focus on competences, which emerged as a central concept in the Knowledge Promotion curriculum (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004; Willbergh, 2015). Therefore, the Norwegian pupils increasingly compete with pupils from other parts of the world with the same emphasis on competences. This was the very basis for certain policy-shifts regarding

management of education, reflected in the publishment White Paper No. 37 (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

Despite the increased competition at a global and national level, the education policy documents reveal that 'user-responsive' aspects are being prioritized over market-oriented strategies and competition at the level of the Norwegian education system (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013, p. 346). In Norway, schools are at the center of local cultural communities, while also having close ties with the traditional social democratic emphasis on equity. Traditional civic values connected with the Nordic model are also emphasized throughout White Paper No. 30 presented by the Ministry of Education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004).

Therefore, the needs of the local community appear to be more important than competition (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Despite of this, decentralization has been claimed to represent a competitiveness-driven reform (Carnoy, 1999). Standing in contrast to this, decentralization has been claimed to represent a response to accountability-based governance: The response in the form of decentralization was pursued by the Nordic states once the accountability model was implemented (Hopmann, 2008). As a result, decentralization appears to be a reaction to accountability-based governance, which may or may not be inspired by competitiveness-oriented thinking.

To summarize, it appears that competitiveness-driven reforms are not greatly emphasized in the education policy documents, although increased focus on competences and decentralization may represent policies inspired by competition oriented thinking. Still, there is a presence of equity and equality as principles of governance.

The Steiner Waldorf School
The Steiner Waldorf School in Norway was traditionally more or less the only alternative education in Norway (Eriksen, 2008). With the free school law of 2003 put into place, the Steiner Waldorf School was situated in an increased competitiveness-driven market, while paradoxically being the school that is the least competition-oriented (Eriksen, 2008, p.6). It could follow from the above section that the Steiner Waldorf School is not overly influenced by competitiveness-driven reforms, in line with the Public School. Though not much literature relates to this in the Steiner Waldorf tradition, the system is still under the control of

national governance in Norway. Despite this, it is taken into consideration in my research that the Steiner Waldorf School in Norway could be under increased financial pressure to the free school law.

In the Steiner Waldorf School reform documents, there appears to be revisions of the standard pedagogical practice in order to adapt it to the reform of Knowledge Promotion (En Lærerplan for Steinerskolene, 2007). Thus, the Steiner Waldorf tradition appears to follow the incentives of the last major education reform.

Finance-driven Reforms, Privatization

It has been claimed that finance-driven education reforms in Norway have been one feature of the reforms that took place from towards the end of the 1980s, starting with the education policies initiated by Gudmund Hernes in 1988 (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Karlsen, 2006; Telhaug, 2006). According to literature, neoliberal influences have formed Norwegian educational institutions on an ongoing basis, which have manifested in the implementation of New Public Management, amongst others (Solhaug, 2011). New Public Management is a form of governance that brings market logic to the public sector, as will be explored in depth later on. Another indication of finance-driven reforms being initiated in Norway was manifested in White Paper No. 37 (Kirke-,Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet , 1990-1991). This policy statement, (which concerned organization and governance in education resulting from an OECD review of the Norwegian education system), implemented the aspects of MBO or Management by Objectives, which includes measurements of results in education (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). In summary, it is evident that bringing market logic to the public sector through New Public Management, as well as the implementation of MBO is in close accordance with the definition of competitivienss-driven reforms by Carnoy (1999). These reforms are apparently finance-driven, and aim to reduce public spending on education.

Decentralization: School-Based Management, Accountability and Quality Insurance

The nature of educational governance that has taken place in Norway since the 1960s has primarily been one of decentralization (Myhre, 1997, p.115), though the rationale for this decentralization has been changing (Karlsen, 2006, p. 40). In more recent times, it has been claimed that the recent idea behind decentralization in Norway is to increase the

responsibility of the schools, in order to make them run more like organizations and companies -as informed by OECD policies (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015).

Recent Developments (1990s until today)

Since the 1990s, the neo-conservative government (of Kristin Clemet, Minister of Education and Research from 2001-2005) has, in particular, implemented decentralization. In 2002 Clemet stated in a report that responsibility had to be decentralized, and quality control should be increased (Telhaug, 2006, p. 276). According to the Minister, the schools were to be governed from the bottom up, and not the other way around -within the framework of national goals of education (Telhaug, 2006, p.276).

Since the time of Kristin Clemet, some literature claims that decentralization has been ongoing (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006). For example, decentralization has been one of two central aspects of the implementation of New Public Management as an organizational strategy in the education sector (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Therefore, the influence of neoliberal policies in Norway appears to appeal to changes in the organizational patterns related to the provision of public services, as seen in the education sector. This restructuring of the public services could affect education systems in different ways. Until 2008, the influence of the accountability-based model in the Scandinavian countries caused a different reaction compared with other regions such as the United States. In the words of Stefan Thomas Hopmann:

> When the accountability wave hit the Nordic shores for the first time, the
> spontaneous reaction of the political and educational establishments was
> almost opposite to what had happened in the US. While there accountabil-
> ity became a tool to centralize important elements of educational control,
> first at the state, later at the national level, the spontaneous reaction of
> the Scandinavians was decentralization (Hopmann, 2008, p. 431).

The White Paper (policy statement) related to the reform of Knowledge Promotion (Kunnskapsdepartmentet, 2003-2004) appears to support local autonomy (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013), which grants legitimacy to the above suggestion that decentralization was, in fact, the reaction towards the accountability-based models' influence on Norwegian

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education. Moreover, a professional evaluation of the related White Paper No. 30 states that local autonomy is highlighted throughout the report (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013, p. 345).

At present, the Minister of Education and Research, Torbjørn Røe Isaksen, represents the Neo-Conservative Party, which by way of policy, indicates a continual emphasis on decentralization, as it is a right wing party. The impact of the decentralization policies is that each individual is given increased responsibility, which has been claimed to increase individualism rather than a sense of community (Telhaug, 2006, p. 278). The actual impacts of the decentralization policies on the schools and teachers will be explained further in chapter 5.

In summary, it can be deduced from this section that decentralization has been a significant factor in the neoliberal influence on Norwegian education policy since 1990.

New Public Management

For the definition of New Public Management (NPM), see page 25.

As a recent study suggests, the previous Center-Conservative government as well as the Red Green Coalition government appeared to agree on the prevalence of economic values in education, both from the Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Education (Solhaug, 2011). Moreover, core literature on education reforms and governance in Norway point in the direction that Norway has been adopting decentralization which constitutes a part of NPM (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006). Moreover, MBO or 'Management by Objectives' and results was adopted after the policy statement launch of White Paper No. 37 (Kirke-,Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet,1990-1991) as explained by Møller and Skedsmo, (2013). Møller and Skedsmo (2013) performed an in-depth evaluation of the impact of NPM on education in Norway, and concluded that decentralization and MBO were two defining factors of NPM in the current organizational structure of education in Norway.

Educational Technology (ICT)

The use of technology in the Norwegian education system has happened at the same pace as in other Western countries. In Norway, it is uncritically acclaimed by many that the use of information and communication technologies will lead to an increase of quality in education.

The implementation and use of ICT in Norwegian schools has been claimed to promote the effectiveness of learning, increasing flexibility and being individually designed (Haugsbakk & Nordkvelle, 2007). These claims of effectiveness have been claimed to represent a form of rhetoric in which the teaching process is substituted with a learner-oriented process (Haugsbakk & Nordkvelle, 2007).

Moreover, as previously noted, there is no clear evidence regarding the increase of quality in education with use of ICT (Carnoy, 1999). Some even dispute the effectiveness of technology in education, claiming that it affects cognitive skills (Carr, 2011). As was uncovered in my fieldwork, there were different opinions regarding the use of ICT as a tool in teaching and learning. This proved a clear difference in attitudes when comparing the two schools.

Models of Governance

In the available literature, the accountability-based model of governance has been connected with the PISA tests (accountability in terms of results on test scores), and the effects that this accountability has on teachers and pupils (Hopmann, 2008). PISA stands for 'Programme for International Student Assessment'. Hopmann (2008) claims that the accountability model of governance could affect the individual (child), school and state. In the case of Norway, the accountability-based model is manifested in Norwegian pupils being involved in the PISA tests. Hopmann indicates that decentralization was a policy move resulting from the globally-competitive perspective implied in the PISA tests. Accordingly, it can be deduced that the accountability-based model of governance has influenced the Norwegian education system to some extent, while simultaneously serving to initiate the policy response of decentralization.

4.2.2 Exosystem Level: Education System

Introduction: Variations in Citizenship Education

Citizenship education in Norway has been connected with two basic concepts. These are the concepts of "danning" (closely related to the German concept of Bildung), and also the concept of competences (Willbergh, 2015). The concept of Bildung means education for autonomy, responsibility, and ethical reflections (Willbergh, 2015, see also page 17). On the other hand, the concept of competences focuses on labor skills aimed at educating citizens to internalize them in order to benefit the market economy (Willbergh, 2015). The reform of

Knowledge Promotion was planned and implemented as a result of Norwegian pupils' low scores on the international standardized tests (PISA) (Stortinget, 2003-2004), which may explain the increasing focus on competences that is clearly emphasized in this reform.

In light of the transformative pedagogical approach (Wrigley et al., 2012), education should be aimed at increasing responsibility, activism, and awareness in the local society. Although pupils certainly need skills aimed at a labour market, it would be meaningless to educate for this without a general foundation of citizenship called, in Norwegian, "allmenndanning" or "danning" –this foundation could be related to either the transformative approach or to classic conceptions of citizenship. This classical conception of citizenship appears to be reflected in the concept of citizenship in the Steiner Waldorf School (En lærerplan for Steinerskolene, 2014; Mazzone, 2010).

I assume that it's useful to compare two regular schools that represent two different school systems in Norway (The Steiner Waldorf School and the Public School) due to the differences in of citizenship education between the 'mainstream' schools and the Steiner Waldorf Schools (Dahlin, 2010). The difference in the approach to citizenship education may also have contrasting relationships with the influences of neoliberal globalization. Furthermore, this would be relevant to study as Dahlin (2010), states that the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical approach has been claimed to have positive impacts on civic and moral engagement (Dahlin, 2010). This may further uncover key aspects of the influences of globalization, as well as understanding which factors may underlie the differences in the adaptation to influences of globalization in both school systems.

Equality, Equity

This sub-section will encompass a wide variety of topics. The main goal with presenting these issues is to reflect the current state of equality and equity in Norway, in order to further explore them in the empirical fieldwork.

Historical Background: The Unified School, the Quality School, and Standardization

During the 1970 and 80s, the debate around inequalities in Norway centered on equal treatment and access to education for women (Telhaug, 1994). This debate revolved around the access for women into institutions of higher education. Later on, the degree of representation of Christianity in the curriculum was one central issue (Myhre, 1997). The

debates regarding the role of Christianity in Norwegian education have been ongoing for the last 30 years (Jensen, 1999; Myhre, 1997). The main concern for Christians is that the subject of Christianity will be marginalized and eventually replaced with subjects that focus more on a general outlook on religions and worldviews. In 1969, a new policy made it possible to choose an inter-religious subject as a replacement (Myhre, 1997, p.101).

In 1976 a more coherent type of school built on the unity principle was expanded; the Unified School ("enhetsskolen"), whose goal was to promote equal opportunities to all (Jensen, 1999). The goal of the Unified School was to create equal opportunities for all pupils, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds. This is the basis for democracy, equity and equality (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002).

Equity

It has been claimed that competitiveness-driven reforms that came with the Quality School, and the renunciation of the Unified School in 2002 by the Conservative Party, resulted in inequalities in learning conditions, opportunities and achievements (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002). In contrast to this claim, the principle of equity has long traditions in the social democratic model, often connected with the Nordic model. This has also been the case with the system of education (Antikainen, 2006). In fact, one of the 'distinguishing features' of the Norwegian education model is equity (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013, p. 338). This principle is also reflected in the recent policy document in relation to Knowledge Promotion. For example, White Paper No. 30 states that "Equitable, inclusive, and adapted education are overarching principles in the School" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004, authors' translation). The goal with the principle of equity is to create equal opportunities for all groups, which is manifested in three ways: Equal access to education, individualized treatment in order to adapt to specific learning abilities, and equity at the group level; i.e. the rights of minority students and students with disabilities (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

Moreover, there are policy-level initiatives for ensuring equity in Norwegian education. The presence of a pedagogical and psychological service in each municipality in Norway serves as an example (Opheim, 2004). In addition, minority language students also have the right to have additional lessons in language skills (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

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Despite the policy statements and evidence of equity in the Norwegian education system, there are indications also that the principle of equity is not present in the school system to the extent that it should be, mostly due to gaps between policy and practice (Opheim, 2004). For example, pupils with special needs or disabilities often do not get the opportunities that they should (Opheim, 2004, p. 71).

Marginalized Groups: Indigenous People and Language Minorities

Creating equal opportunities for immigrants and minority groups has posed a challenge, as these groups are required to maintain their cultural identity while simultaneously adapting to the Norwegian cultural heritage and language (Myhre, 1997). Indeed, citizenship for minority groups poses challenges for the larger industrialized society (Kymlicka, 1995).

Up until the 1990s, the Sami People have been offered education both relevant to the Norwegian identity, as well as being offered the opportunity to be educated in their own cultural backgrounds (Myhre, 1997). This has not been easy to implement in practice over the years due to economic and pedagogical issues arising in the process of attempting to achieve this ideal (Myhre, 1997).

Today, the new challenges for Norway are issues of immigration just as they are in other countries in Western Europe. Accordingly, Norway will have to adapt the education system to a landscape of changing demographic patterns (Opheim, 2004). There has been a steady increase in minority language pupils in the recent years (Kjeldstadli, 2006) As of January 2013, immigrants and the children of immigrants make up 14%of the Norwegian population (Hilt, 2015). The 2009 policy report on Migrant Education by OECD defines Norway as having an inclusive education system (OECD, 2009), although not without contemporary challenges (Hilt, 2015).

Christianity as a Subject in Curriculum

Debates about the role of Christianity in the curriculum continued until the reform of basic education in 1997 (Jensen, 1999). This debate revolves around whether citizens are allowed to choose an alternative subject to Christianity. This could pose a challenge to the foundation of education, seen in light of the purpose of education § 1-1 (Opplæringslova, 1998), which clearly states that the purpose of education should be founded on Christian heritage and traditions.

From this section, it can be assumed that little research supports the fact that equity has been abandoned as a principle of governance in Norwegian education. These principles appear to still exert a strong influence, which is also reflected in the recent education policy statements and White Papers.

Competences

The weight on competences gained significantly more attention in the reform of Knowledge Promotion compared with the previous reform of 97, which is reflected in education reform policy statements (Det Kongelige Kirke-, Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartement, 1997; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004). As stated previously, education has moved away from traditional citizenship education. By shifting the discourse to competences removes the content of education (what is meaningful for each student) from public debate, posing a threat to human autonomy (Willberg, 2015). In the reform of Knowledge Promotion from 2006, there was increased emphasis on the notion of competences compared with the previous education reform, Reform of 97. The shift towards competences instead of traditional citizenship education may be an indicator that pupils are to be educated primarily for a labor market with key competences (Willbergh, 2015). This indicates how competences are being used in an increasingly competitive labor market, and replaces less 'competitive' concepts relating to citizenship education, like educating for ethical reflections, autonomy, and meaning-making (Willbergh, 2015).

The fact that the focus on competences gained more attention in the reform of Knowledge Promotion was a result of below average scoring on international tests, where certain key competences are measured (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). By educating for competences, the reform of Knowledge Promotion turns the concept of knowledge and citizenship education into instrumental knowledge (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). The increased focus on competences was a key impact resulting from a policy document NOU 2003:16 named "Kvalitetsutvalget" or The Quality Committee (Utdannings- og Forskningsdepartementet, 2003). The education minister Trond Giske implemented this policy document in 2001 (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015, p. 85). The policies that were promoted in this statement represent a break with traditional Norwegian values related to education (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015, p. 86). This is in line with other literature which postulates that changes in the Norwegian education since 1980 were headed in the direction of being governed in a privatized form (Karlsen, 2006).

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To summarize, it appears from documentation that the concept of competences has a significant influence on the Norwegian education system. In particular, this concept reflected in both White Paper No. 30 as well as in the Official Norwegian Document NOU 2003:16. Further literature appears to support this conclusion (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Willbergh, 2015).

Culture of Educational Measurement

It is indicated in literature that the culture of educational measurement has been implemented in Norway, and has been met with considerable criticism (Trippestad, 2009). The culture of educational measurement must be seen in relation to the development of competitiveness-driven reforms on the international level (Carnoy, 1999). In the context of Norway, it could be seen in relation to the renunciation of the Unified School (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002) and the adoption of neoliberal policies (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). The culture of educational measurement, initiated by the OECD (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015) has been claimed to result in inequalities of conditions for learning, opportunities and achievements (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002).

White Paper No. 30, relating to the reform of Knowledge Promotion (K06) is named "Culture for learning". While a culture for learning certainly emerges as central in this policy statement, a National Quality Assessment System (NQAS) was implemented in parallel with K06 (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). The aim in NQAS is to measure quality in visible output-oriented variables (such as basic competences), which is emphasized throughout White Paper No. 30 (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004).

There is very little research evidence of the socio-cultural impacts in the schools that came about as a result of the culture of educational measurement. Despite this, it appears from policy documents and related documentation that the culture of educational measurement has been implemented in the Norwegian education system (though there are uncertainties regarding the actual impact that this culture has on the schools).

Teacher Performance

It appears from literature that teachers became powerless in the face of a new working time agreement during the 1990s, demanding more control over teachers and inflexible working

times (Klette, 1998). This working time agreement, which was packaged in the name of competences and professionalism, was implemented during the 1990s (Klette, 1998). More specifically, increased time pressure became a reality for teachers after the reform of 1994 (Jensen, 1999, p. 151). The rigid working times and increasing control and governance on teachers have, in recent years, also been met with severe criticism (Union of Education Norway, 2014). Møller & Skedsmo (2013) suggest that increased control over teachers has taken the form of control over competence and results on behalf of the teachers, in addition to increased responsibilities in the form of accountability for achieved results.

The above indications suggest the possibility that teacher performance in the classrooms has been significantly influenced by increased control of competences and results. In addition, it is also indicated that teachers are given increased responsibilities.

Strikes, Protests, Reform Practices

The reforms of 1988 by Hernes were criticized by many authors to be bureaucratic and in favor regulation (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015, p. 80; Trippestad, 2009). This is particularly true considering the statement that critics were overrun, which represented an authoritarian treatment of opposition to the official reform (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). There was a strong opposition from teachers and the teacher organizations, who claimed that the strong governance of the content in the national curriculum would be an "obstacle to the development of a pedagogical discourse amongst colleagues" (Hovedenak & Stray, 2015, p. 80). During the negotiations between the teacher organizations and the government in 1992, a march was organized to protest against the increased working time initiated by the government (Telhaug, 2006 pp. 50-51). The critiques of the following reform during the 1990s (Reform of 94 and Reform of 97) were directed at both content, as well as the authoritarian manner in which these reforms were implemented (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015, p. 81). The recent policy initiatives since the 1990s have primarily revolved around working times and restricted autonomy, which have been at the core of the educational restructurings (Klette, 1998). The protests on the inflexible working times and increased control of teachers in Norway have continued in the last years (Union of Education Norway, 2014).

4.2.3 Meso Level: The Level of Social Interactions

Psychosocial: Social Divisions

There are some indications that the neoliberal policy climate affects the psychosocial sphere in Norway, which may subsequently affect the conditions for citizenship education. In particular, it concerns the "lack of social determination" (Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps & Rand-Hendriksen, 2009, p. 173). The research by Nafstad et al. (2009) uncovers how the global capitalist ideology affects the welfare society and values such as equality, obligations and universalistic principles in the distribution of goods. It is worth noting how this study indicates that the lack of equality is becoming more 'commonly accepted' (Nafstad et al., 2009 p.163). Moreover, the phenomenon of homogenization (people becoming similar in personality and behavior) is also indicated in the study (Nafstad et al., 2009).

There is very little existing research on where the state of psychosocial conditions resulting from globalization and neoliberalism in Norway stand today, except from what was cited above. It will be up to Norwegian citizens to decide whether, and to what extent, community coherence and engagement have been challenged by this development. Certainly, further research is needed on this topic. Some literature suggests that individualism and the lack of traditional values are the consequences of a neoliberal social climate. According to Dufour (2008), the subject was redefined into a 'self-referential' subject and desymbolized of traditional values in order to be a commodity for the market, rather than being defined by a grand narrative such as God or tradition (Dufour, 2008, pp. 11-67). This was a trend which, according to Dufour (2008), began after the Second World War. Though the extent that this 'de-symbolization' takes place in Norway is so far not clear.

Further research on information and communication technology and the implications for cognitive functions could also be useful in this context. Some literature suggests that such technology could have implications for memory and attention related to learning (Carr, 2011; Spitzner, 2012). The influences of information and communication technology on cognition reflected particular concerns made by Steiner Waldorf teachers. This will be explained in greater depth later in chapter 5, on results.

Culture of Competition

Competition is a major driving force in New Public Management (Solhaug, 2011), privatization and finance-driven and competitiveness-driven reforms in general (Carnoy,

1999). In addition to a general policy perspective mentioned above, there appears to be little existing research on competition cultures at the classroom level.

4.3   Summary of Impact

Note that the findings are numbered in sequence as they are revealed throughout the chapters (1.0, 1.1, 1.2 and so forth). This enables the findings to be presented in a structured manner in the chapter on results (chapter 5) and discussion (chapter 6). This section summarizes the findings from the document analysis presented in the current chapter.

4.3.1 Macrosystem Impacts

1.0 It appears from the policy indicators and dimensions of globalization at a macro level that competitiveness-driven reforms affect the Norwegian education system through the policy indicators of decentralization, accountability-based governance, and the National Quality Assessment System (NQAS) (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008; Telhaug, 2006).

Finance-driven reforms influence the Norwegian education system through the aspects of New Public Management (NPM) with the inherent Market-based Objectives (MBOs) (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Solhaug, 2011).

2.0 It is assumed that these policy indicators may, to an unknown extent, also affect the Steiner Waldorf School in the same manner as the Public School, as they are both part of the Norwegian education system (both being steered by competence goals and standardized tests through Knowledge Promotion, K06).

4.3.2 Exosystem and Mesosystem Impacts

It emerges from the findings that the above-mentioned indicators may affect teacher performance (time-pressure, increased control and responsibilities) (Klette, 1998), and possibly through competences, NPM and control over competence and results (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Willbergh, 2015). Furthermore, these indicators could affect teacher

performance through NQAS, MBOs, and decentralization of responsibilities (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). It has also been discussed that competences keep the content of education away from public debate, and pose a threat to human autonomy (Willbergh, 2015).

Strikes, protests, and reform practices (through the teacher unions) in addition to the principles of equality and equity (including the social democratic model of governance) all appear to have long traditions in Norway (Klette, 1998; Union of Education Norway, 2014). Equity and equality appears to still be present as principles of governance, reflected in recent policy statements (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004).

It is uncertain to what extent psychosocial aspects and divisions are caused by globalization and neoliberalism in Norway, though some research points to homogenization, increased acceptance of inquality, and increased individualism (Dufour, 2008; Nafstad et al., 2009)

The impact that these concepts have on citizenship education will be explored in the coming chapter, and further discussed in chapter 6.

5 Results

This chapter is structured in the following manner: Findings from both the regular school and Steiner school will be presented within the framework of the meso and exosystem levels. Each sub-section will discuss a key concept from the theoretical framework in terms of findings (i.e. levels of agreement, variations in findings, gender differences). Gender differences will be explained where relevant findings emerge. The relevant research questions for each set of findings will be clarified so that the reader can follow the presentation.

While reading this chapter, the main limitation should be kept in mind, which was that only two lecturers at the exosystem level (Teacher Training Colleges, hereafter referred to as TTCs) were interviewed. Ideally, one or two more lecturers could have been interviewed in order to provide a more comprehensive description of the data at a meso level. It was originally planned to perform observations. This, however, was disregarded, as the unit of analysis was chosen to be the perceptions of experienced personnel in the respective school systems.

The lecturers working at the TTCs will represent the exosystem level. The lecturers from the TTCs are thought to have an in-depth knowledge on the forming of the education system in Norway, which offers a good basis for the gathering and interpretation of data from the informants in the regular schools. The interviews at the regular schools follow the presentation of the lecturers, and represent the mesosystem level (individual, school and the level of social interactions).

It is worth mentioning at this point that, even though certain concepts are most relevant under each level; mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem level (as indicated in the theoretical framework), it makes most sense to view the opinions of teachers and lecturers in light of all the theoretical concepts (at all levels). The reason for this is to be able to evaluate the extent the teachers and lecturers perceive the challenges or issues related to citizenship and globalization on various levels in education. Only the theoretical points derived from the framework that are reflected in the findings will be presented in this section. Table 1 provides an overview of interviewees.

The next and last chapter (chapter 6) will discuss these findings in light of the research questions and the theoretical framework.

Table 1. Overview of Interviewees

Interviewee Number	Gender, Title, Location
Interviewee 1	Female lecturer, Public Teacher Training College
Interviewee 2	Male lecturer, Public Teacher Training College
Interviewee 3	Male teacher, state school, 1
Interviewee 4	Female teacher, state school, 1
Interviewee 5	Male teacher, state school, 2
Interviewee 6	Female teacher, state school, 2
Interviewee 7	Male lecturer, Steiner Waldorf Teacher Training College
Interviewee 8	Female lecturer, Steiner Waldorf Teacher Training College
Interviewee 9	Female teacher, Steiner Waldorf secondary school, 1
Interviewee 10	Female teacher, Steiner Waldorf secondary school, 2
Interviewee 11	Female teacher, Steiner Waldorf secondary school, 3
Interviewee 12	Male teacher, Steiner Waldorf secondary school

5.1   Introduction to Interview Questions

The questions related to competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms and other concepts at the macro level were framed around the recent education reforms in Norway. These questions were posed to participants in both school systems. Questions regarding macro level concepts such as finance-driven reforms, competitiveness-driven reforms, decentralization, ICT, New Public Management, and models of governance were not specifically asked about during the interview. These macro-level concepts were used as top-down concepts for analysis after the interviews were performed. This was also the case with policy-indicators and dimensions at the level of the exosystem and mesosystem. This process

relates to the fusion of the bottom-up with the top-down approach to analysis in addition to the countering of bias from the interviewees as explained in chapter 3 (methodology).

As a result, it must be kept in mind that certain concepts in the following sections were not reflected in the data, that they may not have been asked about specifically. It was assumed that if no responses were given, which could be interpreted in the direction of the concepts at the meso, exo and macro level, they do not represent a major challenge or concern for the interviewee.[1] For a further elaboration, see chapter 3 on methodology.

The interviews were performed in Norwegian. On this basis, the answers provided by the interviewees are presented in a translated form (authors translation). Appendix 1 contains both the Norwegian and the (translated) English interview guide.

 The most central questions that were asked are exemplified below (note that the subject of 'Samfunnsfag' is a Norwegian subject that equals the social sciences, relating to citizenship, at the level of lower and upper secondary school):

3. What challenges do you find in your school district that could affect the education for active citizenship?

4. Tell me about the ways policies added to the curriculum through the last 10-20 years, could have affected your practice as a teacher in samfunnsfag?

6. In what ways do you believe that Reform 97 and Knowledge Promotion have impacted your teaching practices in samfunnsfag as well as other subjects you teach?

8. If you have experienced factors beyond your control (at school or societal level) that may influence the relationship that pupils have to citizenship, what could these be?

For an in-depth look at the interview guide, see Appendix 1.

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[1] I decided to keep the questions relatively open and semi-structured in order to avoid prompting (see chapter 3).

5.2   Public School System

Note. The word participant will also be used interchangeably with the word interviewee.

5.2.1   Key Findings: Interviewees at Public Teacher Training College (Exosystem Level)

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

Globalization

One similarity between interviewee 1 and interviewee 2 at the Public Teacher Training College (see table 1 for an overview of interviewees) was that they both focused on the concrete elements of globalization and neoliberalism, such as the culture of educational measurement, rather than globalization as a non-differentiated phenomenon (which was more the case with the regular schoolteachers). Moreover, the lecturers appeared not to be concerned with the use of ICT as an aspect of globalization, and consequently this concept is omitted. In addition, decentralization, New Public Management, and psychosocial aspects of citizenship were left out (reflected at the level of regular schools at the meso level) as they were not mentioned by the lecturers. As indicated in the introduction, the reason for this was that the concepts were not specifically mentioned in the questions and they did not emerge as a major concern for the teachers.

Competitiveness-driven Reforms

See the section 'culture of educational measurement'.

Finance-driven Reforms, Privatization

Both lecturers in the Public Teacher Training College (TTC) were aware of finance-driven aspects of education, although in different ways. Interviewee 1 was mainly concerned with the privatization of education in certain areas of Norway. In contrast, interviewee 2 was concerned with the government of financial resources. Their perceptions on this issue are reflected in the following statements:

"[...] in the Oslo School There is a consultant firm named Ernst and Young who will evaluate the class leadership. I do not think that is a tendency in the direction of democracy and citizenship" (Interviewee 1, Public TTC).

"[…] it may be some disagreement on the allocation. Finances and the like. Then we who are working on the ground feel many times that we are not heard with our viewpoints" (Interviewee 2, Public TTC).

Governance

The consensus of these two lecturers on finance-driven reforms and cultures of measurement could be an indication of reforms in the direction of neoliberalism. For an in-depth look at forms of governance, see sections finance-driven reforms and culture of educational measurement in this section.

Competences

Both interviewees appeared to agree on the influence of the aspects of the policy on 'competences'. Interviewee 1 was of the opinion that after the reform of knowledge promotion in 2006, the teachers have a tendency to focus on the explicit competence goals, and not prioritize more time-demanding aspects of teaching (i.e. ethical reflections). Moreover, interviewee 2 was clear on the fact that control and governance of regular schoolteachers have increased due to the focus on competences. Nonetheless, he recognized that the lecturers at the TTC do not have the same restrictions in the forms of control.

Culture of Educational Measurement

Both lecturers at the Public School agreed on the influence of competitiveness-driven reforms, which manifest themselves in the culture of educational measurement in certain districts in Norway. Below are some statements that reflect the perceptions of how this aspect of globalization influences education for civic skills.

"Of course one thing that is absolutely central for the Oslo schools is this whole thing with result orientation… Oslo as a school district is… very special when it comes to this with, measuring and weighing the pupils. To evaluate the pupils on concrete knowledge, and I think that in many ways is totally opposite with what we talked

about regarding participation and cross-subject and... and such. That the whole tendency, the result-oriented tendency in the school, all the evaluation that one, that one has a... a focus on result quality rather than process quality. And you might say that process quality is so much more about participation and community engagement… Like it happens parallel with what we do (Interviewee 1, Public Teacher Training College)

So one is busy with measurement and scores of international tests, and PISA and the like... Then it is clear that to train for democracy and co-operation and such, it is difficult to measure in tests and knowledge… Knowledge and practices like skills that are not that measureable are often… Under prioritized… (Interviewee 2, Public Teacher Training College)

These viewpoints show a high degree of agreement between the two lecturers interviewed. One variation was the nature of how these measurements work. Whereas interviewee 1 focused on the fact that measurement runs counter to the education for democracy and co-operation, interviewee 2 points out how civic education is difficult to quantify.

2. What role have Teacher Training Colleges had in mediating/promoting these policy indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism in the regular schools?

Equality, Equity

Interviewee 2 conducted important research into how the curriculum and books in the curriculum present people with different cultural backgrounds. The central message here was that the curriculum in general tends to polarize people into 'us versus them'. In contrast, interviewee 1 pointed to the democratization in Norway that led to a more equitable relation between the knowledgeable and the 'lay people' working in the schools. According to interviewee 1, the ideology behind this democratization is the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Accordingly, what can be observed here is that both lecturers are concerned with equality and equity (from the inclusion of minorities to the democratization of the school system), although they did not appear to agree on this issue.

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

Teacher Performance

The aspect of teacher performance can be seen in light of the key issue of educational measurement (previous section) as well as the focus on competences. The level of agreement among the two lecturers indicates that teachers are more prone to focus on learning outcomes (rather than the process of learning), as well as leading to increased control over the teachers.

Strikes, Protests, Reform Practices

Both lecturers in the Public TTC appeared to uphold traditional principles related to citizenship, both in terms of values and in their views on pedagogical practices. This finding was reflected in one of many statements such as:

> So they will engage in the private sector and in the work sector. Cultural life, knowledge about the work life, social engagement and democratic participation. So it is not only learning about it, but it is also about participating in the local community in different ways (Interviewee 1, Public TTC).

The perceptions of interviewee 2 resonated with this, who amongst other statements commented that: "I believe that the student teachers who are going to become teachers in basic and secondary education should have a fundamental attitude that reflect democratic participation and not the least, defending democratic values" (Interviewee 2, Public TTC). Moreover, citizenship education was seen in a wider perspective, relating to many subjects and topics: "An engagement in relation to sustainability, perhaps also very many of the topics within citizenship education, participation and participation would be cross-subject in nature" (Interviewee 1, Public TTC).

Citizenship Education

Regarding perspectives on citizenship, interviewee 1 emphasized what was called pedagogical entrepreneurship, and referred to a book entitled (in English) Teaching Processes in Pedagogical Entrepreneurship. The book points to the importance of teaching pedagogies of change, in order for the students (and their pupils) to adapt to a changing and complex

modern society (Ødegård, 2003). Interviewee 2 was not as concerned with entrepreneurship as with providing his students with the necessary skills that range outside 'becoming functionaries' of the prevailing contemporary national curriculum. His aim was to provide the students (the teachers to come) with the values of independency, creativity and thinking-orientation, while also being able to put to use digital tools in the teaching and learning process. This shows a difference in approach of these two lecturers in the way that they perceive the necessary skills needed for teachers to succeed in a modern classroom setting: Entrepreneurship versus education for specific skills.

Comparison across Concepts

Some cross-comparisons can be made from the perspectives of the lecturers. It is indicated in the previous sections that some policy indicators/aspects such as governance and teacher performance are both influenced to a significant degree by cultures of educational measurement as well as focus on competences.

It may be deduced from these sections that the policy dimension of decentralization has not been perceived as an influence on the views of the lecturers in the Public TTC. By contrast, the aspects of educational measurement and competences are clearly indicated to affect governance and teacher performance.

5.2.2 Key Findings: Interviewees at State School (Meso Level)

This section concerns findings from interviewees 3, 4, 5 and 6. These interviewees represent schoolteachers working at the state school. The questions that were raised here were the same as to the lecturers working at the Public TTC (see section 5.1, introduction to interview questions).

The aspects of strikes, protest and reform practices and NPM were left out of this section, as there was insufficient data to support it. As indicated in section 5.1, this was due to the fact that the issue was not asked about specifically. As the teachers did not mention the issue of strikes, protests, reform practices and NPM, it may be deduced that they were not overly concerned with these dimensions. Research question 2 is also omitted, as no findings from the regular school did indicate the mediation of neoliberalism by the TTCs.

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

Decentralization, accountability-based governance, and the culture of educational measurement emerge as central policy-level indicators that affect the state school. Furthermore, these indicators appear to be related to teacher performance. The dynamic workings between these concepts and how they influence the state school will be elaborated below. Relevant findings from the opinions and viewpoints from the teachers with regard to the concept of globalization in general emerged from the data. This will be explained before the specific presentation of findings is provided.

Globalization

The degree of agreement on the influences of globalization was generally high. Interviewees 3, 4 and 6 agreed on a substantial level on the nature of globalization; with the implied finance-driven nature and the potential impacts on citizenship education. This degree of agreement was reflected in commonly held opinions such as globalization leading to diversity but structural oppression (interviewee 3), an increased focus on the economic aspects in the curriculum (interviewee 4), as well as accountability-based governance with the implied restrictions in the freedom of teacher practices (interviewee 6). In contrast to this, interviewee 5 appeared to be neutral on the subject, not providing any comments in regard to the nature of globalization.

There were some variations regarding the actual impacts of globalization. The level of awareness around the potential impacts that globalization and neoliberalism have on citizenship education was significantly higher for both interviewees 3 and 6 compared with participants 4 and 5. This represented one male (participant 3) and one female (participant 6) who held a higher level of awareness compared with the two other male participants.

Disparities in the level of focus (meso, exo and macro system level) emerged across participants over globalization. While interviewees 3 and 5 were concerned with globalization as a challenge on the macro level (for example, global trade, the media) participants 4 and 6 oriented around concrete reform impacts at the classroom (meso) level,

such as the removal of the class hour (related to democracy), and the impacts of accountability-based governance (privatization) on classroom cultures and pupils. Below are two statements that reflect the different viewpoints. It is interesting to note the global perspective of interviewee 3, and the local curriculum-oriented perspective of interviewee 4 in relation to globalization:

> One becomes a little less Norwegian if one lives in Norway because one gets this common community, but at the same time other people are abused other places in the world in this globalization in a way which is not democratic at all (Interviewee 3, state school)

> The structure and the goods we have got get a lot of attention. It takes a great bit of the curriculum I think. One goes very little into the human-ethical in that part. It is the goods that one gets as a result of economic growth [that gets most of the attention] (Interviewee 4, state school)

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community as reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

Competitiveness-driven Reforms, Decentralization and Governance
In general, there was little agreement on the part of the state schoolteachers on the influences of competitiveness-driven reforms on citizenship education. For example, while interviewee 3 held the opinion that there was the presence of a strong democratic tradition on Norway, interviewee 6 was very concerned with the abolishment of democratic values in favor of competition in the schools.

There were some variations in the viewpoints. While participants 3 and 6 showed contrasting views on the actual impact of competitiveness-oriented reforms, interviewee 5 was reserved with providing negative statements in this regard. Conversely, interviewee 4 did not make any clear indications of being in opposition to competition (also being more concerned with the issue of cultural identities and integration). Below, the variations in opinions with regards to education reforms are exemplified:

"I feel that democracy goes very automatic, which results in the fact that it can be hard [for pupils] to be engaged [in the community]. Because things will be as they are anyway" (Interviewee 3, state school)

"I do not feel it [education reforms] has affected any content. We got new books but often it is […] the books we have now are much more superficial than those we had in the past" (Interviewee 3, state school)

"To be completely honest, I teach in the same manner as I did in M eighty-seven [Reform of 87] as in everything [every reform]. The only thing that changes for me there is the text" (Interviewee 3, state school)

> So the way knowledge promotion is structured then it becomes much more individually oriented and that gets hard. If one thinks about the fact that citizenship has to do with community then it becomes hard to be […] One says one thing, and then does another for the pupils, said in a straightforward manner (Interviewee 6, state school)

Building on this, the main concern for interviewee 6 was how the education politics had changed in nature in Norway since 1990, turning to a form of politics that reflects an "economic abuse of citizens". This was reflected in her overall concerns: "But yes, it is what I think most about when we discuss this is that we are, in fact, creating a sort of society which is so prestige/outcome-based" (Interviewee 6, state school).

The above statements present the different levels in focus (meso, exo and macro levels) across some interviewees in the state school. The view that interviewee 3 held on globalization relates to global structural inequalities (while still maintaining that Norway had kept its democratic values through tradition and social norms). In the same manner, interviewee 6 appeared to be concerned with the global competitive system, which she perceived to have had a major impact on citizenship education. Some gender disparities emerged. Participant 4, as a female, did orient more around issues of inclusion (especially in regard to pupils with minority backgrounds) compared with her male counterparts. Moreover, interviewee 6, as a female, appeared to be more skeptical than the males towards competition

(and also towards privatization). It would still be difficult to determine whether gender is the causal factor for the variation in opinions observed in this case.

Additionally, interviewee 6 was concerned with meso-level educational changes in the form of increased responsibility on the teachers. She was also concerned with the impacts of structural restraints on the freedom that teachers have in the classroom, which appears as a contradiction (increased responsibility versus lack of freedom). None of the teachers in the state school had enough time to get through the curriculum within the given timeframe in their primary discipline/subject. This is a sign of time-pressure, which may relate to increased responsibilities that connect with decentralization. However, this is not conclusive in itself, and is in need of further causal explanation.

Finance-driven Reforms, Privatization

While interviewees 3, 4, and 5 showed little or no attention to finance-driven reforms in particular, these reforms were the main focus of interviewee number 6. Her particular viewpoint on this issue can be exemplified in the following statement:

> "I just start to wonder how long a time it will take before we start to call our pupils customers and that we are service workers, because that is kind of where we are heading, and I don't think that will stop in the foreseeable future" (Interviewee 6, state school).

ICT

Interviewees 3, 4 and 5 appeared to agree on the influence that globalization has on pupils through Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). The media emerged as a key concept of influence. While interviewees 3 and 4 perceived it to be a useful tool in order to stay updated on trends in and what is on the headlines, interviewees 5 and interviewee 6 appeared to be neutral on the subject (though acknowledging the influences of ICT).

Equality, Equity

Interviewees 3, 4, and 5 seemed to agree on the challenges around integration of pupils with a language minority background, or pupils with different cultural backgrounds. These concerns are reflected in statements such as the following:

Ok, it happens that we have here on the school a gathering of pupils from a different ethnicity and that these come together to make trouble. It happens that many are afraid of them, also teachers, or that one way or another one avoids them because you know that it's going to be a lot of trouble (Interviewee 3, state school)

It could be a challenge that we have some pupils who come from homes where they, due to cultural backgrounds, have not taught when they were children the rights of women in a democracy […]. But I have not experienced it as very problematic in my teaching (Interviewee 5, state school).

For interviewee 6, integration of pupils with a minority background (language or cultural background) did not emerge as a main issue, as for her the main issues revolved around competitiveness-driven reforms and privatization (se e previous sections). Accordingly, interviewee 6 differed significantly with regards to the perceptions on aspects of globalization when compared with the three other teachers.

Competences

There was an overall trend amongst the three first participants (interviewees 3, 4 and 5) on the influence of competences, which was that they did not show any concern around the influences of, or the use of the concept. In contrast, participant 6 stated that the classic citizenship education in Norway, what is called "allmenndanning", is an almost non-existent concept today. She also stated "… all the time in the Norwegian curriculum there is too much focus on the goal of texts, taken as an example. And I think the result is that one removes very much creativity in school" (Interviewee 6, state school). Although no gender differences appeared in the concept of competences, a central question surfaces as to why interviewee 6 had very different opinions from the other teachers. This could be due to an increased awareness (or knowledge) of the nature of the challenges in relation to competences and citizenship education compared to the other teachers.

Culture of Educational Measurement

Interviewees 3 and 4 did not have any particular opinions or perceptions on cultures of educational measurement. In contrast, interviewee 5 was aware of the fact that tests were to lead to reflection of the learning material. It was not for pupils to "reproduce what will be forgotten the day after", although it was also mentioned that learning goals give learning a

clear direction. The culture of educational measurement at a national level must be seen in relation to the macro-level concept of competitiveness-driven reforms and finance-driven reforms. In this respect, the opinions of interviewee 6 may be reviewed (pp. 75-76).

Teacher Performance

Interviewee 3 was of the opinion that his performance has not been particularly affected as a result of governance and educational reforms. In contrast, interviewees 4 and 5 did not mention anything particular affecting their performance as teachers. On the other hand, interviewee 6 noted that it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain community coherence and engagement within the framework manifested in the structural aspects of Knowledge Promotion (K06), where the teaching is very outcome-oriented (as pointed out in a previous section). This points to a low level of agreement amongst the teachers on this aspect, when taking into consideration the disparities of opinions.

Psychosocial: Social Divisions

Interviewees 3, 4 and 5 were all concerned with equality, equity and inclusion of pupils with minority backgrounds, claiming that possible divisions could occur at the school level (see the section on equality, equity). Contrary to this, two different key points from interviewee 6 appeared as important. She was especially critical towards the competitive mentality and groupthink ("herd mentality") that prevails in the schools, while also showing concerns over a decline in subjects related to creativity in favor of the accountability-based governance (see the section on competences).

Comparison across Concepts

One finding across the concepts was that the macro level concept of ICT relates to community engagement and awareness of global issues (related to citizenship education at the meso level), as reflected in the perceptions of interviewees 3 and 4:

> Think that maybe technical things, games etc.… which makes it so that they [pupils] do not get time to see what's happening around them. But at the same time it is many who are reading on the paper [online] and also technical stuff who acknowledge what happens (Interviewee 3, state school).

The more relevant what happens out in the world just when one works through it the better. But increased awareness that it does not take many minutes to go through the online paper every day .Look a little around you (Interviewee 4, state school).

It appears on the basis of findings related to ICT that the state schoolteachers held neutral or positive opinions regarding the use of ICT. Accordingly, they acknowledged that pupils could use ICT as tools for raising awareness of global and local challenges (i.e. through reading newspapers online) at school or at home –which relates to citizenship education in the mesosystem.

5.2.3 Summary of Findings: Public School System

1.1. Accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement appeared to have the greatest impact on the lecturers in the Public Teacher Training Colleges. The lecturers also held the social democratic principles of equity and democracy in high regard.

1.2 Decentralization, accountability-based governance, and the culture of educational measurement appear to affect teachers' performance in the state school. According to one informant, her teacher performance did affect her ability to create a sense of coherence in the community and a sufficient citizenship education for the pupils.

1.3 A gap appeared between documentation and findings from the interviews. It was indicated from the findings that only one out of four teachers in the state school were concerned about decentralization and accountability-based governance affecting teacher performance. This was not in line with the findings from the document analysis (chapter 4). There were considerable variations in opinions in this regard –where interviewee 6 held divergent opinions compared with the other teachers. Additionally, the teachers from the state school held, in general, neutral or positive opinions regarding the use of ICT.

5.3 Steiner Waldorf School

5.3.1   Key Findings: Interviewees at Steiner Waldorf Teacher Training College (Exosystem Level)

The interviewees in the Steiner Waldorf School were, for the most part, asked the same questions as the interviewees in the Public School. These questions are reflected in section 5.1. One difference was that one additional question was asked regarding influences from education reforms in the Steiner Waldorf School:

7. Could reforms in the Steiner Waldorf curricula have affected your teacher practice related to citizenship education? If so, how?

If the participant had experienced both school systems (interviewee 9), an additional question was asked regarding the eventual differences between the systems:

15. What are the differences in viewpoints between the Steiner Waldorf School and the Public School regarding democracy and citizenship, and could this have changed after the recent education reforms? If so, how?

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

The lecturers in the Steiner Waldorf School were aware of the influences from competitiveness-driven reforms, accountability-based governance, the culture of educational measurement, competences, and the psychosocial dimension. The specific connection between these and how they influence the Steiner Waldorf TTC will be highlighted in the following sub-sections.

2. What role have Teacher Training Colleges had in mediating/promoting these policy indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism in the regular schools?

This section presents the results from interviewees 7 and 8, who both work as lecturers in the Steiner Waldorf TTC. The data derived from the answers provided in the following sub-sections will be specifically relevant for research question number 2.

The concepts of finance-driven reforms, decentralization and ICT were left out, as these concepts were not reflected in the data derived from the lecturers. As explained in section 5.1, no specific questions were asked regarding these concepts. Taking into consideration that these concepts were not mentioned indicates that they were not of major concern for the interviewees in the Steiner Waldorf TTC. A paragraph on citizenship education is added at the end of this section, as particular perspectives on citizenship education emerged from the Steiner Waldorf TTC.

Competitiveness-driven Reforms

Interviewee 7 (male) was aware of the standardized testing and the motives behind this, claiming that the main motive was global competition. Interviewee 8 (female) differed in this respect, as she did not mention competition as an aspect, instead showing concern over the increasing focus on intellectual aspects of learning gaining ground in Steiner Waldorf schools (which is only a part of the Steiner Waldorf approach). Accordingly, this aspect could indicate a gender difference.

Governance

The aspect of governance derived from the state policies surfaced in the opinions of interviewee 7, as seen in the concerns regarding the restructuring of education into the accountability-based model. In contrast, interviewee 8 did not show any specific concerns regarding models of governance influencing the Steiner Waldorf School.

There was an agreement between the two lecturers that the Steiner Waldorf School has a strong democratic tradition, which includes a flat structure (even including the janitor in questions relating to governance).

Equality, Equity,

The issue of equality, equity appeared in two aspects in the Steiner Waldorf TTC: Curriculum and pedagogical approach.

Equality in the Curriculum

There appeared to be agreement about issues of equality and equity in regard to the inclusion of different cultural backgrounds reflected in the viewpoints of both interviewees. For example, interviewee 8 brought up examples of practical pedagogical methods used in order

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to stimulate interest in subjects; spanning all the way from proving Pythagoras' mathematical formula in different ways (Indian and Arabic), to obtaining a relationship with historical cultures and their context. In the same line, interviewee 7 emphasized the importance of raising awareness of global inequalities, both regarding the oppression of women and also other cultures (especially Muslims). There was a general consensus amongst the two lecturers that the European and American cultures dominate the cultural landscape, and that the lecturers role is to balance this view.

Inequality for the Steiner Waldorf Pedagogical Approach

Interviewee 8 mentioned one aspect relating to pedagogical approach, which was not explicitly reflected in the views of interviewee 7. The concern mentioned here was the fact that the Steiner Waldorf Tradition had to 'fight hard to uphold our innate tradition', and that there is increasing austerity measures directed at the Steiner Waldorf tradition in Norway.

Competences

Although they approached the issue in different ways, both lecturers agreed to the impacts of competence goals in the Steiner Waldorf School. While interviewee 7 (male) thought that competences are 'insufficient' as a concept, interviewee 8 (female) perceived competences placing a restraint on children, and also having wider implications. The statements below will exemplify these views:

"We had to implement competence goals in seventh and tenth grade [Lower Secondary School], and in the first, second and third grades of Upper Secondary School" (Interviewee 8, Steiner Waldorf TTC).

"I think that the concept of competence is a concept that is about what outputs that you want to have after finishing school. I do think it is a relevant concept, but not sufficient" (Interviewee 7, Steiner Waldorf TTC)

"Our experience is that the competence demands are to a certain extent a straightjacket to take care of children […]. The competence demands have affected not only teachers' consciousness but also the parents'" (Interviewee 8, Steiner Waldorf TTC).

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Psychosocial: Social Divisions

There were no explicit elements in the perceptions of the two lecturers regarding divisions as a result of globalization and neoliberalism. However, there were variations in the opinions between the two lecturers that could suggest an emerging social division. For example, interviewee 7 appeared to be concerned with the intellectual aspects increasingly gaining ground in the Steiner Waldorf School: "And it is the general intellectual weighing and the needs of society, not the needs of the child, that comes strongly sneaking in". Conversely, interviewee 8 was of the experience that "for many students [there is a challenge] to break with the simple assumption regarding everything that is wrong in educational politics, and to get insight into pedagogy as a scientific subject". It seems that interviewee 7 was more concerned with the needs of the individual child, while interviewee 8 was more concerned with educational policies and to break with wrong assumptions. It could be speculated that these viewpoints reflect gender variations. More research is needed in order to investigate whether these viewpoints could lead to divisions (i.e. between students and lecturers).

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

Teacher Performance

According to interviewee 8, teachers have traditionally been autonomous in the Steiner Waldorf tradition. Furthermore, he claimed that the Public School has, to a very small degree, affected the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical tradition in terms of what children are supposed to learn. This may contradict the opinions of interviewee 7 who claimed it was difficult to uphold the Steiner Waldorf pedagogy in a climate of economic restrictions (see section on equality, equity).

Strikes, Protests, Reform Practices

From the perspective of the two lecturers in the Steiner Waldorf TTC, community engagement and activism were both regarded as highly important in order to make a positive contribution. These, according to the viewpoint of interviewee 7, were founded in the perceptions of human rights and community engagement in volunteer organizations and humanitarian organizations. For interviewee 8, the concept of "scientific activism" and the emphasis of studying pedagogy reflected in the belief that "this study is for people who are

pedagogical activists". Thus, the concept of reform practice is indicated in the Steiner Waldorf tradition at the level of the exosystem (TTCs).

Citizenship Education

Interviewees 7 and 8 agreed on the perspectives on citizenship education reflected in two aspects. First, they both held the same opinions on the importance of citizenship seen in both a global and a local perspective. Second, they both held the Steiner Waldorf approach of a "life of free spirit" in high regard, which connects with their policy of teacher autonomy (see section on teacher performances).

Comparison across Concepts

In light of the perceptions of interviewee 8, the concept of competences could lead to inequalities of the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical approach in the form of its marginalization. The increased focus on intellectual aspects of citizenship could be a result of state policies in the form of implementing competence goals, which has affected the Steiner Waldorf schools. This appears as a reasonable explanation as the competence goals as well as standardized testing are the two policy measures that the Steiner Waldorf School has been forced to adopt: There is no doubt that these policy measures are devised to measure intellectual aspects of the pupils' performance.

5.3.2 Key Findings: Interviewees at Steiner Waldorf Regular School

This section will describe the findings from the data derived from participants 9, 10, 11 and 12 - all working as teachers in the Steiner Waldorf regular school. The following concepts were left out of this section: Decentralization, New Public Management, and protests, strikes and reform practices, as these policy aspects and dimensions were not indicated from the interviews. The explanation for this is given in section 5.1, as well as in later sections: It is deduced from this that the informants were not overly concerned or affected by these policy indicators and dimensions of globalization/neoliberalism.

Note that in this section the aspects of competitiveness-driven reforms and culture of educational measurement are merged as a result of how the teachers view these issues of measurement.

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

The accountability-based model of governance, the culture of educational measurement and competences emerged as policy indicators that affect the teachers in the regular Steiner Waldorf School. The psychosocial dimension also appeared as a finding in the Steiner Waldorf regular school. The specific correlation between these concepts will be elaborated through answering research question 3 (again, research question 2 is omitted in the same manner as with the state school).

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community, as reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

Competitiveness-driven Reforms, Culture of Educational Measurement

In general, there was a high level of agreement in regard to the presence of a competition-oriented culture in the Public School seen from the perspective of the Steiner Waldorf teachers. For example, interviewee 9 continuously referred to the 'test regime' present in the Public School system, seen in statements such as "[…] this test regime that creates so much stress for children all the way down into first grade. I see that as a very negative factor in this work […]". Moreover, interviewee 10 would not enroll her child in the Public School, while simultaneously pointing out that the Steiner Waldorf schools do not have the same competition-based orientation. In much the same fashion, interviewee 11 pointed out:

"I do think that many of the teachers in the Steiner Waldorf School and in Public School feel pressure that they [the pupils] are supposed to know this and that. And these tests, and the Public School results etc. […]" (Interviewee 11, Steiner Waldorf School)

Interviewee 12 was more concerned with the macro-level structural aspects of competition as well as governance, claiming that Norwegian youth are increasingly positioned to compete with students from other countries. A gender difference appears here, as interviewees 9, 10 and 11 (female) were more concerned with the mesosystem level, while interviewee 12 (male), focused on the macro level.

Finance-driven Reforms, Privatization

There were varying views in regard to privatization and financial reforms. Interviewees 9 and 12 were most concerned with finance-driven reforms and privatization, but had different views. For example, interviewee 9 mentioned austerity measures in the form of budget cuts of art-oriented subjects, and the increase in budget in subjects like Norwegian and mathematics. In contrast, interviewee 12 was more concerned with the privatization of society as a whole in the form of governance, claiming in this respect that the banks (and not politicians) rule Europe and the United States. The informant was concerned regarding the impact of this, leading to increased debt that could affect pupils and their future choice of education. These concerns were particularly reflected in the following typical statement:

> Yes, and then the jobs disappear. Then I wonder what I am educating my students towards. What future am I educating them towards? Because within about five to six years they are going to get student debt, then it's going to be house loans, then they are locked in a society where the jobs are rapidly disappearing (Interviewee 12, Steiner Waldorf school).

While interviewees 9 and 12 were concerned with privatization, interviewees 10, 11 were less concerned, although showing increased concern over competition and measurement compared with interviewees 9 and 12. No pattern with regards to gender was observed on this point.

ICT

A noticeable trend for the Steiner Waldorf regular school is the general skepticism or critical attitude towards the use and impact of ICT. As an example, interviewee 10 was concerned with the entertainment branch that substitutes learning that children previously got from their parents (for example, media or TV shows that the children were exposed to due to busy

parents). Interviewee 11 appeared to agree, and was critical towards the impact of ICT use on the pupils' psychological functioning:

> Children should develop the capability to develop their own inner pictures, and that can be hard in a time when there are so much screens, finished-made […]. But this capability to create these inner pictures is one of the most important things (Interviewee11, Steiner Waldorf School).

Furthermore, interviewee 11 was also of the opinion that certain TV shows provide pupils with negative attitudes, where it is "okay to freeze people out".

Interviewee 12 appeared to agree with interviewee 11. He was critical towards the impact of the media on pupils, reflected in the following comment:

> I feel that the media overruns many pupils, they use far too much time on computer games, American TV shows, Netflix, the phone, and that weakens their social competence. Because, on the one hand they are very active, and on the other hand they are very passive due to that overstimulation […] (Interviewee 12, Steiner Waldorf school).

Governance

This aspect should be seen in relation to the sections on competitiveness-driven reforms and the culture of educational measurement. A common concern for many of the teachers in the Steiner school was that the intellectual aspects of learning were heavily affecting their pedagogical practice which, according to them, is more hands-on and practical. This concern was reflected in the viewpoints of interviewees 9, 10 and 11 (all female). This form of governance (related to the accountability model) relates to the concepts/policy aspects of competitiveness-driven reforms and competences.

Equality, Equity

It does appear that the teachers in the Steiner Waldorf School do feel increased pressure from competences and measurement that they are obliged to undertake through state policies. This must be seen in light of the level of agreement amongst the teachers on the influences from competitiveness-driven reforms.

Competences

There were disparities in the opinions of the Steiner Waldorf schoolteachers on the influences of competences. Interviewees 10 and 11 held clear opinions on competences in contrast with interviewees 9 and 12. Interviewee 10 mentioned that the pupils should meet the same competence goals as in the Public School. Interviewee 10 added that the pupils in first grade do not have an education in reading and speaking skills, and that they have kindergarten methodology in first grade. This was reasoned by Rudolf Steiner (the founder of the Steiner Waldorf schools) to be a natural form of development. It was thought that the skills for abstraction and conceptual reasoning followed the creative and motor-based skills that preceded these skills. According to Interviewee 10, the model of the public school with the attendance of six-year olds made parents expect increased levels of homework on six-year olds. Interviewee 10 questioned the validity of these concerns by saying "one could ask then whether the parents are reasonable, or if they are just following a model imposed on them". As with interviewee 10, interviewee 11 was also aware of the influences of competences, again pointing out that that they have kindergarten pedagogy in 1st grade. Nonetheless, interviewee 11 referred to the fact that they should meet the level of competences as in the Public School (and they test pupils to ensure this).

Teacher Performance

The concern over pressure from parents (expectations) appears important for both interviewees 10 and interviewee 11. These expectations appeared as a factor affecting teacher performance. Additionally, the intellectual aspects of curriculum appeared as a possible factor affecting the traditional Steiner Waldorf pedagogical practice, resulting in increased expectations of homework for pupils in first grade.

Psychosocial, Social Divisions

The main concepts that emerge here is that ICT and the influences on psychological functioning, lead, according to interviewee 12, to a lack of social competence. Moreover, the spirit of competition is regarded to create unhealthy conditions. This is reflected in the viewpoints of interviewee 10 and 11 (see section on competitiveness-driven reforms).

Comparison across Concepts

The consensus of the teachers in regard to the influence of the culture of educational measurement does indicate that teachers perceived a marginalization of the Steiner Waldorf

pedagogical approach, particularly when considering the level of agreement between teachers 9, 10 and 11, who claim that this culture leads to increased focus on the intellectual aspects of learning. One of them (interviewee 10) mentions the reform of Knowledge Promotion as a cause of this restructuring. Therefore, there appears to be a connection between the culture of measurement and the aspect of equality (or lack thereof).

5.3.3 Summary of Findings: Steiner Waldorf School System

2.1 The accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement are indicated to affect citizenship education at the Steiner Waldorf TTC through the concept of competences. The concept of competences affected the psychosocial dimension, as manifested in the emerging theme of the increased emphasis placed on intellectual assessments.

2.2 The findings from policy-level indicators at the regular Steiner school were consistent with the findings from the Steiner Waldorf TTC: Accountability, culture of educational measurement and competences emerge as central policy indicators of influence.

2.3 The Steiner Waldorf School appears to be significantly influenced by social dimensions - both by cultures and social norms.

This finding is reflected in two aspects. First, ICT impacts the psychosocial dimension according to the Steiner Waldorf teachers and lecturers. This is reflected in concerns about the overstimulation of pupils, and their incapability to form inner pictures. Second, concerns are raised regarding the role of the media (i.e. cultures of competition and freezing out others) and the culture of intellectual weighing/measurement in the schools.

5.4 Comparative Analysis of School Systems

This section will present a comparative analysis of the two systems on the basis of the summary sections in the presentation of findings. This analysis will follow the numbering of these sections. The analysis will be performed based on the structure of the three research questions and the levels reflected in the Ecological Systems Approach (Figure 1):

- Which policies have been adopted in the two systems, and on what and how the systems differ?
- The degree of impact by globalization on the education system according to the personnel in the Public and Steiner Waldorf Teacher Training Colleges and schools.
- The viewpoints of the teachers at the regular schools (both state schools and Steiner Waldorf schools) on how these policies and dimensions affect citizenship education at the mesosystem level.

This will further lay the basis for the overall results presented in the final chapter (chapter 6). For a summary of the comparison, see Table 2.

5.4.1 Policy Indicators and Dimensions Adopted in the Two Systems: Views of Lecturers

Comparing findings no. 1.1 with 2.1: Accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement appeared to have the greatest impact on the lecturers in the Public TTC. These policy indicators (accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement) were also indicated to significantly influence the Steiner Waldorf TTC. The lecturers from the Public TTC held social democratic principles (equity and democracy) in high regard, while the lecturers in the Steiner Waldorf TTC also indicated that their tradition was rooted in democratic principles. In addition, competences emerge as significant policy indicator influencing citizenship education at the Steiner Waldorf School, which did not seem to be the case in the Public School.

5.4.2 The Degree of Impact by Globalization: Viewpoints of Personnel in the School Systems

Comparing findings no. 1.2 with 2.2:
The findings derived from the personnel in the Public School indicated that decentralization, accountability-based governance, and the culture of educational measurement affect teacher performance through time pressure and structural aspects of the reform of Knowledge Promotion. There were increased variations in opinions about the effects these policy

indicators have in citizenship education within the state school compared with the Steiner school.

Accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement also appeared to influence the Steiner Waldorf School. The concept of competences affect the psychosocial dimension of citizenship education, manifested in the emerging theme of increased weight placed on intellectual assessments. The weight on intellectual assessments relates to the perceived marginalization of the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical tradition.

Consequently, two differences emerge. The nature of the first difference is that, in the Public School, accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement affects teacher performance directly, while in the Steiner Waldorf School the culture of educational measurement seems to affect both teacher performance and citizenship education through the concept of competences. Second, increased variations in opinions were observed at the state school regarding the influences of globalization.

5.4.3 Impacts on Citizenship Education

Comparing findings no. 1.2, 1.3 with 2.3:
A gap appeared between the documentation and the findings from the interviews on the influences that decentralization and accountability-based governance have on teacher performance in the Public School. The Steiner Waldorf School appeared to be increasingly influenced by social dimensions taking the form of cultures and social norms compared with the Public School. This was manifested in two aspects: The impacts of ICT on the psychosocial dimension of citizenship education, the role of the media, and the intellectual weighing/measurement in the schools also influencing citizenship education. A notable gender difference appeared in the Steiner Waldorf School, where the female teachers and lecturers were concerned with psychological workings resulting from the culture of education measurement, while the two male participants oriented more around structural aspects such as governance, administration and global perspectives in this regard. These conclusions should be seen as tentative, and in need of further research and exploration.

5.4.4 Concluding Reflections

Although all the above findings are of relevance, it should be stated that the most significant differences between the school systems appears to be three aspects. First, the variations in opinions by personnel in the state school were not present in the Steiner Waldorf School. Second, the increased influence of competences in the Steiner Waldorf School was not present in the Public School, which relates to the critical attitudes shown by the Steiner personnel towards an intellectual emphasis in education. Third, the influence of the social dimension (ICT, media, culture of competition affecting the psychosocial dimension) was unique to the Steiner School.

Table 2. Comparative Overview of Adopted Policies, Dimensions And Key Issues

Exosystem: TTC, Perceptions of lecturers	Public School	Steiner Waldorf School
	Policies and dimensions adopted	*Policies and dimensions adopted*
	Macrosystem	**Macrosystem**
	Competitiveness-driven reforms	Competitiveness-driven reforms
	Finance-driven reforms	Accountability-based governance
	privatization, decision-making	**Exosystem**
	Accountability-based governance	Culture of educational
	Exosystem	measurement (one lecturer)
	Culture of educational	Competences(competence goals
	measurement	and tests)
	Teacher performance	Teacher Performance
		Mesosystem
		Key Issues
		Social dimensions
		Intellectual weight and
		measurement
		ICT and media
		Psychosocial dimension
Mesosystem: Regular Schools, Perceptions of teachers	*Policies and dimensions adopted*	*Policies and dimensions adopted*
	Macrosystem	**Macrosystem**
	Accountability-based governance	Accountability-based governance
	Exosystem	**Exosystem**
	Competences	Competences
	Culture of educational	Culture of educational
	measurement (one out of four	measurement
	teachers)	Teacher performance
	Decentralization (one out of four	**Mesosystem**
	teachers, time pressure)	**Key Issue**
	Teacher performance	**Social dimensions**
	Mesosystem	Intellectual weight and
	Key Issue(s)	measurement
	Variations In Opinions	ICT and media
	Frameworks of K06 leading to	Psychosocial dimension
	difficulties in teaching civic skills	

Note: These are tentatively generated from the findings, abbreviated, and are in need of further exploration in a wider context.

6 Discussion

The aim of this chapter will be to answer the research questions that were presented in chapter 1. The questions will be answered seen through the theoretical framework based on the findings in chapters 4 and 5. First, a brief summary of the findings will be provided.

Findings no. 1.0 and 2.0 (critical discourse analysis) indicated that competitiveness-driven reforms affect the Norwegian education system through the policy indicators of decentralization, accountability-based governance, and the National Quality Assessment System (NQAS) (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). The above-mentioned indicators appear to affect teacher performance through accountability-based governance, the control of competences and results, New Public Management (NPM), National Quality Assessment System (NQAS), Management by Objectives (MBOs), and decentralization of responsibilities (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Sivesind & Bachmann, 2008; Telhaug, 2006). Findings related to key dimensions concerned equality, equity, and the psychosocial.

The most essential findings from the interviews can be summarized in four aspects. First, The accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement appeared to have the greatest impact on the lecturers in both the Teacher Training Colleges (Public and Steiner Waldorf TTCs). These policy indicators also affected the regular teachers. Secondly, variations of opinions emerged from the findings derived from teachers in the state school, which was not the case in the Steiner Waldorf regular school. Thirdly, the policy indicator of competences appeared to affect citizenship education at the Steiner Waldorf School to an increased extent than compared with the Public School. Fourthly, The Steiner Waldorf School (exosystem and mesosystem) was influenced to a larger extent by a social dimension in the form of cultures and social norms than was the case at the Public School. A notable gender difference appeared in the Steiner Waldorf School.

1. What policy-level indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism have been adopted in the two school systems through education reforms since 1990 (and which have not)?

General Reflection

As stated in the previous section, competitiveness-driven reforms have affected the Norwegian education system since the 1990s, as reflected in research and policy documents that pay testament to the fact that Norway has to keep up with global competition through quality measures and education reforms (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006). The competitiveness-driven reforms affect the education sector in Norway through the policy indicators of decentralization, accountability-based governance, competences, and the National Quality Assessment System (NQAS) (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006; Willbergh, 2015). The most central of these will be highlighted in the coming sections. Finance-driven reforms appear to influence the education system in Norway taking the form of New Public Management, operating through the National Quality Assessment System (NQAS) and Management by Objectives (MBOs) (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

The document analysis further suggested that competitiveness- and finance-driven reforms appear to affect teachers' performance through accountability-based governance, the culture of educational measurement, New Public Management (NPM), National Quality Assessment System (NQAS), Management by Objectives (MBOs), and decentralization of responsibilities (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006). Findings related to key dimensions were equality, equity, teacher performance, and the psychosocial dimension. No noticeable geographical differences between the schools appeared in my study.

Accountability-based Governance and Culture of Educational Measurement

The viewpoints of the informants in the Public TTC both agreed that the presence of competition in the school system manifested in the accountability model of governance. The actual impacts of competitiveness-driven reforms should be seen in relation to the culture of educational measurement on a national level, which appears to be an impact of these reforms. There were variations in viewpoints between the regular teachers at the state school level regarding the impacts of competitiveness-driven reforms (one out of four mentioned this as a major concern). More research is needed in order to conclude the level of impact at the state school level.

In the Steiner Waldorf TTC, the lecturers did not reflect the impact of competitiveness-driven reforms to the same extent as in the Public TTC, as the Steiner TTC lecturers were more concerned with competences. The Steiner Waldorf regular school showed contrasting tendencies, as all four teachers were critical towards the implementation of accountability and measurement in the school system.

It could be speculated whether NPM through NQAS, and MBOs (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013) as relating to finance-driven reforms drive the accountability-based governance at the macro level, which, in turn, does have impacts on the level of exosystem (school system) and the mesosystem level (social interactions by creating a culture of educational measurement).

Decentralization

Despite the literature on the implementation of decentralization policies in Norway (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Karlsen, 2006; Solhaug, 2011; Telhaug, 2006), variations emerged from the data in regard to the impact of decentralization on citizenship education (one out of four teachers mentioning this as a major concern). The teachers in the state school also appeared to be subject to time pressure. One interviewee commented on the increased responsibility put on teachers, as well as governance from the central authorities. This led to rigid frameworks that placed restraints on teachers in regard to aspects related to citizenship education (democracy, community engagement, and other civic skills).

Competences

In particular, the influences of competences was highlighted and implemented after the policy statement "Kvalitetsutvalget" (roughly translated as Quality Selection Committee) reflected in the policy document of NOU 2003:16 (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015). The findings (chapter 5) supported the impact of competences at both exosystem level and mesosystem level (Public School) as well as on the Steiner Waldorf School (both meso and exosystem level). For example, in my empirical fieldwork, it turned out to be the case that teachers in the state school more frequently understood the questions asked when using the word competences rather than using the regular word for citizenship education ("medborgerkompetanse" versus "danning").

Equality, Equity

The Nordic model and socially democratic principles appeared to have long traditions in Norway, which is also the case today (Antikainen, 2006; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Corroborating this, the findings from the case study interviews supported the document analysis in this regard. Accordingly, equality and equity emerged as important concepts of influence in the same line as concepts related to neoliberalism and globalization. The findings from the interviews indicated that these two traditions might, however, stand in contrast to each other.

Concluding Thoughts

The influences from accountability and measurement in Norway were in accordance with what was found in both the international and national literature (Ball, 2013; Carnoy, 1999; Hovdenak & Stray, 2015; Telhaug, 2006). This was particularly the case with market-led reforms in the public sector, which is accurately predicted by Ball (2013). The macro level term competitiveness-driven reforms described by Carnoy (1999) appeared to manifest themselves as accountability, measurement, decentralization, competences and New Public Management (NPM) in Norwegian education (Hopmann, 2008; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Telhaug, 2006; Willbergh, 2015).

What was unexpected from the findings was the apparently wide impact of neoliberalism on the macro scale (i.e. most concepts appeared to be adopted). This suggests that a broader awareness around the market-oriented influences of globalization is needed, as this appears a rarely contested issue in Norway. The implications of this global and neoliberal influence suggest the possibility of a broader influence by this ideology on socio-cultural dimensions than many people are currently aware, despite the socially democratic tradition in Norway. When considering the difficulties accessing institutions for conducting this research (see chapter 3), and also the recent debates about the state of democracy in Norwegian education, the presence of neoliberalism itself does not appear as a surprise.

2. What role have Teacher Training Colleges had in mediating/promoting these policy indicators and dimensions related to globalization and neoliberalism in the regular schools?

It appears that the lecturers at the Teacher Training Colleges were critical towards the influences of market-oriented, neoliberal forms of globalization. This was reflected in the

consensus and the many statements relating to traditional values in the Nordic Welfare model and the social democratic tradition (values such as democratic participation, democracy, community engagement and critical thinking). This finding was in line with the research by Wiborg (2013), which suggests that Norway has, to some extent, been resilient towards international neoliberal influences and is still adhering to traditional values. Statements such as "we try not to educate students to become functionaries in the current curriculum" (Interviewee 2) suggest that the lecturers interviewed are somewhat resilient to influences of neoliberal globalization through the curriculum. This is in line with the research by Aasen, et al. (2014) who state that the Ministry of Education and Research could mediate neoliberal influence by preserving social democratic values and traditions in education. Furthermore, the lecturers at the Public TTC appeared to be aware of the challenges for regular schoolteachers, pointing out how the teachers in the Oslo schools focus too little on time-demanding but important aspects of teaching (such as ethical reflections), while also showing an awareness of increased governance and control over teachers. Their viewpoints are supported by the Union of Education Norway (2014), which opposes the influence of increased control and governance over teachers, which has resulted in teacher strikes in the past year (Union of Education Norway, 2014).

Despite the fact that the lecturers were aware of, and critical, towards the accountability-based governance, and the strong adherence to the social democratic model in Norway, there is no evident conclusion regarding mediation on behalf of the Teacher Training Colleges. Even though the lecturers were aware of the challenges, and critical towards neoliberal globalization (even willing to protest for a change), they appeared as rather helpless in performing actions that could amount to any real change in the mediation of globalization and neoliberal influences. However, they were in a position to impose certain principles and ideas to the students in class. In this regard, they hold key positions in the transferring of values to the students that are both a part of, yet that stand apart from, the curriculum instructions.

In the Steiner Waldorf School, the answers from the two interviewees indicate that the Steiner Waldorf tradition is rooted in humanist and activist perspectives such as scientific activism. There were indications of attitudes that, from the viewpoints of the lecturers, run counter to the influences of competences and accountability. Despite this, the general impression was that the lecturers in the Steiner Teacher Training College were also quite

helpless in mediating the influences of neoliberal globalization. Awareness of challenges appears to amount to little more than a small local change, but no real mediation at a national level.

Concluding Thoughts

To summarize, the lecturers at the Teacher Training Colleges did not show any further signs of mediation of neoliberal globalization other than awareness, as well as passive and critical attitudes. Despite this, there were indications of a willingness to engage in the issue at a local level, especially at the Steiner TTC. What may explain these findings is the lack of democratic participation at the TTCs, or other structural constraints hindering the lecturers in the processes of making a difference on cultures of learning for pupils. This highlights the importance of letting experienced personnel in the TTCs participate in decision-making processes regarding future policy-making on learning cultures, and that their opinions are heard. The structure of democracy appeared to be very egalitarian at the Steiner Waldorf TTC, which could serve as a decent democratic model for other school systems.

3. How do the central policy indicators and dimensions (related to globalization and neoliberalism) manifest in the school community reflected in the perceptions of lower secondary school teachers?

As mentioned previously, the main findings were reflected in four issues. Three of these variations occurred at the mesosystem level (school community, social relations and the individual level). First, a key finding from the state school was variations amongst the teachers regarding the impact by the culture of educational measurement and decentralization. There were large disparities between the three first teachers and the last teacher that was interviewed, who made several negative comments regarding both competitiveness-driven reforms and the culture of educational measurement. In this regard, there was a gap between the literature and the findings from the teachers in respect to the impact of decentralization and the focus on measurement. This could suggest that the neoliberal restorative movement has not had a significant impact at the school level. Alternatively, however, it could mean that the sample was somehow biased (i.e. norms of keeping silent about such issues or simply that the interviewees were not aware of the issue). It may also suggest that social divisions are prevalent in the state school under investigation in the form of disagreements and variations in viewpoints, in the line with research by

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Carnoy (1999). Certainly, it does not amount to conclude with a form of homogenization in opinions taking place as a result of globalization, as suggested by Nafstad et al. (2009). The disparities in the opinions among the teachers in the state school were not reflected in the Steiner Waldorf regular school. This could suggest that there was a stronger coherence amongst the Steiner Waldorf staff regarding opinions on certain issues (like citizenship education).

Second, the concept of competences emerged as a central concept in the Steiner Waldorf tradition. In this tradition, the accountability-based governance and the culture of educational measurement appeared to influence citizenship education (and possibly teacher performance) through the concept of competences. The concept of competences, according to the Steiner Waldorf staff, is affecting the psychosocial dimension of pupils. The main concern that emerged here was the increased intellectual weighing of students and pupils, which did not appear to resonate with the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical approach (which includes more dimensions than the intellectual one of learning and citizenship).

Third, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) appeared as central to the Steiner Waldorf teachers, as reflected in the opinions indicating that ICT affects the psychosocial dimension in regard to the pupils' inability to form inner pictures, as well as concerns over overstimulation of senses through rapidly occurring impulses (i.e. from media, television, computers, phones).

Concluding Thoughts

Why were there such differences in opinions among state schoolteachers? One possible explanation, seen in relation to research (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2003-2004; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Willbergh, 2015), is the understandings of teacher responsibility are principally defined in policy documents to mean accountability for results achieved (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Consequently, teacher responsibilites in terms of accountability and competence based assessments lead to disempowered teachers (Willbergh, 2015). A central argument in relation to research by Willbergh (2015) is that pupils are unable to enjoy the autonomy which allows for creativity and uniqueness to flourish in a classroom-climate dominated by standardized, competence-based assessments. Accordingly, the teacher-student relationship suffers (Willbergh, 2015).

Teachers could handle such a situation in two ways. They could comply with increased accountability-based responsibilities, or they could secretly oppose it -while possibly not finding it comfortable to speak out. Consequently, different opinions could surface in the interview situation –as only some teachers may find it comfortable to share their opinions. Whether this being the case or not, it appeared that teachers do not perceive the same challenges in the global and local community, and so are unlikely to provide citizenship education and civic skills in an equable manner to pupils. Granting increased responsibilities by the weight placed on accountability of results could, as indicated in my study, lead to rigidity in the teaching-learning situation that do not create the autonomy needed for proper citizenship education to take place. This could lead to a lack of meaning or content in education (as argued by Willbergh) that appears to be critical in providing civic skills for the future.

Judged by the work of Willbergh (2015), the traditional concept of citizenship education in Norway implies a more process-oriented education, and favors human autonomy, meaning making and ethical reflections. The Steiner Waldorf School personnel proved to be rather critical towards the concept of competences and the related intellectual weight in schooling. Could these attitudes be a result of their increased adherence to non-intellectual (i.e. artistic skills) and spiritual elements of citizenship education compared with the Public School? It's tempting to ask this question, considering that the Steiner Waldorf curriculum emphasizes a high degree of autonomy compared to the Public School (En Læreplan for Steinerskolene, 2014).

My study indicates that educational measurement, accountability and competences are insufficient or incomplete concepts for the providing civic education for the future. The concepts do not provide a sufficient foundation for citizenship within the framework of traditional citizenship education in Norway ('allmenndanning'), or within the peace education framework of Brantmeyer (2013). Nonetheless, the concepts may fit within the framework of Petrovic and Kurtz (2014), as a focus on increasing competences could provide pupils the skills for handling issues in a complex society –where ecological and social challenges are rapidly occurring. This assumption may still be disputable as it depends on what kind of competences and skills are emphasized in the formal curricula. Certainly, skills are important. The question is whether skills and competences are to be the fundament of citizenship education considering the limitations addressed by my research.

In light of these findings, where should citizenship education be headed in the future? This is a difficult but yet profound question. Whether one speaks of citizenship education or not, awareness of challenges, a sense of community, work satisfaction amongst teachers, and moral obligations for future generations all appear to be critical in order to tackle social and environmental challenges. In this respect, accountability, measurement, and competences may not be sufficient, as they do not seem to support community, work satisfaction or moral obligations to a significant extent. Future research should look further into the foundation and future for citizenship education in the Norwegian context.

The variations of opinions at the state school, as well as the implications of competences and ICT on the psychosocial dimension in the Steiner Waldorf School, highlight the importance of increasing awareness amongst school staff, pupils, and the wider society regarding the influences of ideological dimensions of globalization, ICT and weight on intellectual assessments. This is based on the fact that there was a general lack of awareness around the implications of these policy-indicators and dimensions. This is indicated by the apparently different opinions on influences of globalization, both within and between schools.

In light of research by Brantmeyer (2013) and Petrovic and Kurtz (2014), citizenship and peace education must encompass engagement in the local community and adaptation to a complex society. Moreover, it must imply engaging in action involving awareness of future generations and for the environment.

An engagement in the local community, while also being aware of the environment, points to the importance of awareness on how globalization and the inherent ideology of neoliberalism affect both local and global issues. The indicators and dimensions of decentralization, the culture of educational measurement, competences, intellectual weighing and ICT encompass the microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem levels. From this it may be deduced that contributions from both school systems could be of value in this research. The findings from the Steiner Waldorf School indicate the importance of upholding an awareness of challenges relating to competences, intellectual weighing, and ICT in citizenship education amongst stakeholders in education. While in the Public School, an increased awareness amongst key stakeholders (especially teachers) regarding the limitations and challenges around educational

measurement and decentralization would be of great value in order to prepare citizens for the future.

6.1 Concluding Remarks And Future Recommendations

The general picture derived from the findings and discussion indicates that all the dimensions relating to globalization and neoliberalism at the macro level have influenced the Norwegian system of education: both the Public School and the Steiner Waldorf School. It appears that strong traditions and principles related to the Nordic model in the school system may still counter the conservative restorative policy movement, which appears to give credibility to the research by Antikainen (2006), Wiborg (2013), and Aasen et al. (2014). This indicates that the state and knowledge regime in Norway could still contain elements of socially democratic orientation. Some literature suggests a strong neoliberal influence in other countries (Ball, 2013; Schierup & Alund, 2011; Telhaug, 1994). Education in Norway could have been influenced in the same lines, although is still holding onto social democratic principles to a significant extent. Both deeper and broader research is needed in order to further uncover neoliberal influences.

Furthermore, the lecturers at the Teacher Training Colleges appear to play a passive role at the level of governance in mediating influences through education reforms at both TTCs. The two TTCs have different pedagogical foundations, although both have strong democratic traditions.

Educational measurement and decentralization are both noticeably present on the macro level, which was not reflected to the same extent in the perceptions of the teachers in the state school. Accordingly, more research is needed in order to uncover the extent of influences from these policy-level indicators. Future research could also evaluate the impact that measurement and competences have on the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical approach, and how to improve the assessment system in order to adapt to the Steiner Waldorf pedagogical tradition. This assessment may take into consideration the broader spectrum of skills represented in the Steiner Waldorf approach to citizenship education: practical skills, artistic skills and spiritual aspects.

In general, the findings from my case study further highlight the importance of educating pupils and students for a higher awareness regarding the influences from globalization and neoliberalism, in order to better prepare citizens for engaging in social, environmental and wider complex issues represented in contemporary society. In this respect, the peace education proposed by Brantmeyer (2013) could be a most useful perspective to inform, or even challenge contemporary understandings of citizenship education by examining the ways social, economic and political structures hinder a peaceful and just development of the individual, society and the ecological environment.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Norwegian Interview Guide

(Skript: Forklar studie og angi definisjon av medborgerskap)

1. Hva legger du i begrepet medborgerkompetanse?

2. Hvordan er medborgerkompetanse verdifullt i skolen og i samfunnet?

3. Hvilke utfordringer eksisterer i ditt skoledistrikt (Oslo) som kan påvirke medborgerkompetanse?

4. Hvilke politiske føringer kan ha vært lagt til læreplanen gjennom de siste 10-20 årene som kan ha påvirket din praksis som lærer i de fagene du underviser i?

5. Etter din mening, hvordan blir elevene dine lært opp til å være kompetente medborgere som et resultat av måten du underviser på?

6. På hvilke måter tror du at L97 og Kunnskapsløftet har påvirket din lærepraksis for å bidra til medborgerkompetanse?

7. Kan reformer i Steinerskole læreplanen ha påvirket din lærepraksis relatert til medborgerkompetanse, og hvordan?

8. Hvilke faktorer utenfor din kontroll (på skole, i samfunn) kan påvirke medborgerkompetanse hos elevene?

9. Hvordan kan globalisering ha virket inn på medborgerkompetanse?

10. Har du nok tid til å komme igjennom læreplanen i alle fagene du underviser innen en gitt tidsramme, og har dette endret seg i løpet av de siste 10-20 år?

11. Hvis, og hvordan erfarer du at utdanningsreformer som L97 og lk06, eller reformer I Steinerskole læreplan, har påvirket innholdet i det du underviser i?

12. Hva synes du er viktigst i en læreplan relatert til medborgerkompetanse, I.e samfunnsfag: Undervisning i demokratisk medborgerskap forstått i et humanistisk rammeverk eller et økonomisk rammeverk?

13. Hvilken rolle tror du globalisering har hatt når det gjelder innflytelse på medborgerkompetanse i ditt skoledistrikt?

14. Tenker du at globalisering bidrar til humanistisk orienterte eller økonomiske former for medborgerkompetanse?

15. Hva er forskjellen på synet Steinerskolen og offentlig skole har på demokrati og medborgerkompetanse, og kan dette ha endret seg etter utdanningsreformer? Isåfall, hvordan?

Interview Guide in English

(Script: Explain study and give the definition of "medborgerskap", citizenship):

1. How do you understand the term "citizenship"?

2. How do you experience the value of citizenship ("medborgerskap") at the school or in the broader society?

3. What challenges do you find in your school district that could affect the education for
 citizenship?

4. Tell me about what policies could have been added to the curriculum through the last 10-20 years that could have affected your practice as a teacher in samfunnsfag? - If yes: Follow up: How could this have formed the way you teach?

5. In your opinion, how are citizens formed to be active citizens as a result of the way you teach?

6. In what ways do you believe that the Reform of 97 and Knowledge Promotion have impacted your teaching practices in samfunnsfag as well as other subjects related to citizenship education that you teach?

7. Could reforms in the Steiner Waldorf curricula have affected your teacher practice related to citizenship education? If so, how?

8. If you experience factors beyond your control (at school level, societal level) that may influence the relationship that pupils have with citizenship, what could these be?

9. How could globalization have affected citizenship?

10. Tell me about whether you feel that you have enough time to get through the curriculum in all subjects you teach within the given timeframe, and whether this has changed in the duration of the last 10-20 years?

11. How do you experience the impact of the Reform of 97 and Knowledge Promotion in the content you teach?

12. Tell me about what you find most important in the curriculum of samfunnsfag: Teaching active citizenship within the framework of economics or within a humanist framework?

13. What role do you think that globalization has had on citizenship in your school district?

14. Do you think that globalization contribute to humanistic or economic understandings/forms of citizenship?

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15. What are the differences in viewpoints between the Steiner Waldorf School and the Public School regarding democracy and citizenship, and could this have changed after the recent education reforms? In that case, how?

Appendix 2: Covering Letter

<u>Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt innen feltet «Comparative and International Education»</u>

Original Title: Globalization and Education for Citizenship in Norway

NO: Globalisering Og Utdanning For Medborgerskap i Norge

Formål Med Studien

I en kontekst med pågående store endringer i det norske utdanningssystemet de siste 25 årene, er formålet med denne studien å undersøke påvirkningen globaliseringen har på lokale tradisjoner innen danning og medborgerskap i offentlig skole og i steinerskolen, sett fra læreres og lektorers ståsted.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

I denne studien vil det være nødvendig å gjennomføre et intervju med læreren av varighet fra ca 45 minutter til 1, 5 time(r) i lærerens fritid eller på jobb, i tillegg til eventuelle observasjoner i klasserommet. Spørsmålene vil innebære hvilket forhold og erfaringer (relatert til praksis og forståelse) læreren har til borgerskapsutdanning/utdanning for medborgerskap gjennom de siste årene og utdanningsreformene. Det kan være nødvendig at læreren også blir innkalt til fokus-grupper for å diskutere temaet sammen med flere lærere. Lærere som er aktuelle vil bli spurt om dette underveis i prosessen.

Lærere som har erfaring fra offentlig og/eller alternativ skole vil bli intervjuet.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Opplysninger om deg som deltaker vil bli behandlet strengt konfidensielt. Data vil kun bli behandlet av studenten selv. Ingen fulle navn vil bli tatt opp under intervjuet. Dersom konfidensiell informasjon kommer frem i intervjuet, skal data lages med navneliste som er oppbevart separert fra en koblingsnøkkel. Denne navnelisten vil oppbevares i en Safe et sikkert sted under forskerens bevoktning. Dersom veileder eller andre skal få utdelt informasjon, vil samtykke bli forespurt av deltaker før dette iverksettes. Disse retningslinjene er utarbeidet etter godkjenning fra Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Database (Personvernombudet for forskning).

Deltakerene vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i en publikasjon, da ingen navn eller personlig informasjon vil bli oppgitt i en publikasjon.

Intervjuene skal formelt sett være ferdig innen 01.03 2016, og dette er fristen satt for prosjektslutt. Dette er også fristen for når data anonymiseres, dersom data trenger anonymisering. Dette utføres dette så langt det lar seg gjøre underveis, eller ved prosjektslutt. Data planlegges å slettes en tid etter prosjektslutt, etter at masteroppgave-prosjektet er ferdigstilt. Dersom deltakeren ønsker at data slettes før dette tidspunktet, har deltakeren full rett til å si ifra om dette. Alle data vil da slettes umiddelbart etter transkribering.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert.

Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med Eivind Larsen på 46411564 eller hans veileder på wimhoppers@yahoo.com.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

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(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

☐ *Jeg samtykker til å delta i intervju*
☐ *Jeg samtykker til observasjoner*