Sølvi Mausethagen

Reshaping teacher professionalism

An analysis of how teachers construct and negotiate professionalism under increasing accountability

Sammendrag

I denne avhandlingen studerer jeg hvordan lærerprofesjonen i Norge fyller 'lærerprofesjonalitet' med innhold. Studien tar utgangspunkt i det økte politiske fokuset på elevresultater og ansvarliggjøring av læreren (accountability), og undersøker om og i hvilken grad slike endringer påvirker oppfatningen av profesjonalitet. Det er lite kunnskap om hvordan lærere i Norge forholder seg til mer ekstern kontroll av arbeidet sitt. Tidligere internasjonale studier av endringer i lærerprofesjonalitet de siste to tiårene har i stor grad basert seg på dokumentanalyse eller intervju. I denne studien består det empiriske datamaterialet av tre stortingsmeldinger, politiske dokumenter fra Utdanningsforbundet, deltakende observasjon av lærermøter, fokusgruppeintervjuer og individuelle intervjuer med lærere, samt 28 fagfellevurderte artikler. I avhandlingen anvender jeg teoretiske perspektiver på profesjon og profesjonalitet, og hvordan utdanningspolitikk utføres lokalt. Det brukes en diskurs-inspirert tilnærming for å undersøke i hvilken grad og på hvilke måter den utdanningspolitiske diskursen står i et spenningsforhold til lærernes diskurs. Sammen muliggjør disse teoriperspektivene diskusjoner rundt forholdet mellom konstruksjoner av profesjonalitet gjort av ulike aktører, og hvordan språket brukes til å skape legitimitet og relevans for lærerarbeidet.

I *den første artikkelen* undersøker jeg hvordan myndighetene og Utdanningsforbundet har konstruert lærerprofesjonalitet i løpet av det siste tiåret spesielt. Begge aktørene er i økende grad opptatt av profesjonalitet, men har ulike oppfatninger av begrepet. Myndighetene legger vekt på at lærerne skal holdes ansvarlige for elevenes læring, ha en forskningsbasert praksis og være faglig kompetente og oppdaterte. Utdanningsforbundet er på sin side opptatt av yrkesetikk, av forskningsinformert praksis, samt av at læreren aktivt tar ansvar for kvaliteten i skolen, og deres oppfatninger er dermed tettere knyttet til de klassiske profesjonsidealene. Utdanningsforbundet gjør hovedsakelig motstand mot en ekstern kontroll av lærernes arbeid, men fremstår som mer proaktive enn tidligere siden de vektlegger forskning for å styrke læreres profesjonalitet og tillit.

I *den andre artikkelen* undersøker jeg hvordan grupper av lærere lokalt definerer det å være ansvarlig, hva de er ansvarlige for og til hvem. Gjennom å bruke begrepene intern og ekstern accountability som sensitiverende begreper, forsøker jeg å 'åpne opp' ansvarsbegrepet ved å studere hvordan lærerne definerer seg selv og hverandre som en ansvarlig lærer. Å være ansvarlig for elevenes læring, overfor læreplanen og andre forskrifter, samt overfor rektorer og foreldre, blir fremhevet som viktig, særlig av yngre lærere. Erfarne lærere er mer opptatt av å være ansvarlige overfor de bredere utdanningsmålene, samt egen erfaring og kunnskap, hvilket igjen benyttes til å delegitimere ekstern accountability. I dette spenningsforholdet mellom det som kan beskrives som og oversettes til 'å være ansvarlig' og 'ansvarliggjøring', har det imidlertid utviklet seg en alternativ legitimeringsdiskurs rundt det å være oppdatert på og bruke forskning i lærerarbeidet.

I *den tredje artikkelen* utdyper jeg hva som skjer når nasjonale prøver gjennomføres lokalt, og hvordan lærere på lærermøter diskuterer sin praksis rundt disse prøvene. Spenningene som skapes i interaksjonen mellom lærere handler om hva som blir sett på som interne (lærernes daglige arbeid) og eksterne (praksiser plassert utenfor hovedrammen av undervisning) forhold. Det er særlig fire forhold som blir satt 'på spill' for lærere med nasjonale prøver: profesjonskunnskap, læreplanen, formative aspekter ved undervisningen og lojaliteten til elevene. Disse aspektene anses i hovedsak som interne forhold for lærere som deltok i studien. Selv om nasjonale prøver ser ut til og stort sett betraktes som eksterne elementer i arbeidet, involverer lærerne seg i såkalt grensearbeid for å markere hva som er viktig ved egen yrkesutøvelse. Samtidig må lærerne skape relevans ved og legitimere det å øve til prøvene, men dette gjøres gjennom relasjonelle aspekter heller enn å legge vekt på elevenes resultater.

I *den fjerde artikkelen* tar jeg et internasjonalt perspektiv ved å se på hva eksisterende forskning sier om mulige endringer i lærernes relasjoner til elever og kolleger når ekstern kontroll øker, og spesielt ser jeg på den økende bruken av tester og resultater. Denne studien gir kunnskap om hva som kan være sosiale effekter av standardisert testing slik dette gjennomføres i såkalte 'high-stakes' kontekster. Det vektlegges ofte at mer testing og den betydningen testresultatene får fører til at det rettes mindre oppmerksomhet mot omsorgen til elevene og de relasjonelle aspektene ved arbeidet som lærer. Den samme vektleggingen av positive sosiale relasjoner kan dessuten føre til en motstand mot testene. Relasjoner til kolleger blir også berørt av testing, men både i positiv og negativ retning. Dette peker på betydningen av den organisatoriske konteksten for lærerens arbeid, og dermed for hvordan man forholder seg til resultatfokus og ekstern kontroll på den enkelte skole.

Funnene i avhandlingen bidrar til å dokumentere endringer i diskurser om lærerprofesjonalitet blant politikere og lærerorganisasjonen, og jeg viser hvordan lærerprofesjonen i Norge synes å ha blitt mer proaktiv i å skape legitimitet for arbeidet sitt. Både Utdanningsforbundet og lærere lokalt gjør i relativt stor grad motstand mot en ekstern kontroll av arbeidet. Denne motstanden formuleres imidlertid kraftigere av Utdanningsforbundet, mens den er mer subtil og også varierende blant lærerne lokalt. For det første synes yngre lærere å være mer positive og balanserte til nye forventninger til lærerrollen. For det andre har en alternativ legitimeringsdiskurs utviklet seg, en diskurs som legger mer vekt på det som kan beskrives som forskningsinformert praksis. Mens accountability hovedsakelig plasseres utenfor lærernes verdisystemer, plasseres (ny) forskning i større grad innenfor. Avhandlingen viser hvordan profesjonen på ulike måter utfører såkalt diskursivt legitimerings- og grensearbeid. Derfor kan et svar på spørsmålet om 'ansvarliggjøringspolitikk' omformer deler av det performative aspektet av læreryrket være ja, delvis. På den ene siden kan det se ut som om lærerne blitt mer opptatt av å begrunne praksis, med bakgrunn i både forskning og resultater. På den andre siden er de kritiske til et stort resultatfokus og de mer spesifikke verktøyene som iverksettes for å forbedre resultatene. Måtene dette blir gjort på og mulige sosiale effekter av standardisert testing er viktig kunnskap for politikerne.

Teoretiske perspektiver på profesjoner og profesjonalitet kan være hensiktsmessige for å studere ekstern kontroll av lærernes arbeid, og for å belyse mulige tolkninger av hvordan lærerne forholder seg til ansvarliggjøring. Analysene viser hvordan lærernes forhandlinger kommer til uttrykk gjennom det som kan beskrives som diskursivt legitimerings- og grensearbeid. Dette kan tolkes i lys av det jeg beskriver som en 'double-loop' - karakter ved lærerens ansvar for elevenes læring, det vil si at lærerne er ansvarlige for det elevene selv er ansvarlige for. Hvis lærerne opplever at politiske initiativ, som jeg her har undersøkt primært ved å se på nasjonale prøver, fører til at det blir vanskeligere å motivere heller enn å styrke elevenes motivasjon og engasjement, samt at initiativene medfører et snevrere syn på læring, skaper dette dilemmaer for lærere. Hvordan lærere forholder seg til slike spenninger kan tolkes fra et performativt perspektiv, ved at lærere legitimerer hva de gjør eller ikke gjør i klasserommet på bakgrunn av faglig kunnskap og verdier. Det kan også tolkes fra et organisatorisk perspektiv, ved at lærere rekonstruerer den faglige diskursen slik at de er i bedre posisjon til å beholde 'kontrollen' over klasserommet. Ikke minst blir måter å skape relevans og legitimitet på viktig når lærerne må forholde seg til obligatoriske praksiser som nasjonale prøver, men som kan utfordre faglige og personlige verdier. Avhandlingen gir også et metodisk bidrag med hensyn til hvordan analyser av språk kan gi fruktbare og analytiske innganger til på hvilke måter lærere gjennom språket forsøker å ta kontroll over kunnskapsområdet sitt. Jeg har diskutert hvordan diskursanalyse kan brukes til å undersøke forholdet mellom politikk og praksis, men på en måte som kombinerer deltakernes beskrivelser med teoretiske fortolkninger.

Summary

This thesis explores how the teacher profession in Norway constructs and negotiates professionalism when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in national policy. I am particularly concerned with the increased policy emphasis on accountability and how accountability policies influence senses of professionalism. There is limited knowledge about how teachers in Norway respond to accountability policies. Moreover, existing international research on changes in teacher professionalism in the last two decades largely rely on document analysis or interviews. In this study, the empirical data consists of white papers, policy documents from the union, participant observation of teacher meetings, focus group interviews, individual interviews with teachers, and in addition, 28 peer-reviewed articles. Theoretical perspectives on policy enactment and professionalism are employed, and in what ways and to what extent educational policy discourse intersects with teachers' professional discourse are investigated through a discourse-inspired approach. Taken together, these perspectives enable discussions around relationships between constructions of professionalism made by different actors, how it is related to more defining, substantial aspects of teaching, and in what ways language is used to create legitimacy and relevance for teachers' work.

In *the first article,* I investigate how policy makers and the teachers' union have constructed teacher professionalism over the last decade in particular. Both actors are increasingly being concerned with professionalism, yet give different meaning to the term. While the policy makers place emphasis on teacher accountability, research-based practise and specialisation, the teachers' union emphasises research-informed practise, responsibility for educational quality and professional ethics. The constructions from the teachers' union are, however, more closely related to classical professional ideals. The union mainly resists accountability policies, but appears increasingly proactive in terms of how it places emphasis on research as a way of enhancing professionalism, in combination with an emphasis on taking responsibility for quality in education.

In *the second article,* I examine how groups of teachers locally give meaning to accountability. Through using internal and external accountability as sensitising concepts, I attempt to 'open up' the concept of accountability by studying how teachers themselves construct discourses around being accountable. Being accountable for student learning, to the curriculum, to laws and regulations, and to principals and parents, is highlighted as important, particularly by younger teachers. Veteran teachers are more concerned with being accountable for broader aims of education and to professional knowledge and experience, which are also used to de-legitimise accountability policies. However, in this tension between internal and external accountability, an alternative legitimation discourse of being accountable to research and scientific knowledge has developed.

In *the third article*, I elaborate on what takes place when accountability policies are implemented locally and more precisely how teachers in meetings negotiate around the concrete and mandated practise of national testing. Tensions that are created in interaction revolve around what is seen as internal (teachers' everyday work) and external (policies and practises outside the main frame of teaching) to teachers' work. There are particularly four issues that are found to be at stake for teachers with national testing: professional knowledge, the curriculum, the formative aspects of teaching and loyalty to the students. These aspects are mainly placed as internal to the participating teachers. However, even though national testing mainly is placed as external to teachers' work, teachers involve in boundary work and reshape professional discourse to create relevance and maintain legitimacy following new expectations.

In *the fourth article*, I add an international perspective by reviewing what existing research reports on possible changes in teachers' relations to students and colleagues following accountability policies and standardised testing in particular. This study provides knowledge about what might be social effects of accountability policies as implemented in more high-stakes contexts. A greater focus on testing and performance is reported to often lead to less attention to caring and relational aspects of teaching. However, the same emphasis on positive social relationships might prompt teachers to resist such developments. Relationships to colleagues are also affected, yet reported to be changing in both positive and negative directions. These findings point to the importance of the organisational context of teaching in terms of how accountability is realised.

The findings in this thesis contribute empirically to document shifts in discourses of teacher professionalism among policy makers and the teachers' union, and suggest that the profession in Norway has become more proactive in terms of creating legitimacy for their work. Both the union and teachers locally make forms of resistance toward external control, such as national testing. This is more strongly articulated by the union whilst being more subtle and varied among teachers' locally. First, younger teachers seem to be more balanced over new demands. Second, an alternative legitimation discourse has developed as the profession places more emphasis on what can be described as research-informed practise. While accountability mainly is placed outside teachers' value systems, research is more greatly placed within. However, accountability policies such as national testing influence teacher work also in a low-stakes context such as Norway. The thesis has shown different ways in which the profession does legitimation and boundary work in this context, and how teachers create relevance and legitimacy for accountability practices that are mandated (national tests) even though they challenge professional knowledge and values. Therefore, an answer to the question whether accountability policies reshape teacher professionalism is yes, partly. On the one hand, teachers have become more concerned with evidence and justifying practise. On the other hand, they are more resistant in terms of outcomes and more specifically the tools that are implemented to enhance outcomes. The ways that this is done, that is, what is placed inside and outside of teachers' main frame of teaching, is important knowledge for politicians given the relatively strong belief in accountability as a policy theory of action.

Theoretically, the thesis can contribute to how including perspectives on professions and professionalism adds a dimension to the study of accountability policies that can suggest possibly interpretations of why teachers resist external accountability, and how this takes place through discursive legitimation and boundary work. This discursive work can be interpreted in light of what I describe as the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability, that is, how teachers are accountable for what the students in turn are accountable for. If policies intersect with teachers' work in classrooms in ways that they experience as decreasing rather than enhancing student motivation and engagement and emphasising a more instrumental view on learning rather than a broader view, this creates tensions for teachers that needs to be resolved to create relevance and legitimacy. How teachers attempt to resolve such tensions that take place can be interpreted from a performative perspective, how teachers reshape what they do or not do in their classrooms due to aspects of professional knowledge and values, or from an organisational perspective, that teachers reshape professional discourse to remain in control over the classroom. Methodologically, this thesis contributes to how analysis of language-use provides a useful and fruitful lens into these processes. I have discussed how discourse analysis can be used to think about the relation between policy and practise, yet in ways that combines attention to actors' first-order constructs and theoretical interpretations.

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Hamar, 21st November, 2013.   Sølvi Mausethagen

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Article 2

Mausethagen, S. (2013). Accountable for what and to whom? Changing representations and new legitimation discourses among teachers under increased external control. *Journal of Educational Change*, doi: 10.1007/s10833-013-9212-y

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Mausethagen, S. (2013). Talking about the test. Boundary work in primary school teachers' interactions around national testing of student performance. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 36, 132–142.

Article 4

Mausethagen, S. (2013). A research review of the impact of accountability policies on teachers' workplace relations. *Educational Research Review*, 9(1), 16-33.

LIST OF TABLES

1.   Introduction

This thesis explores constructions of teacher professionalism and if and in what ways accountability policies might reshape discourses of teacher professionalism. Teacher professionalism has been investigated through the eyes of different actors in the field: policy makers, the teachers' union and teachers, while focusing specifically on how teachers negotiate what it is to be a good teacher when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in national policy making. There is limited knowledge about how the teacher profession in Norway responds to accountability policies. This study primarily shed light upon the Norwegian context, yet also moved beyond it by situating the study within the international body of literature on changes in teaching and the sense of professionalism following increased external control (e.g., Sachs, 2001; Day, 2002; Locke et al., 2005; Wills & Sandholtz, 2009; Wilkins, 2011). There is knowledge about implications of accountability policies for teachers' work, but relatively few empirical studies. Existing research is characterised by ex-situ investigations of shifts in teacher professionalism, while micro-level studies of interaction between teachers (Little, 2012) can enhance knowledge about how accountability policies and professional discourses are negotiated locally to create relevance and legitimacy. Few studies have investigated responses both from the perspectives of the teachers' union and teachers locally to discuss similarities and variations. Given policy makers' relatively strong belief in accountability as the policy theory of action (Fuller, 2008; Heilig, 2011), there is also a need for more knowledge about the possible social effects on teachers' work and student learning. Studies of how teachers respond to and negotiate professionalism under external controls such as national testing can enhance knowledge of to what extent, how and why (not) professionalism is reshaped.

Three motivations have been central in conducting this thesis. First, the overall emphasis among policy makers, researchers and the media on student achievement and student testing in the last two decades (e.g., Cohen, 1990; Martens et al., 2007) boosted my curiosity about how accountability policies materialise locally and is given meaning by teachers. Second, I have been concerned with how research on education policy and accountability often is characterised by either discussing changing policy discourses (e.g., Ball, 2003) or with implementing accountability policies (e.g., Abelmann & Elmore, 1999). Third, given recent reform efforts in Norway, it was interesting to study how greater emphasis on performance and accountability played out in a context marked by a relatively strong degree of teacher autonomy, emphasis on a process-oriented view of learning, and broader social and humanistic aims in education (Slagstad, 1998; Telhaug et al., 2006). Together, these points of departure created the motivation to investigate how increased attention to student achievement and accountability is perceived and in what ways accountability policies might influence how teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism.

I have studied constructions of teacher professionalism through an analysis of national policy documents and policy documents published by the Union of Education Norway and through a qualitative study that was conducted in a Norwegian municipality to study how teachers locally respond to accountability policies and national testing in particular. My research also includes a review that investigates how teachers' workplace relationships are affected by accountability and standardised testing. The PhD-thesis contributes to the knowledge base regarding how teachers give meaning to professionalism and how accountability policies intersect with prevailing ideas about

what a good teacher is and does. These policies are not just accepted or resisted, but boost new representations in the teacher profession. Drawing boundaries and gaining legitimacy for own knowledge and values thus becomes important to maintaining trust and classroom autonomy, but the ways this takes place through language have been less researched. The thesis is best described as a teacher study that intersects with a policy study, because I investigate how teachers give meaning to their work when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in educational policy. I am concerned with how policy discourses intersect with professional discourses and how policies are being interpreted and negotiated by different actors, both on the national level (article 1) and local level (articles 2, 3 and 4). This attention to how teachers construct discourses about appropriate and legitimate ideas, knowledge and values is made possible by employing theoretical perspectives on professionalism and policy enactment, yet holding a relational approach as I am concerned with investigating in what ways and to what extent education policy discourse intersects with teachers' professional discourses. This is done through a discourse-inspired approach.

In this chapter, I first clarify how I use the terms 'professionalism' and 'accountability'. I outline the broader context for the study before moving briefly into the Norwegian context. Thereafter, I outline the aims and research questions. The research questions for the four studies are presented in Table 1.1, including an overview of the data, the actors focused on and a brief description of the findings. Last, I outline the chapters in this extended abstract.

1.1   Professionalism
A profession is broadly defined as an occupation building on a scientific knowledge base (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001). Moreover, considerations regarding autonomy, responsibility and ethics are prominent when defining professions and professionalism (Molander & Terum, 2008). First and foremost, professionalism is in this project viewed as a discourse (e.g., Evetts, 2003, 2008; Carter et al., 2010) around performative aspects of teaching and the teacher profession, that is, the qualitative aspects of teachers' everyday work. As a political concept, it is probable that the shifting constructions of professionalism, done by different actors and over time, create tensions for teachers in their everyday work because these tensions must be negotiated in relation to prominent professional norms and values. Thus, the normative belief systems of the profession are considered to be interrelated with 'being a good teacher' and concerns about creating trust and legitimacy for the profession (Evetts, 2003; Gewirtz et al., 2008). In this thesis, the constructions of teacher professionalism are thereby discussed both regarding the performative (the use of specialised knowledge and discretion in teaching) and organisational aspects (the use of internal or external control over teaching). The characteristics of teaching are important to consider when interpreting responses to accountability policies.

During an increased policy emphasis on accountability policies internationally, empirical and theoretical contributions to changes in teacher professionalism in the last couple of decades identify how aspects of teachers' knowledge base (competence, skills and reflection); autonomy and discretion (control over classroom practise); and responsibility (individual and collective) have been rearticulated in several countries (e.g., Furlong et al., 2000; Whitty, 2006; Simons & Kelchtermans, 2008). It is interesting, then, to investigate whether and to what extent there have been similar developments in Norwegian education policy and then to explore how these developments may have influenced teachers' constructions of professionalism.

1.2   Accountability

In this project, the term 'accountability' is used in two ways. First, it is used to describe accountability as a policy theory of action. Second, it is used to describe an aspect of professionalism more closely related to professional responsibility. Arguably, these are interrelated. But while the former is used to describe policy, the latter is used from the professional perspective.

1.2.1   Accountability as a policy theory of action

Accountability as a policy theory of action is related to the introduction of new governance and control systems with the overall ambition to enhance quality in education (Fuller, 2008; Langfeldt, 2008). The underlying idea of this prevailing theory is that holding municipalities, schools and teachers accountable to certain measures - typically tests and evaluations - will increase students' performance because teachers will work harder and schools will adopt more effective methods (Heilig, 2011). Educational accountability policies, particularly in the last two decades, typically emphasise student outcomes, documentation, competition and incentive-based motivation as key drivers of educational improvement (Sahlberg, 2007; Gunter & Fitzgerald, 2013). Countries vary regarding to what extent different elements are emphasised. These new governance systems are usually and broadly defined as New Public Management (NPM) (Gregory, 2003; Christensen & Legræid, 2011) and performance-based managerialism (Clarke & Newman, 1997). In education, testing of student performance is a key feature of these new control systems (Sahlberg, 2007), which aim to enhance the efficiency and 'quality' of educational systems. When presented in numbers and rankings, standardised testing provides a 'quick language' that makes educational matters widely accessible, albeit not being in the hands of teachers (Lundahl & Waldow, 2009). In the context of NPM, standardised testing is often coupled with elements of competition (for example, publication of student results). However, countries vary regarding the role that market mechanisms play, such as parental choice, and whether incentives are connected to student test scores, such as performance-related pay for teachers (e.g., Jabbar, 2013). Such contexts are usually described as 'high-stakes' accountability contexts.

With the introduction of accountability policies, goals and outcomes have increasingly been placed outside the profession's control (Sahlberg, 2007; Evetts, 2008). These developments have led to a stronger policy emphasis on individual self-discipline and accountability for performance (Power, 1997; Ingersoll, 2003; Svensson & Karlsson, 2008). However, it is possible that this development creates dilemmas for teachers in how they challenge conditions of trust, discretion and competence. There is also the need for more knowledge about the different ways the profession approaches these dilemmas and tensions. Therefore, viewing accountability from the standpoint of the profession might provide important insight into what is put 'at stake' with the introduction of accountability policies and specific tools such as national testing.

1.2.2   Accountability as professional responsibility

In addition to using 'accountability' as a term for top-down policies, I use the term 'accountability' regarding the perspective from within, the viewpoint of teachers. As described above, accountability is often used to describe external pressures implemented to raise performance. Yet, it could be argued that accountability can be viewed and used more broadly. Looking at the term 'accountability' from a conceptual perspective, it is quite closely linked to responsibility. Accountability understood as responsibility, trust and trustworthiness thereby implies a broader understanding of the term, related to professionalism as typically described by professionals. This is often coined as professional

responsibility, seen as an inherent and crucial part of professionalism (e.g., Sugrue & Solbrekke, 2011). For example, it is difficult to argue against teachers being accountable for teaching students well, adhering to rules and regulations, and promoting cultural expectations (Abelmann & Elmore, 1999; Sahlberg, 2007). It is therefore reasonable to argue that teachers 'always' have been accountable in a professional sense (O'Day, 2002; Conway & Murphy, 2013). This way of conceptualising accountability in a broad sense and in terms of trusting professionals based on their specialised knowledge has been called professional accountability (Darling-Hammond, 2004) and intelligent accountability (O'Neill, 2002; Sahlberg, 2007). Simultaneously, the school as an organisation has been seen as a place that cultivates trust and responsible behavior (Hargreaves, 2004). However, as accountability policies have developed partly from mistrust of professionals (Le Grand, 2007; 2010), it is probable that such policies can create tensions when they are introduced and implemented locally.

Based on the above descriptions, I argue that a distinction can be made between accountability as a more integral and defining part of teacher professionalism and the different initiatives and instruments implemented to enhance accountability. External accountability possibly creates tensions for teachers during their everyday work, while internal accountability sheds light on the normative aspects of teaching and teachers' sense of professionalism. Although there is substantial knowledge about the presence of accountability policies in education internationally, it is an empirical question to be pursued if and in what ways accountability policies create tensions for teachers when going about their work, and how accountability policies possibly influence constructions of and negotiations about teacher professionalism.

1.3   Placing this study in its broader context

When identifying the broader political context for changing constructions of teacher professionalism, the shifting educational policy climate in the last few decades provides a starting point. Two areas are especially prominent. First, the range of policy reports in the USA in the 1980s formulated an agenda of restructuring education (Cohen, 1990; Chubb & Moe, 1990). Second, the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) was increasingly involved in educational policy from the beginning of the 1990s (Mundy, 2007; Martens et al., 2007). In 2001, the Bush administration in the USA enacted the law No Child Left Behind, which is based on four basic principles: increased accountability, increased flexibility and local control, expanded options for parents and teaching methods proven to work. No Child Left Behind was aimed to be a 'landmark law' (Wallis & Steptoe, 2007). In England, the 1988 Education Reform Act emphasised national regulations on educational aims, regular testing of students and the publication of these results (Gewirtz, 2002; Ranson, 2008). Second, international organisations such as the OECD play an increasingly important role in initiating the legitimising of new policy initiatives in national policy development (Ioannidou, 2007; Elstad & Sivesind, 2010; Paine & Zeichner, 2012; Mausethagen, 2013). Since the early 1990s, the OECD has published widely on educational indicators, having increasingly become a prominent focus for politicians, media and the public. The indicators have been further developed through the PISA (Programme of International Student Assessment) starting from 2000 and the publication *Education at a Glance.* Also, the OECD publishes country background reports and thematic reviews. Domestic policy makers and the broader public often give much attention to these activities, like the PISA results (Ringarp & Rothland, 2010; Hartong, 2012).

An increase in test-based accountability coincides with the OECD's initiatives, and accountability has increasingly become the dominant policy of action in the quest for improving educational 'quality' in the United States and most European and several Asian countries (Fuller, 2008). The teacher profession has been subject to modernisation processes (Moos et al., 2004; Ingersoll, 2003). Increased emphasis on student performance and external control mechanisms in education must be considered against the backdrop of a broader social transformation and in connection with the watershed in the public sector in the 1980s and '90s and the introduction of NPM and performance-based managerialism (Clarke & Newman, 1997; Møller and Skedsmo, 2013).

1.3.1 The Norwegian context

Similar developments have also occurred in Norway, where initiatives aiming to enhance student learning have intensified over the last decade. Even though an OECD report from 1987 suggested that Norway should develop systems for quality assurance, this was mainly developed under the umbrella of 'school-based evaluation', focusing on developing the school as an organisation (Nyhus & Monsen, 2012). An Official Norwegian Report from 2002 (Ministry of Education, 2002) raises concern that there is a need for more attention to learning processes and the results of the individual students. Politicians became more concerned about underachievement and low quality in schools when the first PISA results came out in 2001, and the PISA results were also important in legitimising new reform policies in the 2000s (Elstad & Sivesind, 2010; Tveit, 2013). This coincided with evaluations of the education reforms of the 1990s that suggested increased attention to student learning and outcomes (Haug 2003). Against this backdrop, reforms, schooling and teacher education have been criticised for not satisfying societal expectations (Karseth & Sivesind, 2010; Munthe et al., 2011; Afdal, 2012), which resulted in educational reforms in basic education (2006) and teacher education (2010). The national curriculum for basic education, The Knowledge Promotion, is based on competence aims after grades 2, 4, 7 and 10 and places a greater emphasis on developing students' basic skills (oral skills, reading, writing, digital skills and numeracy).

Grades 5, 8 and 9 take national tests as part of the National Quality Assessment System (NKVS) that was introduced in 2004 (Grade 9 takes the same test as Grade 8 to measure progress). The original intention of the national tests was to publish the results of individual schools to hold schools accountable and drive them to improve practises and results. After widespread critique about publication and ranking, the national tests were stopped and reintroduced in 2007. The validity and reliability of the national tests were improved. The left-wing government decided the results should not be published and the tests would be taken at the beginning of the school year to strengthen the tests' formative aspects. However, the overall aim of the national tests is broadly described as to determine whether schools are succeeding in developing students' basic skills, yet were teachers are encouraged to use the tests for formative purposes (Tveit, 2013). The OECD (2011) describes the development of the NKVS in two phases. In the first phase, a key focus was to make actors at all levels more accountable for achieving results. This was done through the introduction of national tests and the so-called school portal, which later was complemented by the Pupil Survey. The second phase is described as being more concerned with tools that municipalities and schools can use, such as diagnostic mapping tests and organisational analysis tools.

It can be argued that Norway has moved only halfway to accountability, considering no high-stakes incentives or rewards have been established (Hatch, 2013). The emphasis on market mechanisms is downplayed, and the attention to students' learning outcomes is quite closely linked to the promotion

of equality and quality, not just as a means to promote transparency and efficiency (Moos et al., 2008). Hopmann (2007) describes the accountability system that has developed in Norway in the last decade as a 'no school left behind' approach, where new mechanisms for control are introduced in close cooperation with the local authorities and with no real stakes involved. In this policy, teachers, principals and municipalities were given flexibility and discretion to make decisions about changes in pedagogical practises to reach the competence aims, a form of decentralisation that was described as 'freedom, trust and responsibility' (Ministry of Education, 2004). This flexibility is exchanged for improved learning outcomes, and the state remains a strong actor aiming for systemic change (Skedsmo, 2009; Karseth & Sivesind, 2010; Aasen, 2013). Teachers and schools have traditionally held a quite strong autonomy (Slagstad, 1998; Møller & Skedsmo, 2013), but there is reason to believe that such images are being challenged, given the recent introduction of accountability policies. In the Norwegian context, accountability policies as a concrete practice are first and foremost related to national testing, though the policy discourse has increasingly emphasised student outcomes and teacher accountability.

1.4 Aims and research questions

The main aim of this PhD project is to investigate constructions of teacher professionalism in the context of increasing external control of teachers' work, and if and in what ways accountability policies might reshape discourses of teacher professionalism. The main focus is placed on the Norwegian context. The analyses should contribute with understanding into how teachers, both collectively and locally, negotiate professionalism, and to shed light upon how accountability policies and testing in particular intersect with professional discourses.

The overall research question for this PhD project is:

How do teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism under increasing accountability?

The following sub-questions are addressed across the articles:

(1) *What are the prominent constructions of teacher professionalism among education policy makers, the teachers' union and groups of teachers?*

(2) *What tensions are created, and how do teachers negotiate these?*

(3) *In what ways might accountability policies reshape discourses of teacher professionalism?*

These questions have guided the research questions posed in the articles. While the first article (study 1) is concerned with how education policy makers and the teachers' union give meaning to what professionalism is, the second article (study 2) is concerned with how groups of teachers locally give meaning to professionalism and accountability. The third (study 3) and fourth (study 4) article explore how teachers respond when policy discourses of professionalism intersect with teachers' everyday work through the concrete accountability tool of standardised testing. In Table 1.1, I outline the research questions, the data and the main findings of the four articles.

Table 1.1. Overview of research questions, empirical data and main findings of the four articles

	Research questions	Empirical data	Main findings
Article 1 Contested discourses of teacher professionalism. Current tensions between education policy and teachers' union.	How is teacher professionalism constructed from above (the government) and from within (teachers' union) over the last decade? What are the main areas of tension? In what ways do the teachers' union articulate and negotiate responses to new policy representations on teachers' professionalism?	White Papers (issued in 1997, 2002, 2009) Policy documents from the Union of Education (2002-2009)	There is an increased emphasis on teacher professionalism among education policy makers and the teachers' union, yet constructed differently. The main antagonism is related to external control of the profession. The union increasingly values research-informed practise and actively states how they take responsibility for quality in schools.
Article 2 Accountable for what and to whom? Changing representations and new legitimation discourses among teachers under increased external control.	How are accountability policies legitimised and delegitimised (by teachers)? And in this landscape of acceptance and resistance, if and how are perceptions of being accountable constructed?	Focus group interviews. Participant observation from teacher meetings.	Beginning-of-career teachers more than veteran teachers legitimise accountability policies. However, new responses develop. In particular, teachers are concerned with legitimising practise in research-based knowledge.
Article 3 Talking about the test. Boundary work in primary school teachers' interactions around national testing of student performance.	What characterises language-in-use in interactions where national tests are discussed and what tensions are created? In what ways do teachers and principals negotiate and shape responses to new testing practises?	Participant observation and interaction data from teacher and principal meetings. Focus groups and individual interviews.	Tensions around national testing particularly develop around issues of professional knowledge, the curriculum, caring relationships and formative assessment, as national tests mainly are placed outside teachers' work. While practises change, they are legitimised mainly through a professional discourse of protecting students.
Article 4 A research review of the impact of accountability policies on teachers' workplace relations.	To what extent and in what ways do testing and accountability pressures affect teachers' relations with students and colleagues? What characterises research on changes in teachers' social relationships that occur in reaction to implementation of accountability policies? What are implications for research, policy and practise?	Previous empirical research on accountability policies and teacher relations conducted between 1990-2010.	Most studies observe that teachers' relations to students are shifting and partly weakened following practises surrounding standardised testing. Teachers' relations to colleagues in management are also affected, yet in various ways – also positive.

An extended abstract provides more possibilities than the articles to go deeper into several perspectives and discussions central to the thesis. However, the extended abstract also presents limitations in the same regard. I will, therefore, make a few clarifications. First, I will comment on the issue of 'time' and possible 'changes'. Article 1 investigates shifts in how policy makers

constructed teacher professionalism from 1995 to 2010 and how the teachers' union treated the issue in the last decade, thereby contributing to changes over time. Articles 2 and 3 present an investigation into representations made by groups of teachers in a Norwegian municipality in the school year of 2010-2011. Regarding possible shifts in teachers' representations, I must draw on previous research when attempting to say anything about possible 'alternative' and 'new' discourses.

I also will clarify 'teachers' and 'the profession'. When using 'teachers' in the title and the research questions for the thesis, constructions have been investigated on two 'levels'. First, the teachers' union has been studied as representing teachers' collective voice (although there are alternatives to unionising, a relatively large portion of teachers is unionised in the Union of Education). Second, groups of teachers in a municipality hold a collective voice in that they exchange viewpoints and negotiate meaning. The study does not theorise about individual teachers, but attempts to illuminate how a phenomenon is constructed among teachers. 'Macro-oriented perspective' and 'micro-oriented perspective' are used analytically to separate between broader policy developments and debates, and face-to-face processes as they take place locally.

Moreover, I will make clarifications in terms of the use of 'external control'. While it could be debated how much external control there is of teachers' work, my thesis does not investigate kinds of or how much control. There is knowledge about how school governing has changed and that one concrete activity of external control is national testing. However, limited knowledge exists about how the profession perceives and negotiates this, which I focus on throughout this thesis. I use 'external control' and 'accountability policies' interchangeably (Gregory, 2003) referring to the increase in testing and evaluation, which is specifically investigated through national testing in this thesis.

1.5   Outline of this thesis

The extended abstract consists of seven chapters and aims to clarify, contextualise and discuss the overall study based on four articles. It outlines and discusses the theoretical and methodological perspectives, the research process and the overall contribution of this study. Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 gives an overview on the characteristics of research done on constructions of teacher professionalism, in particular studies on changes in teacher professionalism in the last two decades. In chapter 3, theoretical perspectives on policy enactment, professionalism and discourse analysis are presented and discussed. Chapter 4 describes the data, the field work and selection of participants before outlining and discussing the research process by particularly attending to important methodological issues concerning the use of a discourse-analytical approach and how the analysis has been performed. Chapter 5 summarises the results and discussion points in the four articles, and chapter 6 contains a more elaborate discussion about the findings in the four articles. Last, chapter 7 provides concluding remarks and reflections on the main contributions, implications and limitations of this thesis, and suggestions for further research.

2.   Literature review

The main research question in this thesis pursues how teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism in an educational context where there has been increased emphasis on accountability, particularly with the introduction of national testing. The empirical context of the study is Norway, but the thesis also moves beyond the national context as it is situated within the broader international literature on changes in teacher professionalism in the last decade in particular. That is, the reviewed topic is teacher professionalism, yet in the context of policy developments that more greatly emphasise student achievement and teacher accountability.

The purpose of a literature review can be described as scoping, mapping and focusing the topic being investigated (Thompson, 2012). It should be emphasised that the topic of this field of study is quite broad and the literature review cannot be exhaustive (Maxwell, 2006). Some choices had to be made, and I have chosen to do a two-fold review that enables me to situate the study and its contribution within the Norwegian and international literature. While the empirical contribution is especially relevant regarding the former, the contribution toward the international literature also involves situating the study in the theoretical and methodological landscape. I have therefore reviewed empirical studies that investigate increased emphasis on student performance and evaluation, primarily in Norway. I performed a more systematic and conceptual review of studies that address changes in teacher professionalism. Thereafter, I discuss what characterises the research and how this thesis contributes to the current literature on changes in teacher professionalism and current developments in the Norwegian context.

2.1   Studies in the Norwegian context

Thus far, there is limited empirical knowledge about how the teacher profession in Norway responds to increased accountability for student performance and external control of their work. Existing research is dominated by implementation studies and by primarily focusing on political and organisational developments. I argue that there is a need for more empirical research that studies policy developments from professional viewpoints to investigate possible tensions that are created. In the following, I describe and discuss existing empirical studies to situate this project more clearly within the literature. This section is separated into three parts. First, I present studies that discuss recent policy developments related to teacher professionalism and accountability. Second, I present studies on the teachers' union. Third, I present studies on how teachers relate to new accountability and assessment practises.

2.1.1   Education policy developments

In this part, I focus on studies that discuss and make explicit how policy developments in Norway imply changes for teachers' work. To provide a more thorough basis, I have focused on contributions that have approached these developments from different perspectives.

One way of describing policy developments is to draw some broader, historical lines. Aasen, Prøitz and Sandberg (2013) give an overview on what they describe as knowledge regimes in the Norwegian education system after 1945. They describe the current and most influential as the market-liberal knowledge regime. They compare Norway to Sweden in that this knowledge regime had an earlier influence in Sweden, starting in the 1990s, while it has influenced Norwegian reforms

in the last decade especially. In this knowledge regime, ideas about human capital and individual merits are important, often influenced through international organisations. Also, while previous knowledge regimes promote input-based governing, the market-liberal knowledge regime emphasises outcome-based governing, with national testing as an important tool. Aasen et al. (2013) argue that equity has been redefined as equivalence in recent policy documents, causing schooling to increasingly be understood as an individual, private good, de-emphasising equity and the notion of a shared culture. Yet, it is important to emphasise that, though this knowledge regime is increasingly influential, it coexists with social-democratic values of promoting social equality and democracy (Aasen et al., 2013) and what can be described as a 'Nordic model of education' (Telhaug, Mediås & Aasen, 2006), highlighting the redistributive role of the state and promoting social inclusion through equality of access and outcomes (Aasen et al., 2013; Telhaug et al., 2006).

Another way of describing changes in education policy is to more closely focus on current developments. Møller and Skedsmo (2013) have analysed policy documents throughout the last 15 years and investigated the ways ideas related to New Public Management have been introduced and interpreted in the Norwegian education sector. They identify three areas of discursive struggle: the first, linked to ideologies and the national history of schooling; the second, to contested discourses of professionalism (referring to Article 1 in this thesis); and the third, to strategies of modernising and improving education. Møller and Skedsmo (2013) describe how, though monitoring of educational outcomes was put on the agenda in 1988, it was after the weak PISA results that a discourse holding teachers more accountable became more prominent. They argue that, even though autonomy was emphasised, there was a shift in how trust in teachers was communicated with the introduction of the national quality assessment system in 2004 (NKVS). Teachers were given the responsibility to attend to student learning in all subjects and to ensure that their work results in good learning outcomes (Ministry of Education and Research, 2008), which could be assessed through the NKVS. In the same time period, strong leadership also developed as a strong discourse that reconfigured hierarchical relationships in schools and redefined teachers as followers (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). Outcome-oriented means of governance increased, yet input-oriented means has also increased through a rise in new laws and regulations with regards to assessment.

Yet a different approach to shed light on policy developments as outlined above is through narrative accounts. Bergesen (2006), the state secretary from 2001 to 2005, recalled it was no longer possible to deny that the Norwegian school system had a considerable knowledge and skill problem and that this had grown larger in recent years. In his book, *The Struggle for the Knowledge School,* he outlines how the PISA results gave an important impetus to the centre-conservative government in office. Several contributions address how the first PISA results released in 2001 and 2004 were decisive for the introduction of a new reform and a greater emphasis on student achievement (e.g., Elstad & Sivesind, 2010; Karseth & Sivesind, 2010). The broad approval for the new education reform, The Knowledge Promotion, in 2006, would likely not have been possible without the OECD's assessment studies and country reports (Elstad & Sivesind, 2010). The results, lower than expected, and evaluation reports from the previous curriculum introduced in 1997, revealed that the Norwegian education system was 'not that great after all'. Suddenly, there was a lot more evidence about the overall state of schooling available simultaneously, and the weak results in PISA were also partly explained by referring to the previous national curriculum, Curriculum '97. Meanwhile, policy emphasis on 'the good teacher' developed. That is, it is not primarily resources or structural

conditions that make the difference for student learning, but the quality of the teacher (Bergesen, 2006). Thus, teacher competence became a central issue in the reform.

To summarise, these contributions from different viewpoints depict how the policy climate has shifted and more precisely the introduction of accountability policies and changes in educational governance that also imply changes in expectations for the teacher profession. However, these studies did not empirically explore how teacher professionalism specifically is constructed over time, which Article 1 in this thesis investigates. In the following, I review empirical studies performed on the teacher profession relating to the introduction of accountability policies.

2.1.2   The teacher profession from a macro-oriented perspective

The collective voice of the teacher profession is important for renewing ideas and images of teacher work through engaging in knowledge work and negotiating the profession's collective relationship toward users and stakeholders (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2012; Nerland & Karseth, 2013). Despite this important role that professional bodies play, there has been limited research on the Union of Education Norway and their constructions of teacher professionalism and positions on accountability. Although they might not influence their members to a large extent, they represent the collective voice of teachers in the public sphere.

The teacher profession has historically enjoyed a relatively strong status and autonomy in Norwegian society (Slagstad, 1998), which also makes teachers interesting actors to study. In his historical work on the largest and strongest teachers' union in Norway, 'Norsk Lærerlag' (before 2002, there were two larger unions), Rovde (2006) outlines how the status of the profession started to change in the 1960s, but no particular emphasis was placed on strengthening the profession from the union's side. In the 1950s, unions were concerned with cooperation in research environments and involved in policy and development work (Rovde, 2006), described by Hagemann (1992) as professionalisation strategies. The union was weakened during the 1990s, yet strengthened in terms of members and still described as 'the world's strongest teachers' union' (Rovde, 2006). The involvement in reform work was delimited under Hernes, the minister of education from 1991 to 1995 (Telhaug, 1997). Neoliberal ideas about education challenged the union's foundational values, and an increasing critique of the quality of schooling was raised (Rovde, 2006). Rovde (2006) argues that the union 'made the worst of the situation' in terms of recruitment and quality issues, but that these strategies did not strengthen the profession, rather on the contrary. One concern focused on in the '90s was dissatisfaction with teachers' working conditions in schools (Bergem et al., 1997). Concerns were also raised when the employer's liability of teachers was transferred from state to municipalities in 2003, including negotiating over individual salaries. The union has also been challenged as being too concerned with salaries and more traditional union issues rather than professional matters (Karseth & Nerland, 2007).

The Union of Education Norway was established in 2001 because of a merger of two teachers' unions with historically somewhat different orientations (Rovde, 2006), 'Norsk Lærerlag' and 'Lærerforbundet'. 'Norsk Lærerlag' had a stronger relationship to pedagogy and social pedagogy in particular and more greatly highlighted the social elements in schooling rather than subject knowledge, while 'Lærerforbundet' held a stronger emphasis on subject knowledge (Rovde, 2006). The two unions strongly agreed on compulsory schooling and 'the Nordic model of education' (Telhaug et al., 2006), that is, holding democracy and social equity as fundamental values (Rovde,

2006). The Union of Education currently has 156,000 members and is the third largest union in Norway, an indication of its relative strength in the political landscape. A central aim of the teachers' union, with members in preschools to universities, has been to become a stronger association through the merger. Thereby, working to achieve stronger unity in itself can be seen as an important strategy in building an organisation that previously focused on professional issues and enhancing the status of the profession.

Given that it is the last decade and the Union of Education that this thesis investigates, I turn to research done on the teachers' union in the last decade. Søreide (2008) analysed how the Union of Education Norway narrated teacher identity during their so-called Professional Ideals campaign from 2004. She observed how an important narrative was 'the teacher as responsible and loyal to the child' and that this also opposes the 'public narrative of educational accountability', where accountability is considered to disrupt teachers' possibilities of good teaching. She finds this a rather strong counter-narrative, highlighting teachers' unique knowledge, use of discretion and being responsible and dedicated. In the campaign material, there was also an urge to 'resist when needed' and for teachers not to be 'pushed around' by policy demands if these contradict fundamental ideas of teaching and teachers' own professional judgment. The main loyalty was to the student; teachers must protect themselves from harmful political educational and theoretical trends (Søreide, 2008). This strong emphasis on a counter-narrative can be understood against the backdrop of the unions' concern over how international policy developments of increased accountability and marketisation also could take place in Norway. The two narratives are presented as dichotomous and mutually exclusive, thereby restricting practises and value systems to which teachers subscribe (Søreide, 2008). Empirically, however, it is viable that these positions be negotiated, thus also having constitutive force on alternative representations.

Karseth and Nerland (2007) examined discourses of knowledge in four professional associations, among them the Union of Education Norway. They find that, while the nurses' association emphasised scientific knowledge, the teachers' union stressed practise-based and personal knowledge. The Union of Education has also been concerned with protecting teachers' use of discretion rather than with controlling and standardising professional work. Thereby, Karseth and Nerland (2007) describe the union's strategies as being first and foremost restorative as opposed to the nurses' association, which they describe as being a more progressive agent in terms of developing and safeguarding the profession. Yet, Nerland and Karseth (2013) in a later study also document (like Article 1 in this thesis) how the Union of Education has become more proactive in terms of highlighting scientific knowledge, yet this largely has been handed to individual members. Being updated on research and newly developed professional ethics is thereby first and foremost an individual responsibility, and various forms of standards are seen as a treat to professional discretion, not a way of securing the professional knowledge base and safeguarding discretion and trust. Nerland and Karseth (2013) argue that this stand can make it easier for external actors to define the standards.

Helgøy and Homme (2007) are concerned with the relationship between accountability reforms and teacher autonomy. They compare the autonomy of Norwegian and Swedish teachers at the local workplace and the national level. They describe how the teachers' union in 2006 warned against narrowing and instrumentalist views expressed by bureaucrats and politicians under the theme 'the fight against the measuring school', presented as a threat to professional discretion and experience-based knowledge. Regarding the latter, it is important to highlight that the teachers' union supported

the new reform in 2006 with an emphasis on knowledge and competence aims (Bergesen, 2006). Thus, it was not the reform that the union opposed, but control and market mechanisms. Bergesen (2006) interprets the union's positive response to knowledge and competence as somewhat surprising. Yet, interpreted from a professional perspective, this emphasis could strengthen status and legitimacy. Helgøy and Homme (2007) argue that, while the professional collective have maintained influence on policy-making processes in Norway, the processes of protecting this autonomy have led to less emphasis on issues of autonomy at the societal level in Sweden, even though individual autonomy increased. They argue that there is not necessarily a correspondence between individual and collective autonomy. Helgøy and Homme (2007) ask whether individual autonomy because of accountability reforms can reduce the authority of the profession at the national level. In Norway, teachers are still found to be quite autonomous at the collective level and have more greatly managed to supply conditions for national policy making.

Last, I will introduce a comparative perspective from a recent study by Lilja (2013), who contributes to the ongoing discussion on teachers' unions and issues of teacher professionalism by analysing the professional strategies of the two teachers' unions in Sweden. He finds that the Swedish teachers' unions have moved away from more classic union strategies and position themselves as professional associations, modeling themselves after the medical association. As the two unions somewhat disagree on the foundations on teacher professionalism, they are forced to negotiate with political authorities to find political support for their own ideas on how to improve the status and legitimacy of teachers. Lilja (2013) also compares the Swedish teachers' unions to that of the Norwegian context (referring to Søreide, 2008; Helgøy & Homme, 2007; Article 1 in this thesis) in how the Swedish unions have rendered a weaker position on the policy level while the Union of Education Norway has maintained a stronger position, for example, by presenting a clear counter-narrative to increased external control of the teacher profession in Norway.

Through the above contributions, it can be observed that the teachers' union has been resistant to accountability policies. The role of the teachers' union and their positions toward accountability has to a limited extent been researched, despite representing the collective voice of teachers. In the following, I address relevant studies on constructions of teacher professionalism from a micro-perspective, on an individual level or as smaller groups of teachers.

2.1.3   The teacher profession from a micro-oriented perspective

Few studies address how accountability policies are perceived and implemented locally by teachers. The existing research is characterised by being implementation studies mainly focusing on municipalities and principals, and to a limited extent on teachers. In this literature review, I focus on the context after the reforms in the 2000s, especially concerning the introduction of the National Quality Assessment System (NKVS) from 2004 and the Knowledge Promotion reform from 2006. Although the studies are concerned with local perceptions, they primarily ask questions related to how the reform and/or evaluation system is implemented rather than investigating how teachers and perceive and respond to new accountability policies.

A starting point in this review of how teachers locally construct professionalism in a new context can be done from two comparative studies between Norway and Sweden conducted before the new educational reform in 2006, as Sweden and Norway have a longer, common educational tradition of highlighting social-democratic values and teachers as important in national building processes

(Slagstad, 1998; Telhaug et al., 2006). Carlgren and Klette (2008) address how restructuring educational systems in the Nordic countries in the 1990s affected teachers' working conditions and professional autonomy. Through document analysis and interviews, they investigate how the teacher is constructed through policy texts and identify teachers' current, central tasks and competence. Carlgren and Klette (2008) observe that all teachers described the time period as a decade of changes. But Swedish teachers, more than other Nordic teachers, discussed a qualitative change in teachers' work toward an increasing emphasis on student learning and the responsibility for individual students' learning. Unlike the other countries, Swedish teachers showed more willingness to accept new obligations, while Norwegian teachers more greatly balance traditional and new demands. They further describe how Norwegian teachers appeared to be more in control of changes, while Swedish teachers seemed more like victims. However, the Swedish teachers both described a closing of professional discretion and an opening of a wider discretionary space. These findings are interesting in terms of how Sweden introduced a goal-oriented curriculum and criterion-based national tests in the 1990s, while Norwegian teachers still were 'given' content and methods in the curriculum with no national evaluation of outcomes.

Similar findings are reported by Helgøy and Homme (2007), who find that Swedish teachers experienced more individual autonomy, though their influence on national policy making had been weakened. While Norwegian teachers mainly were characterised by old professionalism, that is, professional practises relying on formal education, monopoly and licensing, Swedish teachers relied more upon personal competence, positions and actual performance. An important note is that this study was conducted before the new goal-oriented curriculum in Norway in 2006, while the Swedish curriculum has been goal-oriented since 1994 (in Sweden, criteria-based national testing was introduced in 1997, yet there is a longer tradition of national testing linked to grading). These differences are also presented as encouraging different conditions for teacher professionalism. Helgøy and Homme (2007) point toward a new form of individualism in Sweden, labeled as individual accountability for the teacher based on personal competence. This is analytically conceptualised as 'new professionalism' (Svensson, 2006), implying increased classroom autonomy yet to a greater extent being accountable for outcomes. Meanwhile, individual autonomy was restricted by external relationships in which local authorities played an important role.

The findings from these two studies demonstrate Norwegian teachers were more marked by an 'old professionalism' compared to the Swedish teachers. Norwegian teachers did not seem willing to respond to increased external pressure for transparency and individualisation of teacher responsibility and partly opposed national tests when they were first introduced in 2004 (Helgøy & Homme, 2007). However, this research was conducted before the introduction of the new curriculum in 2006 in Norway. In the following section, I report studies on teachers (and principals) related to an increase in testing and evaluation (due to the few studies on teachers, I have chosen to also include two studies that mainly focus on principals).

In her doctoral dissertation, Skedsmo (2009) examined control-oriented aspects of evaluation policy just after the introduction of the national evaluation system. Through document analysis of policies from 1990 to 2005 and a survey of Norwegian principals in 2005, she finds that information provided by the national evaluation system implied an increased focus on student performance and outcomes, such as developing routines to follow up results, use of specific programs or methods to increase student performance and professional development. The frequency of testing also increased,

according to the principals. Skedsmo (2009) emphasises the distinction between providing information to gain oversight as formulated in policy and using this information to improve outcomes, as the latter relate to how principals perceive the new tools and it seems to be taken for granted that municipalities and principals will know how to improve. The administrative system seemed only loosely coupled to practises used to improve individual students' learning; rather, developing the school as an organisation and being accountable for providing an overall good education for the students is emphasised. Skedsmo (2009) suggests that new ways of governing will influence the relationships between national authorities, local authorities and schools, thereby creating new patterns of interactions.

Roald (2010), in his doctoral work, addresses the introduction of the national evaluation system and how principals and local authorities interact around data analysis and development projects. Based on interviews, he finds it is difficult for schools and municipalities to transform assessment and evaluation data to use the data for improvement. Thereby, the national quality discourse and everyday work in schools present two different spheres. Increased access to data can even be counterproductive if the data is not treated in ways that enhance collective insight and knowledge among teachers and politicians, Roald (2010) argues. He asks if the evaluation system contributes to increase learning within organisations or delimits such processes, and he emphasises the need to keep a strong focus on quality work in the meaning of interactive processes of professional development. An important challenge, therefore, and in line with the findings in Skedsmo (2009), is how to transform information to actions within schools and municipalities. Information and systems themselves do not provide development and new knowledge. These studies argue that productive assessment cultures must be built from below, where the quality of the processes is decisive and where teachers, students and parents are 'co-producers' in this work.

Elstad (2009) reports from a qualitative study and discusses how the media spotlight following test results causes complex emotional processes among teachers that can both initiate improvement mechanisms and provoke hostile reactions and panic measures. He directs attention to how a greater emphasis on results and hierarchical accountability reveals social norms that operate through shame, and collegial pressure to improve results can be triggered by a 'naming, shaming and blaming' practise, like league tables published by the media. However, Elstad (2009) finds this shaming publicity also generated normative change over time when steps were taken to improve the results, and he calls for more empirical work inside schools and in particular how professional standards influence norms and actions taken.

The studies by Roald (2010) and Elstad (2009) are part of the project Achieving School Accountability in Practice, financed by the Research Council of Norway. The project started with the introduction of the new assessment and evaluation system in 2004 and the introduction of accountability as a theory of action – yet this is a formative phase in terms of how accountability will be consolidated in governing education in Norway. They emphasise the lack of theories to understand the meeting between accountability and the everyday life of schooling, and the challenges of translating the term 'accountability' into Norwegian. They define accountability as control aiming to enhance performance, thereby closely related to that of steering and the power to change behavior and achieve the desired results set out by national authorities (Langfeldt, 2008). For professionals, this can be described as handling the responsibility directed toward them given their societal mandate. In a summary of their research project, Elstad, Hopmann, Langfeldt and Sivesind (2008)

state that their project has documented how governing in education is increasingly marked by accountability and that this is expected to continue. However, they question ways of further development due to conflicts of interest between politicians and the professional collective. They urge the need for further research on 'accountability the Norwegian way'. 'Accountability' here has a somewhat hierarchical connotation in that they are concerned with how accountability can be improved and achieved.

When The Knowledge Promotion Reform was introduced in 2006, policy makers decided that the reform should be followed by an evaluation. Next, I outline some main findings from the evaluation that deal with how new assessment and accountability measures are perceived and taken up by municipalities, schools and teachers. Based on document analysis, surveys and interviews, Møller, Prøitz, Rye and Aasen (2013) describe how national authorities have had a hierarchical and top-down understanding of implementing the reform even though 'steering from below' and increased professional autonomy was an important part of the policy discourse when the reform was initiated. Five years after the introduction of the reform, they find that municipalities and schools have experienced a decrease in autonomy or 'scope of action'. However, the actors have increased their knowledge of the reform, and the reform has resulted in desired changes in schools and teacher practises. The increased access to data is used to prioritise development work, and the emphasis on assessment and assessment data have been important to increase the understanding of the rationale of the reform and promote a more common professional language (Møller et al., 2013). Implementation and anchoring of the assessment system is, however, described as challenging, and they argue that a further increase in accountability measures that simultaneously experience a decrease in autonomy can lead to powerlessness and resignation.

Møller et al. (2013) challenge the teacher profession as having been too critical to control regimes, saying they to a greater extent must recognise demands for documentation as legitimate. The researchers argue that, if the profession does not become more involved in a dialogue around these issues and view accountability as a part of carrying out professional work, this can have adverse effects on the profession. Another contribution from the evaluation of the reform (Karseth & Engelsen, 2013) argues that, though the reform intends to give more autonomy to the professionals, teachers' discretionary powers have decreased as a new input regulation in assessment outlines explicit criteria and descriptions of student competence, thereby attempting to direct teachers' didactic practises (Karseth & Engelsen, 2013). They also argue that the competence aims and how they are measured contribute to narrowing the broader aims of education and to the curriculum becoming more product-oriented. Other possible implications are suggested by Rønning (2013), as she finds that teachers have become more performative in their teaching at the expense of deeper conversations with students. Also, Nordahl and Haussätter (2009) find that students receiving special needs education increased after the new reform, and Bakken and Elstad (2012) believe social inequality has increased. More research must be done to enhance knowledge about such social effects, but it should be emphasised that overall, student performance has increased after the introduction of the new reform (Kjærnsli & Roe, 2010).

Last, Allerup et al. (2009) and Seland et al. (2013) have studied the implementation of national testing on behalf of the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. These evaluation reports suggest that teachers and principals hold a greater emphasis on the summative, not formative, aspects of the tests; that teaching practises might become more directed toward national tests; and that the

tests create some discomfort for teachers, though they are generally accepted. Seland et al. (2013) find that the national tests mainly are integrated into schools' practises, but while principals claim they receive much useful information from the tests, teachers do not generally agree and are more concerned with limitations in terms of giving useful, formative feedback to students. These studies offer important insight into how teachers and schools work with national testing, yet to a limited extent move beyond these findings regarding how summative aspects are foregrounded and possible interpretations of why teachers are more reluctant than principals concerning how useful the tests are.

To summarise, very few studies address how accountability is perceived locally by teachers. The research consists largely of implementation studies and has explored more systemic changes that were boosted following the introduction of the national quality and assessment framework in 2004 and the new educational reform in 2006. Also, the studies have mainly focused on municipalities and principals, and to a limited extent on teachers. Although the studies are concerned with local perceptions, they primarily ask questions related to how the reform and/or evaluation system is implemented rather than investigating how teacher and principals 'do' policy. Other contributions suggest the possible social effects of the reforms, yet these are preliminary conclusions. These approaches are not necessarily significantly different. It is important to emphasise that they all provide important insight into the life of the reform both on a systemic and individual level. Yet, this review has also highlighted the need for research that delves more into how teachers perceive and handle new demands related to accountability and external control. A note should be made of how, in these above-mentioned studies, accountability is mainly defined and studied in a control perspective and used to describe the predominant policy theory of action. To a limited extent in these studies, accountability includes aspects of professional beliefs and values.

Given the limited research on in what ways teaching and senses of professionalism might shift in the Norwegian context, I have conducted a more systematic review of how changes in teaching follow accountability policies and how 'professionalism' is conceptualised and used internationally in research on changes in teachers' work. This provides contextual and conceptual knowledge.

2.2   Conceptualisations of the teacher professionalism

While the first part of the literature review is mainly contextual to provide important background to the Norwegian context, I have conducted a more conceptual review (Dysthe, 2013) of the international literature that synthesises the use of concepts to clarify the theoretical and methodological approach and focus on the topic of investigation in this thesis: changes in teacher professionalism following the introduction of accountability policies.

The international focus is also crucial as accountability policies have been introduced at a later stage in Norway than in countries such as the US and the UK, and examining conceptualisations of changes in teacher professionalism provides important background for the investigation of possible developments in the Norwegian context. In this review of changes in teachers' work and senses of professionalism, I primarily draw on three sources. First, the following literature review is based on a review that I conducted and developed in Article 4, focusing on studies that reported on changes in teachers' relationships to student and colleagues under accountability policies. Part of this review focused on the terms that were used to conceptualise changes in teacher work and professionalism (in the database searches, it was also searched for teacher identity and role), yet this mapping of the

terms that were used was not emphasised in the article. Second, Hextall et al. (2007) have produced an annotated bibliography on changing teacher roles, identities and professionalism. As my own searches for Article 4 gradually narrowed to focus on changes in professionalism and teachers' workplace relations in particular, I worked through the bibliography to identify a few more studies that were relevant for my area of review. While the latter reviews study up until 2007, Article 4 reviews research up until the end of 2010. Third, I have performed new searches in databases and in specific journals to include studies that were published up until mid-2013. All studies included are empirical studies, yet only those that conceptualise changes in teacher professionalism are focused on in this review to more specifically address tensions between different 'professionalisms'.

However, before I move into the more recent body of research on changes in teacher professionalism related to accountability policies, I will include some seminal contributions on studies on teacher work and teacher professionalism that also serve to lay out some broader characteristics of the profession and research on the profession. In this regard, I draw upon Søreide's review from 2007 and an appendix written by Troman (2007) in Hextall et al. (2007) that both contribute to mapping the historical development of research on teachers' work and professionalism before 2000, yet combine this with my studies of key contributions in this field.

2.2.1 Seminal contributions

When reviewing research on teacher professionalism more historically, there is the need to search for research on teachers and teachers' work given that professionalism as a term only started to emerge in academic journals after 1990. For example, a search in Academic Search Premier resulted in only 27 hits before 1990 (and only four hits before 1980), of which only a few were explicitly using the term. Søreide (2007) argues that the dominant perspectives and methods within the field of research on teachers and teaching run along similar lines in Norway, Scandinavia and internationally. Research before the 1970s mainly focused on teacher behaviour and skills, largely influenced by psychology in terms of indicators of teaching effectiveness and predicting who would be successful teachers (Søreide, 2007; Bergem et al., 1997). In the 1970s, there was a greater emphasis on culture, context and relations. One focus area that grew in attention was a cognitive focus in terms of 'teacher thinking', that is, how teachers' knowledge and reflections influenced their practises (Søreide, 2007). Another focus area was a stronger emphasis on the context for teachers' work or 'teachers' professional lives', for example, how teachers' work was influenced by contextual factors such as reforms, teaching subjects and relationships to students. Methodologically, this implied an increased use of qualitative methods.

Troman (2007) adds to the description of this development by also discussing the theoretical perspectives that were dominant in this time period. As research on teachers' roles and teachers' work especially took two directions in the 1970s and '80s (Troman, 2007), there was eventually increased attention to the concept of professionalism and professionalisation (Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996). There was an emerging interest in the development of interpretivist and interactionist perspectives on teachers' work, but also a concern with teachers' relationships to the capitalist state (Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Ozga, 1988). Ozga and Lawn (1981) outline how professionalism is a contested term that is used both as a control strategy by the state and as an occupational strategy by the professional collective. Furthermore, in Ozga's *Schoolwork* (1988), she defines professionalism as an ideology, and she argues that teacher professionalism often is used as a form of state control of teachers. Her work became important for a research agenda on teachers'

work and professionalism throughout the 1990s (Troman, 2007). In the continuation of this neo-Marxist perspective on changes in teacher autonomy, de-professionalisation became an issue for some researchers (e.g. Olssen et al., 2004).

In the USA, seminal contributions such as Willard Waller's study from 1932, *The Sociology of Teaching*, and Dan Lortie's study from 1975, *Schoolteacher*, are examples of ethnographic work on teaching as an occupation, a tradition that Troman (2007) argues holds a long tradition in the USA. Already in his 1932 work, Waller brought attention to the importance of the different types of teachers' relationships, outlining how teachers' relationships with individual students, groups of students, parents and members of the local community are crucial aspects of teachers' work and how these relationships are complex and reciprocal in nature. Lortie (1975) was concerned with the school as a social system and with features of teachers' work that are regarded as particularly attractive. Teachers mainly highlight the so-called interpersonal dimension, involving how the prospects of creating lasting relationships with children are seen as the main reason for choosing the profession.

Interestingly, in LeCompte's (2009) review of research handbooks on teachers issued by the American Educational Research Association (AERA), she argues that the influence of reform initiatives on teachers have been almost absent from these handbooks. She emphasises the need to include and not ignore the larger economic, political and social context of teachers' work. In the UK context, the reverse seems more prominent. The reviewed studies of changes in teacher professionalism in the UK appear more critical to accountability policies and place it within a larger political context of teachers' work, while the studies from the US tend to be less attentive to broader policy developments. I will not move into this discussion here, but this is still relevant knowledge in terms of differences in emphasis on the relationship between policy and practise. Another aspect is how especially contributions from the UK use the term 'professionalism', albeit to a lesser extent, to draw on theories of professions to discuss changes in teachers' work. However, this appears to have been a less employed perspective in studies coming from the US (see also Mehta, 2013).

Overall, the research on changes in teachers' work and (senses of) professionalism has become increasingly important as education policies have changed toward greater regulations and control and reconstructions of teacher work and professionalism. Troman (2007) argues that research in the '90s brought together the two traditions of research as outlined above, ethnographic and interactionist research and more structure-oriented research. Critiques were especially directed toward how some of the new Marxist researchers viewed teachers as 'oversocialised agents' (Troman, 2007) and emphasised the need for also attending to how teachers resisted state control strategies (Gewirtz, 2002). This called for a stronger actor-perspective. To summarise, these broader lines illustrate how professionalism is a rather new concept used in research on teachers as an occupation and teachers' work, and that there are variations in how much the broader political context for teachers' work is emphasised. Therefore, there seems to be a need to see professionalism as a multifaceted concept that different actors seek to fill with different content. The emphasis on professionalism must be seen in relation to policy developments in which the state has been increasingly eager to define professionalism and teacher work. This can threaten the more occupational values of teachers that are typically related to issues of autonomy and collegiality.

2.2.2 Recent empirical research

Research on how teachers gave meaning to changes in teacher work under increased accountability grew in existence from 2000 onward. This upward trend is documented in my own review, where I searched from 1990 to 2010, and in the annotated bibliography of Hextall et al. (2007). Notably, substantial research in this field of changes in perceptions and conceptualisations of teacher work consists of theoretical contributions and policy analysis, which I have chosen not to explore in this review, given that the research questions primarily address teachers' constructions. This can be seen as an interesting finding in itself, as there is an overall need for empirical research on how teachers negotiate around professionalism and accountability.

A range of empirical studies has addressed changes in conceptions of teacher professionalism in the last two decades, and many studies conceptualise such changes through dichotomies on teacher professionalism. Regarding more general issues of changes in professionalism, the changes in teacher work are by many studies described in terms of a performativity discourse (Jeffrey, 2002; O'Connor, 2008; Barrett, 2009) or in terms of managerialist professionalism (Sachs, 2001; Wong, 2008); effective and accountable teachers carry out tasks of high quality as they are described by external standards. Day (2002) uses the terms introduced by Sachs (2001), where the entrepreneurial identity is related to the managerialist discourse and contrasts a so-called activist identity enhancing what is described as democratic professionalism. Democratic professionalism is used as a term for collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders, while managerial professionalism is concerned with how teachers to a greater extent are placed in a line of authority in terms of their accountability for reaching measurable outcomes. Accordingly, Locke et al. (2005) use the terms professional-contextualist professionalism and technocratic-reductionist professionalism to describe a shift in the conceptions of teacher professionalism accompanying neo-liberal educational reforms. The term professional-contextualist professionalism is filled with the connotations of reflective practitioners, integrity, enabling development of diverse human capabilities, intrinsic motivation and commitment, while the term technocratic-reductionist professionalism can be conceptualised as skilled technicians, competence, the production and the attainment of specific learning outcomes, extrinsic motivation and contractual compliance. Helgøy and Homme (2007) use the terms old professionalism and new professionalism as analytical tools, where the first refers to professional practise as relying on formal education and occupation, monopoly and licensing (Svensson, 2006). The latter emphasises individual responsibility in the meaning of teachers' ability to perform and act strategically, accountable to the individual students, the parents and school management. Several studies discuss whether there is a change (Webb et al., 2004; Day et al., 2005; Taylor, 2007; Webb & Vulliamy, 2007) or a redefinition (Carlgren & Klette, 2008; Wilkins, 2011) in the meaning and conception of teacher professionalism, but do not articulate certain terms or dichotomies to express such changes. Another term that is encountered is constrained professionalism, used by Wills and Sandholtz (2009) to describe how teachers retain autonomy in classrooms, but their decisions are significantly circumscribed by contextual pressures and time demands that devaluate and fail to fully use professional judgment and expertise.

The terms introduced above attempt to capture changes in teachers' work. However, it might be more relevant to describe the conceptualisations as competing discourses that are present at the same time rather than dichotomies implying linear notions of 'before' and 'now'. Such dichotomies can fail to acknowledge that the interplay and caught-in-between-ness that teachers experience are more common (see also Stronach et al., 2002; Carlgren & Klette, 2008). As there is reason to argue that

there are many stable aspects of teachers' work (e.g., Lortie, 1975; Arfwedsson, 1994), it can be more viable to view professionalism as multifaceted and thereby also fruitful to investigate in what ways the term is filled with different content by different actors. Table 2.1 summarises the main terms and their content, under the dichotomies often used to describe changes that have taken place.

Table 2.1. Conceptualisations of changes in teacher professionalism

A notion of 'before'	Content	A notion of ' now'	Content
Old professionalism (Helgøy & Homme, 2007).	Professional practise relying on formal education and occupation, monopoly and licensing.	New professionalism (Helgøy & Homme, 2007; Svensson, 2006).	Individual responsibility in the meaning of teachers' ability to perform and act strategically, accountable to the students.
Democratic professionalism (Sachs, 2001; Day, 2002).	Collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders.	Managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2001; Day, 2002; Wong, 2008).	Teachers are placed in a line of authority in terms of their accountability for reaching measurable outcomes.
Activist professional identity (Sachs, 2001; Day, 2002).	Emphasis on concern for the welfare of others and 'the common good', the dignity for the rights of individuals, promotion of democratic way of life.	Entrepreneurial professional identity (Sachs, 2001; Day, 2002).	Identify with efficient, responsible and accountable versions of service that are currently promulgated.
Professional-contextualist professionalism (Locke et al., 2007).	Reflective practitioner, integrity, to enable the development of diverse human capabilities, intrinsic motivation, professional commitment.	Technocratic-reductionist professionalism (Locke et al., 2007).	Skilled technician, competence, to produce the attainment of specific learning outcomes, extrinsic motivation, contractual compliance.
Inside-out professionalism (Stronach et al., 2002).	Based on the notion of a virtuous person.	Outside-in professionalism (Stronach et al., 2002).	Virtue is consequent to following prior principles regarding belief or conduct.
Humanist discourse (Jeffrey 2002).	A greater focus on learning theories that highlight learning as a holistic process; consensual, collegiate and considerate relationships.	Performativity discourse (Jeffrey, 2002).	Effective teachers that carry out their tasks of high quality as described externally; disciplinary, hierarchical relationships.
Principled pragmatism (Moore et al., 2002).	Regardless of external constraints, decision-making is made out of a clear professional plan and purpose.	Contingent pragmatism (Moore et al., 2002).	A sense of compromise or uncertainty of being in a state of largely enforced adjustment.
		Constrained professionalism (Wills & Sandholtz, 2009).	Teachers retain autonomy in classrooms, but decisions are circumscribed by context pressures.
		Post-performative teacher (Wilkins, 2011).	A generation of teachers whose student experience has been of a performative system, they are neither 'compliant' nor resistant.

The above empirical studies are primarily qualitative, and the majority is based on interviews. Many articulations critical to policy probably have a basis in 'ideological clashes' between teachers and policy, and such critiques could be more easily articulated in interviews than enacted in classrooms, as suggested by the very few observational studies that were found (see Article 4). Therefore, there is reason to believe that the relationship between resistance and acceptance is complex and not necessarily dichotomous. Another interesting aspect is how most studies address changes in teachers' autonomy and use of discretion in their everyday work with students when the term 'professionalism' is used. The use of dichotomies might strengthen a normative bias, and they might constrain research from investigating variations, possible alternatives and new responses.

2.3   Characteristics of existing research

The review of research in Norway has identified a need for empirical studies on how the teacher profession in this context responds to a greater emphasis on student achievement and accountability. The broader review of international, empirical research has therefore been important in identifying the need for studies that (1) attempt to move beyond the 'before-now' dichotomy, (2) include several actors within one study and (3) use data sources beyond interviews. In other words, there is a need for empirical 'triangulation' in terms of the two latter concerns, while the former concern suggests that theoretical 'triangulation' is appropriate.

First, by perceiving teacher professionalism as multilayered and multifaceted rather than linear over time, this study is particularly attentive to how different actors highlight, resist or negotiate ideas about professionalism, both from above (policy makers) and within (the profession). The use of dichotomies and the relatively strong notion of 'before' and 'now' that are present in many studies on changes in teachers' work and teacher professionalism may to a larger extent be viewed as binary, and partly competing, discourses, though co-existing discourses in the field that the profession must negotiate. One way of doing this is to take a starting point in the first-order construct of the actors and thereby emphasise methodologies that can contribute to opening up concepts such as accountability and professionalism.

Second, the different conceptualisations found in the existing research focus only to a limited degree on variations and negotiations between different actors. Although there are several contributions relevant to this present study in terms of findings and conceptualisations of professionalism, this project can add to this field by also focusing on similarities and variations between different actors in the field. This is lacking in the literature. Even though many studies argue the need to investigate policy as it is made locally, few studies combine analyses of national policy documents and qualitative studies of how policies are enacted in everyday work. Thus, it can be argued that the discussion in this extended abstract makes an independent contribution to such studies when looking across the articles.

Third, the empirical studies overly rely on interviews. Given that observational studies are few and also find contrasting developments, this study will attend to participant observation and interaction along with interviews. This was done to consider if and how teachers are concerned with acting according to what is seen as appropriate and that this is important to create forms of legitimacy. One way to study this more complex relationship is to examine the language and rhetoric used. A micro-oriented focus on the way that individuals in interaction give meaning to normative expectations in the field can direct attention toward how teachers construct new responses to policy expectations and investigate the role that professional belief systems play in terms of attempts to resolve possible tensions that are created.

Overall, the reviewed studies examine how accountability policies in different ways intersect with teachers' work. I have discussed characteristics of the research and identified issues that should be addressed in further studies of professionalism and accountability. Based on the review in this chapter and in Article 4, I argue there is a need to call attention to how teachers 'do' policy and how teachers negotiate between policy and practise. The theoretical and methodological approaches chosen in the articles and this extended abstract therefore take a starting point in designing a study of teacher professionalism and accountability that considers this relationship.

3. Theoretical perspectives

In this PhD project, I explore how teacher professionalism is constructed and negotiated in the policy context of increasing accountability. The study is best described as a 'teacher study', as it investigates how teachers give meaning to being teachers and teacher work when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in education policy, yet intersecting with that of being a policy study. The concept of professionalism is important to discuss critically because it is a concept used by policy makers and professionals. The theoretical context for this study is developed to enable discussions around constructions of professionalism made by different actors, the more defining and substantial aspects of teaching, and how accountability policies are discursively negotiated. The main focus is along the former perspective, but I find there is also a need to include the latter perspective to enhance knowledge about the responses generated from teachers about accountability policies.

The project involves a theoretical 'triangulation' between the three approaches of (1) educational policy making (in a broad sense), (2) teacher professionalism and (3) discourse analysis. These theoretical perspectives have been found appropriate and fruitful to pursue the specific research questions in the articles and the overall research questions in this PhD project. Although the theoretical approaches are used somewhat differently in the articles, they draw upon the epistemological starting point of being concerned with the construction of meaning and, more precisely, attending to language use to 'unpack' these processes. Taken together, these perspectives enable me to investigate and discuss constructions of teacher professionalism done by different actors, the tensions that are created, how they are attempted to be resolved – and how these discursive processes can be interpreted. In the following section, I present the three perspectives and discuss their contribution toward the present study. I also draw attention to specific concepts that are important in the analysis and discussion of the findings. Thereafter, I relate the theoretical perspectives to each other to summarise how they compose a fruitful approach in this study.

3.1 Education policy making

Although this is a study of teachers and teacher professionalism, theories about educational policy making provide a broader, yet important, backdrop for this thesis. 'Education policy' refers to principles and theories of action decided upon by bodies with legal, legitimate authority, often constituted by regulations, curricula and framework plans (Fuller, 2008; Aasen et al., 2013). In this project, besides an analysis of educational and teachers' union policy, teachers are seen as 'policy makers' as they perform their work in relation to students, parents, colleagues and principals. This line of thought goes back to the work of Lipsky (1977) on street-level bureaucrats, where teachers are seen as a part of policy making and as exercisers of political power. That is, teachers make policy choices rather than just implement them (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003). However, education policy is not so often investigated in terms of how teachers activate it locally when going about their everyday work (Stein, 2004; Nichols & Griffith, 2009; Levinson et al., 2009; Heimans, 2012), nor the reasons that teachers resist, transform or accept new policies and expectations for their professional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

In the last two decades, however, educational policy studies have been introduced to new approaches. New theoretical and methodological approaches (e.g., Bowe et al., 1992; Ball, 1994) have been

introduced, and there has been an increased emphasis on interpretive and ethnographically oriented policy research of investigating policies as they are enacted, embedded and narrated locally (e.g., Stein, 2004; Nichols & Griffith, 2009). These approaches and how they are relevant to this present project are more thoroughly presented in the following subsection.

3.1.1 Policy as text and discourse

A school of policy research was developed throughout the 1990s that was especially concerned with 'policy as text' and 'policy as discourse' (Bowe et al., 1992; Ball, 1994). Gale (1999) has described Ball's work as a starting point for the discursive turn in policy analysis by attending to how policy texts in themselves are political acts. Policy discourses are defined as 'ways of talking about and conceptualising policy' (Ball, 1994, p. 109). While 'policy as discourse' is concerned with the constraints following from state initiatives, 'policy as text' is concerned with how policy texts could be interpreted in a variety of ways locally and entails a stronger actor perspective. Policy discourse is then both productive of texts and interpretive of them, in that the texts are related to action and enactments and not separate from each other (Gale, 1999). In this sense, everyday interaction and interpretations among teachers locally can also be seen as 'policy texts'. A critique of Balls' work has been, however, that teachers to some extent are seen as 'victims' of broader policy developments of performativity (Day, 2013), a critique that is especially relevant to take into consideration when researching teachers' perceptions of accountability in the low-stakes context of Norway. However, by giving voice to local actors, viewing teachers' interaction also as 'policy texts' can provide another perspective and 'corrective' to more linear ways of studying policy and policy implementation, and can possibly encourage deeper reflections around particular policy discussions.

To emphasise the local perspective in policy research, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) drew attention to this policy re-contextualisation that goes on in schools and presented the concept of policy cycle, a model that address the relationship between context of influence (where interest groups struggle over the construction of policies and the key policy concepts), policy text production (texts to be read in relation to their historical moment), and context of practise (where policy is subject to interpretation), loosely coupled in the way that it allows space for reinterpretations in practise. An important argument is the need to know the histories and ideologies of policy recipients to understand what drives them to implement policies in the way that they do (Bowe el al., 1992). Ball, Maguire and Braun revisit this work again in 2012 (see also Braun et al., 2010), holding a similar focus yet using somewhat different terminology. Attention is given to policies as they are made sense of and negotiated locally by teachers.

A similar approach is by Stein (2004), coined as 'policy as cultural construct', including both a concern with exploring the practise of policymaking and analysis and an investigation of the language and rituals born of a policy. The first dimension studies the systems of meaning as they are reflected in policymaking and is concerned with how problems and solutions are defined, by whom and on whose behalf. The second dimension attends to daily language, rituals and habits that are shaped by policy, including how policies promote ways of 'constructing the teacher' and providing tools for organising their work and lives (Stein, 2004). Stein's first dimension is thus similar to Ball's context of influence and policy text production, while the second dimension holds a focus similar to the context of practise. These perspectives have been an inspiration to this present PhD project in that the first article investigates the context of influence and policy text production and particularly discusses tensions over key policy concepts among policy makers and the teachers' union. Also, a

concrete and mandated policy like national testing has 'real' consequences (Bowe et al., 1992; Ball et al., 2012), and it is these policies that are experienced and consequently investigated as the context of practise. In this project, the context of practise is primarily investigated in articles 2 and 3, but also in Article 4, though I here move beyond the national context.

3.1.2   Policy enactment

This thesis attends to policy as ongoing social practise and investigates how local actors give meaning to policy initiatives. In this perspective, education policy is viewed as locally embedded (Ozga & Jones, 2006), yet also contested (Ozga, 2000). Localised discourses develop as policy agendas meet local practises. In these local practises, teachers are the main actors, drawing on professional discourses and normative belief systems (Gee, 2011; van Dijk, 2006). Simultaneously, teachers must relate to laws and regulations that govern school and teacher practises, and schools should be able to enact policies as effectively and successfully as they can (Spillane, 2004), albeit being multiple and contested. In this thesis, it is first and foremost 'harder' edge concrete policies that are studied (articles 3 and 4), as national, standardised testing is a mandated practise that represents external control of teachers. In that sense, it is important to be aware of the structural constraints that are present in this precise case because enactment will probably take forms other than 'softer' policies, such as a professional development project, for example, where it is likely that teachers find greater coherence with their own epistemology. Also, the particular positions that teachers support in practise will depend on their values (Whitty, 2006), and this positioning takes different directions relating to age, specific ideas, political perspectives and jobs within the organisation. For example, when some teachers are given more responsibility for specific programs or they take leadership positions, they might be more concerned with approving policy than other teachers in the organisation that do not have the same kind of ownership or position.

Theoretical perspectives on policy enactment (Ball et al., 2012) are concerned with how different actors in the school environment do policy. Policy is viewed in a broad sense and is seen as ongoing, continuous processes that in various ways are subject to interpretation and negotiation as they are enacted in schools and classrooms (Bowe et al., 1992; Ball, 1994; Ball et al., 2012). In this perspective, policies are not just material texts and 'things' (such as legislations), but also discursive processes (Braun et al., 2010). Education policies are made sense of, mediated and possibly struggled over. Policy enactment is often inflected by competing sets of values and ethics (Ball et al., 2012) that create tensions for teachers, to a larger or lesser extent. However, it is important to emphasise that policies mostly speak to teachers as practitioners through the language of pedagogy and curriculum (Ball et al., 2012), thereby representing central aspects of teachers' knowledge. Teachers also draw upon a history of experience with other policies and reforms, which can be generated and 'used' both for and against present policies. In an implementation perspective, this can be overlooked as teaching often is de-politicised and teachers mainly are portrayed as implementers.

When policies are enacted, discursive processes become important. Discursive processes are found in texts, events, artefacts and practises that relate to wider social processes of education, for example, where 'the student', 'the teacher' and ' the purpose of education' are constructed. It is important to emphasise that these constructions around 'being a good teacher' reflect more defining and substantial aspects of teacher work as teachers go about their everyday work. It is not probable that teachers in their daily work continuously see new development projects, regulations etc. as 'policies'. Therefore, there are corners of schools and aspects of teachers' discretionary practise where policies

apparently do not reach, yet the space of action may still be produced or delimited by policy (Ball et al., 2012). Teachers may also politicise their work to various degrees. However, it is probable that ideas and 'truths' about teaching produced by different actors in the field influence teachers in their self-understanding to different extents.

Overall, there has been an increasing interest toward investigating how policy is interpreted, negotiated and enacted locally in education policy studies in the last two decades in particular. Various theoretical perspectives around local policy making have developed (Stein, 2004; Levinson et al., 2009; Ball et al., 2012; Heimans, 2012). This shift can also illustrated through Ozga (2000), who argues the need to 'remove policy from its pedestal., and make it accessible to the wider community, both as a subject of study and a possible research area (…) policy is to be found everywhere in education, and not just at the level of central government' (p. 2). Another challenge from Ozga (2000) is to understand education policy in a more theoretically informed way. I argue that bringing in theoretical perspectives from the theory of professions and professionalism can make a fruitful contribution when investigating possible ways to interpret teacher responses and how accountability policies are enacted and negotiated.

3.2 The teacher profession and teacher professionalism

Sociological theories of professions and professionalism in particular contribute to the closer investigation into what is at stake for teachers – and how to interpret their responses to an increase in accountability policies. This project takes a starting point in the normative aspect of professionalism and how different actors give meaning to what professionalism ought to be. That is, professionalism is seen as a symbol (Ozga & Lawn, 1981) and a discourse (Evetts, 2003; 2008; Carter et al., 2010) that actors often seek to define in different ways. As such, the term often implies plural conceptions (Gewirtz et al., 2008) and can be described as slippery (Hall, 2004) and shifting (Whitty, 2006). However, ideas about professionalism and the profession are seen as closely interrelated (Freidson, 2001), given how concerns about 'being a good teacher' cannot be separated from concerns about creating trust and legitimacy. For example, through emphasising key aspects of teaching, teachers are in a better position in arguing and creating legitimacy for individual and collective autonomy (Gewirtz et al., 2008). That is, where and when the profession internally can perform well and achieve positive outcomes for 'clients' is related to how strong the arguments are and can be used externally (Glazer, 2008; Mehta, 2013).

Regarding the latter, this is especially so in terms of advocating for and protecting professional autonomy and trust. This issue points to the relationship between professional knowledge and autonomy, or what can be described as the relationship between the performative and organisational aspects of a profession. The former is concerned with the use of specialised knowledge and discretion in practise, that is, everyday work with 'clients' to achieve certain goals on which they also are normatively evaluated. The latter is concerned with control over practise and everyday work, control that can be internal or external. There is a need for professions to stand out as a collective in the way that good standards are not dependent on individual morality in itself, but rather work toward 'keeping order in one's own house' (Molander & Terum, 2008). Thereby, a profession is a collective actor concerned with legitimising professional status and autonomy.

To address more specific aspects of this relationship between performative and organisational aspects of the teacher profession, I next will outline main characteristics of the profession and thereafter discuss aspects of professionalism and control of professional work.

3.2.1 The teacher profession

A relevant question related to what teacher professionalism ought to be is whether teaching is a profession, as defined in the literature on professionalised occupations (Freidson, 2001; Molander & Terum, 2008) and based on the tasks that teachers are performing. The term 'profession' often refers to a group of people who share an occupation with specific characteristics. Although there are disagreements about what occupations should be defined as professions, there is a broad consensus that professionals perform services based on theoretical knowledge acquired and certified through specialised education (Molander & Terum, 2008). Another characteristic is how professionals are given a normative responsibility founded in the societal mandate and in individual needs (Sullivan & Shulman, 2005; Solbrekke & Østrem, 2011). Professions are often described as having a monopoly over a certain body of knowledge and the practises involved, but these practises are to various degrees controlled by the state (Freidson, 2001). This relationship between state control and professional autonomy is, however, a contextual relationship and one that may also change over time.

In classical theory of the professions, teachers are described as a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969). In this body of literature, there are certain features that must be met to be regarded as so-called full-fledged professions, such as doctors and lawyers. Criteria that teaching and other 'new' professions have had problems fulfilling are autonomy, ethical standards, a monopoly on knowledge and professional practise, and a scientific, research-based knowledge base. First, though classroom autonomy and the use of discretion are regarded as especially important features of the teacher profession (Galton et al., 1999; Freidson, 2001), this is not first and foremost given on the basis of a scientific knowledge base. Second, teacher knowledge is often described as practise-based and tacit (Eraut, 2000) rather than research-based and proportional. Third, the teacher profession is often defined through a relational and caring aspect (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Barnett et al., 1987; Moos et al., 2004; Rinke, 2008). These perspectives are interrelated and can provide reasons why teaching often is not regarded as a full-fledged profession, yet they also provide important insights into key characteristics of the profession. There has developed, however, a broader tradition of describing teaching as a profession (Brusling, 2001; Evetts, 2003; Whitty, 2006).

Even though the so-called trait theory has lost much attention, emphasis is still often placed on what can be described as professionalisation processes, typically referring to occupational strategies or processes that provide a professional character based on the features listed above and to a quest for self-control and autonomy that provides the overall motivation for the occupational communities (van Maanen & Barley, 1984). That is, if teachers as a collective can succeed in demonstrating legitimacy based on the work that they perform ('good teachers'), they are in a better position to argue for autonomy and trust. In this sense, classical professional theory can have a quite strong rhetorical strength and clarity. Such perspectives might be more important to the larger professional collective such as the teachers' union, but also to teachers locally, though it might take different forms. In this PhD project, I do not direct attention toward whether teaching is a profession. Nor do I get involved in a discussion about where teaching lies on a continuum of professionalism. Yet characteristics of the teacher profession give an important background in terms of studying studying the positions that teachers talk from.

Descriptions of the teacher profession are often done from a sociological perspective, and there is a need to look to pedagogy morely precise in terms of what the performative aspects for the teacher profession are. This is important in terms of issues of social control, both from outside and within the profession. The relational aspect is a prominent aspect of teaching, as described above, yet the main task of teachers is related to student learning and overall development. That is, attention to student learning and development is the prominent performative aspect of teaching, even though there are different views on the importance of teachers' subject knowledge, subject-didactic knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in relation to each other (e.g., Englund, 2012) as well as the relation between experience-based and scientific knowledge (Eraut, 2000; Grimen, 2008a; Smeby & Mausethagen, 2011). Didactics, how teachers connect the curriculum frameworks to everyday work with students, can therefore be described as the core of teacher professionalism (Hopmann, 2003). These characteristics of didactics, social relationships, subject matters and the overall aim of student learning and development are interrelated. Also, according to recent meta-analyses of teacher competences important for student learning, teacher-student relationships and subject-didactic knowledge are highlighted as particularly important, together with classroom management and formative assessment (Cornelius-White, 2007; Nordenbo et al., 2008; Hattie, 2009).

These performative aspects are important to highlight to interpret and discuss that what politicians want to control and enhance is also what the profession itself wants to control and enhance, namely student learning. Thereby, this is a field of consensus and contestation, where, if created, it is the ways that student learning is framed and acted upon that possibly create tensions for teachers. An overall tension in the field is how student learning can be understood in broader and narrower ways, historically and currently. A main binary distinction exists between the instrumental dimension and the broader, civic dimension (Slagstad, 1998). The most fruitful view is as a continuum where the former directs attention to student learning in a more narrow sense and in terms of student outcomes, while the latter emphasises the educational, societal mandate toward the broader social and humanistic aims of education. This two-fold aim of education is stated in the objects clause and in the curriculum, and should be in the forefront of teachers' work. However, it is an empirical question regarding how these aims are negotiated by different actors.

To summarise, professions are broadly defined as occupations holding a scientific knowledge base (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001), and this expert knowledge has historically been exchanged with the right to regulate one's own work (Molander & Terum, 2008). Shifting constructions of professionalism and the increased emphasis to control the outcomes of professional work can create tensions for teachers in their everyday work that must be negotiated toward aspects of internal accountability and professional knowledge. Normative belief systems of the profession, 'being a good teacher' and concerns about creating trust and legitimacy for the teacher profession (Evetts, 2003; Gewirtz et al., 2008) should therefore be seen as interrelated.

3.2.2 Teacher professionalism
Professionalism is broadly used as a way of describing persons who perform tasks in a good, appropriate and 'correct' way, and the term is typically used to describe certain qualities related to the ways in which practises are performed (Molander & Terum, 2008). When investigating teacher professionalism, the theoretical-analytical approach in this project takes a starting point in the discourse of professionalism. As defined previously, professionalism can be construed with different meanings (Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Stevenson, Carter & Passy, 2007; Whitty, 2006; Evetts, 2003; 2008).

Moreover, professionalism can be used by both conservative and progressive positions to address teachers' work, to request changes or to defend the status quo (Hall, 2004). Another important aspect of this dimension of professionalism is how various actors construe the concept of professionalism differently, and how this is done differently over time.

Professionalism can be studied as normative value systems (Parsons, 1978) and as ideology (Larson, 1977). Evetts (2003) argues these two perspectives are both necessary to understand occupational and organisational change, and they should be combined to enhance understanding about how the balance of normative and ideological elements varies between actors. Distinguishing between professionalism as constructed from above and professionalism from within can assist in doing this work (Evetts, 2003). Professionalisation can take place from within if the profession can use normative aspects to construct occupational identity in ways that they can secure and maintain autonomy and discretionary power, while professionalisation from above can be employed to convince professionals to perform in ways seen as appropriate and effective. Two comments can be made. First, the organisational context is, to a certain extent, limited in this distinction, as professionals would also seek to construct legitimacy within an organisation (Suchmann, 1995; Candlin, 1997). Second, this perspective may underscore an acknowledgement of values that public policy upholds (Ranson, 2003), as policies often resonate with professional ideals and therefore are valued by teachers. Such dichotomies may then also contribute to underscore tensions where tensions are not necessarily prominent.

This 'from within' perspective is illuminated by Evetts (2003)' concept of occupational professionalism, a discourse building on normative value systems that first and foremost is constructed within professional groups. To the teacher profession, an interpretation of professionalism as a value system would emphasise trust in teachers' workplace relationships, use of discretion and expert judgment in the best interests of the students. Consequently, externally imposed rules would preferably be minimised and discretion maximised (Evetts, 2010). In this ideal model, trust is given to the professionals and their competencies through the educational system and the professional community. This may also include a reassessment of service quality and professional performance, which in the case of teachers should be in the best interests of the students and parents (Evetts, 2013). Organisational professionalism, conversely, is conceptualised as a discourse of control that increasingly uses rational-legal forms of authority and involves increased standardisation of work procedures (Evetts, 2003; 2008). Management often relies on externalised forms of regulation and accountability measures such as target setting and performance review, and professionalism is shown when acting according to what is seen as appropriate within the organisation (Fournier, 1999). Organisational objectives can, for example, also redefine practitioner and 'client' relations as achievement targets and performance indicators often regulate interactions. New testing and assessment policies in education can be seen as an expression of public and political skepticism toward teachers, that there is a need for mechanisms that 'protect' students from teachers that do not perform their tasks accordingly. Broadly, the idea could be formulated as follows: Trust based on professional competencies is not enough, but must be guided by organisational objectives and accountability measures. An example from the teaching context would be how quality and progress are measured primarily by looking at evaluations and test results. According to Evetts (2003), the exercise of discretion is thereby reduced and also prevents the so-called service ethics that have been regarded as highly important in professional work. This can also imply a shift from understanding professional responsibility as collegial responsibility managed by the professional

herself and the professional community, to a more technical and economic-oriented responsibility that must be lived up to by standards defined by actors outside one's own profession (Evetts, 2008). To the rather extreme end of this line of thought, teachers are seen as passive victims to increased bureaucratisation and accountability, enhancing a notion of de-professionalisation (Olssen et al, 2004).

Ozga and Lawn (1981) outlined how policy makers and professionals assert normative values and legitimacy differently regarding teacher professionalism. They focused on how the government and the professional collective assert different agendas by using the concept of professionalism in different ways. Although these social groups use the same terminology and the conflict may seem disguised, the content is often disharmonious. This disharmony can trigger political struggles, in which the issue of professional autonomy is especially contested. Ozga and Lawn (1981) have argued the complex concept of professionalism needs to be located within a specific historical context to investigate how professionalism can be used both as control strategies (the state) and as an occupational strategy (the teachers). Teacher professionalism is often described as situational and often contradictory over time and among actors (Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996), related to the political 'struggle' to define what teachers work should be and how it should be specified in the curriculum (Hall, 2004). Accordingly, ideas about professionalism and the teacher profession are interrelated (Freidson, 2001; Gewirtz et al., 2008), as professionalism typically is construed in relation to what characterises professional work and how autonomy and legitimacy can be justified. In this sense, the notion of professionalism should be acknowledged both as a 'true' concept and an ideological tool (Caspersen, 2013). For the individual teacher, for example, practising as a 'good teacher' implies that it is easier to argue the case for autonomy in practise. For the teacher collective, constructions of images of good teachers who are responsible both in terms of knowledge and quality are important in the quest to maintain trust and legitimacy in the public, thereby also in arguing for internal rather than external control mechanisms.

However, much research on changes in teachers' work finds teachers often shield themselves from new policies and reform initiatives (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Arfwedson, 1994; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). One way of viewing limited changes could be that previous models of teacher professionalism may obstruct new policy intentions (Ozga, 2000). Thereby, Ozga (2000) also argues that there is a long-term tension between policymakers and teachers that follows from the nature of teachers' work. It might be that this tension has been stronger in the UK following earlier introduction of external control measures, but I find the argument of tensions as created following from the nature of teachers' work important to pursue. Thus, ideas about 'being a good teacher' are in this thesis seen to be connected to some more substantial aspects of teaching that are related to certain normative values and beliefs, a relationship that to a limited extent previous research has focused on. To a certain extent, these perspectives could both be included when investigating policy enactment. This might be particularly important when testing practises intervene directly with more defining aspects of teacher work, which is further discussed in articles 3 and 4.

3.2.3 Who controls teachers' work – and why?
The need for state control over teachers' work relates to the intensely political nature of the work in which teachers are involved (Ingersoll, 2003; Hall, 2004; Aasen, 2013). For example, the curriculum should be seen as a key element defining teachers' work. However, with the introduction of a new curriculum, there will be different opinions about what should be taught, why and how. The degree

of state control over education and the forms of control vary over time, and forms of control lead to prioritising some activities over others (Robertson, 1996). The question question for investigation in this thesis, then, is whether recent reforms that place more emphasis on outcomes and accountability suggest other implications for teacher work and professionalism, and what their social effects are.

The relationship between trust and mistrust can be used analytically to separate two different models for delivering public services (Le Grand, 2007; 2010). Broadly put, the former assumes that professionals such as teachers first and foremost are motivated by altruism and a service ideal (Lortie, 1975) and by internal, collegial control (Evetts, 2003) related to one's own standards for teaching (Mintrop, 2012), while the latter suggests that professionals are, rather, motivated primarily by self-interest and that external control is necessary to increase efficiency and standards (Le Grand, 2007). The trust model has typically been prominent among professionals and professional associations, academics and political activists on the left part of the political spectrum, and it can also be related to Evetts' discourse of occupational professionalism. The mistrust model, conversely, highlights the need for hierarchical control and external rewards and penalties. Such incentives can be pay for performance, rankings of performance ('league tables'), and creating quasi-markets such as introducing sanctions on schools for not meeting standards. Le Grand (2010) argues that there has been too much emphasis on altruism and moral forms of commitment in the public sector and that taking into account a more incentives-based motivation is necessary to improve the quality and effectiveness of services. Broadly, Le Grand's models portray different images of being teachers, whether it is altruism and commitment for students and the common good or if it is primarily self-interest. Empirically, though, these motives probably coexist, yet substantial research on teachers' work gives way to the importance of the humanistic motivation (e.g. Lortie, 1975).

Claims for trust or autonomy are often seen as a counter-discourse to the increasing use of external mechanisms for political control, both toward input control, that is, legal regulations that have become more prominent means of control in the education sector in recent years, and outcomes-control such as standardised testing and performance measures. The increasing pressure and expectations on teachers and the teacher profession from policy makers and the general public seems to promote an implicit requirement that the profession is organised in a way that makes people gain confidence in teachers' skills and for teachers to create and maintain legitimacy as a competent professional. External forms of accountability can, then, be seen as necessary to (re)create trust between teachers and the public, and as insurance for students and parents about the quality of work. New testing and assessment systems in education can therefore be viewed as an expression of public and political scepticism toward teachers, principals and school owners (Ingersoll, 2003), yet also as 'proofs' of the performance and success for teachers, individually and collectively. It is difficult to be against any form of control as it is seen as necessary to enhance and ensure 'quality' and development, whereas there will be different opinions about who should have this control and how this control will take place. Yet, it is an empirical question to investigate whether and to what extent this happens among teachers in Norway, and the possible (counter) responses that can be activated.

3.2.4 Professional responsibility

Closely connected to the relationship between trust and mistrust and forms of state control of professional work is the issue of professional responsibility. As professionalism is understood as normative, so is professional responsibility; situated practises are influenced by the professional sphere(s) in which they occur and the specific historical context (Solbrekke, 2007). Responsibility is

a prominent and necessary aspect of professionalism, yet that existing research is challenged and takes new forms under external control (Furlong et al., 2000; Whitty, 2006; Simons & Kelchtermans, 2008). Issues surrounding responsibility are especially highlighted in terms of how responsibility in policy has been redefined more narrowly (e.g., Locke et al., 2005).

In more general terms, modernisation efforts in the public sector related to new public management especially are often described to challenge perceptions and practises of professional responsibility (Solbrekke & Heggen, 2009; Solbrekke & Sugrue, 2011). Different means and systems of accountability are often put in place to ensure that professionals are loyal to predefined goals, and mechanisms of accountability seemingly 'triumph' over professional responsibility in current governance systems (Solbrekke & Englund, 2011). Transparency thus becomes a means to gain more control over professional work, and accountability as a policy of action implies the ability to take on responsibility and give accounts for actions. Responsibility in a more traditional sense, however, entails how people take on responsibility voluntarily and get involved based on their own moral responsibility, which is closely related to autonomy in work (Solbrekke & Heggen, 2009; Biesta, 2004; 2010). Solbrekke and Englund (2011) argue that professional responsibility both concerns the relationship to individual clients – such as students and parents – and the public interest, and this requires professionals to employ their knowledge base consisting of both scientific and experience-based knowledge (Freidson, 2001; Kvernbekk, 2001; Grimen, 2008a).

One way to describe the relationship between teachers' professional responsibility and accountability is to say that teacher responsibility first and foremost addresses trust to the acts that are performed based on a moral and knowledge base, while accountability deals with reporting the acts so they can be controlled. This tension thereby also represents two different rationalities and a shift from understanding professional responsibility as a collegial responsibility managed by the professional herself, toward a more technical responsibility that must be met by standards defined by actors outside the profession, as also outlined through occupational and organisational discourses (Evetts, 2003). Furthermore, as shown in the review, theoretical and empirical contributions often highlight the notion of 'before' and 'now' regarding responsibility and accountability in teacher work, similar to that of professionalism. The notion of 'before' to a greater extent highlights aspects related to occupational professionalism, responsibility and trust to the professional, while 'now' emphasises accountability related to external control systems, where the teacher more greatly is 'made' accountable by someone else. Empirically, however, it might be more viable to view these discourses as coexisting and as expectations that must be negotiated. An important question is then related to how professional responsibility in a more traditional sense is challenged by accountability as a policy of action and the possible responses that are construed by the teacher profession, both collectively and individually.

However, to what extent and in what ways accountability is a new concept in education might also be debated. First, 'accountability' and 'responsibility' is by many actors used rhetorically because they have positive connotations, yet in contexts where the meaning could be more complex. There is an emphasis on how authorities seek to regulate teachers' work through accountability, but at the same time, autonomy and self-realisation can portrayed as a part of this notion. This may be exemplified through the idea of decentralisation and how schools and teachers have been given more 'freedom' regarding their daily work, but are being controlled in terms of standardised testing, evaluations and forms of quality controls. 'Responsibility' is also often used in relation to flexibility, responsibility,

empowerment and success. It is also related to the willingness to take risks in the pursuit of goals, which is regarded as a human virtue – and promoted as such (Du Guy, 1996). Thus, 'responsibility' comes forward as a central term also within a discourse not related to moral, relational aspects. Such examples of how these terms are used interchangeably also makes the distinction between accountability and responsibility more blurred, as it is not only 'accountability' that has different connotations, but certainly also the term 'responsibility'.

Second, and related to the above, it can be argued that accountability sometimes is given a too-harsh treatment in that the term often is used as an expression for accountability as a policy theory of action, and broader conceptualisations of accountability are not so often used. One way to conceptualise this is through public accountability, related to the role that professions play in society and to which professionals should be dedicated (Solbrekke & Englund, 2011). Another example on a broader conceptualisation is done by O'Neill (2002), who describes how we should discuss ways of 'real' or 'intelligent' accountability, as accountability is both desirable and necessary, given the trust handed over to professionals. The problem arises when control mechanisms become too standardised and detailed, and accountability damages rather than repairs and builds trust (O'Neill, 2002; Grimen, 2008b). In education, Darling-Hammond (2004) and Conway and Murphy (2013) contribute to this discussion by describing professional accountability and accountability by professional norms related to other types of accountability. Darling-Hammond (2004) defines professional accountability as follows; teachers are expected to acquire specialised knowledge, meet standards for entry and uphold standards of practise in their work, which is important for the discretionary work in which teachers are involved. Conway and Murphy (2013) argue that high-stakes testing tends to hide the more subtle accountability that involves compliance to regulations as well as adherence to professional norms. Furthermore, they argue that the attention paid to accountability mechanisms often directs the focus toward those issues rather than attending to 'long-standing examples interwoven with everyday practises of schooling and teacher education' (p.12). In this sense, one could argue that teachers always have been accountable.

To summarise, it is important to highlight that being an accountable, responsible teacher based on central aspects of teaching is not really contestable. What is contested is, rather, the ways in which accountability is linked to ways of ensuring accountability. Given how teachers are entrusted with discretionary powers based on their knowledge and service ethics, teaching demands both an informal, relational and emotional sanctioning and being concerned with justifying actions and the outcomes of actions. As such, formal, external accountability can be described as building upon forms of informal, internal accountability. Internal and external accountability should therefore not be viewed as exclusive, but as forms of responsibilities that work together in education and where external control mechanisms possibly challenge teachers' internal accountability. Analytically, however, external and internal accountability are used to shed light upon different orientations, yet it has been important to 'open up' the concept of accountability rather than researching it only from the perspective of policy makers or a more control-oriented perspective. Thus, it might also be possible to override or challenge dichotomies over professionalism and accountability and investigate variations, negotiations and possible interpretations into why or why not certain constructions of professionalism are contested.

3.3 Discourse analysis

So far, I have placed the study in the juncture between education policy research and research on teacher professionalism. In the investigation of local actors' perspectives, I apply theoretical perspectives and analytical tools derived from discourse analysis. This combination makes it possible to explore the 'micro-politics' of professional work and the ways in which teachers themselves do discursive work in the context of accountability. Broadly put, discourses on professionalism that exist within education give actors a sense of direction for their behavior, acting on what is regarded as appropriate and legitimate (van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough, 2003; van Leeuwen, 2007; Lawrence et al., 2009; Gee, 2011), and a discourse-analytic approach was found useful to investigating the relationship between lived experience and the institutions that structure and are structured by it (Lawrence et al., 2009). Such approaches are often successfully used to investigate the relationship between discursive practises and wider social and political practises (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). This thesis provides a productive perspective by directing attention to how actors 'do' policy and negotiate professionalism through language.

3.3.1 Discourse analysis as theory

Discourse analysis is a rather broad and overarching term including several analytical approaches, overriding the division between theory and methodology. Discourse-analytical approaches are typically concerned with the epistemological question of construction and apprehension of meaning, and van Dijk (1997) simply defines studies of discourse as the study of 'talk and text in context'. Discourses are created and maintained by actors within institutions, and they may influence and transform organisations and institutions through the dissemination of ideas, values and practises (Howarth, 2000), and ways of categorising based on values and normative belief systems (van Dijk, 2006; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Discourse analysis thus examines how specific forms of discourse appear primarily through the use of language, as language is both a medium for understanding and for action (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999; Howarth, 2000; Gee, 2011).

Discourse analysis has many strands and has garnered buzz in the last couple of decades in particular. It has enjoyed success, validation and criticism for a lack of solidity and transparency. A commonly used division is from Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (1999), discursive psychology (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Howarth, 2000) and critical discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 2003). In this thesis, I am primarily inspired by the latter strand, in that the work I mainly draw upon is usually associated with Fairclough, Gee, van Dijk, and van Leeuwen. Within this line of thought, discourse analysis should not be seen as a restrictive or prescriptive 'method' (Rogers et al., 2005). Rather, drawing upon different strands and various analytical tools should be combined with the aim of conducting a productive analysis (Winther, Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). How this is performed in the articles is more closely outlined and discussed in chapter 4.

In this thesis, I draw on discourse analysis in the analysis of both documents and interaction to investigate the relationship between discursive practises and wider social and cultural practises (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Gee, 2011). This tradition is especially concerned with linguistics, in the understanding that discourse is represented by text and spoken communication. Three elements are explored through the analyses: texts, discursive practices, and social practices (Fairclough, 2003). Texts (documents or transcripts) provide the starting point for the analysis, yet this is examined regarding the ways of producing these texts and the broader social practises in which the texts and discursive practises reside. This three-dimensional discourse model from Fairclough represents what

Gee (2011) describes as 'big D discourse', that is, different ways that actors give meaning to the world (text and discursive practise), make meaningful connections and privilege some ways of knowing over others (the social practise). Another way of explaining this could be to say that the big Discourses are ways of talking and representing that represent part of greater narratives, such as being a teacher. In discursive practises, for example, in a meeting or in an interview, situated meanings are created that can be studied through language use or what Gee (2011) describe as 'little d discourses'. Together, this strand of discourse analysis is useful to identify, describe and interpret how language is used within and across broader Discourses.

3.3.2 Professional discourse

When investigating how policies are perceived and negotiated locally, attention is given to the ways in which policies and practises are accepted, acted upon, changed, ignored, negotiated or resisted (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Breeze, 2011), thereby also attending to how legitimacy and relevance is created. Descriptions of interactive and communicative practises can give important insights into the often tacit ways that members of discourse communities work to achieve their goals and justify their practises (Gunnarson, 2009) and direct attention to how institutional 'texts' work in their natural settings (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999).

To find concepts that can grasp the more substantial aspect of teaching and the organisation that teachers' work resides within, I turn to Gee's concepts of situated meanings and discourse models, which are concerned with how meaning is grounded in specific practises, experiences and theories. Discourse models can also be described as cultural models, (unconscious) theories that contribute to make sense of the world: storylines, images and explanatory frameworks (Gee, 2011). Thus, these discourse models represent specific socially and culturally distinctive identities that people can assume in society, such as 'teacher', and that influence ways of thinking, acting, interacting and talking and that also represent more substantial aspects of being a teacher. Discourse models are related to big D discourses that are often drawn upon in discursive practises, where situated meaning is created. It should be noted that Gee (2011) emphasises how 'discourse models' could be replaced by 'figured worlds', or similar terms that emphasise interpretations and actions deriving from 'a way of looking at some aspect of the world' (p. 76). Yet, as people typically work to establish relevance and agreement, ways of being and acting can also be gradually transformed (Gee, 2011). In education, tensions are prominent about the sort of knowledge that is privileged and who should control policies and procedures as they apply to schools and classrooms (e.g., Furlong et al., 2000; Ingersoll, 2003).

These debates concern status, power, social control and the distribution of social goods (Gee, 2011). Power relations are important to take into consideration, yet the thesis is not placed into a critical framework as such. Rather, discourse-theoretical studies are often criticised for placing too much emphasis on overwhelming power and too little emphasis on actors' representations. However, one relevant aspect of power is how ideas about being 'a professional teacher' and 'a responsible teacher' as constructed by politicians can represent a disciplinary mechanism to exercise appropriate conduct (Fournier, 1999). Another important aspect is that of control, which is first and foremost the ways in which power is dealt with in this thesis (see also Liljegren, 2008); systems of control that include documentation and evaluation. A third relevant aspect is how teachers also exert power in their everyday work in the classroom and, for example, in 'choosing' to act or not act upon certain policies and projects. Teachers also navigate an 'internal' and collegial discursive and social control in terms

of what is acceptable and legitimate to say. Although I do not get involved in a larger discussion about power relationships in the field as discussed above, issues of power relationships can thereby also be addressed by 'frustrating' what is happening in the discursive practises and discussing prominent, disrupting and 'missing' constructions.

Of particular concern in the analysis is therefore how language is used to make things significant or not in certain ways and how language is used to build a perspective on different aspects of 'being teachers'. This latter analytical perspective is concerned with what is being communicated as normal, correct, appropriate, the ways things ought to be, if and how actors are treated as responsible, good and bad motives, etc. (Gee, 2011). In the investigation of how teachers construct discourses around professionalism in the context of increased external control, discursive legitimation strategies and discursive boundary work offer useful lenses. These perspectives are employed in articles 2 and 3 respectively, but can also in retrospect be used to interpret ways that the teacher union involves in what can be described as legitimation and boundary work.

3.3.3 Legitimation

One way to study how teachers locally and informally construct teacher professionalism is by analysing micro-level, discursive processes of legitimation, understood as how speech acts create a sense of positive, beneficial, ethical, necessary or acceptable actions that deal with social practises and how these are resisted or accepted (van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 2007). Legitimation is concerned with providing conditions of appropriateness or with defending actions performed by oneself or a group. Legitimation is usually accomplished within institutional contexts, also presupposing institutional restrictions are defined by law and regulation. Given this institutional nature, legitimation may not only be restricted to justification of individual actions, but to certain norms and values related to the institution or profession (van Leeuwen, 2007).

In this sense, legitimation also holds a collective aspect (van Dijk, 1998), and the attention to legitimation moves beyond theorising on the individual. Although the research questions address and have implications for issues around teacher identity, the individual is not of primary attention. Rather, it has been important to investigate how the profession as a collective and smaller, local groups give meaning to policy changes. One reason for this is how it is viable that teachers are concerned with creating forms of organisational legitimacy (Suchmann, 1995; Vaara & Tienari, 2008) and where policy expectations, professional norms and values are negotiated to restore, create and maintain legitimacy and trust externally. Hardy and Phillips (2004) argue how such discursive aspects of legitimation are underexplored. Although teachers' work is highly regulated politically, they maintain a relatively large degree of classroom autonomy. This relationship is often investigated in a top-down policy implementation perspective, through bottom-up narrative approaches in terms of policy research, or as professionalism as defined from above (policy) and from within (professionals themselves). An alternative or additional perspective may to a greater extent view these discourses as being present in the field, to which teachers must give meaning within an organisation, such as the local collective of a school or a municipality. Following this perspective, teachers are not just concerned with strictly following policy rules or opposing new policies. Rather, they work around and negotiate the policies so they can be made acceptable in terms of expectations from policy makers, the school, the profession and oneself as teacher. Thereby, it is viable that teachers find ways of agreeing upon purposes, strategies and actions within a school or municipality.

In turn, creating legitimacy becomes important in maintaining or enhancing trust and legitimacy both for oneself, the profession and the organisation.

3.3.4 Boundary work

The discursive processes in which the professional collective and groups of teachers are involved in terms of handling increased external control of professional work can also be discussed in light of boundaries and boundary work (Liljegren, 2012a: Liljegren 2012b). This involves how professions and professionals create, maintain, tear down and transform boundaries to separate 'us' and 'them', and desirable tasks from those that are undesirable (Abbott, 1988; Liljegren, 2012a). Others might be other professions, but it might also be other actors within the educational field. For example, teachers as a group have common interests and partly opposing interests. Or, more likely, there are tensions between actors within the educational field, for example, toward principals and bureaucrats. Therefore, different purposes can be served through doing boundary work, such as excluding other groups from situations, managing tensions and coordinating diverse interests to serve a common, professional project (Liljegren, Dellgran & Höjer, 2008). It is the latter perspective, managing tensions that occur in interactions, which Article 3 focuses on through studying the micro-processes of boundary work. By attending to what language does, knowledge about what and how claims are made (van Dijk, 1998) can be enhanced.

From a macro-oriented perspective, both the state and the profession have interests in strengthening the professions' position in society. Collective strategies from the union are an example on a professional project (Larson, 1977); to create legitimacy, negotiate boundaries and define levels of discretion and autonomy (Liljegren, 2012a). This can be carried out from different motives, from altruistic to egotistic, and this in itself is another tension present in the field in that these motives can represent different, albeit extreme, motivations for professional work. A connection can here be made to that of occupational and organisational professionalism, where the former would have the students and their learning and development as a primary focus, while the latter primarily has the bureaucratic structure and possible incentives following outcomes as a focus. However, it could be possible that boundary work on a micro-political level involves a combination of the two in that teachers both draw upon altruistic and egoistic motivations (Liljegren, 2012a). Thus, as highlighted before, it is viable that teachers do discursive boundary work when negotiating between different discourses on professionalism rather than only accepting or resisting certain ideas and values. It is also probable that the boundary work that goes on locally is more fine-tuned, shows more variation and is more complex than the boundary and legitimation work performed by the teachers' union. Such processes are empirically investigated in articles 1, 2 and 3. Article 4 arguably sheds light on them.

3.4   Summing up

To pursue the research questions in this PhD project, I employ theoretical perspectives deriving from educational policy research and theories on professionalism. However, I take a relational approach because I am concerned with investigating how, in what ways and to what extent teachers' professional discourse and normative belief systems intersect with educational policy discourse. This is done through a discourse-analytical approach. Even though I am concerned with the discursive aspect of professionalism and negotiations that take place around the concept of professionalism, I combine this perspective with an attention to more defining and substantial aspects of teaching. In this sense, what is seen as internal to the profession is not only being seen as strategies that are

invoked, but also as emotional and relational aspects of teaching. This can also be described as being 'internal' to teachers, or being aspects of teachers' internal accountability. With policy discourses more strongly emphasising achievement and teacher accountability and introducing concrete and mandated tools such as standardised and national testing, external accountability might challenge teachers' internal accountability. In this sense, what is construed around 'being a good teacher' is both related to normative belief systems among teachers and being in a position of arguing for trust and legitimacy. This also points to the relationship between performative aspects (central knowledge and values) and organisational aspects (autonomy and control) of the teacher profession, drawing attention to possible interpretations of how and why the teacher profession responds to an increase in external control. How teachers do policy in the sense of making accountability policies (not) relevant and (not) appropriate through their use of language and discursive strategies can enhance understanding about teachers' meaning-making of accountability and professionalism.

To summarise, theoretical perspectives from educational policy making, professionalism and discourse analysis enable me to investigate the research questions posed in this thesis. Two central concepts in this thesis are professionalism and accountability. These concepts are central both to policy makers and to professionals, yet they are also contested and 'slippery'. Furthermore, they are concepts used to describe a broader, societal context and related to important values of teaching and everyday practise as a teacher. The theoretical perspectives are chosen as they can contribute to 'opening up' the main concepts that are investigated, professionalism and accountability. I argue that there is a need to investigate and discuss those terms critically to enhance knowledge about how accountability possibly changes perceptions of professionalism among teachers, the ways this might happen – and possible ways to interpret such processes. As such, I can study accountability in ways other than an implementation perspective that can contribute more fine-grained insight into how teachers create relevance and legitimacy of these policies through language.

However, to pursue the research question of how teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism under increasing accountability, I have emphasised the building of the analysis both from 'below' and 'above' to show complexity. The methodological discussion of how there is a need to build the analysis both from actors' orientations and from the theoretical perspectives as they have been outlined here is further developed and discussed in chapter 4.

4.   Data and methodology

The four empirical studies conducted and presented in articles 1 through 4 have different data sources and approaches, yet they are all concerned with constructions of teacher professionalism. Even though the approaches vary to a certain degree, given the research questions in the different articles, the overall research design and theoretical approach take a starting point in constructions of teacher professionalism and how teachers give meaning to professionalism as it is reconstructed in policy. In this chapter, I first outline the research design in the overall study, consisting of document analysis, field work and a review study. However, as the research strategy in the review study is thoroughly accounted for in Article 4, I mainly focus on the empirical studies in this chapter. I describe the selection of documents and participants and the meeting observations in the schools in particular. Thereafter, I move into a methodological discussion around discourse analysis as an analytical approach. Last, I address issues of reflexivity, such as my own role as a researcher, validity and analytical generalisation, and ethical considerations.

4.1   Research design

This thesis holds a qualitative research design and focuses on processes of meaning construction among actors in the field, based on document analysis and field work in a Norwegian municipality. Methodologically, the overall study is grounded in what Mik-Meyer and Järvinen (2005) describe as an interactionist perspective, that is, focusing attention on the meaning-making of phenomena and the actions that are created in the interaction between people or between people and things (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2005). Meaning is a relational phenomenon that is constructed in situation and in context. This school of methodology goes back to Mead and symbolic interactionism, where meaning, identities and relations are created in interaction, as 'a perspective in concrete empirical research' (Blumer, 1969). More specifically, this concerns how situated meanings are related to professional discourse (Gee, 2011), broader societal and political discourses (Fairclough, 2003) and concrete, mandated policies. The main task for the researcher is thus to investigate meaning construction and how representations and 'truths' about the world are created, here with the phenomenon being constructions of teacher professionalism. This methodological perspective also includes the researcher being active in meaning-making processes, for example, shown in how Kvale and Brinkman (2009) coin the term 'inter-views' as an exchange of views.

Different research strategies were chosen that could illuminate the phenomena, teacher professionalism, from different actors and angles. In the first article, I approach constructions of teacher professionalism through documents from education policy makers and the teachers' union. Furthermore, being focused on meaning construction both around policies and teacher work, I more closely tuned in on groups of teachers' language use in meetings and focus group discussions. The emphasis is primarily placed on language-use in interaction, not the individual teachers (Havnes, 2009). While the first and the second articles attend to how different actors define and give meaning to professionalism and accountability, the third and fourth articles attend to what happens when concrete accountability policies enter teachers' everyday work. The table below provides an overview of the research questions, data, and analytical tools and concepts that were used in the three empirical studies:

Table 4.1. Overview of research questions, data and analytical tools and concepts in the studies

	Actors / empirical data	Analytical tools	Analytical concepts
Article 1 (Study 1) How has teacher professionalism been constructed from above (the government) and from within (teachers' union) over the last decade? What are the main areas of tension? In what ways does the teachers' union articulate and negotiate responses to new policy representations on teachers' professionalism?	Policy makers: White Papers (1997, 2002, 2009) The professional collective: Policy documents from the teachers' union (2002-2009)	Representations Problems and solutions Word choices, counts, word clusters Linguistic aspects	Contested discourses Resistance, negotiation, being in the forefront
Article 2 (Study 2) How are accountability policies legitimised and delegitimised (by teachers)? In this landscape of acceptance and resistance, if and how are perceptions of being accountable constructed?	Teachers: Focus group interviews (main attention) Participant observation from teacher meetings	Representations Sensitising concepts Legitimation strategies Linguistic aspects	Internal and external accountability Legitimation
Article 3 (Study 3) What characterises language-in-use in interactions where national tests are discussed, and what tensions are created? In what ways do teachers negotiate and shape responses to new testing practises?	Teachers: Participant observation and interaction data from teacher meetings (main attention) Focus groups and individual interviews	Representations Binaries Metaphors and modality Linguistic aspects	Boundary work Reshaping professional discourses

In the following, I more closely outline the methods that were used and the selection of documents and participants. Thereafter, I provide more information and discuss the process of analysis and the different analytical tools and concepts employed in the different studies.

4.2 Methods and selection

As shown in the research design above, the PhD project draws on different methods and data. From the interpretive, interactionist perspective, it follows that policy documents, observations and interviews are seen as social representations and texts to be interpreted (Mik-Meyer & Järvinen, 2005). In the sections below, I present the choice of methods; what I have chosen to do and why, as well as the selection of site(s) and participants in the study.

4.2.1 Document analysis of white papers and union policies

In this study, document analysis is used to investigate and discuss trends and values related to constructions of teacher professionalism. Documents are important data when aiming to gain knowledge about context(s) and are especially helpful when analysing historical constructions and what kind of actions that are put forth through prominent constructions created by different actors (Mik-Meyer, 2005). Because policy documents often are produced through negotiations and compromises among actors with different interests, they can also be described as polyphonic. Even though policy documents mainly appear as one voice, the interactionist perspective lies in how people interpret and give meaning to prominent representations in the documents. Therefore,

documents can be described as social in the ways that they are produced, shared and used socially (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Bergström & Boréus, 2005). Additionally, documents are important sources for analysing dominant trends at the time and for contextualising field work (Fangen, 2010). Thus, the analysis of shifts in the policy discourse over time is important to document the context for the study, providing a background for teachers' responses.

Policy constructions are typically examined through document analysis, and in Article 1, I analyse white papers and policy documents from the teachers' union. Given their status as documents that are used to give recommendations and promote an overall and integrated policy in a field, white papers in Norway are texts that serve as key reference points for government discourse (Neumann, 2001). White papers are reports usually written by bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education and Research (the publisher). The government initiates them, so they are documents outlining the present political will. White papers provide a basis of discussion for Parliament. Parliament subsequently gives signals to the government, which then makes decisions about further follow-up. White papers provide the foundation for future legislation, though they are unrelated to legislation as such. Three white papers on teacher education were selected, issued in 1997, 2002 and 2009. Several white papers were issued on compulsory education in Norway during this time period, but the chosen papers on teacher education are especially relevant as they outline expectations for teacher work and professionalism at the time. Furthermore, the political platforms put forth by the Union of Education Norway from 2002 to 2009 were selected. These are strategic documents outlining the main political aims of the union's work at the time. Other relevant documents from the teachers' union within the interval of the two strategic documents from 2002 to 2009 were also included to strengthen the analysis of discursive shifts, but they were not given primary attention in the analysis.

Together, the selection of these documents provided a rich material for analysing historical and contemporary constructions of professionalism among policy makers and the union. Two dimensions were especially important. First, the analysis holds a historic dimension to be better informed about the contemporary constructions, and second, the analysis holds a dimension of investigating policymakers' perspective (from 'above') and the professional perspective (from 'within'). These dimensions were important in order to attend to prominent tensions in the field among defining actors on the collective level and to conduct an investigation into recent historical developments.

4.2.2 Field work: Selection of municipality and schools

Field work in a Norwegian municipality was conducted in the 2010-2011 school year. When designing the study, I wanted to investigate the research questions through field work that made it possible to investigate local perceptions of professionalism and accountability in teacher meetings and through interviews. I also wanted to find a municipality that could be regarded as somewhat 'typical', where it could be possible to grasp the context of 'ordinary' social practise. According to key figures in Kostra (the municipality-state-reporting in Norway), the municipality I selected, Woodland, is average in the numbers of inhabitants and socioeconomic background. Woodland is situated in the eastern part of Norway. It was, however, also important that the municipality could be characterised as an active local authority so that it was plausible that the municipality aimed to follow politically desired practises and was development-oriented. A municipality that is renowned for this was selected, for example, it had won a prize for its efforts in systematising and enhancing school development processes. Thus, it can be argued that this municipality has a certain degree of uniqueness to it as well.

Contact was made through the school administrator in the municipality in winter 2010. The administrator was positive about participating and agreed to let me present the study at a principal's meeting in the spring. After this meeting, the principals discussed participation with the teachers, and I got feedback from schools that were interested in taking part. Information letters (see appendix) were given out to all teachers, and they were signed and collected at the first visit to the schools. Three schools were selected before the school year of 2009-2010 ended. These schools were considered to be development-oriented by the school administrator. I wanted variation in terms of school size and age of students, so a larger primary school, a smaller primary school and a secondary school were selected. Hillside Primary School is a first- through seventh-grade grade school with approximately 150 students, 14 teachers and a principal. Lakeview Primary School is a first- through seventh-grade school with approximately 70 students, eight teachers and a principal. New Town Secondary School is an eighth- through tenth-grade school with approximately 250 students, 35 teachers, a principal and an assistant principal. The school context concerning accountability and school development was quite similar across the schools. The municipality has been concerned with common visions and creating venues for close cooperation between principals, yet not attending specifically to the results of the national tests. The schools had been involved in several development projects across the municipality, and in 2010-2011, examples of projects were assessment in reading literacy and classroom management. Some teachers were recently or currently involved in continuing education at universities and colleges.

The first row in the following table describes the participants in the study, while the second row provides relevant information (approximately) about municipality and school sizes.

Table 4.2. Overview of participants in the study and other information about the site(s)

	Woodland municipality	**New Town Secondary Sc.**	**Hillside Primary School**	**Lakeview Primary Sc.**
Who	School administrator Pedagogical advisor	5 teachers (grade 8) Principal, assistant principal	11 teachers (grades 1-7) Principal	6 teachers (grades 1-7) Principal
No.	Number of schools: 12 Number of students: 1,660	Number of teachers: 35 Number of students: 250	Number of teachers: 14 Number of students: 150	Number of teachers: 8 Number of students: 70

To sufficiently ground and justify the research design chosen for this study, I continue to describe the methods in use and more specifically the selection of participants and meetings.

4.2.3   Participant observation

Participant observation was designed as an important part of the field work, and the principals and teachers were welcoming in terms of information sharing and access. This is especially important regarding observational studies. Participant observation often provides a fruitful way of studying interaction and use of language where the researcher to a limited extent influences the interaction and communication (Fangen, 2010) and is seen as particularly valuable when focusing on the relationship between micro-practises and the broader context compared to interviews and document analysis (Järvinen & Mikmeyer, 2005). An overall aim with participant observation can be defined as what people say and do in 'naturally occurring situations', and is especially seen as suitable for giving insight into processes of local production and reproduction of meaning, and how actions and strategies are grounded in institutions and cultural contexts (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). These interactions typically offer researchers greater knowledge about the context and institution that participants work within (Järvinen & Mikmeyer, 2005), and can also direct attention to how actors

continuously adapt to and use interpretive resources in the environments to construct, defend and repair the social world (Miller, 2004). This is especially so in interactions within organisations such as schools, where routines, aims and values can influence meetings between actors in specific ways.

As I wanted to study how new expectations for teachers in terms of new assessment and accountability policies were perceived and negotiated, I chose to take part in meetings where aspects of assessment were topics. After the three schools had agreed upon participation in the study, the principals sent me their schedules and contents for the weekly teacher meetings. Although formative assessment is not a focus in this thesis, it was plausible that meetings where these topics were discussed would also be meetings where student achievement, testing and evaluation could become topics. Furthermore, I wanted to focus particularly on national testing because this is a mandated and 'concrete' accountability practise, but no meetings were directly focused on that, according to the meeting plans. Besides taking part in meetings in the schools, I attended two teacher meetings across schools and one meeting with all the principals in the municipality, led by the school administrator and his paedagogical advisor. Participant observation outside meetings and informal conversations were also important. For example, before meetings, I started sitting in the staff room and talked to teachers and principals. After meetings, I sometimes was offered a lift by teachers, principals or the school administrator.

In total, I observed more than 30 hours of teacher meetings, and I usually spent at least one extra hour at the schools before and after the meetings for every visit. This was important in terms of creating relationships and also for talking more about issues in which I became interested. Moreover, I wanted to wait to conduct interviews until I had established some relationships and also had done some preliminary analysis. For the first six months, I only observed meetings and talked to teachers informally. I took field notes and did preliminary analysis. Especially important were instances of the 'unexpected' and 'mysterious' (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2005), that is, when something was brought up that did not make 'sense' at the moment and boosted my curiosity. I wrote extensive field notes, as I did not intend to transcribe everything from the meetings, together with preliminary analytical points (Fangen, 2010). One example was the many references to research and researchers that surprised me when observing the meetings. The field notes have been important when going back to interaction sequences for transcriptions and further analysis. All meetings were audio-recorded, though I turned off the recorder a couple of times when, for example, student names were discussed or there were several smaller groups discussing at the same time and I wanted to move around in the groups. Recordings are crucial when attempting to investigate talk and interaction, and I usually preferred them over field notes when possible. The shortcomings of recorders, however, are interactions being 'on the move', background noise, and lack of attention to non-verbal behaviour and artifacts in use (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Such issues have been resolved by sometimes turning the recorder off and by writing field notes where, for example, physical setting, use of various artefacts, body language etc. was jotted down during the observations (see appendix).

Focusing more particularly on interactions based on recordings has advantages in that I can continuously go back to the data; however, there are also disadvantages in that there will be large groups of data that are not included in the data presentation (Helstad, 2013). To address this, two aspects should be highlighted. First, I wrote quite extensive field notes that were also used in the analysis, and second, the parts that were selected for micro-analysis in Article 3 can be described as being representations or 'empirical carriers' of the data (Silseth, 2012; Helstad, 2013). This way of

generalising within the data was strengthened by viewing the field notes and interaction data in relation to the interviews that were conducted. Also, conducting interviews were important, as a comparative weakness between observation and interview lies in the difficulty in locating and gaining access to substantial observations on the investigated topic (Morgan, 1997). After I had been to various meetings for about six months, I conducted focus groups and interviews.

4.2.4 Interviews and focus groups

During the field work, I conducted both focus group interviews and individual interviews. Interviews are especially effective when wanting to produce meaning around specific phenomena and study meaning-making processes (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Focus groups are seen as especially useful in eliciting social groups' experiences, perceptions, opinions and feelings as these are elaborated and negotiated, and for investigating topics that are habit-ridden or not thought out in detail (Morgan, 1997; Wilkinson, 1998). The interaction and group dynamics between participants typically generate a richer scale of ideas in focus groups than in individual interviews. Furthermore, focus groups work well for investigating discourses used to establish social relationships and identities (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009) and as material for linguistically inspired analysis (Hydén & Bülow, 2003).

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point out, the decision to use interviews and what kind of interviews must be made regarding the purpose of the project and the circumstances. Emphasis on meeting observation and use of focus group interviews formed parts of the research design, and focus group interviews became an increasingly interesting method as the field work proceeded. During the meetings, teachers sometimes sat in groups or their stable teams discussing a specific topic, and I observed how this smaller format involved intense discussion that often attended to the relationship between micro-practises and the institutional and political context. I could also include more teachers and benefit from the more concentrated discussions and exchange of ideas that focus groups allow (Morgan, 1997). Morgan (1997) also suggests that the simplest test of whether focus groups are appropriate for a project is to ask how actively and easily the participants discuss the topic. Another way of phrasing this could be that they give greater room for reflection and that the groups often work positively for the participants, as they feel they get something back. I found the teachers engaged and built upon each other's arguments and communicated afterward on how they found it useful to sit together and discuss issues of professionalism – on how this is such an important issue, we never have time to discuss this, etc.

To facilitate a broader discussion around teacher professionalism, I posed questions concerning 'being teachers' (see appendix). I wanted to use broad, few questions yet ensure that central issues of teacher work and senses of professionalism were discussed. To make the focus groups as informal as possible, questions should be quite simple and not binding, and minimal influence from the researcher allows participants to formulate their own opinions as much as possible (Wilkinson, 1998). I therefore attempted to conduct the focus group discussions in a more non-directed style, where the main objective was to encourage a variety of views on the topic for discussion and to facilitate a 'flow' in the discussions. When arguing that focus groups can elicit constructions on a group level, it is important, however, to discuss from what perspective the focus group members are talking when the aim is to identify attitudes and social representations (Hydén & Bülow, 2003). One way to investigate this is through looking at the extent to which teachers added their contributions to the common ground by co-constructing a narrative together. This is easier when the focus groups are conducted in familiar and stable groups. However, evidence for this was also found in the transcripts.

Examples are the prominent use of the pronoun 'we', and including oneself by linking to the previous speaker through the word 'but'. Other examples are terms that apparently there is no need to explain because they are known to the group, or experiences that are discussed as common and not individual (Hydén & Bülow, 2003). It can be argued that the focus groups made it possible to gain knowledge about social representations as shared values and norms.

The focus group interviews were conducted with all teachers at the two primary schools (except those not present on the day of the interviews), in the teams that they worked. In the secondary school, I interviewed the teachers in grade eight. In total, 22 teachers took part in the focus groups. In addition, I individually interviewed the teachers who taught in grades that participated in national tests, and in addition, I interviewed second-grade teachers, as this grade takes obligatory mapping tests. By interviewing teachers in grades two, five and eight, they also represented variations in terms of student age. The teachers were in different stages of their career, comprising both beginning-of-career teachers (which I in this study define as having taught less than 10 years), and more veteran teachers. I also interviewed the principals in the schools and the assistant principal in the secondary school. I interviewed six teachers individually, three principals, one assistant principal, the school administrator and his pedagogical advisor. For practical reasons, I interviewed the latter two together. These interviews also provided contextual information.

Through the focus groups, I experienced that I could benefit from the time I had been in the field and that the teachers had trust in me as a researcher. For example, they referred to meetings where I had been present. I also found that it was possible to discuss experiences that we had in common. I experienced little difference in the conversations in smaller groups in meetings and the focus groups, but the main advantage was the ability to bring more focus and concentration to issues I wanted to bring attention to. A division of labour between observation and focus groups is therefore often seen an advantage (Morgan, 1997), though not necessarily in the way that they give different kinds of data. Atkinson and Coffey (2003) question this idea, that observation and interviews give different kinds of data. They rather argue that both interviews and observations produce data about actions. Similar arguments are advanced by Nerland (2004), who argues interviews can examine dimensions that work as constituting for practises. Consistent with the interactionist perspective taken in this study, representations and positioning are important in all interactions and not restricted to interviews. Rather, observation data is important as conversations can better shed light on institutional processes, while the focus groups provide a better opportunity for concentrated discussions. Therefore, this can be described as being a 'division of labour' present in the project where the observations and the interviews are seen as working together to produce insights about perceptions and practises.

In terms of the individual interviews, these were conducted as planned for teachers in grades two, five and eight, as these are involved in national mapping tests (grade two) and national tests (grades five and eight). I wanted to keep doing individual interviews with these teachers for two reasons. First, they had specific knowledge about how they had worked with and experienced the tests, knowledge and experiences that could be distant for other teachers. Second, issues concerning preparations for the tests and the results of tests could be sensitive for teachers, and I wanted to have the opportunity to discuss these issues individually. The individual interviews were somewhat more structured than the focus groups, yet it was emphasised to create conversations and opportunities for the participants to discuss issues about which they were concerned.

I transcribed all interviews verbatim and translated them into English when writing the articles. Interview guides are found in the appendix. Pauses, laughter and small comments were also transcribed, and during translation, it was important to be thorough and precise to maintain the meaning, not least given how I analysed language. I have approached this challenge in two ways. First, I focused on tools from discourse analysis that are not too linguistic and thereby did not require narrow, detailed transcripts (Gee, 2011). Second, I consulted native speakers to assure meaning in the transcripts, for example, the translation of metaphors. This meant that the wording of some of the metaphors have been changed somewhat to ensure they made sense for English-speaking readers. In total, the transcripts from the interviews were 240 pages (1.15 spacing, 12-point Times New Roman).

4.2.5 Overview of selection
The table below summarises the total amount of hours that I observed meetings and the interviews that were conducted, followed by some reflections upon selection of meetings and teachers.

Table 4.3. Overview of participant observation and interviews

	Woodland municipality	New Town Secondary School	Hillside Primary School	Lakeview Primary School
Meeting observation	6 hours (assessment practises)	10 hours (assessment practises)	10 hours (assessment practises)	6 hours (assessment practises)
Focus groups		One focus group discussion with grade 8 (90 min.)	Two focus group discussions with grades 1-4 and 5-7 (total of 180 min.)	One focus group discussion with all teachers (90 min.)
Individual interviews	Interview with school administrator and paedagogical advisor (90 min.)	2 individual interviews with grade 8 teachers (120-180 min.) 2 interviews with principal and assistant principal (120-180 min.)	2 individual interviews with grade 2 teacher and grade 5 teacher (120-180 min.) Interview with principal (90 min.)	2 individual interviews with grade 2 teacher and grade 5 teacher (120-180 min.) Interview with principal (90 min.)

In terms of validity issues, it could of course be that other meetings would have been relevant to observe. For example, it is probable that national testing also was a topic in other meetings than the ones I observed about different assessment practices (these meetings included issues such as assessment criterias, student and parents conversations, reading literacy assessment, follow-up on national tests and screening tests), though this was difficult to assess beforehand, as no meetings focused directly on national testing. It could also have been interesting to conduct the focus group interviews across teacher teams and not in the stable teams. For example, most of the younger teachers who had worked for less than ten years were in the same teacher team, and it might be that they had developed a subculture that was maybe just an influential as their age. As the analysis mainly focused on groups of teachers and not the school as the organisation, it could also have been interesting to include teachers from more schools in the focus groups. However, this is related to how I asked schools to participate in the study and not individual teachers. Conversely, it might be the dynamic in these groups due to how they were well-known to each other that created rich data. I could also have chosen to conduct more individual interviews, but as my focus was directed toward negotiations that involved teachers primarily, I discovered that the focus groups provided richer data

than what the individual interviews did in terms of interaction data over 'being teachers'. As I also had extensive data from teacher meetings, I decided I had rich data to pursue the research questions.

4.3   A discourse-analytic approach

The three empirical articles use tools from discourse analysis in the analysis. In the articles, I outline how I am 'inspired by discourse analysis' or that I use a 'discursive approach'. In the following, I discuss some concurrent challenges in conducting discourse analysis and why I have chosen to do this in particular ways. Discourse as theory was described in chapter 3, and my attention is here brought to methodological issues and the analysis as it has been performed in the empirical studies.

The analysis can be described as being quite structured, and I have attempted to be transparent and explicit in the steps of analysis (see appendix). One way of doing this has been to outline steps of analysis in tables. Each step of analysis or reading has had its own aim and empirical research question(s), and the specific tools of analysis are listed. The different articles in the PhD project have used somewhat different analytical tools given the empirical data. In the first article, a starting point is taken in a problem-solution approach, often used in the analysis of policy texts (Bacchi, 2009). In the second article, I primarily use discursive legitimation strategies as analytical tools (van Leeuwen, 2007), a framework that proved to be fruitful after conducting the first step of analysis. In the third article, tools from critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2011) are used in the analysis of language-in-use and the discursive practises in the teacher meetings. The steps of analysis are described in tables in the three articles, but due to the following discussion, I have also chosen to include them in the appendices.

This project mainly draws upon analytical tools that can be placed under the umbrella of CDA, yet drawing on different strands of discourse analysis to extract concepts and tools that can be used fruitfully in the analysis. Torfing (2005) outlines how there are relatively small differences between CDA and discourse theory, as many of the analytical categories for analysing concrete discourse can be used in conjunction. Yet, in a review of 46 articles using CDA in educational contexts, Rogers et al. (2005) find relationships between different discourse-analytic traditions often are briefly discussed. Looking across literature that discusses challenges to discourse analysis, however, I have found how especially three features are addressed: (1) the issue of top-down vs. bottom-up approaches, (2) the issue of methodology (steps of analysis) and (3) the issue of data material (documents versus ethnographic methods).

4.3.1   Top-down vs. bottom-up approaches

As argued in chapter 3, I find discourse analysis a promising approach for studies that attempt to answer questions about relationships between language and society, that is, how macro and micro contexts are linked (Rogers et al., 2005) – and the ways that (competing) discourses come into play. A recurrent theme in discourse analysis, however, is that it is both theory and method. A relevant question to ask, then, is what the relationship between theory and method 'is' – and this relationship is dealt with in empirical studies. Should empirical investigations mainly based in theoretical assumptions or rather take a starting point in the concrete analysis?

Peace (2003) outlines how a 'bottom-up' tradition within discourse analysis mainly is influenced by ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, thereby concentrating on a more detailed examination

of participants' orientations. The 'top-down' tradition, conversely, draws quite heavily on poststructuralism and emphasises how speech and the constitution of subjectivities are structured by culturally available discourses. Peace (2003) is concerned with how both of these positions can be problematic. The former is problematic in terms of the strict adherence to participants' orientations and the idea that the researcher is somewhat free from ideological baggage – given how meaning is constituted in interactions between the participant and researcher (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). The latter is problematic if the researcher imposes, often immediately, theoretical or political judgments on the data. First, the researcher thereby moves beyond the locally constituted meanings. Second, by doing this, the researcher is elevated as a powerful and all-knowing arbiter of meaning and interpretation (Peace, 2003; Breeze, 2011). Both approaches can then also be in danger of associating a return to a more realistic and cognitive reading of data.

These challenges have led to some researchers advocating a synthesis of the two traditions (Wetherell, 1998; Peace, 2003), that is, attempts to respect participant orientations while considering what the discourses may achieve at a more structural level of analysis (Peace, 2003). This interplay between inductive and deductive investigation, and combining interpretations and theoretical analysis is considered a general approach in qualitative research (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Peace (2003) also advocates how this approach makes it possible to challenge the determinism/voluntarism dichotomy to some extent, as it is concerned with how individuals have particular discourses available to them, yet also holding emphasis on individual agency, choice and prospects for change. Thereby, the analysis is kept within the notion that individuals are both active and passive, users and used, and products or producers of discourse (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). Peace (2003) summarises it as follows: 'A synthesis of the 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches permits an analysis that is sensitive to locally constructed meanings while paying attention to the wider cultural context as it is understood in relation to the researcher's theoretical and political standpoints' (p.165). Instead of discouraging theory-driven interpretation, texts can be read through different theories (Bucholtz, 2001; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

This position between top-down and bottom-up can also be addressed by discussing the relationship between first-order concepts and second-order concepts (van Maanen, 1979), or constructs of the first degree and constructs of the second degree as introduced by Schütz in 1963 (Blaikie, 2007). First-order concepts are the terms and descriptions used by the participants, while second-order concepts are theories or theoretical concepts used or created by the researcher (van Maanen, 1979). Van Maanen (1979) argues the most theoretically engaging second-order concepts represent what could be called 'interpretations of interpretations' (p.40). Such concepts could be difficult to develop if the second-order concepts are too theoretically informed. First- and second-order concepts can also be described similarly by the concepts of emic and etic terms (first coined by the linguist Pike in 1954), where 'emic' refers to the intrinsic distinctions meaningful to the members of a group and 'etic' refers to the extrinsic ideas and categories meaningful for researchers (Headland & McEhanon, 2004). A prominent challenge is, however, that the etic or second-order concepts often overtake the emic or first-order concepts in the analysis. To a certain extent, an empirical analysis necessarily demands and expects the researchers to give a scientific form to the constructions of the participants, and the scientific concepts can eventually also become first-order concepts by being appropriated in the field. Important questions to ask are when you, as a researcher, can override the representations done by the actors, and how that is done. For example, if the actors cannot relate to or recognise themselves in the concepts used by the researcher, then this could be a reason to question the use of

second-order concepts. This situation can also be discussed with regards to the researchers' use of theoretical terms and concepts. It is important that the researcher make abstractions, however, not through mainly reviewing and troubling the first-order actors' representations. The main challenge with second-order concepts is when these become so dominant that they take over for the first-order concepts. In terms of discourse analysis, this can be especially problematic if the analysis is top-down oriented and theoretical terms are prominent throughout the analysis, which more greatly can make the first-order concepts examples of the theory.

A solution for this dilemma, and one that is taken in this project, is (1) to position the analysis between ethnographic accounts, taking a starting point in first-order concepts and the theoretical interpretations and concepts, a stance that 'reads one in terms of the other', which finds a balance between an etic and emic analysis in analysing how language works in a particular setting (Wetherell, 1998), and (2) to be more explicit on the methodological choices that are made to investigate how language works in particular settings and produce new, interesting insights in talk and its contextual conditions (van Dijk, 1997; Breeze, 2011). These two issues are further addressed below.

4.3.2 Conducting analysis

A significant challenge concerning discourse analysis is the issue of methodology and being concrete about conducting the analysis. In a review of studies using CDA within education, Rogers et al. (2005) found that only a few articles gave clear descriptions of the analysis and especially the linguistic framework. Some schools are strictly oriented toward linguistic analysis and see this as prerequisite for conducting discourse analysis, while other schools are mainly concerned with social theories and are rather criticised for the lack of analytical tools and transparency in the analysis, such as discourse theory. In other words, the 'how to' part of the discourse analysis is often either viewed as too narrow and strict or too broad and diffuse. The question of methods and methodology is raised (Howarth, 2005; Torfing, 2005; Rogers et al., 2005; Breeze, 2011; Goodwin, 2012), and there are calls for an increased attention to justifications and critical reflections upon research strategy.

Going back to the question of top-down and bottom-up approaches, another issue for consideration is whether the analytical procedures should be standardised, to a greater extent 'letting the data speak', or if a diversity of approaches strengthens the framework and the method (Gee, 2011). Both the lack of clarity and the emphasis on clarity in the analysis can then make it challenging to describe how one conducts a discourse analysis. It is therefore important to look for tools to use in a discourse analysis, of which tools from CDA are often seen as particularly useful (Torfing, 2005). There are some good examples of studies that provide a detailed explanation of the process of discourse analysis. Willott and Griffin (1997) give a detailed explanation of the process of discourse analysis, combining bottom-up grounded analysis with a more 'top-down' discourse analysis. For example, they were first concerned with identifying themes that provided an intermediate, non-theoretical representation of the text, between the temporally organised transcripts and a more theoretical analysis (p.111). Peace (2003) outlines how he attempted to suspend the 'top-down' theoretical impositions by reading the transcripts repeatedly and finding recurring themes in talk. These were increasingly related to the literature and further refined into smaller recurrent units in the texts. Søreide (2007) describes how she performs readings of the data. Such studies have provided inspiration for how to conduct the analysis, how to increase transparency, and how to use different tools on different kinds of data.

4.3.3 A variety of data

The data (or the texts) that are analysed through a discourse analysis can be diverse, yet there has been an emphasis on written and existing texts (Rogers et al., 2005). However, there has been an increase in using discourse analysis in the analysis of interactional and dialogic texts. Howarth (2005) emphasises how a 'complete' discourse analysis of political and social practises should describe and analyse both micro- and macro-practises. This implies that a textual analysis of, say, official documents constitutes only one aspect of a fully fledged discourse analysis and that it should be supplemented with interviews and descriptions of practises and institutions. Reconstructions of phenomena should draw on a range of empirical data.

Many studies using CDA in particular tend to focus on the 'deconstructive' rather than the 'reconstructive' aspects of power. Yet, a discourse analysis also opens up the possibilities for investigating the ways in which people resist and transform social relations. This is especially interesting in that interactional data tend to be more hybridised and less stable than written texts. Thereby, an analysis of teachers' interaction in meetings and groups can provide descriptions, interpretations and possible explanations of how agency produces representations and also possibilities of discursive shifts (Rogers et al., 2005), a perspective taken in the analyses.

4.4 The analysis

In the analysis of the empirical data, I focused on three steps, explicitly visualised and accounted for in the various articles. To attend to the relationship between the inductive and deductive investigation (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009) and make sure that the orientations of the participants were focused on, the first step of analysis has in each of the three studies taken a starting point in the empirical data. These first steps of analysis employed broader analytical perspectives that aimed to 'let the data talk'.

4.4.1 Representations

Representation is a central term in the analysis of all three articles. In a popular sense, representation is the means by which we generate images of the object 'out there' (Woolgar, 1993). Neumann (2001) says about representations; 'between the world and our grip of the world come the representations of the world' (p.177). As typically used in discourse analysis, representation refers to the language used in text or talk to give meaning to social practises, to events, to groups and to conditions and objects (Fairclough, 1995). An prominent perspective in discourse analysis is how all texts are intertextual and that they draw upon other texts or discourses, and an important question to ask is, then, how different voices are represented in the texts that are analysed. Meaning is construed by discursive, linguistic representations (Halliday, 1990; Fairclough, 1992) and through discourse analysis. Representations can be linked to historical, cultural and social practises and value systems. Thereby, there is often competition between groups and among groups about the (most) preferable, appropriate, positive, beneficial and acceptable representation (Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1998).

4.4.2 The first step of analysis

The first step of analysis in all articles has been particularly attentive to broad themes and positions in the texts and among the participants, and has contributed to select the excerpts most relevant for further investigation. The choice of the precise analytical tools to use in the closer analysis was also done following the first round of analysis. In this way, I could be more sensitive to the data.

Problems and solutions

In Article 1, I first focused on problems and solutions. This approach is used in many policy studies and is explicitly described by Bacchi (2009), who put emphasis on problem questioning and the attempt to uncover various political projects (Bacchi, 2000). This approach of asking questions about policies provides an open-ended mode yet still enables the appraisal of a policy agenda and investigates how key concepts in the texts have become legitimate (Goodwin, 2012). In addition, the first step of analysis looked at how knowledge, responsibility and autonomy were represented in the policy texts. These dimensions were in empirical and theoretical contributions found in areas where teachers' work was changing. By looking at these dimensions, the theoretical perspectives became situated closer to the data, and the first-order constructs were used in the documents.

Sensitising concepts

In Article 2, the first step of analysis took an explicit starting point in the sensitising concepts that provide a direction for what to look for in the data (Blumer, 1956). In this study, these were internal and external accountability, somewhat vague categories that are not easily conceptualised, but they can give the researcher a direction for what to seek in the data. These concepts gave a direction for the analysis and opened up for further investigation how teachers negotiate, as internal and external accountability is difficult to apply as constrained analytical concepts on qualitative data because they are not definitions with certain characteristics that you could look for directly empirically. Considering the two notions of accountability, I argue that these may be used fruitfully as sensitising concepts when attempting to study teacher accountability in a wider sense than just efficiency in terms of delivering good results. The concepts of accountability would rather be 'gateways to that world' (Blumer, 1956, p. 5), and can thereby contribute to opening up for investigation how teachers negotiate and mediate between ideas and values of accountability. In this sense, the analysis focused on the ambiguity of accountability and variations in how it was perceived and experienced.

Binary oppositions

In Article 3, which aims to investigate tensions and negotiations in talk around national testing, the first step of analysis focused on tensions that were created in the texts (transcripts of interaction) and how national tests were talked about and interpreted by the actors – the representations of national tests. This step of analysis gave a fruitful way into the further analysis and was important for selecting excerpts for further study (moments of tensions). The main analytical focus was to investigate the main binaries that were present in the texts, representing a general polarisation principle that affects meaning. Binaries are also a way of enhancing or mitigating good or bad things in language (van Dijk, 2006). Such binaries are typically organised though positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, such as an 'us-them' binary (MacLure, 2003). These binaries are by van Dijk (2006) described to represent belief systems that are 'coded' in talk and text.

4.4.3 The second step of analysis

After selection of excerpts for closer analysis, the second step of analysis in the studies turns to more linguistic aspects of the texts that are analysed. It should be noted that, in addition to the more specific tools outlined below, these include attention to being attentive to choice of words, the use of pronouns (e.g., 'I' or 'we') and the use of prescriptive language (e.g., 'it is').

Word counts and word clusters
In Article 1, we attended to word counts, use of words and clusters of words in the second step of analysis. Word count is a simple yet illustrative quantitative technique to find indicators on the importance of certain words in a text, being especially helpful when attempting to find some patterns in larger bulks of texts and texts produced at different points in time (Boréus & Bergström, 2005). After identifying the prevalence of certain words – such as 'professionalism' – in documents, it was analysed how these were related to other concepts and how they were given meaning throughout the texts. As such, it is possible to identify 'policy positions' (Boréus & Bergström, 2005). The first reading identified central themes in the last white paper, and the second step was also theoretically informed in that it was of interest to focus on words that empirical and theoretical contributions foreshadowed would be central to analyse, such as 'professionalism' and 'competence'.

Discursive legitimation strategies
In Article 2, the first step of analysis found how teachers positioned themselves differently toward increased external control and the ways that this was reasoned and justified. The different ways in which the teachers spoke about their reasons for different positions, I found that an analysis of the discursive legitimation strategies (van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen, 2007) that were used by the teachers could enhance the understanding of the different representations that were employed when arguing for different positions and what 'value systems' these were related to. The second step of analysis focused on categorising the data (through using NVivo) according to legitimation strategies outlined by Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (2007). These four strategies are: authorisation (references to authority or laws, including scientific knowledge or experts), rationalisation (references to the utility of a specific action or practise), moral evaluation (referring to value systems and legitimation that provide a moral basis), and narrativisation (referring to one's own experiences to provide evidence for acceptable, appropriate behaviour (Fairclough, 2003; van Leeuwen, 2007). This analysis also enabled the raising of questions about teacher values (van Leeuwen, 2007).

Metaphors and modality
In Article 3, the first step of analysis identified the different ways of talking about national tests and more specifically the excerpts where tensions were especially prominent. A prominent feature was the extensive use of metaphors (Cameron, 2011). The analysis in the second step of analysis focused particularly on these, while also looking at the use of modality in the interactions. Metaphors describe something in terms of being something that it is not (Boréus & Bergstrøm, 2005). From a discourse perspective, through creating and using metaphors, we can get knowledge about how actors perceive and structure reality and how ideas, attitudes and values are revealed in a particularly visible way, thereby making metaphor analysis an appropriate research tool (Charteris-Black, 2004; Cameron, 2011). Looking at modality, this is typically used to express necessity and degrees of support or reservation, 'truth' and commitment (e.g., through modal verbs such as *can*, *will*, *must*, *should*) (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). Modality is closely related to evaluation and values to which people commit themselves. Through analysing how teachers use modality in talk, it was therefore possible to investigate negotiations, as positioning in this perspective are viewed as having more dimensions than only acceptance or rejection (Fairclough, 2003).

4.4.4 The third step of analysis
The third step of analysis attempted to look across the analysis to more analytically address the findings. This has meant that I analysed and discussed similarities and variations across the data, and

moreover, tensions or antagonisms and how these could possibly be interpreted. Drivers in this step of analysis were easily put questions like 'So what is going on here?' and 'So how can this be interpreted?'. More analytical questions drove me into an analysis of the discursive practises on the level of social practises, and more precisely, what these constructions and negotiations can possibly contribute in terms of discussing broader questions related to how teachers' responses to accountability policies possibly can be interpreted and in what ways accountability policies might reshape discourses of teacher professionalism. By focusing on tensions or antagonisms, one could argue that this entails a perspective that meaning-making is seen in relation to conflicts rather than consensus (Bergström & Boréus, 2005). The analysis in this third step of analysis has, however, attempted to discuss the analysis in relation to more 'middle-range' theories such as those of professionalism and boundary work rather than attending to a broader discussion concerning power relations. This can also contribute to a more informed and balanced analysis of the empirical data.

4.5 Limitations and possibilities of 'being inspired by...'?

The following table is a preliminary attempt to summarise the steps of analysis in the three articles in terms of primary focus, tools of analysis and what the analysis aims to do:

Table 4.4. Steps of analysis summarised

	Focus	Tools	Aim
1st step of analysis	Data / participant orientation	Ways of representing	Open up the concepts Ensuring the first-order constructs
2nd step of analysis	Analytical tools from discourse-analytic approaches	Linguistic features (word choices, modality etc.)	More theoretical analysis Ensuring linguistic microanalysis
3rd step of analysis	Interplay between bottom-up and top-down interpretations	Similarities and variations Ways of interpretation	Looking across the data (texts) Ensuring 'reading one in terms of the other'

Broadly put, the first step attends to what is going on, the second attends to how it is done, and the third reflects on possible interpretations. Because I have not followed one specific school of discourse analysis, I will discuss some possibilities and limitations of this way of conducting the analysis. Overall, the design of the study has aimed to take into account and address some of the concerns raised about discourse analysis. As described, one solution might be to outline how I am 'inspired by discourse analysis', yet simultaneously be quite explicit on how the analysis has been conducted. Therefore, I ask, is this an acceptable way of justifying the approach taken in the three empirical articles, and what might be possibilities and limitations?

As discussed, there is a lack of studies that are explicit on the analytical work and steps of analysis (Rogers et al., 2005; Søreide, 2007; Torfing, 2005; Howarth, 2005, Goodwin, 2012). This is important to ensure transparency of the analysis and for assessing the sensibility and validity of the findings. Rogers et al. (2005) summarise the challenges to CDA as follows: 'If CDA as a theory and method is to move beyond the present critiques, researchers might attend to the following: (a) the link between the micro and the macro, (b) explaining why certain linguistic resources are analysed and not others, and (c) clear analytic procedures outlining the decision making of the researcher'. To repeat, similar concerns have been raised concerning the danger of being too 'top-down' theory-oriented (Howarth, 2005), giving too much attention to second-order constructs not necessarily sufficiently grounded in the data and the 'interpretations of the interpretations' (van Maanen, 1979).

In this study, this has meant that I have taken a starting point in participants' orientations and then actively selected and employed what I have regarded as appropriate tools from discourse analysis in the data analysis, both documents and transcripts from interviews and interaction in meetings. The more specific tools of analysis were, however, not selected up front. This way of working can be argued in three ways, especially: (1) I have been able to let the empirical data and theory inform each other, and therefore, the choice of analytical tools has been done within the research process, though the general methodological approach of discourse analysis was decided upon beforehand, (2) I have not been too restricted by certain analytical tools or steps of analysis outlined by a specific program within discourse analysis, and (3) I have attempted to let the empirical data and the first-order concepts be foregrounded rather than second-order and more theory-oriented concepts. Yet another issue raised is the need for discourse analysis that includes both document analysis and ethnographic methods, which I have attempted to address in designing the study.

As I see it, there are many possibilities in terms of how to perform a discourse analysis. This has also been argued by many of the authors in this field. For example, even though there are many perspectives and 'founding fathers' of CDA (Fairclough, van Dijk, van Leeuwen, Wodak, and Gee), most studies draw upon the work of Fairclough (Rogers et al., 2005). Fairclough himself, however, suggests that CDA could be seen as a box of analytical tools for researchers, Van Dijk has warned against homogeneity given the multidisciplinary nature of cda, and Rogers et al. (2005) argue that future studies to a greater extent should pull from a hybrid set of approaches that can help bring new insights into educational questions. Torfing (2005) argues how the various 'generations' of discourse analysis can be used in conjunction and those different generations of discourse analysis open up future paths. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (1999) are also concerned with how the different theories of discourse analysis can be transformed into analytical strategies in concrete empirical work and that there are many possibilities to work across the approaches.

At the same time, there are limitations and challenges to be aware of. First, even though there are many similarities across discursive approaches, there are also some differences. It is important to be aware of such theoretical and philosophical variations both when outlining the theoretical approach and in discussing analysis. Second, and related to the first, are challenges for researchers to ensure that the analysis and conceptual framework are coherent and sensible. In that sense, it would be 'easier' to conform to one school and describe how I, for example, 'do' a critical discourse analysis. In addition, there are the recurrent challenges of over-reliance on either theory or linguistic analysis and the lack of describing the concrete analysis. For example, van Dijk (1997) argues there is a need for 'doing more analysis of discourse analysis' and developing new ideas and concepts around the practises, yet trying to avoid the pitfall of becoming too systematic and correct and thus potentially 'boring and trivial' (van Dijk, 1997), an idea that seems still relevant today. A last comment can be made in terms of 'critical'. While it could be argued that being explicit about a particular viewpoint is a part of CDA, Potter (1996) argues that including a critical stance is not the case for the discourse analysis to be valid. Also, a possible development away from CDA as a brand name could be to return to 'a critical analysis of discourse' (Breeze, 2011). Inspired by these suggestions and the discussion as presented above, I have therefore addressed some of the challenges as they are formulated in previous contributions in this field and further developed framework(s) for analysis that aim to cautiously address some of the limitations.

4.6   Reflexivity

Reflexivity is crucial in all research, yet the important question should be what being reflexive contributes. Silverman (2001) describes how a 'gold standard' for qualitative research requires sufficient answers to whether the researcher has demonstrated successfully that we should trust the findings, and whether the research problem has theoretical and/or practical significance. Attention to reflexivity means reflections upon how we construct social phenomena and our role as researchers in the production of knowledge (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009), and concerns issues such as my role as researcher, validity and ways of generalisation.

4.6.1   My role as a researcher

As reflexivity refers to the awareness of one's own role in the research process, it is important to see this position in the discursive field. When a discourse analysis in many ways aims to be critical of discourses and discursive practises, it also requires continuous critical reflection concerning around my own role as a researcher and my own analysis (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999; Bucholtz, 2001). We always carry our preconceptions, and awareness is especially important when doing research in one's own profession. Another way of phrasing this is to say that the researcher is embedded in discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). Neumann (2001) emphasises the importance of what he coins the cultural competence of the researcher and meanwhile how a critical perspective of one's own analysis is necessary. I have previously worked five years as a teacher and one year in teacher education. However, I was not a part of a teacher education department during my PhD, and being at an interdisciplinary research centre has strengthened the outsider's view of the profession. Broadly put, I would argue that knowledge of the teacher profession and teachers' work should be regarded as a strength, giving a keen eye to one's own interpretations. I knew prominent terms that were used, I did not need to use time getting to know the field as such, and I experienced trust from the participants. However, this is a more complicated issue, and three aspects in particular will be addressed.

First, there is a danger of 'going native', that the researcher 'overreports' from the field by accepting and using the first-order interpretations and not sufficiently analysing and challenging participants' interpretations. Second, it is also easier to be included in the activities happening when the participants know that you are also an insider. For example, I found a couple of times that the teachers approached me to ask my opinion about, say, a student's level of reading or whether certain ways of doing things would be appropriate. Third, it could be that there are aspects of teacher work that were more familiar to me and therefore not emerging as an important analytic point in the beginning of the field work, or more so, that I would not go more into it because it was familiar. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (1999) state it is often difficult to identify the obvious, and the obvious is what you want to explore. One example of this situation is from the analysis in Article 3, where I was quite familiar with how the relational aspect of teaching is a very familiar script in the field. Yet, after some time, I came to see this issue more as an outsider and found how this was an interesting aspect worth pursuing. These aspects relate to the relationship between being an insider and an outsider (Adler & Adler, 1987) and finding a balance between me as a researcher and the field and field members with whom I study and interact. Using analytical tools in the analysis and having a theoretically informed discussion has been important in finding the balance between these positions, as well as discussing analysis with co-researchers (both inside and outside the educational research field) and bringing findings back to participants in the study.

4.6.2 Analytical generalisations

The findings in this study can be described as analytically generalisable, that is, to other contexts and specific situations. First, researcher-based analytical generalisations are made possible through providing transparency in the analysis and theoretical interpretations in the discussion, for example, by drawing upon findings in previous research. Second, a reader-based analytical generalisation allows for judgments of how findings can be used to guide other situations in similar contexts (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Therefore, the study offers movements from concrete to abstract and to analytical understandings of specific phenomena.

Yet, what does this entail? Halkier (2011) discusses how the statement of analytical generalisations often is used 'in the abstract' and on a more general theoretical level, instead of exemplifying some of the methodological practicalities in analytical generalisation. One way to do this is through building forms of typologies, consisting of a limited number of descriptions and labels that represent an inference central to the research questions that are pursued. I would argue that this way of producing analytical generalisation is relevant for the labels that are used to describe the prominent representations done by the teachers in terms of what they articulate that they are accountable for in Article 2. These labels can be used in further research on this topic as the reader can recognise his or her own situation or context and transfer the labels on accountability to personal experiences. Category zooming is another form of analytical generalisation (Halkier, 2011), a particular single aspect of the data. This is relevant to the analysis in Article 3 of national testing, as it goes more in depth with details and complexities in one single point, and processes that form the category zooming generalisation are caring relationships to students and the curriculum as examples on two aspects of teaching that are challenged with national testing. Thus, it is possible to create somewhat fuller accounts of the analytical generalisations made from the study.

4.6.3 Validity

There are several forms of validity that can be assessed to discuss the status of the knowledge that has derived from this project. Following the research design, the discussion over validity is not whether or not the findings are 'true', but rather about discussing how the study brings forth probable and trustworthy knowledge (Østerud, 1998). In this sense, validity is not something that I only account for in a subchapter like this, but I have attempted to uphold issues of validity in the whole research process. Validity is addressed from the choice of theoretical perspectives, to the selection of participants and meetings and the presentation of findings. Therefore, validity is to be seen as a quality of craftsmanship, that is, the continuous choices that are made throughout the research process (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009) to make the study consistent, transparent and valid. Both in the articles and in this extended abstract, I have therefore focused upon being transparent and thorough. I have particularly given space and attention to selection, methodology and the analytical tools, and how the analysis has been performed through the different steps. The following reflections on ethical aspects are also a part of validity considerations.

One way of assessing whether a discourse analysis is valid is connection and coherence, that is, if terms and analytical assertions are in accordance (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). This consideration applies both to the relationship between the theoretical framework and the analytical tools used in the analysis, and how the discourse terms are operationalised. Such aspects have been emphasised throughout, and I have, for example, chosen to go deeper into a discussion about methodological issues concerning discourse analysis. Another way of assessing validity is to assess

the productivity of the study and how the framework of analysis manages to explain and create new explanations (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Based on feedback from other researchers, reviewers and editors, I believe that I have made some contributions in this regard. In terms of the analysis of language, this has also been important in terms of proposing other possible interpretations of the data. Another advantage with micro-analysis is also the possibility to render the transcripts for the readers.

Communicative validity has been important as the analysis, and possible interpretations have been discussed with other researchers (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Presenting papers and discussing research problems, design, analysis and findings have been performed throughout the process of working with this study. Also, this has taken place both with researchers from the educational research field and researchers outside of education, within the Norwegian context and in an international context. Such discussions have been important to be more certain about particularly interesting findings and what needs to be elaborated on, what is very specific to the Norwegian context etc. This latter point has been important when writing for an international audience. Last, I have presented the PhD project and the analysis for principals and teachers in the municipality and also engaged with them in discussion over preliminary findings.

4.7   Ethical considerations

In all research projects, general guidelines for research ethics must be followed. This project is approved by the NSD (Data Protection Official for Research) (see appendix). However, research ethics imply that the researcher should do continuous pondering of the processes of collecting data material and in the processes of analysis (Johannessen, Veiden & Tufte, 2006). In the following, I attend to ethical considerations made during field work before attending to the macro level.

4.7.1   Research ethics on the micro level

Good preparations for conducting field work are important in an ethical perspective. The selection of schools was made through the school administrator in the municipality. Written information about the research was given participants in advance, and participation for schools and principals has been voluntary. The participants received general information about the research topic (though not in detail) in an information letter sent to the municipality and the schools (appendix), and teachers and principals in the three schools also signed this letter. To give such information is regarded as important in terms of research ethics, even if it may influence behaviour in meetings and interviews. At the same time, when data collection lasts for several months, I have a sense that this given information to a limited extent influenced the participants over time. The principals always approved arrangements for visits, meeting observation and interviews. The anonymity of the municipality and the schools is important, to 'protect' the people that say yes to participating in the project. This has been challenged a couple of times when I have met participants in the project in other social settings. Overall, though, general anonymity has been protected by removing all names for identification etc. The teachers were aware that all communication was seen as data. Interviews and meetings were audio recorded, but the tape recorder was turned off when student matters were discussed. At a couple of instances, I observed meetings where other teachers and principals participated. I then re-oriented the conversation to the project and asked if it was OK that I taped the communication. In one instance, one teacher wanted me not to record, and I of course turned the recorder off. Last, no one chose to withdraw from the project. These are examples on how ethical considerations continuously must be done throughout the field work.

Another issue that is important to research ethics is how results are presented and what consequences the research might have. High standards and a thorough analysis must be pursued throughout the whole research process for the findings to be trustworthy. Although this PhD project is not designed to directly 'fill in' missing research, I aim to contribute to new empirical knowledge about how the teacher profession responds to accountability policies and whether accountability reshapes the teacher professionalism. Being explicit and transparent in terms of selection and analysis is thus of high importance, and I have attempted to carefully address these issues throughout the sections in this chapter. Last, it is also important that excerpts from the data to a certain extent are shown in the articles to contribute to transparency in the analysis.

4.7.2 Research ethics on the macro level

Kvale and Brinkman (2009) make a distinction between ethical considerations on micro and macro levels, that is, the social consequences of the knowledge produced, and introduces the 'third order' or 'triple' hermeneutics. Issues concerning the first- and second-order concepts and interpretations are discussed above (4.3.1), the relationship between participants' own interpretations and the researchers' interpretation. The third-order interpretation must deal with the participants and the larger society coming to know the second-order interpretations and that these may potentially change participants' and/or the public's perceptions of themselves, institutions and practises (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). As such, this move also raises questions about whether the outcomes of the research has been beneficial, and to whom, and in general how it has given more knowledge on the researched object that should be of interest to practise, policy and research. In this project, third-order interpretations can be enhanced by three practises in particular. First, the findings were taken back to the schools and the municipality for reflection and discussion. Second, I have presented and written about the project more popularly while working with this PhD and aim to do so in the future. Third, I have included reflections upon possible implications in the articles and in this extended abstract.

5.   Findings in the articles

In the following, I summarise the four articles. As the theoretical and methodological approaches are described in the previous chapters, I focus here on the main findings and discussions in the articles.

5.1   Article 1

Mausethagen, S., & Granlund, L. (2012). Contested discourses of teacher professionalism. Current tensions between education policy and teachers' union. *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(6), 815-833.

In the first article in the PhD project, we investigate constructions of teacher professionalism made by education policy makers and Union of Education Norway. In this analysis, we find that both the government and the teachers' union construct alternative discourses of teacher professionalism over a period of fifteen years. Education policy makers and the teachers' union increasingly use the term 'professionalism' in their documents, and in 2009, this is a prominent term both in the White Papers on teacher education and in the policy document from the teachers' union. However, there are differences between the government and the teachers' union concerning what the main aspects of teacher professionalism are. The government emphasises teacher accountability, research-based practise and specialisation. By contrast, the teachers' union highlights research-informed practise, responsibility for educational quality and professional ethics.

Based on these findings, we discuss how there are particularly three areas of discursive 'struggle' between education policy makers and the teachers' union. First, the union holds a strong resistance to accountability policies, a position that must be seen in relation to international and national policy developments toward increased external control of teachers' work. In terms of performative aspects, the accounts center around a more narrow and instrumental view of learning, and in terms of organisational aspects that external control can lead to de-professionalisation of teachers. Second, the teachers' union does what we describe as redefine the policy emphasis on research-based practise. That is, the union in 2009 places much emphasis on how teachers' knowledge needs to be based on research in addition to experience-based knowledge. However, it is teachers' use of discretion that should be decisive in terms of what research to use and how, a representation that can be described as 'research-informed' practise. Third, the union works toward teacher education to be on a master degree level. More (academic) competence is thereby presented to enhance trust and legitimacy.

The teachers' union constructs responses to education policy discourse that can be seen as a way of discursively negotiating with the government in terms of teacher professionalism, as they do not only resist but also are proactive in terms of emphasising trust and legitimacy. In particular, highlighting research-informed practise and taking responsibility for quality are prominent responses. By being more proactive and constructing themselves as future-oriented, this helps validating claims for autonomy over the knowledge base and work situation, an approach that may be particularly important in a context of increasing focus on accountability. In this way, the teachers' union attempts to gain discursive control of the concept of professionalism and give it other meanings than more control-oriented forms of professionalism and professional responsibility promoted by policy makers. It is, however, mainly issues of input that is focused on by the union, and they are reluctant to be

concerned with issues of outcomes. Also, the union does not discuss possible alternatives for external control. A relevant question to ask is, therefore, if the emphasis on responsibility, research-informed practice and ethics is sufficient to maintain and strengthen trust and legitimacy in the public.

Locally, however, teachers might place their emphasis on other aspects of professionalism than the teachers' union does, or teachers might be little involved in union work at the local level. Taking a starting point in the findings in this study, I proceeded to investigate in what ways teacher professionalism is constructed by groups of teachers, with a specific attention to accountability.

5.2   Article 2

Mausethagen, S. (2013). Accountable for what and to whom? Changing representations and new legitimation discourses among teachers under increased external control. *Journal of Educational Change*, 1-22. doi: 10.1007/s10833-013-9212-y

In the second article, I aimed to examine constructions of professional accountability and responsibility in the Norwegian context of new policy expectations toward teachers. This was explored by attempting to 'open up' the concept of accountability in that I investigated and discussed how groups of teachers in interaction with each other give meaning to 'being accountable' in the context of accountability as an emerging policy of action. Through analysing how teachers first positioned themselves toward internal and external accountability and thereafter how accountability policies were legitimised and delegitimised, I discuss variations among teachers on this issue.

The findings imply how aspects of external accountability are accepted by many teachers as a necessary and desirable development, yet to various degrees. Being accountable for student results is especially emphasised as important by beginning-of-career teachers. But this is also a development that is resisted, especially by veteran teachers. The main ways of legitimising external accountability are being accountable for student learning, to the curriculum and laws, and to principals and parents (in a somewhat hierarchical way). The main ways of de-legitimising external control is done through emphasis on being accountable for the broader, humanistic aims of education and being accountable for professional knowledge. This is not to say that not all teachers highlight these aspects of internal accountability, but rather that external accountability also is viewed as a part of being an accountable, professional teacher by some teachers. As such, these teachers seem to more greatly balance demands for external and internal accountability. In this tension of external and internal accountability, however, alternative legitimation discourses have developed. In particular, an emphasis on scientific knowledge and research-informed practise becomes a representation for enhancing professional legitimacy when teachers' experience that trust and status in the public is weakened.

It can therefore be argued that teachers' representations of what they are accountable for take alternative forms when professionalism is reconstructed in policy. First, younger teachers to a greater degree emphasise that they are accountable for students' learning results and to a greater extent approve of external control such as national tests. Second, the context of more control also seems to prompt new representations of professionalism among teachers, and especially interesting is how scientific knowledge and research-based knowledge is discursively related to enhancing trust and legitimacy, in more immanent relationships such as parents, but also to the public in general. However, as external control largely is placed outside of teachers' value systems, research-informed

practise is more greatly placed within. These representations can be interpreted as accountability policies contributing to reshape discourses of teacher professionalism, yet in less-forward ways.

The emphasis on research-based knowledge is more prominent in Norwegian policy discourse than just a few years ago, and several research-and-development projects have been led by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training and the Norwegian Research Council in the last decade. This might be a reason why this discourse around research is found; however, a viable interpretation is also to view this emphasis in light of policy makers' quest for more 'professionalism' in the meaning of both competence and outcomes. The former seems to be more valued than the latter by teachers.

5.3   Article 3

Mausethagen, S. (2013). Talking about the test. Boundary work in primary school teachers' interactions around national testing of student performance. *Teaching and Teacher Education,* vol. 36, 132–142.

In the third article, I pursue the question of what characterises language-in-use in interactions where national tests are discussed and furthermore, the tensions that are created in this meeting interaction. I am also concerned with in what ways teachers negotiate and shape responses to new practises. National testing presents an interesting case, as it is a concrete, 'material' and mandated practise of external accountability and representing control of teachers' work. Based on an analysis of interaction in teachers' meetings when national testing is discussed, the analysis finds how the tensions that are created revolve around what is seen as internal (teachers' everyday work) and external (policies and practises placed outside the main frame of teaching) to the teachers. What is at stake for teachers with national testing focuses on four issues in particular: professional knowledge, the curriculum, the formative aspects of teaching and loyalty to the students. These aspects of teacher work are situated as being internal to teachers and as being challenged with external accountability.

What is seen as internal to teachers can be discussed from two perspectives. First, it can be discussed from an individual, emotional perspective where national testing challenges what teachers perceive as their main tasks and values. Such internal explanations, concepts or models can be seen as crucial for being able to perform the everyday practises of teaching. Second, it can be discussed from a more collective and organisational perspective in terms of how national testing challenges the profession, its knowledge base and classroom autonomy. By acting according to normative knowledge and values, teacher professionalism is enacted in what is seen as appropriate to do – and not to do. This can be interpreted as ways of doing discursive boundary work. Paradoxically, teachers' responses, such as practising for the tests to protect the students, can be self-renewing as teachers act in ways that reinforce the unintended social effects that they worry about – such as narrowing of the curriculum. This representation is also interesting as it suggests how it is not acceptable among teachers to say that you practise for the tests to get good results, but they rather need to reshape professional discourse to be more aligned with central discourse models for teachers. The responses can also be related to how it is crucial for teachers to maintain control over their core work – the didactic work that takes place in the classroom in everyday interaction with the students.

The findings imply that, when central epistemic aspects of teaching are challenged with national testing, it is harder for teachers to accept the tests and the control that they represent. However, in

order to create relevance and legitimacy following new (mandated) expectations, teachers involved in boundary work and reshape professional discourse. Also, national testing is not resisted as such, but the findings suggest that the tests are just not as integrated and productive as policy makers would like them to be in terms of formative purposes. It is reasonable to argue that national tests have become more accepted than when they were first implemented, and the younger participating teachers seem more positive and able to balance issues of accountability and autonomy. The findings also suggest that the tests have implications for teachers' work also in a low-stakes country.

5.4 Article 4

Mausethagen, S. (2013). A research review of the impact of accountability policies on teachers' workplace relations. *Educational Research Review*, 9(1), 16-33.

In the fourth article, I review international research, mainly conducted in the high-stakes contexts of the US and England, on changes in teachers' workplace relations in countries that increasingly emphasises teacher accountability. Defining the teacher profession and teachers' work can be carried out from a relational aspect, and meta-analysis studies find that the establishment of positive teacher-student relationships represents one of the most important factors affecting student learning. Teachers' relationships with other teachers and school management also play decisive roles in organisational change and student learning. As teachers' relations are of crucial importance for student learning, it is necessary to know more about the extent and the ways in which accountability policies and standardised testing in particular might alter these relationships.

There seems to be evidence that a greater focus on testing and student performance often leads to less attention to the caring and relational aspects of teachers' work. Teachers also report that they discuss the students in different ways, such as 'numbers' and 'colours'. However, prevailing and enduring ideas about teachers' work prompt many teachers to resist such developments due to prevailing ideas about teaching and loyalty to the student. The reviewed research also suggests that accountability policies influence teacher-student relations, especially involving younger teachers, to assume other forms. Collegial relationships within schools are affected in various ways. It is mainly found that positive relationships enhance teachers' motivation and efficacy even in a constraining context. The organisational context of teachers' work is thus an important contextual factor in terms of how relationships are altered within schools experiencing increased external control, where the principal holds a particular role for how accountability pressures play out in schools.

The relationship between accountability policies and teacher relationships is complex. Teacher relations are generally considered to be aspects of teachers' work mainly marked by continuity and stability because most teachers do not want to compromise on what they view as their main motivation for teaching, especially involving moral, relational and caring aspects of work. Therefore, they often place loyalty to the students first. The findings in this review, however, imply that even though teachers attempt to resist changes that they disagree with, their practises also change and become more oriented toward tests and results. This can be due to normative pressures in the field, and incentives that are put in place. It is thus plausible that accountability policies act more strongly on teachers' practise than other reform efforts. A development toward more attention to outcomes and transparency can be positive in terms of improving student learning and be important correctives to practice, yet possible social effects should be critically discussed and further investigated.

6.   Discussion

In the previous chapters, I have focused on placing the study within the existing literature, elaborated on the theoretical background, addressed methodological issues and presented findings and discussions in the four articles. These chapters form the basis for the forthcoming discussion. To reiterate, the main research question for this PhD project is: How do teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism under increasing accountability? The following three sub-questions are asked: What are the prominent constructions of teacher professionalism among education policy makers, the teachers' union and groups of teachers? What tensions are created, and how do teachers negotiate these? And in what ways might accountability policies reshape discourses of teacher professionalism? In this discussion chapter, these three questions are more specifically discussed in the three separate sub-chapters that follow.

6.1   Constructions of teacher professionalism

What are the prominent constructions of teacher professionalism among education policy makers, the teachers' union and groups of teachers? Although there is a range of quite stable ideals related to what a good teacher is and does in the accounts from different actors, my main focus here lies on accountability as a central aspect of professionalism - and what kinds of professionalism and accountability the analyses have found. All four articles provide insights into teachers' constructions in a new policy climate, while Article 1 also addresses how new policy constructions have developed over the last 15 years. This has provided an independent analysis of policy shifts, yet also giving a background to interpret and discuss responses from the profession. The constructions from the teachers are thus investigated by taking both a macro-oriented perspective (Article 1) and micro-oriented perspective (articles 2, 3 and 4), being nationally oriented (articles 1, 2 and 3) and internationally oriented (Article 4). When seen together, there are some similarities and variations to be further discussed. First, I focus on constructions of professionalism and accountability done by policy makers and the teachers' union in key documents (a macro-oriented perspective) and second, those done by groups of teachers locally in interaction (a micro-oriented perspective).

6.1.1   From a macro-oriented perspective

I find that new, alternative discourses around teacher professionalism have developed both from above, by education policy makers, and from within, by the teachers' union, in the last decade in particular. As such, there is reason to argue that there has been a change in how teacher work is portrayed and communicated in Norway, both from above and from within.

The analysis in Article 1 found there has been a prominent increase in the use of the terms 'profession' and 'professionalism' in the last decade. However, while the union mainly constructs professionalism in ways similar to classical sociological theory of the professions, that is, professional responsibility, professional knowledge and professional ethics, education policy makers to a greater extent relate it to simultaneously becoming more research-oriented and practise-oriented, and accountable for student results. These developments point to a strong rhetorical power in using the word 'profession' and 'professionalism', yet the actors disagree on key aspects of teacher professionalism such as external control of professional work. The union constructs professionalism similar to the so-called trait theories (Etzioni, 1969), suggesting a 'professionalisation project' in that

fulfilling some of the central characteristics of a profession, professionalisation and increased autonomy and status can occur (van Maanen & Barley, 1984). A possible interpretation of this discursive shift within the union is the overall attention to results and external control and the need to construct a counter discourse that is rhetorically strong and has the potential to take 'discursive control' over the concept of professionalism and fill it with different content than the policy makers.

Although most aspects of teachers' work are portrayed as stable over time, the analysis in Article 1 finds how the policy constructions of teacher professionalism in Norway have developed to become more competence- and outcome-oriented in the time period of 1995 to 2010. Internationally, this development is documented through a substantial body of research on new policy discourses around teacher professionalism (e.g., Helsby, 1995; Hargreaves, 2000; Sachs, 2001; Ball, 2003). The analysis of the Norwegian policy documents find similar trends albeit developing at a later stage than in the USA and England - and in neighboring countries such as Sweden (Carlgren & Klette, 2008; Helgøy & Homme, 2007; Lilja, 2013). However, there is also reason to be careful not to compare research on changes in professionalism in Norway too heavily with research from other countries. For example, Norwegian teachers have had a stronger status historically than teachers in the United States (Ingersoll, 2003), and education policies in England have been more neoliberal than other European countries (Day et al., 2007). The literature review also found how several of the studies on changes in teacher professionalism in the last two decades took a quite normative viewpoint, probably related to the contexts being high-stakes compared to the Norwegian context and where the issue of autonomy is perhaps more challenged (Langfeldt, 2008; Hatch, 2013). It might therefore be that developments in Norway take different directions than in other countries and that teachers can maintain a greater degree of autonomy in their classroom practise.

However, constructions of teacher professionalism also include quite subtle developments that are international in origin. The analysis has found that in policy documents, teachers' competence has shifted from being constructed as something one 'has' and that teacher education 'gives', toward being something that the teacher 'shows' by being successful. This is a shift toward a greater attention to outcomes that largely derives from the work of the OECD. The same shift has taken place both in teacher education and in compulsory education in Norway, a conceptual turn around 'what a good student is' and 'what a good teacher is', implying a more outcome-oriented and individual conception of competence (Mausethagen, 2013). These shifts in central policy terms used in national documents are therefore important to view in light of international organisations and how they do not only govern by league tables, numbers and comparison (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Grek, 2009; Martens et al., 2007) but also through concepts (Mausethagen, 2013). In this case, how competence is defined gives a certain meaning to teacher professionalism as something you show through results or outcomes, a development that corresponds with the introduction of and emphasis on measurement of student learning outcomes (Prøitz, 2013). This is not to argue that turning more attention to competence and outcomes is a problematic development in itself, but rather to document a shift in how policy makers give meaning to teacher competence and professionalism.

This broader development of new policy expectations toward teachers and accountability have been emphasised by recent policy studies as well (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013; Aasen et al., 2013; Hatch, 2013; Tveit, 2013), yet the analysis in this thesis contributes by attending particularly to how teacher professionalism is constructed. As said above, the policy analysis in Article 1 finds how a more competence- and outcome-based professionalism is constructed among policy makers in Norway.

However, rather than viewing forms of professionalism in dichotomies such as before and now, there is reason to view this as an additional representation to professionalism that rather partly shapes professionalism in alternative ways and where attention to outcomes becomes an important part of professionalism in addition to aspects around teachers' knowledge and internal accountability. This is a new development. Whether this leads to increased 'professionalisation' of teachers is, however, a question that must be discussed in light of other actors' constructions of professionalism.

The investigation into how the teacher union deals with the concept of professionalism provides insight into the collective voice of teachers, as unions and professional associations are considered to be key features for the development of a stronger teacher profession (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Karseth & Nerland, 2013). The teachers' union in Norway upholds a strong antagonism to standardised testing and external control mechanisms. Also research from other countries contributes to consolidate the teachers' union in Norway as being a considerable actor on the policy level, whereas unions in countries such as England and Sweden to a larger extent seem to have accepted accountability (Helgøy & Homme, 2007; Carter et al., 2010; Lilja, 2013). These interpretations should also be seen against the backdrop of how Norwegian teachers and the predecessor for the Union of Education Norway, 'Norsk Lærerlag', is found to have had a relatively strong status historically (Hagemann, 1992; Slagstad, 1998; Rovde, 2006). So far, the Union of Education seems to manage to remain a relatively strong actor in terms of opposing accountability policies by mainly placing emphasis on professional knowledge, responsibility and ethics. There, are however, some challenges with this position. First, the union to a limited extent formulates alternatives to control other than the control being grounded in aspects of 'internal accountability' such as actively taking responsibility based on professional knowledge and values. Second, the union does not involve itself in developing standards for professional work, a development that has been seen in other professional associations such as nursing (Nerland & Karseth, 2013). Even though the union has developed an ethical platform, it could be argued that not getting involved in developing and securing certain standards for teaching and also being reluctant to discuss issues of teaching methods used in classrooms might leave the profession more vulnerable to external control (see also Darling-Hammond, 2004). Third, many teachers might to various degrees also approve of external control and more emphasis on student results as an inherent and important part of their personal perceptions of professionalism as such not being represented by the position of the union on accountability.

In that sense, there is also reason to discuss to what extent the discourse of professionalism is contested and also how prominent 'tensions' are. This question concerns the relationship between the union as a collective voice for teachers and the probable variations that exist among teachers concerning the issue of control, and it concerns how the union from the viewpoint of policy makers might be described as being both co-opted and an 'enemy'. The Union of Education Norway is, for example, a contributor toward governmental projects in the field, such as Gnist (a campaign for enhancing recruitment to teacher education and developing the teacher profession), and they are stakeholders in several governmental initiatives within the educational field. Tensions between education policy makers and the teachers' union can also be interpreted as positive in the sense that they also boost new responses. As Article 1 argues, the teachers' union has taken a step toward becoming a more 'professionalising' occupation and developed alternative positions toward 'research-based' knowledge and ethical standards appearing more forward-looking and proactive than previously (see also Karseth and Nerland, 2007). This is, however, a development only found in recent documents, as aspects of responsibility were not addressed explicitly in the former documents

that were studied. Internal accountability now seems to be more clearly articulated. Particularly the emphasis on research-based knowledge and academisation through working toward teacher education being on a master level shows how the 'professionalisation project' and counter-discourse to external control devolves around competence and aspects of internal accountability. The 'solution' to increase trust, legitimacy and status for teachers are professional knowledge rather than focusing on data and outcomes. However, combining the justification of practise in professional knowledge with data on, for example, student outcomes might provide a stronger foundation for the professional collective to enhance and renew its legitimacy (Raaen & Mausethagen, 2012). This could also possibly situate the union in a better position to discuss the ways that data is collected and control is performed to create more informed discussions around social effects on teaching and teachers.

Taken together, the findings illustrate how the constructions of teacher professionalism as investigated from a macro-oriented perspective have shifted toward being more concerned with competence and evidence, here understood in a broad sense (Coburn & Talbert, 2006). With evidence, it can be divided between input-'evidence' and outcome-'evidence'. While input-evidence concerns emphasis on competence and research findings – and how this more greatly should guide teachers' practise, outcome-evidence concerns emphasis on data (student results and evaluations) – and how this more greatly should be used to guide teachers' practise. While the policy discourse and the union discourse more greatly agree on input-evidence as an important aspect of professionalism, they rather disagree on emphasising outcome-evidence – or perhaps more precisely, the emphasis on mechanisms put in place to define, enhance and assure outcomes. This variation can be interpreted in light of theories on professions and the drift toward 'keeping order in one's own house' based on professional knowledge and taking responsibility for the students in terms of learning and creating positive relationships (Lortie, 1975; Christoffersen, 2005; Grimen, 2008b). However, the policy makers' drift toward control must be understood against the backdrop of the need to also protect the students from teachers who do not perform their work according to laws and regulations and to create a greater degree of trust for teachers in the public. The main question is, therefore, not that of teachers taking responsibility for high-quality education, but who should have the control to define what that is and how it should be best performed. While internal accountability and attention to input-evidence is focused by the teachers' union, attending to outcomes and implementing external accountability policies is seen as a necessary addition by policy makers to ensure professionalism.

To what extent the representations of professionalism and accountability from the teachers' union are similar to representations done by groups of teachers locally is, however, an empirical question to be further pursued and discussed in the following.

6.1.2   From a micro-oriented perspective
The micro-oriented analyses in articles 2, 3 and 4 find similar constructions of teacher professionalism done by the teachers themselves, yet there are also interesting variations.

The participating teachers in the empirical studies have become more concerned with justifying and legitimising their practise both through student results and research, both what can be described as input-'evidence' (what research communicates as being good practise) and outcome-'evidence' (what evaluations and tests communicate about achievements and results). However, input-evidence is by the teachers participating in this study more positively valued than outcome-evidence and is to a greater extent related to professionalism, similar to that of the teachers' union. However, in articles 2

and 3 (and also partly Article 4), I discuss how it is mainly younger participating teachers that see themselves as accountable for students' results, and that they are also more positive to national testing than veteran teachers. Yet, this does not necessarily imply that they downplay other aspects of teaching; rather, there might be alternative views on 'being a good teacher among the beginning-of-career teachers in the making. These teachers have for the most part been working under The Knowledge Promotion, and in the years to come, newly educated teachers will also be educated under this curriculum reform. The findings might suggest that younger teachers manage to balance demands for accountability and autonomy (see also Wilkins, 2011) to a greater extent than veteran teachers, and that these teachers to some extent 'mirror' the presence of different discourses on teacher professionalism. However, it might also lead to critical views on achievement measures and testing, as it could also be that teachers coming into the profession have experienced themselves whether and how testing can make it difficult to fulfill certain professional ideals.

If using the notions of old and new professionalism as described by Helgøy and Homme (2007), who employed this dichotomy when comparing Swedish and Norwegian teachers, these younger teachers who have been working for less than ten years are more marked by a discourse on new professionalism, while the veteran teachers are more marked by old professionalism (similar findings are reported by Prøitz and Borgen, 2010). This might point to somewhat changing ideas about teaching and teacher work, but these emerging, alternative representations 'between discourses' should be further investigated due to the relatively low number of participants in this study. The findings, however, are also supported by the international studies that are reported upon in Article 4, where veteran teachers were found to be more critical toward accountability policies and standardised testing. Interestingly, Hildebrandt and Eom (2011) argue that, in terms of professionalism and age, teachers in their thirties can be seen as a key generation to understanding the dynamics of teacher professionalisation, as these teachers often have enough experience and maturity to know what they want for their professional and personal lives, more so than newly educated teachers who often are in their twenties. The findings in the study might point toward alternative constructions of professionalism that include an emphasis on evidence, both input-evidence and output-evidence, yet where younger teachers more so than veteran teachers valued a greater concern with students' results and the need for external control such as national testing. In this sense, they argue that internal accountability is not sufficient for professionalism, and therefore they are more similar to policy makers in their constructions. Test scores and outcomes are to a certain extent included as a way of justifying practise and as correctives to the teachers' practises.

In Article 2, professionalism is attached to different elements yet emphasised to various degrees: accountability and loyalty, research-informed knowledge and practise, and the importance of classroom autonomy. These elements were used as strategies for legitimation of individual or collective practises within the context of accountability. On the one hand, findings suggest that some teachers legitimised accountability policies as it leads to an increased sense of professionalism, creates a distance from teachers that do not do a proper job, takes responsibility for results, and views being loyal and accountable to curriculum, principal and parents as very important. On the other hand, teachers' de-legitimised accountability with regards to caring relationships to students and less attention to social, humanistic aims, and to oneself as teacher, where legitimacy to parents and the public is under pressure, and the teacher profession as a collective, where a sense of professionalism and public status is downplayed. These different representations are related to personal norms and values central for teachers (van Dijk, 1998; Gee, 2011). Article 3 adds insights into what happens

when different discourses of professionalism and accountability intersect, as the tensions that are created when talking about national tests shed light upon what is placed as internal and external to teachers' work. While national testing mainly is placed as coming from the outside and to various degrees are found relevant to actual work in classrooms, a broad view on learning, the curriculum, caring for students and guiding them forward is placed as internal to teachers and as representing central performative aspects that for the participating teachers are challenged with national testing.

The external-internal binary distinction becomes especially prominent when presenting the metaphors that are analysed in Article 3 in one collage (see the appendix for an 'arty' way of communicating research findings). Here, the national tests are represented through a blue wind (referring to the conservative government that initiated the tests and more attention to student outcomes), something that flies and suddenly comes down on 'us', and as several balls that are thrown through the air. National tests are described as coming from above and from the outside, often in fast and sudden way. Metaphors that are used to describe teachers' work as a train and a ship, representing stable aspects of teachers' work in the classroom, yet which can be steered off course with national testing. One of the younger teachers, however, explains how he is rather being corrected by national testing, also underscoring how teachers position themselves differently in this matter. The curriculum is described as the Bible, a quite strong metaphor situating the curriculum as internal to teachers. Together, the metaphors that are used are especially interesting in that they can contribute to discuss ideas, values and attitudes (Cameron et al., 2009) that are put at stake and negotiated when the concrete accountability policy of national testing is implemented locally. It also underscores how the curriculum is placed as mainly internal to teacher work even though it comes from authorities. One way to interpret this is that the curriculum can be seen as a 'licence to teach' (Engelsen, 2008) in that it gives teachers autonomy in the classrooms. Even though it can be debated to what extent the teachers relate to new curricula in their everyday work (e.g., Arfwedson, 1994), this is not further discussed here. It seem, however, that it is not the outcomes dimension of the curriculum that first and foremost are contested by the teachers, but rather the external control put in place to assure that the aims in the curriculum are achieved.

The findings from the Norwegian context on how teachers locally respond to and negotiate national testing to a certain extent confirm findings in existing literature. Two comments can be made. First, given how research on negative social effects from accountability policies on teachers' relationships to students mainly are conducted in high-stakes contexts, the findings in articles 2 and 3 suggest that the worries that teachers have are centred around similar issues; however, not surprisingly, the antagonism is found to be stronger in high-stakes contexts. It is reason to believe that the social effects are stronger when weak test results have consequences, which they do not have in Norway. However, the findings in Article 4 (attending here mainly to the concepts that are used to conceptualise changes in teacher work, see table in the article) are still interesting as they can say something about possible changes in constructions of teacher professionalism if developments move more in the direction of introducing certain consequences for teachers and schools if they do not perform up to standards. Second, the conceptualisations of teacher professionalism mainly deal with changes in autonomy, responsibility and use of discretion as developments following accountability policies. In articles 1 and 2, however, it becomes evident how teachers emphasise issues of professional knowledge that also includes research as a part of teachers' knowledge base and part of professionalism. An awareness of such alternative responses might contribute to disrupt and add complexity around these normative questions that in existing research also are quite often interpreted

in a somewhat biased way. The findings in articles 1 and 2 thereby contribute to challenging often-used dichotomous and linear conceptions of professionalism that are employed to describe and interpret changes in teachers' work, as they tend to be somewhat restricting in terms of investigating also alternative constructions. Articles 2 and 3 show how responses to concrete accountability policies are not straightforward and in unison from the teachers' side but rather take the form of negotiations to create relevance.

6.2   Tension points and responses from the profession

What tensions are created, and how do teachers negotiate these? The findings in the articles illustrate how the introduction of accountability policies can present challenges for teachers, both at the collective level and among teachers locally. However, in such areas of tensions, I have found how the profession takes steps of action. That is, the profession does not only resist new expectations to their work, but they are also aware of and sensitive to decreased legitimacy and status. In this situation, teachers are involved in what I describe as discursive legitimation and boundary work. Through such work, teachers can reshape appropriate ways of thinking and acting, and attempt to make their work relevant and legitimate. This seems to be particularly important when external pressure increases.

6.2.1   Legitimation work

Both the teachers' union and the groups of teachers locally do what can be described as discursive 'legitimation work' when constructing (alternative) discourses around teacher professionalism when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in the national policy. In particular, they discursively relate that to using more research-based knowledge and taking responsibility for educational quality to enhance status and legitimacy. This points to how the professional collective and professionals locally perceive the need to appear forward-looking and proactive to enhance legitimacy and status, thereby also providing conditions of appropriateness within a group and for teachers as a group.

A more overall interpretation on this development is how emphasising research works quite strongly rhetorically, and that this is a broader societal trend that teachers also relate to when going about their everyday work. Another interpretation is that the support for local development projects and higher and further education courses for teachers and principals following the implementation of The Knowledge Promotion from 2006 onwards have boosted teachers awareness of research and 'research-based knowledge', and knowledge about specific researchers and their work. This interpretation is suggestive of why teachers have become more familiar with research and also that they find relevance in the research. This should be interpreted in a positive way, as it might also point to the ways in which research has been communicated to teachers. Yet the findings can say little about how this legitimation discourse around research and scientific knowledge is productive for teachers' classroom practise. However, the findings indicate that the field is more 'open' to research than previously, both in terms of creating legitimacy and as possible correctives for practise.

The findings demonstrate how the teachers' union and the teachers locally legitimise and delegitimise their work in particular ways, and where what is presented as counter discourses and legitimation discourses provide important knowledge about performative aspects of teaching that are particularly challenged with increased testing. Legitimising teachers' work through the societal mandate, the relational and caring aspect, experience etc. represents quite stable aspects of teaching (e.g. Lortie, 1975). These aspects are also used to delegitimise recent policy developments. Given the

international literature that emphasises how accountability policies often lead to adverse effects in terms of teacher work, the fact that both the teachers' union and groups of teachers are questioning and partly delegitimising this development was not that unexpected. It was rather the variations and the ways in which this was happening that became very interesting to pursue. Particularly surprising was how research and scientific knowledge was used as a legitimation strategy when teachers discussed issues around professionalism. The analysis in Article 2 made it more evident how research mainly is placed within teachers' value systems while external control to a greater extent is placed outside, even though both come from authorities and form part of the new policy constructions around professionalism. This also indicates that creating legitimacy through justification of actions is more valued than through reporting upon actions (Molander et al., 2012), for example, through different forms of documentation and evaluation (what can be described as outcome-evidence). While the education policy discourse can be described as being in between these two positions, the profession highlights the former – justification through competence – and partly opposing the latter ideas as a way of creating relevance and legitimacy.

However, though accountability policies are contested and testing often is placed outside teachers' main frame of teaching (yet not by all and to the same degree), they are found to have implications for teachers' work in classrooms. This situation creates tensions or discomforts for many teachers that became particularly visible in meeting interactions. This can enhance knowledge about why there are practises around, say, national testing that is not completely integrated and legitimised as being a part of 'the core of professionalism', that is, teachers' didactic work in classrooms (Hopmann, 2003). However, given how professions typically seek to hold authority and control over discursive domains (Scott, 2008; Liljegren, 2008), it is not surprising that performative aspects of teaching and professional knowledge are put into 'discursive work' when authority and trust is challenged. But this should not only be interpreted as discursive strategies; the phenomenon is also related to substantial aspects of central knowledge and values that are important for teachers to retain control over. Looking more closely at the discursive boundary work that is going on can give additional insights into why tensions are created and how they are negotiated when teachers engage in meaning-making around accountability policies.

6.2.2 Boundary work
The new constructions of teacher professionalism in education policy – and the introduction of new control mechanisms such as national testing – boost the need for the profession to get involved in discursive boundary work. This boundary work involves teachers in interactions to create, maintain, tear down and transform boundaries to separate 'us' and 'them', and desirable tasks from those that are undesirable (Liljegren, 2008; Liljegren, 2012b). When studying national testing, teachers separate between 'us' and 'them' and desirable and undesirable practises around national testing, becoming visible as the teachers placed certain aspects of work as being 'at stake'. As such, the discursive boundary work can be interpreted as being protective for knowledge base and values, which based on the discussion previous in this chapter seem to be particularly important to be involved in when external pressure increased and control mechanisms were introduced.

Accountability can be used analytically to think about possible tensions that occur. Looking across the findings in the four articles, these can to a certain extent all be discussed with regards to an internal/external binary distinction, or what is seen as internal and external accountability. One aspect of this is how they are often being delegitimised by the teachers, both by the teachers' union and

participating teachers in the study. The teachers' union holds a quite strong antagonism toward external accountability. Although the teachers that participated in the study are partly positive about national testing and they mostly have accepted national testing as being present in their work, I have found the tests still mainly are placed outside of teachers' main frame of teaching, representing control more than possibilities for development. Similar findings are in Article 4, yet this article also finds external accountability challenges internal accountability in that accountability policies also can have detrimental social effects. These social effects can delimit the more active responsibility that teachers take on, and they can also lead to effects that are adverse in terms of what external accountability wants to achieve - an increase in student learning and development. To be accountable in a professional sense, then, is related to the broader aims of education, professional knowledge about student learning and development, formative assessment, the curriculum, and the relational and caring aspects of teaching. These aspects are thereby suggestive of possible reasons why national tests are not as integrated in teachers' work as policy makers intend them to be. Such jurisdictional claims are important to protect a right to perform work in the classrooms as teachers' best see fit (Abbott, 1988). This is also important in terms of how people arguably should be able to fully justify actions for them to be fully integrated in an organisation (Vaara & Tienari, 2008). When the findings imply that such justifications are difficult for many teachers – and for the teachers' union – to find, it is less probable that the test policies are enacted upon locally in ways that are politically desirable.

I argue that what makes accountability in education particularly challenging is that the teacher is held accountable for what the students in turn can perform and are accountable for. In that sense, I suggest that teacher accountability might be described as 'double-loop' accountability. That is, teachers' pedagogical work with students' is crucial in terms of learning and development, and if teachers discover that accountability policies are detrimental to student learning rather than enhancing learning, this will create particular tensions and present paradoxes that need to be researched and reflected upon. This can be interpreted as increasing teachers' motivation for and 'need' to do boundary work to protect their knowledge base. This issue can arguably be related to issues of values and epistemology; when teachers experience a greater degree of epistemological coherence, policies will be easier for teachers to enact and accept (see also Jarl and Rönnberg, 2010). On the contrary, when teachers experience a greater clash in epistemologies and values, it is probable that they rather question policy initiatives and only partly integrate them. I suggest that such processes are strengthened and made more complex by the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability. Teachers' knowledge is crucial to boosting students' engagement in learning processes, and if accountability policies challenge this work, teachers place these as mainly external to their work.

It should be emphasised that, while the context of work is getting increasingly complex, legitimacy claims and discursive boundary work are perhaps even more important. The responses from the teacher profession signal that the aim is not 'going back', but addressing ways of navigating in a new landscape. In this present thesis, this has been investigated through how the teacher profession as a collective and groups of teachers locally in discursive practises are protective of their own knowledge base and how they draw boundaries around other actors in the same field – such as politicians, bureaucrats and the media. It can be argued that the teacher profession stands out in this regard, in that 'nothing is as political as education' (Aasen, 2013) given its central role in upbringing, economic growth and reproduction of culture, and also that everyone has an 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975) through attending school. The boundary work that the profession is involved in thus has the character of being especially protective for a knowledge base that many parties argue they are

especially knowledgeable about. Responses can be interpreted from looking at the relationship between knowledge and autonomy – or the relationship between performative and organisational aspects of teaching. This relationship will be further discussed in the following section.

6.3 Does accountability reshape teacher professionalism?

In what ways might accountability policies reshape teacher professionalism? The discussions in 6.1 and 6.2 on alternative constructions of professionalism, tension points and responses to accountability policies contribute to a broader discussion about how performative (everyday work and the knowledge employed) and organisational aspects (the relationship between external control and autonomy) of teaching intersect. These perspectives can be employed to discuss how teachers give meaning to their work and what it is to be a good teacher, and what happens when elements of external control is introduced. In the following sections, I address these two aspects more specifically in relation to the question whether accountability reshapes teacher professionalism. This question can also be approached through considering what kinds of accountability are found.

6.3.1 The performative aspect

Being concerned with professionalism and how to perform work in appropriate ways has a starting point in the performative aspect of professions (Evans, 2008; Molander & Terum, 2008). This normative aspect tells something about qualities of work as defined by different actors, though it also relates to the organisational aspect in the way that practise and the 'quality' of practise are the foundation of demands for autonomy. Teachers have traditionally had control over their practise in the meaning of classroom autonomy; however, this autonomy can be challenged through a greater emphasis on results (e.g. Furlong et al., 2000; Ingersoll, 2003; Helgøy & Homme, 2007). For example, teachers may need to direct their teaching toward tests or follow certain methods that evidence-based research says 'works'. This can be decided upon by principals or districts/municipalities, or it can be normative pressures existing among teachers or placed upon oneself as teacher. To give a possible interpretation into such normative pressures, if policies contradict values and knowledge that are central to teachers, these can create tensions and teachers will engage in ways to remain in control over classroom practises and their own knowledge base. One approach can be to choose not to get involved too much; another can be to reshape the ways in which changes are legitimised – and that makes sense both in terms of policy discourse and professional discourse. This can become particularly important when practices are mandated, such as national tests. Discursive processes of creating legitimacy both to policy makers and educational leaders, and to colleagues and students, takes place as teachers' legitimise practising for the tests from a professional discourse drawing on internal accountability. In a broader perspective, this can be seen as a micro-level example of ways in which teacher professionalism is being reshaped, not only on the policy level but also in ways of acting as and being teachers.

The analyses of the tensions that are created between accountability policies and professionals give important insight into how teachers do policy in everyday work (Stein, 2004; Ball et al., 2012), that is, performative aspects of teacher work. Both articles 2 and 3 illustrate how performative aspects are used to address issues of control, and this can be interpreted in light of what I describe as the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability. Teachers therefore become involved in discursive legitimation and boundary work to legitimise their practise and protect their knowledge base. As discussed in 6.1 and 6.2, this is mainly done in terms of emphasising input such as research and

curriculum, more than giving weight to student outcomes. Rather, the findings suggest that strong emphasis on student outcomes as measures on teachers' success would be regarded as not appropriate within teachers' value systems (van Dijk, 2006; Gee, 2011). It can be argued that teachers to a greater extent might legitimise their work through students' results and also include data deriving from tests and evaluations to correct their knowledge base. However, this is not an easy relationship, and characteristics of teaching should be taken into account when discussing how external accountability can lead to positive and negative effects.

An answer to the question if accountability policies reshape parts of the performative aspect of the teacher profession is yes, partly. In their accounts, teachers have become more concerned with evidence and justifying their practises. Conversely, they are more resistant in terms of outcomes and more specifically the tools that are implemented to enhance outcomes. It is not first and foremost the development toward competence aims and new assessment practises that is questioned by the profession, as nurturing student learning obviously is a part of the defining aspects of teaching; it is the concrete accountability tools such as national testing that are questioned. Meanwhile, teachers attempt to make meaning of the tests. This implies how the participating teachers in this study also manage to balance aspects of internal and external accountability, yet the review study suggests this can be more challenging in more high-stakes contexts than in Norway. One reason why many teachers might be critical can be that they foresee how they will change practises because of increased testing in possible directions that might not necessarily develop students' learning and development, and tensions that are created therefore becomes particularly troublesome. This can be related to the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability.

6.3.2   The organisational aspect

Whether accountability policies reshape teacher professionalism should also be discussed from an organisational perspective for a fuller understanding of what is brought into play with external control. For example, Norwegian teachers' work in classrooms has historically been controlled through the curriculum and other laws and regulations, yet otherwise, they have been marked by collegial control – similar to what Evetts (2003; 2008) coins as occupational professionalism. External control through testing and an overall increased attention to outcomes through The Knowledge Promotion Reform has thereby challenged the profession. As found in all the articles in this thesis, teachers often articulate how accountability policies and effects of accountability policies contradicts professional knowledge, and aspects of professional knowledge is used to delegitimise the same control mechanisms. Articles 1 and 2 have found how teachers construct alternative responses in terms of highlighting the need to use more research-based knowledge to protect and enhance autonomy and legitimacy. However, this relation could also become counterproductive if an emphasis on evidence-based knowledge and 'what works' mainly are defined and imposed from the outside of the profession. Such developments could then nurture a greater resistance from teachers toward research. For the teacher union, it is highlighted that it is teachers' use of discretion that should be decisive for what kind of research that should be used and how it should be used.

The study finds that teachers mainly take a starting point in the performative aspects in their legitimation and boundary work, yet also the organisational. What is placed as internal to teachers and being 'at stake' with testing also becomes 'models of legitimation' for the teachers (Gee, 2011). The arguments from policy makers' side often centre on how organisational aspects should change performative aspects. In political and public debates, arguments from teachers are sometimes

challenged as they do not have enough competence, that they push the wellbeing of the students before them, that they have too much autonomy and that there is too little evaluation. This is not to argue against these accounts, but given knowledge about the main motivations for teachers in their work, attentiveness to performative aspects when discussing issues of control and what forms of control are seen as legitimate, is necessary. Knowledge about what is at stake from teachers' viewpoint and what is placed as internal and external to the profession can shed light upon these questions. Another issue is that of teachers being more likely to approve new initiatives when they are meaningful in terms of their knowledge and values – and the opposite if the epistemologies are inharmonious. That does not, however, mean that these cannot meet productively or that professional discourse is not being reshaped, but that there is a need for awareness around to what extent and why accountability tools are placed inside or outside teachers' value systems.

To summarise, the findings in this thesis point to how stable aspects of teaching, such as relational aspects, student learning and upholding the broader aims of education, are prominent aspects of professionalism regardless of how teacher professionalism is reconstructed in national policymaking. Interestingly, however, these representations are used both for delegitimising accountability policies and for legitimising ways to deal with accountability policies such as national testing. The findings in Article 3 point to how the caring, relational dimension of teaching can be seen as interrelated with discursive, social control among teachers. It is suggested that it is not regarded as appropriate to say as a teacher that you practise for national testing to enhance students' results; it is more acceptable to legitimise practises within a professional discourse of 'protecting the students'. This is also related to how teachers might have to act in ways that they do not see as appropriate from the perspective of 'internal accountability', but that are mandated (such as national testing) and therefore teachers have to find relevance and ways to legitimize practices around the tests. Investigating how processes of legitimation and boundary work take place in micro-processes at the school can thus enhance our knowledge about the more subtle aspects of meaning-making around what it is to be 'good teachers' when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in education policy.

It seems, however, that aspects of what Evetts (2003) describe as organisational professionalism, that is, a greater emphasis on performance, evaluation and evidence, also is a valued development by some teachers. This suggests that tensions created between discourses of professionalism can be less among teachers locally than on the collective level, and that there of course are variations between teachers. For some teachers, more emphasis on student achievement, flexibility in the curriculum and attention to outcomes and control can also be seen as increasing professionalism rather than de-professionalization, suggesting how this is not an easy relationship. This also contributes to challenge the dichotomies of professionalism in terms of 'before' and 'now', and suggests that these issues also have to be investigated in the specific national contexts. Nonetheless, the discussion as led above imply how teachers both collectively and individually have to find (new) ways of handling and navigating between different expectations and value systems in a shifting educational landscape.

7.   Concluding remarks

The main aim of this PhD project has been to investigate current constructions of teacher professionalism in the context of an increased control on teachers' work, and if and in what ways accountability policies might reshape discourses of teacher professionalism. Although policy developments are also studied, the main research question is: How do teachers construct and negotiate teacher professionalism under increasing accountability? The findings in the articles and the discussion in the previous chapter have contributed to increased understanding of how teachers in Norway construct and negotiate professionalism when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in national policy. I have given specific attention to how accountability policies and testing in particular intersect with professional discourses, and the empirical and theoretical 'triangulation' has been found fruitful to pursue the research questions posed for the study. This final chapter offers brief concluding remarks regarding the main contributions, implications and, finally, reflections on its limitations and possibilities for further research.

7.1   Contributions of this thesis
In the following, I summarise the main contributions in this thesis.

7.1.1   Empirical contributions
Through articles 1-3, I have contributed to knowledge about how the teacher profession in Norway responds to accountability policies that have been introduced in the last decade, of which national testing is the most prominent example and the one investigated in this thesis. The shifts in how teachers give meaning to professionalism and accountability have to a limited extent been investigated in previous research, and these have not explored this issue both from the viewpoint of teachers' union and groups of teachers locally. I find that the profession mainly places external control outside their main frame of work, however, this is more clearly articulated by the teachers' union. Groups of teachers locally also delegitimise national testing and more emphasis on results, yet to various degrees. The younger participating teachers in the study emphasise accountability in a more outcomes-based way than their older colleagues, which might suggest that new discourses of professionalism are in the making. Another finding is how teachers, both the teachers' union and the participating teachers, place more emphasis on how they should use more research in their work. This is related both to enhancing student learning and to enhancing status and trust. In this way, the profession, here represented by the collective voice of teachers and groups of teachers locally, also appears to be proactive. Moreover, there seem to be a growing concern with 'evidence' as a part of teacher professionalism, yet where input-evidence is more valued than outcome-evidence.

The findings in this thesis have also shown how there are paradoxes present. While there is evidence that a greater emphasis on performance and testing of performance increase student outcomes and that test results and the use of these results often are necessary correctives to practise, the social effects of accountability policies and testing in particular can contribute to adverse effects. For example, accountability policies in more high-stakes contexts can contribute to weakening social relationships found to be crucial to increasing student learning. Also, teachers' legitimation of practising for tests is done through caring relationships with students, although this can lead to social effects that teachers worry about. As such, teachers' responses have some self-renewing implications.

The responses can also be interpreted in light of how teachers have to find ways of handling and legitimizing mandatory practices (such as testing) that they perhaps partly or fully disagree upon.

7.1.2 Theoretical contributions

Furthermore, I have attempted to make a contribution to studies of teacher professionalism and more particularly to studies on teachers and accountability. Including theoretical perspectives on professions and professionalism adds a dimension to the study of accountability in education that can suggest possible interpretations into ways that teachers handle external accountability, yet also directing attention to why aspects of accountability might be taken up by teachers, and moreover, how accountability also boosts alternative responses among the profession. These responses can be interpreted both from performative and organisational aspects. That is, teachers reshape accounts of what they do in their classrooms due to aspects of professional knowledge and values, and furthermore, the reshaping of professional discourse can also be seen as necessary for teachers to remain in control over the classroom. This also raises questions of what forms of control that is seen as legitimate by the profession – and possible interpretations into why or why not.

Discursive work that involves teachers revolves around issues of accountability, and testing can be interpreted in light of what I describe as the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability, that is, how teachers are accountable for what the students in turn are accountable for. If policies intersect with teachers' work in classrooms in ways that they experience as decreasing rather than enhancing student motivation and engagement and emphasising a more narrow view on learning rather than a broader view, this creates tensions for teachers that must be resolved. Given how accountability policies are a particularly contested issue for the profession, being aware of what characterises teachers' work and what is regarded to be at stake for teachers is important. For example, this is not only in terms of student learning and teacher-student relations, but also regarding recent developments such as a more outcomes-based curriculum and emphasis on formative assessment.

By employing theoretical perspectives on education policy enactment, professionalism and discourse analysis, this has enabled me to find and discuss the discursive legitimation and boundary work that teachers do in interaction, and what is placed as primarily internal and external to teachers' work. Studies of how education policy is enacted locally by professionals can also bring important insights and nuances into education policy studies. However, as enactment of policies can be 'messy' to study empirically, focusing on a concrete practice (such as national testing) can be fruitful. Theoretical perspectives of professionalism have contributed to enhance the understanding of possible interpretations into why teachers respond as they do. A comment should also be made about the central concepts that have been studied. Both professionalism and accountability are concepts that are contested and multifaceted, and there is a need for research that investigates the nuances and various ways to give meaning to these concepts rather than only defining them upfront. It can also be fruitful to 'open up' the concept of accountability more greatly than what is often done and study accountability from the perspective of teachers – and the ways they give meaning to it.

7.1.3 Methodological contributions

In this thesis, I have attempted to make a methodological contribution in terms of how a discourse-inspired analysis of micro-level interaction can be used to think about the relationship between policy and practise that does not delimit analysis to focus on discursive strategies, yet also include attention to more substantial aspects. First, I have discussed how discourse analysis can be used to think about

the relationship between policy and practise, yet in ways that combines attention to actors' first-order constructs and theoretical interpretations. Also, attention to how legitimation and boundary work take place discursively in interaction has to a limited extent been investigated in studies of teacher professionalism. The attention to micro-level processes has made complexity and ambiguity in teachers' interaction around issues of professionalism and accountability more visible. The study has also found how analysis of discursive strategies can provide knowledge into social control and being suggestive of social changes, though change has not been studied on the micro-level.

Second, in the thesis I have also described and discussed ways of doing discourse analysis, and especially discourse analysis of interactional data. In the articles, I outline how I am 'inspired by discourse analysis', and another way of phrasing this could be to say that I have developed a way of conducting discourse analysis that takes a starting point in the first-order constructs of the participants, then employ tools from discourse analysis to investigate meaning-making in interaction, and middle-range social theories that can be used to 'read one in terms of the other' in the last step of analysis. In the articles and this extended abstract, I explicitly outline how I have analysed the empirical data, and hopefully, this can be developed and elaborated in further research.

7.2 Possible implications

I have, to a limited extent, made normative assessments in the articles and the extended abstract, and I have emphasised upholding a mainly descriptive view on teacher professionalism and accountability. This has been important to maintain throughout the study as issues around teachers' autonomy, knowledge and responsibility are often ideologically laden, and the same goes for standardized and national testing. First, this has been important in terms of the empirical contribution, as I wanted to describe developments in the Norwegian context that did not take an evaluative view in terms of whether policy developments would weaken or strengthen teacher professionalism. Second, taking a more descriptive view has also been theoretically important as the thesis explicitly has aimed to 'open up' the concepts of professionalism and accountability rather than defining these terms strictly upfront. Third, and following the above, it has been important to develop a framework that takes a starting point in the first-order constructs of the actors rather than doing a more 'top-down' analysis in terms of theory and/or defined concepts.

However, although the findings in the empirical study only can be analytically generalised (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009), the new insights from the study can be followed up by indications of what could be possibly improved or to a greater extent be taken into account by different actors, a position that also often follows from doing a discourse analysis (Mathiesen, 1997; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). Given how this PhD thesis addresses an issue that is highly relevant both for politicians and professionals, in Norway and beyond, I find it important to include some reflections around what might be possible implications of the study. I therefore conclude by describing some possible implications for politicians and for the 'practise field', and also being suggestive of possible implications in terms of how to study accountability.

7.2.1 Implications for policy makers

The situated meanings that teachers construct when discussing issues of professionalism and more specifically talking about national testing, provide knowledge in terms of how policies can develop in directions other than those intended. This is important for policymakers in terms of how, to what

extent and why or why not teachers relate to external control, and for the relatively strong belief that policy makers have in assessment and accountability policies.

Based on the findings in this study, it can be argued that policy makers need to be aware of value incoherence and epistemic incoherence that exists in the field with the increase in testing and performance attention. This is related to the internal-external binary distinction, what teachers see as a main part of their work and what they place outside the main framework for teaching. For example, the micro-analysis has shown how, even though national tests are integrated and partly accepted, they can still be seen as partly external to teachers' work. Another yet important aspect is how policy makers relate to teachers' accounts, that is, whether they are mainly seen as an expression of ideology or more legitimate concerns based on teachers' knowledge base. It could be reason to argue that teachers' accounts evolving around performative aspects are legitimate concerns in terms of what hampers teachers' possibilities of working toward the broader aims of education (Svingby, 1979), and not be reduced to de-legitimation to serve their own interests. An increased awareness of the 'double-loop' character of teacher accountability is important for politicians.

Findings from the review article also contribute with knowledge for policy makers. It can be described as paradoxical if policies that intend to lead to improved learning outcomes have unintended consequences that work in the opposite direction in that they rather decrease learning opportunities for students (Article 4 in this thesis, Heilig, 2011). Most of these studies are conducted in the United States and England, but the findings should also be of interest in a Norwegian context. More attention to testing often implies positive developments such as clearer aims, improved learning results and important correctives to practise. However, if more testing and accountability for results means spending less time with students and a narrowing of the curriculum, these are implications that politicians need to know. It should be emphasised that this is not necessarily a problem at this time in Norway, but if the use of tests to measure student learning outcomes increase, and also if it is being attached to stakes for teachers and schools, politicians need to be aware of how adverse impacts can be limited and potentially addressed.

7.2.2 Implications for teachers, leaders and teacher educators

The question of implications for teachers and educational leaders on different levels is manifold. I will address two aspects in this section, first, possible implications for teachers, principals and educational leaders, and second, some implications for teacher education.

It is important for the profession to acknowledge the increased need for governments to be accountable in terms of providing high-quality education, yet the different ways in which that is done should be discussed. Therefore, teachers should also be made aware of normative pressures in the field. As questions of what is placed as internal and external to teachers is highly relevant knowledge for politicians and educational leaders on different levels, it is also a responsibility for teachers to engage in discussions around these issues and provide reasons as to when and why testing might be counterproductive rather than productive. Teachers accounts based on professional knowledge are important and could perhaps become stronger in public. There is a need for more reflection around issues such as standardised testing, professional knowledge and autonomy – and the relationship between them. This is a responsibility of the teachers' union, but it can also be reason to argue that teachers, principals and educational leaders within, for example, municipalities could initiate and encourage discussions around different aspects of professionalism, such as autonomy and

responsibility, to enhance knowledge and reflections around these issues that are probably not only felt by teachers but also other educational leaders within the field. The union and teachers locally could use their professional language and discuss what kinds of feedback loops that they view as appropriate in terms of student learning – and their own, and be clear upon how they are accountable.

Related to the findings in the review article (Article 4), principals seem to hold a crucial role in terms of how they mediate accountability policies and deal with tensions that these create for teachers. External control such as testing can be implemented locally at schools or in municipalities in a much-emphasised and control-oriented way or in ways where it is rather formative and development-oriented perspectives that are foregrounded. Principals can provide opportunities for teachers to discuss aspects that teachers' question, yet also attempt to make these 'productive tensions' (Stillman, 2011) in that teachers also challenge existing beliefs and practises. Yet another aspect of creating 'productive tensions' is how to critically discuss questions around whether and possibly in what ways increased attention to student results and testing can have adverse effects in terms of relationships to students, and also whether the emphasis on results and possible rewards for teachers nurtures more performative teachers that might prefer teaching 'the best students'. Such issues can also be brought into discussions among teachers and principals to create awareness.

In terms of teacher education, an important question to ask is how to prepare students to deal with new expectations toward teachers' work. This can also relate to how there is a need to bring questions around characteristics of teachers' work and issues of professionalism into teacher education programs to create greater awareness among the students about issues of autonomy and accountability. Teacher education holds an important role in how to prepare students to navigate and reflect critically in this complex landscape of expectations for which they are being educated. That is, to prepare students to think critically about issues of performance and accountability, yet without necessarily 'falling back' to previous generations' de-legitimisation of accountability. The positive emphasis on research and research-based knowledge, on the other hand, is interesting as an expression of how the practise field communicates that researchers have much to offer in the field of practise, for example, teachers make many references to specific researchers and education institutions. This should be considered positive with respect to higher education institutions being involved in research on education that also the 'educational field' appears to be more open in relation to research-informed knowledge. Following this, however, there are also challenges attached to how research expertise is developed across disciplines in education, and how this is communicated to schools and municipalities. Another challenge is how different researchers communicate different viewpoints to the teachers and possibly create dilemmas.

A comment could also be made in relation to how teacher education so far has not really been focused on in terms of student performance and accountability to an extent similar to that of compulsory schooling. Such developments would so far be somewhat 'in the abstract', yet the shifts in how competence is defined in the recent white paper on teacher education suggests a stronger focus on teacher education students' learning outcomes. A relevant question to ask in this regard would then be what teacher educators are responsible for? In the USA, teacher education is to a certain extent evaluated in terms of 'effectiveness' based on the performance testing of students (Lewis & Young, 2013). This is perhaps not a probable development in Norway, but worth including as a reflection related to the larger context and critiques that are raised toward teacher education.

7.2.3 How to study accountability?

As described in the articles and the extended abstract, the concept of accountability is multifaceted and given several meanings by different actors - including researchers. One important distinction is made between accountability as a policy theory of action and accountability in a more professional sense. In chapter 4 in this extended abstract, I argue how it is important to take a starting point in the first-order concepts of the participants. In Article 2, I am concerned with opening up the concept of accountability, and find teachers represent several ways they are accountable, which are situated as internal to the profession. Based on the findings in this study, I argue that we need different approaches to study accountability. An implementation perspective is highly important and relevant, but not always sufficient to enhance knowledge about 'the life of policies'.

As found in the literature review, accountability is often studied in an implementation perspective holding a more control-oriented view. That is, researchers are often concerned with how actors in the system, such as school administrators in the municipalities, principals and teachers, follow up on various forms of control. Such top-down perspectives provide important and necessary knowledge in terms of how and to what extent policies are introduced, implemented and acted upon; however, they provide less information into how actors do policy in their everyday work, which again can generate knowledge about in what ways, why – or why not – policies (or parts of policies) are enacted. This study has also taken another approach by investigating accountability 'from within' by investigating how teachers give meaning to being accountable and their use of discursive legitimation strategies. Such approaches can follow from viewing accountability as twofold, as a policy of action versus accountability as part of professional discourse models.

A note can be made in relation to language issues. In the Norwegian language, there is only one word for accountability, 'ansvar', that means responsibility. When accountability as a policy of action has been introduced in this context, it has been necessary to translate the term. There is reason to suggest that, when accountability has been translated into Norwegian, it is often done so as to describe accountability as a policy of action. Examples on such translations are 'teknisk regnskapsplikt' (Solbrekke & Heggen, 2009; Solbrekke & Østrem, 2009), 'regnskapsplikt' (Imsen, 2009), or 'ansvarsstyring' (Langfeldt, 2008). One suggestion could be to make a distinction between being accountable ('å være ansvarlig') and accountability ('ansvarliggjøring'). Given the societal mandate and regulations for teachers' work, it is not really debatable that teachers need to hold themselves accountable in the meaning of trustworthiness and answerability in terms of the curriculum and other legal regulations, emphasising taking responsibility for student learning and development and grounding justifications on professional knowledge. The findings in this thesis suggest that teachers present themselves as accountable in a variety of ways, and therefore, it might be that some aspects of accountability can be lost when translations mainly attend to policies that are put in place and not aspects of teachers' representations of being accountable to students, parents and the wider public in a more relational and democratic sense.

7.3   Moving forward – looking back

When moving toward the end of the discussion of this thesis, I am also attending to the question of what is possible for future research. However, to develop this area of research further, it is necessary to look back at the choices that have been made – and directions that have not been taken – to enhance knowledge about the ways to pursue issues that have been taken up in this thesis. All studies

to a certain extent have methodological shortcomings, and broadly put, limitations are related to necessary theoretical and methodological choices that have been made throughout the research process. Here, I place emphasis on the latter issue, as choices made for the theoretical and methodological framework are discussed in the previous sections.

First, it is important to emphasise that the findings based on the field work first and foremost are analytically generalisable, and there is a need to investigate findings from the field work in other municipalities that are both similar and different in terms of characteristics. For example, it could be that priorities and specific development projects within this local context have encouraged certain representations. The findings with regards to difference in teachers' age should also be investigated further, as the selection was not made with an intention to study differences in age and experience. Also, most of the teachers with less than ten years of experience worked together in one team and were interviewed together. It could be that these teachers developed a subculture and that this culture was more important than age and experience in terms of the legitimation of accountability policies. It is therefore important to investigate these findings in further studies and in other local settings.

Second, the investigations into teachers' constructions could more greatly have been combined with analysis of principals' constructions and those of the school administrator in the municipality. This would have added a more organisational perspective, and I could have discussed teachers' viewpoints in relation to principals, for example, and discussed how principals experienced similar expectations regarding results and performance. It is probably that principals experience similar challenges and maybe also more intensively as those that teachers experience given how many principals will draw on similar professional knowledge and values. Due to the delimitations in this study, such research questions were not pursued, yet could be in further studies. Further research can also explore questions around the importance of creating organisational legitimacy and how teachers, principals and the municipality work together to enhance outcomes. It can also be further explored how teachers have to find ways of creating relevance and legitimacy for (accountability) practices that are mandated yet challenging professional knowledge and values. How accountability policies are done locally could also be studied at the level of the classroom and in teachers' interactions with students. This has been scarcely studied and can provide knowledge to fill out a greater picture on the life of accountability policies as they are enacted in 'practise'. This would also be the case for the emphasis on research and if and how this is productive for teachers' work in classrooms.

Third, this study has been conducted ten years since the changes in the new curriculum were initiated and when national testing in the current form had been performed only four times. One could perhaps ask if the study has been conducted 'too early' in that only a few teachers had experiences with national testing. However, through the thesis, I have provided analysis that has documented policy developments empirically in the last 15 years in combination with how groups of teachers locally experienced this in the school year of 2010-2011. As such, the thesis has provided findings that can be used in further studies on this topic. This PhD project has addressed contemporary questions that are lively debated both among researchers, teachers, politicians, media, parents and students, and will hopefully make a contribution to inform discussions within and across these groups. Given the importance of a highly qualified and reflexive teacher profession for developing the society as a whole, I hope that questions around teachers' work and senses of professionalism when teacher professionalism is reconstructed in national policy will continue to be researched using different designs to enhance knowledge and understanding about these developments.

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Appendices

The following six appendices include the approval letter from the NSD (Data Protection Official for Research), the information letter with consent form, interview guides and observation scheme, overview of steps of analysis in articles one through three, and last, a collage of metaphors (article 3).

Appendix 1: Approval for research

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
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NSD

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Vår dato: 14.06.2010   Vår ref: 24285 / 2 / LT   Deres dato: Deres ref:

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 26.04.2010. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

24285	*Teacher Accountability and Teacher Relations in a changing Educational Policy Context*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Høgskolen i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Sølvi Mausethagen*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, vedlagte prosjektvurdering - kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/-helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2014, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Bjørn Henrichsen   Lis Tenold

Kontaktperson:Lis Tenold tlf: 55 58 33 77
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Appendix 2: Information letter

(The letter has been translated from Norwegian)

Information and request for consent to participate in the research project ˈTeacher accountability and teacher relations in a changing educational policy context'.

In my PhD project, I want to explore aspects of teacher work and the teacher's role in a context that increasingly focuses on student learning outcomes. The project aims to examine how teachers, school administrators and school owners perceive expectations from the environment and also possible shifts in teachers' work. It is therefore important for me to be able to do participant observation of teacher meetings and interviewing teachers and school leaders.

At the schools, I would like to observe teacher meetings and team meetings, and consent to participant observation means that you agree that I am attending meetings and make notes from what I observe. Furthermore, I would like to interview teachers working in teams that I observe, conducting these interviews after I have been visiting the school for a while. I would like to carry out one or two individual interviews and one or two focus group interviews. The individual interviews will last up to one hour, and group interviews can last up to 90 minutes. Both interviews and communications at the meetings will be taped and transcribed afterward by myself. Field notes and audio recordings will be kept without access to others, and they will be destroyed after the project is completed. Notes and transcribed material will not contain any information that can identify you.

The findings from the study will be data for two or three papers that are due to be published in English and in international journals, and the project is expected to end by late 2014. The project has been approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). Participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time during the study without giving a reason.

If you have any questions regarding your participation, please feel free to contact me by email solvi.mausethagen@hio.no, or phone 22452761 / 48146191 mob.

Consent to participate

I have received information about the project 'Teacher accountability and teacher relations in a changing educational policy context' and consent to participate in the project.

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Phone: _____

I want to make a reservation for an interview: _____

Appendix 3: Interview guides

(The guides have been translated from Norwegian)

Interview guide - focus group interviews

Introduction

This interview today concerns how you perceive various concepts, ideas and expectations around your work as a teacher, and also on how you look at possible changes over time. The interview lasts about 1 to 1.5 hours, and I will record it. Only I will listen to this, and everyone will be anonymised when I transcribe the interview.

This interview is maybe a bit different than what you might normally associate with being interviewed. I ask a few questions to get you started with a conversation; otherwise, it is mostly you who will be speaking. Everyone is therefore free to speak and discuss with each other, and you lead the discussion yourself. All opinions, experiences etc. are equally important, and there is no right or wrong answers. Imagine that you are sitting in the staff room and are talking with each other.

About the teacher's role

Main questions (2nd if time)	*Possible follow-up questions*
What do you see as your most important tasks as a teacher?	If you remember a few years back, would you have described the teacher role in the same way? Have there been any changes in the expectations toward the teacher role while you have been working as a teacher?
What do you associate with the term teacher professionalism?	What is it to be a professional as a teacher? Who decides what it is to be a professional? What is important to succeed as a teacher? What is not that important?

About knowledge

Main questions (2nd if time)	*Possible follow-up questions*
If you are to plan your teaching in a new topic, how do you find new knowledge?	What kind of knowledge do you seek? About subjects? About pedagogy (for example, how to put together groups?) How do you update yourself in the subjects that you are teaching? In pedagogy?
How do you develop the knowledge you need as a teacher?	In teacher education? On courses? From collegues? Own experiences? What is the most important knowledge to have for a teacher? What is the least important knowledge?

About autonomy

Main questions (2nd if time)	Possible follow-up questions
According to a survey we performed at the research centre where I work, teachers report that they both want a great degree of freedom in their work and make independent choices while they want clear instructions for their work even if it reduces their scope of action. Is this familiar, or what do you think about these results?	In what areas do you experience freedom in your work as a teacher? Has it always been like this? In what areas do you find that others make decisions about your work? Who decides (too much)? What can be the implications of this?
Are there areas where you think that others could have decided more of what you should do?	Why is it like that? Do you think others at the school will agree with you?

About testing and learning results

Main questions (2nd if time)	Possible follow-up questions
'Tests is a negatively charged word'. Discuss this claim.	Do we need more knowledge about students' results? Why? Why not? How do we get the best knowledge about student learning? What kinds of tests and screenings do you perform?
Do the national tests and other tests that you take influence your teaching?	In what ways? Positive experiences? Negative experiences? Do the tests influence how you relate to students in any ways? How? To the parents? To colleagues? To the principal?

About research

Main questions (2nd if time)	Possible follow-up questions
What do you view as research literature?	What kind of research do you read? Examples? Do you discuss new research with colleagues?
How important is it to be updated on new research in your work?	How important do your colleagues think it is? How important does your principal think it is? Do you use anything of what you read in your work? Can you give an example?

About responsibility

Main questions (2nd if time)	Possible follow-up questions
Finish this sentence. "As a teacher I first and foremost have responsibility for…."	What is it that you have responsibility for? What is most important? What is not that important? In what ways do you experience that you have responsibility for students' results? Do you have any examples? Has this changed over time? How important are you as a teacher for student learning and development? How important are you as a school?
What expectations for your work are you experiencing most strongly right now?	Who are the expectations coming from? Politicians? The municipality? The principal? Parents? What expectations do you make yourself?

Interview guide - individual interviews

Introduction

This interview lasts about 1 hour and will be recorded. I am the only one who will listen to this, and you will be anonymous when I transcribe the interview. Give information about the consent form.

Teacher background

Main questions	Possible follow-up questions
Can you say a bit about why you chose to become a teacher?	What is your educational background? How long is your education? Subjects? Further education? How long have you been teaching? Have you taught at other schools, and where?
If you were to give a short presentation of what characterises this school, how would that be?	Why did you choose to work at this school? What are differences and similarities from previous experiences?

Pedagogy and teaching practise

Main questions	Possible follow-up questions
Can you say something about what characterises your teaching practise?	How will you justify this? Is it similar or different to other teachers at the school?
What kind of methods do you often use in your teaching?	Why? Has this changed over time? Do you use any specific methods with the class that you teach now? Are there any methods that you do not use or use very little?
Do you have any specific theories or values that are important for you in your work?	Where have you learned or been made aware of?

Autonomy

Main questions	Possible follow-up questions
Do you have any examples of what are decided by the school leaders that have consequences for your teaching?	Do you see this as positive? Negative? Is there something that is common for the municipality that you must do? How do you view that? By the team?

Tests and assessment practises

Main questions	Possible follow-up questions
How will you describe your assessment practises?	Is this similar to that of other teachers on the team? On the school?
Can you describe the work that you do before, under and after the national tests?	Are there any guidelines given for how you should work with the tests? Do the tests have any consequences for your teaching? Positive? Negative? How do you think your teaching practise prepares the students for the tests? What kinds of challenges do you experience when preparing? What are the students' responses to the tests? The parents'?

Responsibility and expectations

Main questions	Possible follow-up questions
Can you tell a bit about how you experience accountability for students' learning results?	Do you have any examples of this? How important are you as a teacher for students' learning? How important are you as a school for students' learning? Is your view on this similar or different to that of other teachers, do you think?
What expectations to your work do you experience as being strongest right now?	Who do the expectations come from? Politicians? The municipality? The principal? Parents?
What expectations do you have yourself as a teacher?	Have these changed over time?

Individual and contextual part – here I formulated more specific questions to each teacher.

It should be noted that, because I wanted the interviews to have a conversational form, I focused on organising the interviews around the first main question – which were given to all groups of teachers and individual teachers. The follow-up questions were just posed if there was time and if they were appropriate. Other follow-up questions could also be asked, depending how the conversation went.

Appendix 4: Observation scheme

(The scheme has been translated from Norwegian)

Observation scheme – teacher meetings

School:
Date:
Time:
Topic:

Setting? **-** number of people, who is leading the meeting, how do teachers sit together, what artifacts are used etc.	
Communication? - who is speaking, dialogue/monologue, body language, what is said (mark time), engagement, passivity	
Themes? - what is referred to in the presentations and discussions (laws, curriculum, projects etc), what is said and what opinions are prominent (mark time)	
Other observations?	
General impression on 'teacher talk' and 'teacher-principal talk'?	

Appendix 5: Steps of analysis

Steps of analysis in Article 1

|	Aim	Tools of analysis	Empirical research questions
1st reading	To obtain an overview of the structure and the themes of the texts; to determine which terms are prominent; to compare the texts so as to identify the main areas in which they differ	Problems and solutions Representations	What are the problems represented to be? What are the solutions? How are aspects of knowledge, autonomy and responsibility described?
2nd reading	To identify how the texts construct teacher professionalism, in particular through representations of knowledge, responsibility and autonomy	Choice of words, clusters of words, word count	What terms are prominent in the different documents? How is 'teacher professionalism' constructed in the texts?
3rd reading	To discuss different constructions of teacher professionalism	Antagonisms Comparison	What are the discursive shifts in the policy texts? Across what dimensions do the constructions vary over time?

Steps of analysis in Article 2

	Aim	Tools of analysis	Empirical research question
1st reading	To identify how teachers position themselves toward internal and external accountability	Sensitising concepts	How do teachers position themselves toward forms of internal and external accountability? What are variations in positioning?
2nd reading	To investigate the main areas of legitimation and delegitimation, and how these are linked to value systems and teachers' social practises	Authorisation, rationalisation, moralisation and narrativisation Vocabulary, modality, binaries	How are aspects of external and internal accountability legitimised or delegitimised? What legitimisation strategies are used, by whom? How do linguistic aspects reinforce statements?
3rd reading	To discuss the variations in responses to external accountability	Variations and interrelationships	In what ways and to what extent are aspects of 'being accountable' downplayed or emphasised, and how can this be interpreted?

Steps of analysis in Article 3

	Aim	Tools of analysis	Empirical research questions
1st reading	To identify tensions that are created when discussing practises of national testing	Ways of representing Binaries	How are practises and implications of national tests represented? What are the prominent tensions that are created?
2nd reading	To identify what characterises the language-in-use when national tests are discussed and tensions created	Metaphors, word choices, modality	What characterises language-in-use in meetings where national tests are discussed and tensions created? How do linguistic aspects reinforce certain articulations?
3rd reading	To discuss if and how professional boundaries are (re)drawn	Variations and interrelationships	What are the main variations in the discursive practises? In what ways is professional discourse being reshaped?

Appendix 6: Collage over metaphors

Below, a collage over metaphors that the teachers use when discussing national testing is provided for an alternative communication of findings. This collage has also been used in conference presentations and teaching settings in relation to Article 3.
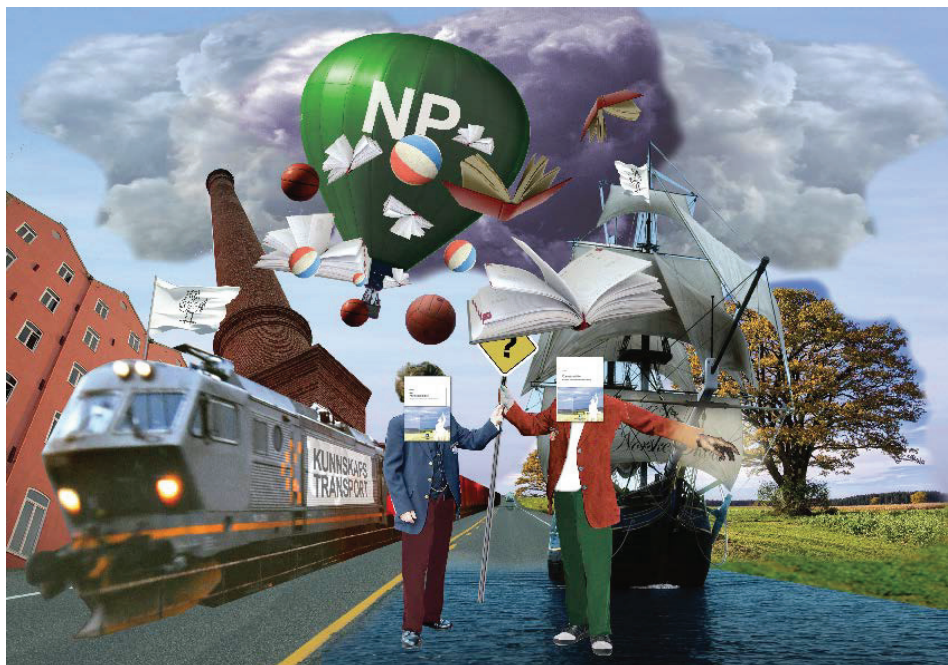
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