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Internationalising the school - critical perspectives on the «globalisation»-
process of the Nordic school
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Sammendrag

Notatet inneholder tre artikler som er forberedt som faglige innlegg til seminarer og konferanser. Det første handler om utviklingen av norsk skole som enhetsskole og omsorgsskole og hvordan reformene på -90-tallet tematiserer eller truer de verdiene som ligger til grunn for skolen slik vi har kjent den og ble lagt fram som et foredrag med en ganske muntlig form. Det neste bidraget utdyper kjennetegnene for den norske skolen som kontrast til skolen i Sverige og Danmark og diskuterer særskilt hvordan læreplanene tar opp «internasjonalisering» som trend og tema. Det siste bidraget diskuterer problemer rundt den faglige identiteten til et tema som «internasjonalisering» og «globalisering» anvendt på skolen.

Stikkord: internasjonalisering, globalisering, læreplanutvikling

Summary

This report consists of three independent papers prepared for seminars and conferences. The first deals with the recent development of the Norwegian educational system and raises questions whether this endangers valuable traditions of the system. The paper was presented as a talk to an audience of students and colleagues in Frankfurt aM, Germany, and I have kept the initial colloquial form of the paper. The second expands on the communalities of the Nordic educational systems, and criticises the development regarding the topic of «internationalisation» in the curriculum. The last paper focuses on particular curriculum problems as to how and why «global education» needs to develop to gain stronger impetus on the curriculum in the age of «globalisation»

Keywords: internationalisation, globalisation, curriculum development.

MiniCV

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Forord

I denne samlingen av papers og foredrag legges det fram synspunkter og perspektiv som ellers er blitt presentert spredt og for ulike forsamlinger.

Det første bidraget er holdt som et foredrag for det tyske institutt for internasjonal pedagogisk forskning (Deutsche Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, Frankfurt am Main) som en avslutningshilsen til mine verter mens jeg var gjesteforsker der i 1996/97. Bidraget er oversatt til tysk og publisert som (1997): *Neueste Entwicklungen im Norwegischen Bildungswesen*. In: Maria Anna Kreienbaum u.a. (Hg.): *Bildungslandschaft Europa. Zehn Schulsysteme im aktuellen Vergleich*, Bielefeld, s. 106-122. Dette utenlandsoppholdet ble gjort mulig takket være innvilgning av vikarpermisjon fra Høgskolen i Lillehammer i 1996, samt en bevilgning fra Norges Forskningsråd for utenlandsopphold.

Ved tre anledninger har jeg fått støtte fra forskningsutvalget for å delta på konferanser i utlandet med papers. En forutsetning for bevilgningen er at paperet trykkes ved HiL. Den første bevilgning avstedkom en presentasjon av et paper om internasjonalisering av yrkesutdanning, og ble til gjennom et samarbeid med 1.amanuensis Halvor Fauske. Bidraget blir publisert som (1998): *Internationalising the curriculum for vocational education. Problems and possibilities*. Kommer i *European Journal of Intercultural Education* nr.1/99. (sammen med Halvor Fauske.) og vil bli trykket som særtrykk. Konferansen ble arrangert av European Conference for Educational Research (ECER) i Sevilla i september 1996.

Det andre bidraget er en artikkel som ble laget for den påfølgende ECER-konferansen i september 1997 i Frankfurt am Main, og det siste bidraget ble presentert på den 10. verdenskonferansen for komparativ pedagogikk (World Council of Comparative Education Societies) som gikk av stabelen i juli 1998 i Cape Town.

Bidragene har en viss tilknytning til hverandre. Det første bidraget summerer en rekke inntrykk av hvordan det norske utdanningssystemet utviklet seg i forhold til mange andre land, og forsøker å forklare hvordan skolen er blitt en omsorgsskole og utadvent mot andre land i sitt innhold. Det andre bidraget understreker hvordan slektskapet er mellom de nordiske skoler i forhold til læreplanenes åpenhet for internasjonalisme og solidaritet som verdi. Det siste bidraget forsøker å undersøke grunnlaget for hvordan og hvorfor en videre «internasjonalisering» fordrer sterkere faglig identitet som eget fagområde for å lykkes i å endre skolen på en mer grunnleggende måte.

En stor takk går til Egil Frøyland, Høgskolen i Akershus, som leste og kritiserte manuset på en stimulerende måte og hjalp meg til å rydde opp i de verste norvegianismene. Han har intet ansvar for de feil som fortsatt finnes her.

Recent trends in Norwegian educational reforms

In the years 1992-96 an avalanche of reforms in the educational system of Norway has hit our country. Some of these can be said to continue long traditions, while others introduce both new strategies and political directions. It is a matter of both confirming the welfare-state concept of educational reforms, while other elements point in other directions - of adjusting to new international trends - economically and morally - into what a Norwegian colleague, Alfred Telhaug has called - a restaurative direction

Educational traditions - corporativism and consensus-building

The corporativism of public policy in Norway has been a highly developed skill, as an eminent tool for consensus-building and the security of a broad public support on previously sensitive political issues. The corporative technique is a reciprocal project: interested parties are invited to take a share in the production of a white paper, and through the representatives view-points are sold back to their organisations. The political arena gets many valuable political inputs from the corporative sector, new ideas and options evolve, and the political arena can test new political ideas in an interested forum. This makes it possible for the interested parties to get the flavour of the political development and they can take alternative positions and calibrate their arguments accordingly. Several commentators and evaluations of Norwegian education policy have commented that this was an extraordinary developed side of the «Norwegian policy» (Lauvdal 1996a, s.73, Monsen 1996)

The consensus on the educational policy has been very strong in Norway, as it has been in most areas of the social-welfare state. The only two issues being debated and causing some disagreement has been the private school issue - where Christian organisations have been for a much more liberal practice - and the other one being the profile of the comprehensive school up to upper secondary school, where the conservative Right party has held a more traditional «Realschule» position - in favour of a dual lower secondary school, and in favour of more grading, testing and formal examinations, but has been very isolated. The majority has, however, supported the development of a school system that in a political sense has been devoted to a - for many non-Norwegians - extreme policy of equity - geographical, social class - wise, and in the recent 30 years - gender and multiculturalism. An emigrated Norwegian-American professor of Sociology commented ironically, that Norwegian would rather cut the head of a tall person than allowing anyone to reach above the rest, alluding that «equity» is almost a religious matter for us. (Telhaug 1989). The political parties programmes in the periode from 1945-77 were consistently agreeing on the idea of equal opportunities from right to left. This is underlined by the fact that much more money is spent per students in rural, densely populated areas than in towns - up to four times as much. Much resources is also spent on a non-segregative policy trying to include all pupils in the classes. The high number of special-education measures taken to cater for a multitude of school-abilities for pupils suffering from light reading difficulties to severe multihandicaps is also a very expensive policy that contributes to the ratio of teacher:pupil of 1:11 at an average for the primary education of the nation.

Curriculum-changes and the Norwegian populism

The curriculum of the Norwegian school made an important development in 1869, when the Parliament denounced the Latin as a compulsory subject for secondary school. This signalled that our curriculum quested for a more popular and modern scientific basis for the school development, than the rest of Europe. The decision to accept the «new-Norwegian» - the rural dialect of Norwegian as equal to the previous formal Danish-Norwegian version was a formal acknowledgment of the political role of the rural Norway, and political tradition of an equity-oriented political and cultural traditions more than a thousand years old. The development of the comprehensive school, from 1920, was a forerunner for the Nordic model, where all children of all social origins should stay together for the first seven years - «Folkeskolen» - a term that alludes both to the leading position of the Scandinavian Grundtvigianism - as well as the influence from the emerging labour movement. The next development of the comprehensive school was fulfilled with the «ungdomsskole» from the mid-sixties, and when the streaming system - which was kept for some years as a concession to the conservative party, was abolished in 1974. In the mean time all grading up til Grade 7 was abolished and replaced by the informal evaluation, given in parents conferences and written reports three times a year. Professor Telhaug writes in 1989, that taken all factors into consideration concerning comprehensive schooling, grading, non-segregation and non-streaming, Norway was probably the most extreme country even in Scandinavia in these matters. Students tend to produce equally good school-results independent of

their geographical background, and the variation in school-quality is remarkably insignificant, in a system with a national curriculum and a salary system that pays after a fixed scale according to level of education, numbers of years in practice and to work-load. A teacher in Finnmark earns even more than an Oslo teacher because of a incentives scheme to recruit more teachers to the region with climatic and economic problems.

Norwegian teachers have a comparably high social status in Norway, and the teacher vocation has been regarded as one of the most respectable as well as ritually important - especially in relation to the celebration of the Constitution day. In many areas the teachers and other publicly appointed are the best payed, and they play important roles as culturally leading figures. The teachers have held a disproportionally high number of chairs in the Parliament, and have - generally speaking - avoided the proletarianization that teachers in many other countries have experienced.

The equality policy has been developed as a part of the social policy - the use of an important institution to create equality in society, combined with a wish to harvest from the variety of skills from children all over the country to contribute to the economic development. For very many students the school has been an important tool for social and geographical mobility, and also at the expense of the wealth and welfare of extreme societies, such as remote fishing societies of the north and west, and of the minority of Same-people in the North. Oslo has today an estimated figure of 30 000 Sami-people as inhabitants. They migrated during the harsh Norwegianisation policy - also in schools - during the early 20th century til the 1970-ies.

A child-centred curriculum and the sacred childhood

Prevalent with the Norwegian school by the end of the 1980-ies was a - at least ideologically - a strong comittment to a child-centred pedagogy. «Arbeidsskolen» was a term coined for the curriculum-reform of 1939 - which points to the influence from the Kerschensteiner-tradition, as well as from the Jena-plan, and to a lesser degree - American progressivism. The ideology of the active child «vom Kinde aus» - was very strong and set of a long range of experimental learning, group-work, school-gardening, work-shop for metalwork, woodwork, as well as art in the school - all tendencies hampered, by the nazi-occupation, and further set back for an other decade after the war. By the end of the 1950-ies one can see attempts at putting the 1939-plan in action. The idea of a school-democracy, where all pupils were actively involved in the decision-making was introduced in the 1960-ies. The development of kindergarten-institution has been considerably slower than in the neighbouring countries, and the late school-start at 7, as well as a comparably low number of lessons pr. week for the youngest classes are responds to the commonly held opinion that children should not be institutionalised, but live self-regulated in the realm of the family and neighbouring networks - doing as they please. Play, games and leisure-life is also predominant features of the Norwegian kindergarten pedagogy - a sort of anti-didactical curriculum would it seem from a French point of view. The childhood has been held sacred and as an happy enclave of life before the school starts. However, a formal plan for the kindergarten, has now been introduced.

Although primary school has a large number of schooling activities, the caring and game-activities of the learning processes are prevalent the first three years, along with musical and other creative activities. The ideology of the child-centered curriculum, as well as the emphasis on the need for a child to feel a stable and secure environment as a precondition for their learning is both overtly stated in the curriculum, as well as a commonly held opinion of the teacher-corps. The emphasis on project-work, topical concentration-periods, the mix of subjects and the almost non-existing rote-learning indicate that at least the primary school has maintained reform-pedagogical ideals, whereas lower-secondary school more clearly represent a "realschule" tradition where preparation for the 40% of the students who will apply for the academic branch of the upper secondary school is the real reference for most teachers. Corporal punishment was prohibited in 1936, all students are promoted to next class and most classes have pupils of a variety of abilities according to the ideals of the non-segregationist policy.

Centralisation and decentralisation

The school structure of Norway has been fairly centralised. The school became an important institution in the nation-building-process since 1814. Curriculum development, teacher comittment and attitudes supported the idea of elaborating a Norwegian character and identity, on the foundations of the

democratic constitution of 1814. Even when the political context was liberal and open for a local development curriculumwise, local schools and school-authorities tended to search for a national standard. With the National curriculum of 1939, which was mainly written by one person - Ribsskog - a researcher and well known personality in schooling - this nation-building was fulfilled with a hegemonic and compulsory list of subjects all students should be confronted with in school - and the compulsory examinations after seven years Folkeskole was introduced.

However, the understanding of a monolithic and hegemonic school-culture changed after the introduction of the revised national curriculum in 1960. Since the student movement and the environmental and womens rights came to the fore, in Norway particularly voiced by the resistance to the Norwegian membership of the EEC in 1972, these issues were clearly articulated in a «green dimension» of the national curriculum of 1974. The need for pupils to develop a secure identity in stable conditions in their local community, gave way for a process whereby the school curricula partly were decentralised, to some extent more in line with the curriculum practices of England. Teachers were introduced to making local curriculum, translating the general guidelines into local contexts of the school and the children. The curricula had shifted character considerably: the 1959-plan had fixed targets for each year, as a minimum requirement for the teachers presentation of the curriculum. In the testing phase of the 1974 plan, the plan estimated three-years periods wherein the teacher and the school could elect their own progression. In the final plan this was replaced by a more rigid, but still guiding plan of topics that should be dealt with pr.year.

In the revised national curriculum for 1987 the local curriculum development is enforced further, demanding teachers to write a local curriculum based on the national, as well as local work-plans and a systematization of the local curricular work to a extent, - and the three-years plans are finally back. The value of raising the children in a secure and stable condition of a local community they know well is emphasised even further and a new school subject: practical and social cultural work is even introduced to engage pupils in participative activities in the local communities.

This shift of orientation has been called the fulfilment of the «socialdemocratic progressiveness» (Tønnesen and Telhaug 1996) as opposed to the middle-class basis of school motivation. The «socialdemocratic progressiveness» holds an understanding of modern capitalism as a brutal exploitation of children and adults, in school demonstrated by the crude sorting mechanisms of grading, rivalry and competition between students and a constant push to excel. Instead the pupils should develop a positive self-image by experiencing success through tasks adopted to each child individually. The vulnerable child should be protected against the demands of the ruthless capitalist society, and rather experience the school as a place where the variety of tasks undertaken in a society should be learned. The school should cater for a thriving and supportive environment, where caring for the children and nurturing for their talent in a co-operative manner driven by their interest in the topics, and not punishment. However, the abolishing of grading was not totally completed. A white paper presented in 1978 suggesting that the first nine years should be free from grading, was never followed up. This suggestion was too radical even for the core of traditional Labour voters, shaking their conception of schooling as something basically driven by a negative motivation by the evil (examinations).

One of the reasons for this political openness to reform-pedagogical trends has been that the school sector to a large extent has been steered by a political leadership from the profession: ministers have often been teachers or priests, political secretaries have represented various school levels, the corporative co-operation with teachers unions, has been comprehensive. Teachers have in many instances sat on both sides of the table.

The openness of the 1990-ies: Bureaucratic reorganisations

The unstable political climate in Norway in the 1980-ies with several shifts of government and the constant situation of minority governments, introduced a new sort of openness for what was going to happen in most political fields. The EU-question split the non-socialist-government in 1990, and the political and moral setback of the "young aspiring professionals"-period as well as the deep bank-crisis created an uncertainty about the direction of the educational policy of the third government of Gro

Harlem Brundtland that came to power in the fall of 1990. One trend was an important background for what was going to happen:

«Den "nye"staten» was a term developed in the middle of the 1980-ies by the so-called «Rasjonaliseringsdirektoratet». This institution task was to find easier, less expensive, more efficient solutions to manage large state institutions. The political motivation for this reorientation has been traced to the influence of the «new right» as well as the «new liberalism» - influences from the US and England (Lauvdal 1996). The non-socialist government until 1986, opened a much larger field of criticism of an «ineffective state», in which the school sector was believed to be the least effective. It's "Open society"-policy led to a quickly rising number of night-clubs, of longer opening hours of shops, Sunday opening of supermarkets etc. "The new state"-reforms started as a de-regulation strategy both for private and public sector with the aim of getting rid of regulatory institutions on many levels and gained significance gradually through the late 1980-ies and early 1990-ies.

The non-socialist government gave up after a year in Government in 1990 and the advent of the recent labour government, the efforts to «modernize» the State continued. After the decade of decentralization of the 1970-ies, and deregulation and liberalisation in the 1980-ies, a tighter control by ways of budget-control, saving, and a decrease of public spending found place. Up til 1986 the primary and lower secondary school were financed directly from the state. From 1986 the municipal authorities received a lump-sum for all activities, in which the school had to fight for their share as other sectors had to. The other measure was the principle of «Management by objectives» implemented: every institution had to establish a set of «goals» for their activity, then to derive indicators for success and failure, and report accordingly to their superiors on a regular basis in order to receive new funds. An avalanche of «activity-planning», goal-directed-plans and result-reporting was introduced to the whole sector since 1992, accompanied by a net reduction of money spent in the sector. The potential for more effective running was estimated to a maximum of 20%. An improved efficiency on the use of resources is a target for the sector also in the «Long-term-planning»-document issued by the government for the period 1994-97.

However - a ruling principle in this new ideology was to formulate goal centrally, and then release local activity and creativity in order to fulfil the goals. As long as the laws regulating the area was kept, the freedom of experimentation and interpretation could be wide. In the school sector this could also mean that local adjustment to local curriculum development was furthered.

The importance of political leadership

The selection of a new minister of education could be vital for the direction of the educational sector. Several candidates were possible. However, educational reforms were not important issues in the Labour party when a crisis in the non-socialist coalition gave way for a new Labour-government. Two white papers were under its way from the ministry, both initiated under the previous labour government, one on teacher education, and one on upper secondary school. The making of a new government is a complex jigsaw-puzzle for the parties in charge: a gender, geography, age, experience, parliamentary experience, popularity, field specific knowledge - they are all factors important when new ministers are appointed. The post for the education ministry was a close race between several candidates, but Professor Gudmund Hernes - whom many saw as a person who could break a tradition of high teaching-profession influence in the educational policy field was finally chosen.

«More knowledge for each krone»

When Gudmund Hernes was elected he was a profiled university critic and an outspoken cultural critic. His program for renewal was already stated in a white paper from 1988, from a committee he chaired appointed by the Labour government in 1987. Cultural conservatism and cultural literacy was actively supported in his rhetoric, and the need for the Norwegian society to become competitive in the age of more international competition and an internal European Market. He had adopted the term «More knowledge for each krone» as his slogan.

Some politicians tend to take on a very open position towards the press, for instance the leader of the German Social Democratic party, Oscar Lafontain and his wife declaring their pregnancy live on television. An other example would be the ex-primeminister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland, whose husband, only a month after her retreat, presented a book about the life of a prime-ministers

husband. This might indicate a new tradition of lives of the politicians lived in the media, of persons who expose their lives willingly to become popular, or well conceived of, being personalities on their own, more than members of a political party. The media seem to cultivate this new political role, because it opens the realm of «interesting people» beyond the previously known: the rich, the moviestars, the athletes and the royal families. These political figures tend to take over positions in the popular culture, as political mediators of opinions and stands that are much more effectively conveyed by these media, than through election campaigns alone. Professor Hernes certainly has taken up such a position in the popular press, who eagerly wrote about the premieres, the jet-set-parties and similar he attended. As the first minister he was portrayed in a Men's magazine (Vi Menn), the topic being his ableness, wit, knowledge and power he has shown in the reform-process of the Norwegian educational system between 1990-95, all evidence for admirable macho-traits of a man model of today.

In many countries it is unusual to see the post as minister of education an important political position. It is also unusual that education ministers become popular politicians, which was the case with Professor Hernes, except within the teaching profession. In Dec.95 he was transferred to a "more important" ministry of Health because of the urgent need for a change in the health sector - «a person who could tidy up» was needed and Hernes was the man. In the years between 1990 and 1995 the educational sector was undergoing a total renewal concerning curricula, organisations and steering principles, regional as well as ministerial. From kindergarten to higher education - new principles and organisation was implemented or - on its way to implementation. The process was going safely, and Hernes could go on to other sectors to fulfill his renewal of the State.

Why is a person interesting in a historical process? This perspective has lost much of its interest after new trends of mentality and civilization-history, and social history in the critical tradition came to the fore. The English curriculum historian Ivor Goodson reminds about the importance of the personal and biographical, because such histories can illuminate certain choices, thinking styles and realms of meaning which very often is lost in structuralist thinking. In this case the person in question becomes valuable - both because he has undoubtedly played an unusually important role in the development of Norwegian educational policy since 1990, - and he has lived a very public life, constantly writing about his personal experiences and giving interviews about his life-story.

Professor Solstad refers to Maurice Galton, who writes in his book about Crisis in the Primary Classroom, that a part of the problem with politicians doing educational reforms is that they carry a nostalgic perspective on their own schooldays:

Presumably some of these confident pupils, because they do well academically, will eventually occupy positions of influence in adult life. Those whose influence extends to educational policy making often then tend to assume that what worked for them will work for all children. (quoted after Solstad 1996, p.68.)

Professor Karl Jan Solstad, formerly of the University of Tromsø, and one of the most radical curriculum thinkers and developers in Norway, adds to this quote: «Is there anybody of us, and I think of one in particular, who can see themselves in this statement?».

Gudmund Hernes was the son of a priest, born during the early years of the war. His parents divorced, which was extremely unusual at the time, and was raised by his mother in Trondheim, and in poverty. He was a weak child, with reading disorders, and poor in maths, Being from the countryside he suffered from being mobbed by his classmates for his dialect and his out-of-style-clothing. One of his problems was that the school he came from taught a different curriculum - being in the countryside - than of his new school in the town. In some subjects he already knew the topics, in other subjects he was totally unfamiliar with the complex notions of the «town-curriculum». So he had to struggle, doing much more homework than the other kids. Later in high-school - he improved his math and made an acceptable examen artium before going to Bergen to take up his studies.

In Bergen University he made great progress, and went, after majoring in Sociology, to Johns Hopkins University for a post-graduate studies under James Coleman. In 1970, about 90 years after John Dewey, he received his PhD from Johns Hopkins with a dissertation on equality in schools. He immediately took up a professorship in Bergen as the youngest professor in sociology ever, 30 years old. Two years later he was given the task to investigate the «Power structure of Norway» by the then Labour Prime Minister Bratteli. One of the main conclusions of the power-analysis was that the

Norwegian school still was a reproducer of inequality, but that the Labour movement and the social democrat ethos of the society was strong and still a driving force in the political reality. In 1977 he was recruited as a junior minister to the government, in the Ministry for Planning. His position as a "wonder boy" was underlined by the growing attention by the popular press, and then to his increasingly popular publication of booklets: of a micro-wave cook-book for bachelors, and a series of comedy-books. After his first political career he establishes a research institution for the Labour Union: a private research institution in social sciences who «sell» projects to both public and private institutions.

A book issued in 1988 (Vivat Academia) analyses the «crisis in higher education» where he bluntly states that standards are too low, entrance students know too little of the central subjects, etc. The same year he was appointed to investigate the issue in a government white paper, as leader of a commission of members from a broad range of interests in Norwegian society. The white paper is very much a formal elaboration of the issues he dealt with in his book, claiming there must be a drastic reform in higher education and alluding that such a reform would be useless unless the primary and secondary education systems was similarly reformed. The conclusions were warmly embraced by the conservative press as well as university professors and the union of secondary school teachers. And the white paper became quite important popular reading, because - unusual for this genre - several of the leading newspapers, television programmes, and talk shows thematized the crisis in education. Professor Svein Sjøberg, the leading critic of the science studies curriculum in primary and secondary school, - and a member of the commission - ironized over the «Norwegian perspective on knowledge» as inherently social-democratic: knowledge is relative, knowledge is something that should be learned through game and play, no one should brag about their knowledge, the average is idealised and the winner is silenced. Subsequently; the school is the cradle of mediocracy, preventing talents from doing their best, and diminishes the possibility for interested children to excel in their faculties and subjects. Pointing at the low scores in the IEA of Norwegian children in Maths, physics and reading skills, he voiced the Doomsday-perspectives of a Norwegian version of the American «A nation at risk».

In the following two years Professor Hernes continued to develop his critical ideas in a series of interviews. Several of these interviews have a surprisingly personal flavour where information about his personal experiences as divorce-child, a striving and ambitious pupil - and student comes to the fore. He develops an image of the child who against many odds makes it possible to realise a dream through hard work, limiting his pleasures or subliming them into advanced work of regression analysis of quantitative data. He models a moral agenda for the students coming of age, to work harder, to seek less pleasure, and a school system that must cater for this student. But he also presents himself as a brilliant character - a personality who can dance American swing eminently, and writes more humorous intellectual books, and gives brilliant statements in public debates, with wit and elegance. His academic credentials are seen to be impeccable. He is under attack from critical sociologists for his limited theoretical orientation, but is acknowledged for his well-written style and interpretations. Many, even his critics, have commented that if he had not chosen a political career, he would have made an impressive and no doubt international career as a sociologist.

Breaking away from traditions

In the following five years he is the architect of

- the introduction of a curriculum for kindergarten,
- a lowering of the school-start to six years, and
- the prolonging of the compulsory school time to 10 years,
- a new comprehensive curriculum for the years six - adult education,
- a curriculum revision of the primary and secondary education,
- a full renovation of curricula and organisation of the upper secondary school,
- a reform of teacher education,
- a reform of the higher education,
- a reform of the administrative structure of the Ministry

In this process he hardly had any significant meetings with the teacher unions, or sought advice from the experienced officials of the ministry. The internal think-tanks in the ministry were project-organised and established outside regular bureaucratic routines. He established a cadre group of effective and loyal assistants, most of whom made remarkable careers. An almost complete ignorance of the corporatist tradition gave outsiders very little insight in what was going on in the Ministry, and leading pedagogues and politicians wanting to find out, actually asked if the person had turned deaf. The Ministry was strongly politicised, and the employed were to a large extent denied their rights to speak

to outsiders about their working projects. And lastly: the Minister himself was a very active writer of the legal, administrative and curriculum texts - to such an extent that one might say he is the writer of, for instance, the guiding curriculum of September 1992. In this respect he takes up the tradition from the Ribsskog-plan of 1939.

A new cultural literacy for Norwegians

The new guiding curriculum of 1992 is probably the most significant statement about the rather dramatic shift in political orientation of the school policy. It reinstates or reinvokes the Protestant ethic as the fundamental motivation basis, it demands students to work harder for the results. Further it states that the confusion in norms and values in society should be countered by a cultural literacy program on a national fundament. The poetry, painting, and cultural tradition of Norwegian should come more to the fore. A familiarity with the Norwegian culture was a precondition for becoming «internationally minded». The cultural orientation is towards the Christian-European culture, with the democratic heritage from Greece and justice from Rome, the humanism and Enlightenment from the Renaissance will be fundamental. The complete absence of words relating to the previous plans emphasis on caring, security, comfort and assertiveness is striking. Hernes stated that the learning-values was founded on the individual responsibility of the student for his/her own learning (Norsk Skoleblad nr.25, 1992, s.5). The ideal student is the robust and goal-directed student with clear ideas about his/her future career. The text hardly says anything about co-operation between students, about evaluation, nor about the role of the home. The hearing caused numerous complaints and comments of which almost none was taken into consideration. In many respects this document mirrors the liberal shift in social-democratic policy and puts an end to «collectivistic adventures».

A de-professionalising school-development?

The next document from the ministry giving the more precise and concrete version of the curriculum, further elaborates on what can be viewed as a blatant return to a perspective on knowledge from the 1950-ies. The local adjustment of curriculum should only be allowed for the first three year from then on the national unity should be stronger. This document is focused on the alleged need for «firm boundaries» and a «national framework» and plays down the need for individual adjustment of the subject matter to the learning abilities of the student, as well the need for an including schooling. According to Professor Solstad, one of the most consistent critics of the new curriculum identifies it as consistent with «the received perspective» on knowledge (after John Egglestone), in deep contrast to the previous curricula which perspective were the «reflexive perspective» (1995). One indicator is the return to a division of the «orienteringsfag» into history, geography and science for the years 4-6. The curriculum content is precisely prescribed for each year, and with special attention to the progression-matters.

Both these documents uses terms typical of the teaching profession with unease in its general section. "Pedagogics" is rarely used, and the term "didactics" is not even there. The integration of didactical and subject didactical skills is given little weight. The strongest emphasis is on the teachers knowledge of the subject, as if a this evidently furnishes the teachers with didactical skills. It states: «The good teacher knows his subject» and important tasks for a teachers is to «give the facts, to give the pupils a firm knowledgebase».

In the new curricula for the upper secondary school a whole new curricular language of «management by objectives» is introduced. Instead of speaking about contents of the curriculum, the emphasis is on «what students must know, be able to, and comprehend». The goals of the teaching is termed in qualifications the students shall obtain. The reform also introduces a new structure, compressing 109 different courses for the first year into 13, introducing far more theoretical teaching for the students, which is a very sensitive question for the traditional vocational courses. And the tempo in which this new orientation is introduced, prepared and implemented takes the breath of an almost entire school bureaucracy (Lauvdal 1996b). One of the main shifts in the school pedagogy is the introduction of the notion of «responsibility for your own learning». The ministry embraces an ideology where the young learner must be responsible for taking his/her work in the school seriously, which underlines the view of the «individualist» student who must make his own way in life, and gives each student a «learner's handbook» where the principles are outlined.

Contradictions of control

The cultural literacy-programme, and the strengthening of a subject knowledge base, is in some ways contradicted by the tendency called «management by objectives». But put together, in the context of cutting of public expenditure, it is, in my opinion little doubt that the restriction and punitive dimension will win. However, in upper secondary schools, where the subject content-knowledge dimension of teacher-professionalism has been strong, the firm introduction «management-by-objectives» might insert a sense of a much needed reflection over the wider goals of the curriculum superceeding the syllabi and textbook-orientation of the ruling tradition. The on-going research indicates that this group of teachers may benefit from the inspiration of a set of goals superior to the narrower targets of the subject.

In the debate after the introduction of the reform, one of the main criticisms has been the one-sided emphasis on high output, self-direction, the elitism, - in short the sort of self-portrayal the minister himself puts forward in his writing about himself. The defenders of his policy has pointed to the increased support to leisure-pedagogical services in school, to the introduction of one year lower school-start - which is said to releave many parents of their caring responsibility, and improves the average of parents' life situation. Further, the upper secondary school now is an offer to 100% of the cohort, and gives priority to offer all youngsters a formal competence, for work or for further studies. Students who not uses their right properly is offered an extensive range of special education opportunities coined as «individual curriculum». In the pedagogical field an extraordinary shift in the direction of project-work has been prevalent in the syllabi issued from the ministry. All teachers has to offer at least one project work throughout the school-year. If the core of the cultural content of the curriculum is conservatism, certain elements also point at pedagogical progressivism. Students are, for instance, much more clearly than in the previous curriculum given the opportunity to influence on the school practice.

The lowered school-start and extended rights to all students for a full three year period upper secondary education, as well as the tendency to centralise the curriculum, points in the traditional direction of educational policy - of trying to forward an equal school opportunity to all children and eliminate the differences caused by social class and geography. Some elements suggest vital elements of pedagogical progressivism has been brought much more interestingly to the fore, and that the curricula offer vast new potensials for teachers. Teachers in upper secondary school have in many ways been forced to legitimize their teaching and to rationalise their curricula choices towards colleagues, leadership, parents and students, in order to comply with the «management by objectives» policy. The teacher union complains that this is a sort of de-professionalism, because it no longer focuses the subject-expertice of the teachers. This illuminates one of the many contradictions in the reform, because the curriculum clearly give much more emphasis on subject knowledge than to didactics. Such contradictions are unavoidable, and show us that not only ministers uses their opportunities, but also the ministerial bureaucracy know when there is an opportunity to forward new educational ideas. Finally, as Telhaug has pointed out, also the committee for educational matters in Stortinget (the Parliament) has used their opportunity to have a say in these matters (1995).

The youngest reform effort is displayed in the white paper on the reform of teacher education (NOU 1996:22). A compulsory four year teacher education is suggested, with centrally given guidelines for the curricula and a closer control from the Ministry as to how local curricula comply with the centrally given guidelines. The «management by objectives» is not elaborated in this document, but is promoted strongly in the administrative routines for higher education in general. A topic much debated recently is to decide how extensive the teaching of the subject «pedagogy» should be. In todays teacher-education contain 10 points pedagogical theory, which equates half a year of study, built into the three-years. With a one year prolonging, the white paper suggests an expansion to 15 points in the four year education. A minority in the commision suggest the amount to remain at 10 points, a point of view strongly supported by the Ministry as well as the political leadership. The discrepant 5 points should rather be used to increase the teaching of math and science. The focus on math and science echoes the viewpoints given before in the reform trend, supporting the notion that these two subjects are vital to the economic development and growth of the country.

Conclusions

The Norwegian educational tradition was monolithic and hegemonic. The purpose of this profile was to provide the country with equal opportunities in most respects. «Enhetsskolen» was established as

early as 1920 - a development that mirrors the intertwined conception of local democracy and equality inherent in long Norwegian traditions, developed before the Labour movement came to power. The shift to a decentralising ideology of the 1960/70-ies was very much a response to the «legitimation crisis» and the need for a more participative practice concerning school-development. The return to a more centralised practice, the restaurative twist - was a counter-movement to meet the challenges of the post-modern theory in terms of softening identities, narcissism, borderline-psychosis and MTV. The fears of «loosing the grip» on the modern society, while the newly industrialised countries is competing for the economic hegemony in the world with their crude modernism, produced shock waves similar to those of the Sputnik-shock 30 years before. More control, more hegemony, more math and science echoes previous reactions to the Sputnik incident. But the increased efforts to keep children longer in school, increased offers for social-pedagogic measures reflects a furthered prophylactic attitude to upbringing. The conflicting tendencies of the school-pedagogy - the subjects vs. projects-controversy, illustrates the dialectic and ambiguity of school reforms, and it will be an open question whether children will learn more and experience a better school after the reforms.

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A Nordic rationale for learning about the international community

A «Nordic Self» sounds like a pretentious notion, but in many respects the commonalities and similarities between the Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, are significant and important, both politically, as well as culturally and socially. Such a «Nordic Self» has been portrayed by the Finnish historian: Matti Klinge. It arose at the turn of the 18-19th century. The core of this self is heterogeneous. On a very general cultural basis Klinge suggests that Nordic people caresses a sense of nature, of one self being in the periphery of the European continent, of being hard working farmers, fighting a cold climate and making an existence out of next-to-nothing. The non-urban, peripheral and poor livelihood are common to the identities of the Nordic countries. Along with this goes strong affinity to Lutheran protestantism (Klinge 1986:46, 50).

In the political sense Klinge suggests that although the political relations between the Nordic countries have shifted, the non-violent separation of the Union between Sweden and Norway was often understood as a final demonstration of the brotherhood between the Nordic countries. Norway inherited a state administration and legislation from Denmark, as did Finland from Sweden, consequently very similar principles of public administration and democratic institutions developed in the independent states of the 20th century. The cultural tradition of «Scandinavism» or «Nordism» was strong during the latter part of the 19th century and resulted in the development of political co-operation in several important areas in the 20th century. The content of the political development also centres around the concept of «the welfare state», with Sweden as the main force developing the model for the other countries. The parliamentarism, and early development of popular voting rights, combined with the political strength of the social democracy and lay Christian movements, accentuated a strong popular support for democratic traditions, to a particular sort of populism, or grass-root orientation that is fundamental to this «Self».

The foreign policy area was for a long period influenced by the Norwegian and Danish membership in the Nato and the particular relationship Finland had to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, on two occasions the Nordic nations issued plans to form a Nordic defense union: in 1939 and 1949. Both attempts were made difficult because of the influence of foreign powers. But in one area a similar understanding of a self developed: that of a small nation struggling for survival in the interest region of super powers. They were dependent of their independence. In this context the support for the UN-system since 1945 was understandable, a true over-national institution would be a guarantee for future peace and well-being of the smaller nations and oppose the monopoly of power exceeded by the super powers in their neighbourhoods, as well as in their struggle for world domination. In most cases the Nordic countries have similar interests in the global sphere: «For the most part, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden act jointly in the United Nations and in other international contexts. Of course they are not motivated by altruism alone; the small countries of the North are intensely aware of the importance of peace to their survival as independent, free, countries» (Klinge *ibid*, s. 55).

In the political orientation towards the Third World the Nordic case seems particularly interesting. In many respects Norden has been a strong supporter of de-colonization, of anti-imperialism and peace-building. The support for development aid and political backing of revolutionary and popular movements in the third world was very strong. Klinge explains: «What they have is bad conscience, brought on by the contrast between their own material good fortune and the terrible conditions under which the majority of humanity must live» (*Ibid*.p.60).

One way of alleviating this bad consciousness regarding the Third World has been the developing Aid donated through governmental aid agencies in the Nordic countries. In 1992 the Nordic Countries donated on average 0,96% of their gross national product, while the average in the DAC countries was 0,33. , Norway donated 1,16%, Denmark 1,02%, Sweden 1,03% and Finland 0,63%. The average for the European Union is below 0,5% (Eriksen 1994, p. 39). The commonalities of policies regarding this field is also significant. The Nordic countries has developed particular methodologies and profiles in their programmes. They have been free to do so because they have not had any former colonial relations. The policies of «No strings attached» as opposed to the policy of the EU, stresses the importance of aid on demand from serious governments and NGOs, often with a political condition attached to the benefit of women, children or the poorest - in brief - a social-democratic policy (The Nordic Way - social summit special). One particular feature is the common belief in, and economic support for the UN-system. The Nordic countries count alone for about 25% of the financial support for UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and UNHCR (Tranberg 1995, p.37). A high percentage of the development aid is donated through the multilateral system, from about 1/3 to 1/4. The Nordic co-operation in this field, has developed a «division of labour» between the Nordic countries reaching a high degree of consensus on the importance of being poverty-oriented, of not tying aid to trade between donor and recipient , high degree of multilateral aid and commitment to uphold the 1% of GNP as a minimum as aid. The Nordic policy on development aid is also strongly co-ordinated and organised on both ministerial as well as bureaucratic levels (Heurlin 1995, Tranberg 1995). As a parallel the emphasis on a welfare strategy is fundamental for the policy in the area, as well as the focus on the recipient countries strong political involvement, on their support for popular development, democratisation, human rights and egalitarian values (Stokke 1991, p.52ff).

The Nordic Welfare Policy compared

The Nordic Welfare Model has been compared to the model of the EU. According to Ervik and Kuhnle (1996) it is characterised by being:

- more state-based
- high share of the labour force in the welfare and education sector
- high share of public employment in the welfare and employment sector
- a unified social security and welfare scheme
- a universal and citizenship based right to social security (independent of participation in the labour market)
- high loyalty from all social classes to the public welfare system
- a universal and distributive economic scheme
- service in kind rather than cash transfer
- a full employment policy
- high level of state legitimacy

These points illustrate a successful performance by a type of welfare state that has managed to fight hunger and poverty, and managed to integrate all social classes in the society, of ensuring social security for all, and develop a greater degree of equality of social status. The Nordic model refers to wider commonalities in terms of people's landownership, egalitarian distribution of income and support for the welfare state. Income distribution in Sweden was in 1980 calculated to 0,205 in Gini-coefficient, whereas the US had 0.326 and Germany 0.355 (0= no differences, 1=maximum difference) (Ball & Larsson 1989, p.5).

This is a result of a complicated and long development with broad support in the relative egalitarian values of the Nordic people as commented above: «A public responsibility for people's welfare is a deep-rooted idea in Scandinavia, and not something invented by the social democratic parties, as we sometimes are led to believe» (Ervik and Kuhnle 1996, p. 97). And it forms a general background for the understanding of the Nordic Way in the sector of schooling.

Norwegian populism: a case study

Jon Lauglo (1989) comments that the German influence on the Norwegian educational system is significant in terms of its original form and content. The union with Denmark and the Lutheran protestant religion underlined the cultural ties to Germany and many of the educational institutions established after the reformation have distinct commonalities in terms of content and design. The law issued by the Danish king in 1739 ordering the establishment of schools in Norway and Denmark in all villages and remote areas, sparked off a locally funded and gradually locally governed school in the two countries (Lauglo 1989, Markussen 1989). After the separation in 1814 the national reactions towards the classical «Bildung», was profoundly inspired by the German nationalism from Herder and transformed through Grundtvig to a particular, in Lauglo's word, populist development. By populism Lauglo refers to anti-elitist rural, democratic, utilitarian, and in some respects anti-intellectual. Essential in this development was:

- an early development of rights to vote
- the peasants were carriers of the national character, not the urban elites
- an early and strong tradition for local self-government in legal, church as well as school-affairs

At heart of this ideology is the right of the people to conduct it's own business, uninterfered by nobility, rich landowners or the church. A token of this is the often used prefix «folke» in Norway, as it is in Sweden and Denmark. Popular education movements arised through the temperance movement, lay christianity and the labour movement, and supported by a generation of prograssive and democratic priests, public officials and politicians. Organisations like «The Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, established in Sweden in 1833, formed a tradition of a s public striving to get education outside the formal system of latin schools, «borgerskole» or other formal alternatives with low capacity and little legitimacy according to demands from popular, and mainly rural, movements. In all three countries the «Folk High School» arose, and mushroomed in the decades after 1860 (Arvidson 1989, p.150). This tradition was built on the notion of «education of and through the people» as Ellen Key put it (ibid p.149). The rejection of academic and urban knowledge was crucial, and the emphasis of inspired and nationalistic training of a new rural elite was at the heart of this new type of schools. Many of the leading politicians were fostered in the alternative education established by the popular movements throughout the latter part of the 19th and the 20th century and this contributes to a quite different pattern of the national elite as compared to most other European countries.

The populism has had two profound effects on formal schooling in Norway: early rejection of Latin and Greek and similarly, the introduction of math and science, as well as modern languages in secondary education (from 1869 and onwards). Denmark embarked on the same trend in 1903 and Sweden not until 1927. But in an other respect the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian followed other radical protestant countries, the implementation of compulsory schooling: in 1814, 1827 and 1842, respectively. The rise of the comprehensive primary school system common in the Nordic states started in Norway in 1896, and was fulfilled in 1920, through an alliance of political forces from the liberals to the social-democrats. The content of the school was under strong local influence, although the local governments in fact were more prone to underline the national dimension than local peculiarities. Norwegian pupils also spent little time in schools. The education was more under local people's ownership, funded and established by the locals. Furthermore, teachers in Norway were important political and cultural figures with a highly independent position compared to their European

colleagues. And perhaps the most interesting: the new focus of the child as a creative and distinct creature in which there was hope for the future given the child got the right nurturing and support for development. «The Century of the Child» was the slogan introduced by the Swedish educator Ellen Key, and quickly adopted in teacher training and educational philosophy over the whole region.

The welfare school in the welfare state

The educational system of the Nordic nations is an important element in the welfare concept, and the long line of school reforms has been steered by the same political values as that of the welfare state. Val Rust describes school reforms as a type of public policy formation: «... and public policy formation is an outgrowth of the interaction of social mobilization, political mobilization, (..) democratization as well as political development» (1989, p.xiii). School reforms is inevitably linked to other political reforms. The evolution of the Nordic Welfare Model is a contrasting example of the types of developments that has occurred in the Nordic countries. The social policy, foreign policy and policies for the socio-cultural sector bears the same mark of a current development of social mobilization etc.as the school development.

Nordic co-operation

Since 1953 the Nordic political and economic co-operation was formalised in the «Nordisk Råd» and a secretariat was established «Nordisk Ministerråd (Nordic Council of Ministers)», in which certain co-operative measures have been taken in relation to exchanging experiences and organising research and development work. Already in 1953 more than 1000 projects was registered as collaborative projects within the educational area (Eide 1995, p.10). The Nordic countries have been involved in overnational collaboration within The League of Nations, UN, OECD and on a Nordic basis continuously, but according to Eide, the work done within Nordisk Ministerråd and Nordisk Råd has been the most important, mainly because the source this has been for exchange of experience on a personal level between leading political figures (ibid, p.11).

Alfred O.Telhaug and Rolf Tønnesen (1992) describe the Nordic Educational Model in the following manner: it is based on social-democratic and reform-pedagogical philosophy and mirrors the Nordic Welfare Model in many respects. Essential elements was the strong position schooling had in the public opinion from a very early point in history. The school has been well funded and followed closely in the public debate. The schools were small and the number of students pr. class was low. The teachers had strong unions, assuring a relatively high salary and respectable status position. The Nordic states were very engaged in its development and the steering was centralistic. The educational system was used as a political instrument to promote social justice via the comprehensive school and the egalitarian philosophy in the geographical, social and cultural respect, and very important since the 1960-ies, with respect to gender. The parallel school system was abandoned and replaced by a comprehensive school for pupils up to 16 years, in order to ensure a higher recruitment from the lower social strata to secondary and tertiary education. Streaming was left gradually during the 1970-ies, and a comprehensive programme for an including school was implemented in the same decade. Furthermore, the importance of developing av democratic society in miniature, including parents and students in the daily management of the class as well as the school was important in this period.

Telhaug and Tønnesen (ibid.) concludes that the Nordic school is social-democratic in its core, child-centred and student-centred in its pedagogy. Control and grading have been downplayed and co-operation, support and individual focus on each student's ability has become core values of the inner life of schools. However, Telhaug and Tønnesen (ibid.) find Denmark a little deviating from the pattern: corporal punishment was not abandoned until 1967, Latin was still a vital subject in the gymnasium until today, the comprehensive model was not firmly established until 1975, and they still stick to streaming in the core subjects in lower secondary school. They also have a much higher percentage of private schooling, and a far more decentralised steering tradition with a firm belief in the «bottom-up» development, compared to the typical «top-down» management of Sweden and Norway. The parents and teachers have a stronger influence in Denmark and the local curriculum development is given strong support. The features of Denmark in these matters, Telhaug and Tønnesen ascribe to the weaker position of the Social Democratic Party in the political-administrative tradition of Denmark, compared to those of Sweden and Norway. Denmark is more continental and more conservative/liberal in its foundation.

Sweden was, partly due to their neutrality during the WWII and a higher degree of industrialisation, the spearhead in this development. Their educational policies were closely developed along with the formation of the welfare state from the 1930-ies and onward. Ball and Larsson writes:

Swedish educational policy has been centrally concerned with the plights of underprivileged and socially disadvantaged groups in society. That is, students from working class homes, adults who have not had the same schooling opportunities as their children, women, the physically handicapped and immigrants and ethnic minority groups. The provision of education is regarded not only as a moral obligation but a social and economic necessity (1989 p.7)

The statements is equally valid for the development in the other Nordic countries in the reform period after WWII . There has been differences between the Nordic countries, but an analysis of the educational policies and the educational histories of these three countries, reveals that the same type of problems is given great attention, and solved in similar ways. A democratic school, compulsory and comprehensive (6)/7 to 16 years with a minimum of streaming, and vast input of special education remedies, a low ratio between teachers and students, lowest in the first years, is common for the Nordic model.

In terms of educational content this development also has consequences for the political and moral orientation, particularly regarding the geo-political outlook and perspectives, first and foremost in subjects like history, geography and social studies, and more generally in the outlook of the citizenship education. The emphasis on welfare and distribution of income, social security and public caring sought its educational expressions in many ways. Tomas Englund states that:

«The educational conception which is dominant at any given time can be said to constitute the outer framework defining what is educationally possible in ideological terms. Each conception defines the discourse of citizenship education.» (Englund 1989, p. 37).

The conceptions he has developed for the Swedish case are: the patriarchal (late 19th century to 1927), the scientific rational (WWII to 1962) and the democratic (1962-1989). The latter conception emphasize critical thinking, on constructivist, multidisciplinary learning to promote active and participating democrats, through citizenship education. It is in this latter period the terms of internationalised education has developed and matured in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian schools. Given the overall welfare state conception as a background for the evolution of the Nordic schoolmodel, and given the Nordic school model as a background for the «ideological possible in educational terms», one would expect a common understanding and interpretation of the «internationalisation» of the school. We shall look into this in the following section by analysing the perspective on the international society in textbooks, sullabies and curricularas.

A closer look at internationalism in the Danish school system

Knud Hauberg Tychsen (1994) has presented a historical overview on how the Danish "Folkeskole" has presented its view of the geographical and political world. For the first time the Danish law reform for the Folkeskolen in 1993 included a sentence about the international outlook in stating: «(The school shall) make the students confident with the Danish culture and contribute to their understanding of other cultures». However, more important has been the level of international orientation in the curriculum guidelines for the school.

The Danish schooltradition was, according to Tychsen not nationalistic from its beginning. In general there was no consciousness about national identities, nor about international systems consisting of sovereign, independent nations in the early 18th century (ibid. p. 8). Only after 1740 an ideology of Danishness arose, and ripened around 1814 with the issuing of the school law. The hostility towards landowners of German origin sparked off a debate whether the school should encourage or diminish patriotism. A local curriculum issued by C.D.Reventlow in 1789, decided that history should be taught so that the students learnt that all men are brothers (ibid. p.10), presumably the first overnational curriculum guideline in Denmark.

The 19th century, however, introduced a militant nationalism, for which Fichtes nationalism in poetry and philosophy, was a very influential source. With the rise of Grundtvigianism, the particular Nordic nationalism developed from 1840 onwards, as described above. Also the Scandinavism developed, which has survived into present days Nordism. Under the strong influence of Grundtvig the national history was levered up to the highest status among the school subjects. The multicultural,

cosmopolitical identity was under attack. It was not until late in the 19th century that criticism of the chauvinism and nationalism came to the fore, as a part of the emerging peace movement (ibid. p.16). Well out in the mid-war-period the Danish Peace Organisation formed a branch for teachers, which succeeded in its claim to make education about the «League of Nations» a compulsory topic in both Folkeskole as well as Gymnasium. The intervention of the social-democratic movement urged the Ministry to investigate all textbooks according to «their scientific, cultural historic and peace-promoting spirit» in 1930. The schoolbook commission criticised the textbooks thoroughly and suggested a number of changes in order to promote «world citizenship and peace» in its report from 1933. However, the Nazi take over in Germany and then the occupation set back all such discussions until after the war.

An important development in these matters after WWII was initiated by the UNESCO-commission in 1952. In the reform leading up to the new Danish law in 1958, a number of measures were taken to strengthen the international perspective with the ambition to: «promote the sense in children for international understanding and international co-operation (mellemfolkelig samarbejde)» ibid. s. 29. The initiative is further concretised in the curriculum guidelines produced by the ministry to implement the law. In the period after 1964 Denmark participated in the ASPRO-project and a number of projects were initiated and reported, mainly in the field of human rights, racism, peace and war, development aid, global organisations and case-studies about certain elected developing nations. In the revision of the 1958-law conducted through the 1970-ies several attempts were made to implement the international dimension into several subjects, but with modest success. A circular from the Ministry in 1975 stated there was a need to implement «intercultural elements» in subjects like music and arts, and that geography and biology should enable students to take a stand towards local and global environmental problems, and the subject «current studies» should aim at «giving students knowledge of some significant local, national and global problems» (ibid. s, 41). During the revision of the law of 1978 the Socialist Peoples Party suggested a compulsory topic: «Peace education and International understanding». In the final version in 1993 the struggle between the political parties was significant on this issue, and the change of government to Social Democrats made the inclusion of «confident with the Danish culture and contribute to their understanding of other cultures» possible.

Hauberg-Tychsen suggests there was an amalgamation of three types of positive arguments to support this inclusion: first the support for the idea of brotherhood and need for mutual understanding in a conflicting world, second, the support from subject matters; the possibility to strengthen second, and third language education, and, thirdly, the utility arguments: the need to avoid conflicts between immigrants and natives, as well as the need to be more competitive - and co-operative within the EU. However, on the ministerial level it seems evident that the support from both UNESCO and the European Council, as well as the EU, to internationalise the curriculum, has had impact on the will to implement international elements in the various syllabi.

Studies conducted both in Denmark and Sweden point at the sensitivity that the public school system has had towards the UN-system, as well as the NGO's involved with development aid, mission, political solidarity. Pauli Jensen (1996) claims that the NGO' organised under «Mellemfolkelig Samvirke» is the stronghold for efficient peace and international studies, by supplying the school market with teaching material for this purpose. Olson (1996) underlines that the Swedish NGO's along with SIDA and the UN-association has been persistent in their effort to supply the group of idealistic teachers who have had the will to internationalise their teaching, since the late 1950-ies.

Conflicting lines of internationalism

Recent debates about peace education, as well as development education and environmental education have all been rather low-keyed and uncontroversial, it seems. When peace education was made a compulsory subjects in the Norwegian upper secondary school, academic branch, in the mid-80-ies, the syllabus committee had to give rather substantial concessions to the military as well as politically conservative forces in outlining the NATO as a vanguard for peace, and underlining the need to be on par in the arms race with the Warsaw-powers. After the Brundtland-commission report, all Nordic countries have invested large sums of money in curriculum development, teacher in-service training and implementation of environmental issues in the curriculum. Environmental education has come to the fore as the most important emerging issue in the new national curriculum of 1993 in Norway. Topics such as development issues, poverty, armament or global inequalities was downplayed in relation to the previous version (Nordkvelle 1993).

However both Swedish, Danish and Norwegian school authorities have issued action plans for the internationalisation of the curriculum. Sweden was a forerunner in this respect. In 1988 the Swedish Board of Education issued an «Action plan for the internationalisation of the school». The publication caused a heavy debate in Sweden, in newspapers as well in the educational press. The strong viewpoints were mainly provoked because the plan de-emphasized the conflicts between solidarity and participation in the world trade. But it also underlined peace education as well as the need to promote critical thinking. Critics, such as Goldmann (1989), accused the plan for promoting indoctrination for romantic ideologies of world peace and spreading naive conceptions of how international conflicts were dealt with in real life. He maintains that true internationalisation demands firm and adequate knowledge about how the international society actually regulates and solves problems. Stenberg (1991) has contributed with a fundamental critique of Goldmann from a discourse-ethical standpoint. He claims that adjusting the learner to accept the international order is equivalent to passify them and colonising their mind to non-ethical standards. The critical dimension of the plan implies imbuing the students with attitudes to create peace and justice in the world, beyond the status quo. The need for peace education and critical thinking breaks the limits of the conventional thinking and furthers the utopia of a quest for peace built on a discursive praxis seeking for the better argument.

The Norwegian version, which appeared first in 1990 was a much smaller and less pretentious document, dealing with rather practical and less principal dimensions of the internationalisation process. The plan outlined the following goals:

- Norwegian economic interests vis-a-vis foreign countries
- the need for a sustainable development
- the need for more equal distribution of wealth
- peace and human rights
- development of national competency
- the needs and desires of the adolescents (my translation)

The contradictions between what is Norwegian commercial interests and the fair trade is not dealt with. Internationalisation is mostly dealt with in a European sense, and practical projects carried out after the plan was also mainly eurocentric in scope and orientation. Participation in the various EU-projects as Leonardo and Socrates increased the practical interaction with European counterparts. The politically controversial questions dealing with the relation between the poor and rich countries was not discussed in any practical context.

However, in a government white paper of 1991, the contradiction mentioned above was dealt with in the following manner:

International co-operation is inevitable as a tool to solve the fundamental problems affecting the whole of man kind. National self-interest to increase one's own wealth is about to be challenged by a global ecological crisis, subsequently narrow national interests in the economic competition must be subordinated comprehensive international solutions. The threat from a ticking poverty-bomb in the 3.world will possibly demand new rules for international trade more suited to serve solidarity and reciprocity than national peculiarities and international compatibility. (my translation) (p.20)

But this is also as close as the document gets, and implications of the dilemma is not commented in any practical context for the school. When the new national curriculum was presented in 1993 the same tendency was there: a majority of concerns and goals deals with international environmental problems, and the curricula for the diverse subjects in upper secondary school presented in 1994 was strongly biased in favour of environmental problems, leaving other dimensions out (ibid Nordkvelle 1993).

The second version of the Ministry's «Guide for internationalisation» investigates the environmentalist/internationalist-dilemma, as well as the international competition/solidarity-dilemma, much closer. However, the concern and interest for EU-collaboration, of International Baccalaureats and cultural competence for the improving of export and productivity, has gained far more practical significance. The Swedish guidelines for internationalisation underline the fundamental importance of the international agreements Sweden has underwritten in the UN: about childrens rights, international understanding as well as the human rights declaration and declaration concerning education on

environmental issues. This dimension was totally left out in the revision of the Norwegian curriculum of 1993, as the hearing comment from the Norwegian UN-association pointed out (Brochmann 1996).

The Danish Minister of Education gave a report to the Danish Folketing in 1996/97 on the basis of a previous debate in the Folketing (*Strategier for udvikling af den internationale dimension i uddannelserne* 1997). The minister underlines the need to base the internationalisation process on firm Danish cultural ground. Without the national foundation, the international dimension will become an artificial element; a contribution to the loss of roots. The report deals with internationalisation as a purely cognitive topic, and mainly concerning a European perspective, but some students in vocational education will be offered training to work in the third world. The overwhelming impression of a European focus is paradoxical to the fact that the Danish government omission to respond to the 1988 E.C. Resolution on the European Dimension in Education (Jones 1996). The report concludes:

If the global challenge is met in the adequate manner, and if the international dimension is combined with the particularly Danish, we will have a great opportunity to promote the Danish world view. As you know, it is in the meeting with the unfamiliar, the Danish identity, the Danish cultural values and social peculiarities is brought to the fore. And in this the most important point of departures for a true international dimension in the Danish educational system. (*Strategier for udvikling af den internationale dimension i uddannelserne* 1997).

This statement is typical of the dimension Bereket Yebio (1992) draws up for the dicotomy of internationalised education: the conflict between a cognitive and an affective dimension and the motives for internationalisation from altruism vs. egoism. Up until the late 1960-ies internationalised education mainly dealt with the affective dimension; the underlying idea was to establish empathy and will to act in a solidaric manner in order to create peace and co-operation. From then on a stronger emphasis has been put on a cognitive orientation and egoistic motivation, and the Swedish plan for internationalisation of 1988, simply states that there is no conflict between a solidaric and altruistic and commercially motivated internationalisation (SØ 1988, p.39, after Yebio 1992, p.23).

Internationalisation and implementation

Sweden, Denmark and Norway all have included statements about the international education at their legal level, but with varying interpretations. Similarly the national curricula expands and contextualises the content of the term in various subjects. The discourse about internationalisation is also furthered in white papers, public discussions, educational research etc. The term is an object of intense interpretation and negotiation in the teacher corps, by administrators, textbook authors etc. as to what content to select (Sjöström 1996).

Nordkvelle and Fauske (1999, forthcoming) suggest two main interpretations of the wording of the core term «International co-responsibility» of the Norwegian law for upper secondary school:

a) The Reformist interpretation: "international co-responsibility" is interpreted as beneficial for participation in an international society organised on premises of the ruling economic system, where worker's and employee's qualifications are to be perfected for competition in the capitalist economy, but where the ideological qualifications are to involve an acceptance of limited economic redistributions from North to South in the form of development aid. The internationalising process in such a way of thinking involves an adjustment of the productive qualifications to meet competition within the EU and to a swiftly changing international technology and economy. "Co-responsibility" becomes a purely attitudinal qualification where the student is to be in position to feel sympathy for, and support people of another skin, religion and persuasion, and support the Third World economically.

b) The Radical interpretation: is that "international co-responsibility" demands a reorganisation of the means of production with the intention of reducing energy consumption globally to a level where no person has a prior right to more wealth and consumption than another. In this view the students have to develop qualifications to compete in a solidarity manner in order to utilise resources more effectively and frugally on a global scale, not for economic profit and accumulation in an economy dominated by the West, and with the poor world as an object for exploitation. Productive and attitudinal qualifications are sown together in an integrated understanding of meaning with production and social life on a global scale.

We suggest these are two polar understandings of «internationalisation» active in the Nordic society, and that they mirror both the sentiment of the welfare state in concern for the Third World, and for the

disadvantaged and oppressed outside and inside the national borders, as well as those of the capitalist economic system. The values inherent in the welfare state model, and its educational system promotes a type of internationalism that underlines responsibility, participation and commitment to solve the social, economical and ecological problems on the earth. This results in a support for international education through legislation, making of curricula and textbooks, teacher training and so on. However, the open economy of the Nordic states, and the eager and continued acceptance of the capitalist system makes them vulnerable to the international economy, produces two competing understandings of the term «internationalisation». The «egoist» and «altruist» motivation is deemed to exist as parallel backgrounds, and that the present outlook on the international society is a compromise between the two tendencies.

The commercial, cognitive and egoist interpretation has gained impetus during the last two decades (Yebio 1992, Nordkvelle 1993) in relation to the affective, solidaric and altruist dimension. This development reflects probably the current challenges to the Nordic welfare state. Ervik and Kuhnle describe these threats as: the taxation level has reached a fragile limit of public support for the taxation system, the welfare of ordinary people tends to make them forget their troubled past and make them more concerned for their personal wealth. The increased interest for personal social security schemes in addition to the public might affect the funding of the public system in the long run. Further, the limits of growth of the public sector has been reached: fewer and fewer people produce more and more to uphold the welfare system. A new interest in the personal responsibility of the member of the welfare state is evident. Last, the international economy challenges national economic policies to an even higher degree year by year, and the EU demands new adjustments to become more competitive on the international arena (Ervik & Kuhnle 1996).

This might lead to the closing down of the Nordic welfare model in favour of a «Bismarckian». This model is best described as an «.. organizationally fragmented welfare state with earnings related welfare schemes closely linked to employment and status on the labour market and schemes based on own premiums rather than tax financing.» (Ibid p. 103). This model gains importance within the EU, according to Ervik and Kuhnle (1996), and they foresee a development where the Nordic welfare model will have problems to survive intact. «The internal dynamics for change in a «European» direction is strong and the development towards «Europeanization» of the economy corroborates this view» (ibid.p.105).

Our expectation is that the threats to the Nordic welfare model also is a threat to the Nordic school model. The developments in the last decade shows that the Nordic school model also has changed and become more «European», and has embarked on the voyage of «restauration» of the conservative and liberal values, in contrast to the social-democratic (Telhaug 1992, p. 217). The increased focus on internationalisation as a tool for commercial compatibility echoes this development.

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Seeking theories of global education

Introduction

After the initial work by the League of Nations, and since 1948 - UNESCO, a number of initiatives has been taken to create foundations for international understanding, peace and cultural pluralism. The strongest impetus has probably come from UNESCO itself, in interplay with various organisations, governmental as well as non-governmental in various countries around the world (Starkey 1992, 1994). The UN-family has created a discourse about norms and standards for the understanding of a

global self, and accordingly how national educational authorities should promote international understanding, peace, women's rights, protection of the environment etc. In the era of Globalisation new agents for internationalisation of the school and education enters the stage and alters the agenda for the development of the theory and practice of «Global Education» (GE).

Globalisation and internationalisation

One of the most widely read theorists of the field, Malcolm Waters (1995), defines globalisation as «A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding» (p.3), reserving the term for cultural and symbolic interaction on a global scale. But globalisation is described in many ways; politically, economically, culturally as well as philosophically (Guzman 1998, McGinn 1997, Stewart 1996), and education as a field of research is dependent on insights from all these areas. To study the globality or universality of a single country's curriculum or structure requires insights from the curriculum history, general education history, political science, as well as didactics. One perspective is to study the world system in education and the processes behind the merging patterns of schooling in all countries, both in curricula, structure, educational foundations and educational theories put forward in teacher training, research agendas etc. (Adick 1992). Countries borrow policies from each other, often spread via multinational aid agencies or organisations for economic co-operation (EU, OECD).

My perspective in this paper is to bring forward ideas about how curricula, textbooks, as well as educational theories have developed global perspectives and enables schools and teachers to teach about the global condition, as well as what students learn about the world. Internationalisation is used as synonym with intended efforts by persons, organisations and nations to open up relations between nations to promote friendship, wealth, health, personal and social growth on a broad basis. Globalization is, however, a much wider process. First, it also includes the term «transnationalization», meaning military, business and commerce as private initiatives to downplay the significance of national borders. This includes a number of unintended effects, which might weaken the positive effects of the intended internationalisation. One of the serious examples are how the World Bank policies for LDC has weakened the national states' abilities to establish welfare institutions necessary to gain social, political and institutional development. Globalisation undermines the sovereignty of the nation state, as well as increases the possibility to influence global development through participation in supra-national regulations and organisations (Bislev 1998). This is a conflict that affects curriculum development seriously, nationally and globally. Industrialised countries tend to invest even more in education to prepare its workforce into the use of increasingly sophisticated technology (Carnoy 1994).

While internationalisation of the curriculum to a large extent has been based on, internationalism as value, the globalisation of the curriculum has a much wider scope, incorporating international competition in the area of trade, commerce, warfare.

Global education in the curriculum

What signifies global education? Several definitions have been suggested for wider or narrower conceptions of the idea. In the UK and USA terms like "world studies", "peace education" and "development education" have been used along with "global education". Topics and subject areas like women's studies, multicultural education, human rights education, environmental education, health education as well as programmes for self-assertiveness training and co-operative learning, are often included as members of a group of similar curriculum elements. Pike & Selby offers this description: «...children at school find themselves in a paradoxical situation: inextricably bound up in a web of global connections, yet receiving an education which all too often fails to acknowledge this fact. They are buffeted daily by news of personal, national and global crisis, yet rarely encouraged to develop the skills and understanding necessary to seek out solutions; bombarded by the multifarious impact of new technology, yet not equipped with the skills and attitudes to cope with the rapid change it will inevitably precipitate.

Global education is an attempt to resolve this paradox, to help students attain a profounder understanding of the world of which they are a part (p.41)».

Noel McGinn offers this definition:

«...the shift is seen in movement away from curricula that emphasize learning what we know to learning how to know, from the teacher as source of knowledge to the teacher as facilitator of learning,

from research as discovery to research as invention. We now seek an education to construct the culture of the future, rather than to reproduce that of the past. Unlike the old culture, which fosters division by ignoring others, the new culture would be built of the elements of many» (p.6)

To some extent there has been a rivalry between groups and their definitions, Possibly because their sponsors and supporters stems from different organisations with differing opinions of where the centre should be. The dominant definitions of German counterparts are terms like "Entwicklungspädagogik" and "interkulturelles lernen". Many teachers, organisations and interested parties have started to use the term "Eine Welt", to demonstrate a will to embrace the whole field with a term opposite to "Dritte Welt", which now often is seen as derogative. "Friedens-unterricht" and "Frauenfragen" in education are also often linked to these issues. "Globales lernen" is also a term gaining significance (Noisser, Scheunpflug & Schmitz 1995 p. 19, Scheunpflug 1996).

Unter Globalem Lernen versteht (...) die Vermittlung einer Globalen Perspektive und die Hinführung zum persönlichen Urteilen und Handeln in globaler Perspektive auf allen Stufen der Bildungsarbeit. Die Fähigkeit, Sachlagen und Probleme in einem weltweiten und ganzheitlichen Zusammenhang zu sehen, bezieht sich nicht auf einzelne Themenbereiche. Sie ist vielmehr eine Perspektive des Denkens, Urteilens, Fühlens und Handelns, eine Beschreibung wichtiger sozialer Fähigkeiten für die Zukunft. (Noisser, Scheunpflug & Schmitz 1995, p.103).

In the US the term global education and World Studies are equally much used and their meanings seem to be closely related. However, environmental education, gender studies and other conceptions seem to be as closely related to the term as in European countries (Hassard 1997). The main proponents of the subject area would probably resist the idea of GE being a subject in a traditional manner. However, for analytical purposes I will try to apply a curriculum-history perspective to understand the field further.

Towards an understanding of the history of GE as a subject area.

McGinn points at a very long history of curricula trying to create a world image (op.cit. 1997, p.42). Stagl writes in his remarkable book «The history of curiosity» (1995) how descriptions from travels in Europe originated as a more formal set of genre from Venetian diplomats, and via the didactical influence of Petrus Ramus, created an elaborated genre of literature, prescribing for travellers how to act, how to collect information and how to write of one's experience. The academic subjects of geography, sociology and ethnography developed indirectly on the grounds of the didactical thinking of Ramus, subjects that a later stage become models for school textbooks, teacher training and teaching in classrooms. The early discoverers were rooted in a deep Eurocentrism, which still prevails in most Western science from philosophy to applied areas, and their narratives were made more sophisticated and in many instances used to promote racism and imperialism (Banks 1995, Nordkvelle 1998a).

Goodson (1988) claims that school subjects, generally, develop historically through certain stages: 1) Invention, 2) Promotion, 3) Legislation and 4) Mythologization (pp.193-194) This scheme of evolutions are first and foremost resulting from the historical analysis of how core subjects were constructed in the USA and UK. The field in question is hardly a subject in a traditional sense of schooling. However, certain content areas of subjects, of geography, history, sociology and political science, as well as language, religious instruction are discernable in most national contexts. Varying with national curriculum designs, the content of the field has mainly been taught in history, social studies and geography. But foremost it is a perspective of epistemological and ontological character, with no subject limitations. A clearly admitted weakness of GE is that subject boundaries has limited its attitudinal influences outside social studies. UNESCO has taken several initiatives to extend the influence of GE to vocational education, and research undertaken in Germany and Norway underlines the necessity for improved efforts in this field (Sjøstrøm 1996, Scheunpflug & Toepfer 1996, Nordkvelle 1987, 1991ab, Nordkvelle & Fauske in press).

An analysis of GE in various contexts are most likely to reveal an area which has passed its phase of invention. Typical of this phase is that single teachers or groups respond to "new climates of opinion", or challenges from students to increase realism and authenticity. Their arguments concern the utility of the new area of study or its pedagogical benefits. Their efforts are usually supported by inventions in the outside world, but only few of these new ideas receive necessary support internally and externally for a periode long enough to survive into the next phase. The most important external support would

be the one coming from industrial and commercial interests (p.191). Moving from the invention to promotion demands that " .. persons become interested in the new idea, not only as intellectual content but also as a means of establishing a new intellectual identity and particularly a new occupational role". The next indicator of success is legislation, having the subject accepted widely, and fundamentally supported externally, so that the subject becomes institutionalised with corresponding teacher education, academic research in universities. "Legislation is associated with the development and maintenance of those discourses or legitimating rhetorics which provide automatic support for correctly labelled activity" (ibid. 194).

GE has in several countries reached positions that could indicate it is on its way to consolidation within a coalition of representatives of the various areas: teachers, teachers associations, professionals, teacher educators and academic university research, and initial debates about the nature and content of the field generates specialized professional groups, like "Development education centres" in the UK, or "Teachers for Peace" on a European level. The "subject community" contains a heterogenous group of conflicting groups, segments and factions – subject sub-groups (ibid. P.190).

Reaching the final stage would, firstly, demand a firm quest for an academic research discipline able to claim substantial resources and status. The second element would be to create subject organisation that is able to unify sub-groups and form a dominant coalition, that also can support the academic subject as a scholarly discipline (ibid. 191). An example of a succesful subject in this respect is environmental education (Ganderton 1996, p.397 ff). Most of these preconditions seem to exist for the formation of a subject in many countries. Being an initially multi-disciplinary subject arena, most of the academic topics seem to be well established: environmental, development, women's studies etc. are established in most Western countries, and some of them also issues doctorates, and Masters degrees in GE. International Institute for Global Education (IIGE) (<http://www.oise.on.ca/Bulletin/research.html>) (28.6.98) at OISE, University of Toronto, or South Bank University in UK. In Norway the study called "Global thinking" was formed in 1993 and students interested can take a broad MA in international studies at Oslo College. The establishment of a coalition of subject entrepreneurs, a subject community, is on it's way in many areas, publishing textbooks, and research articles (Nordkvelle 1994ab). Several countries are about to establish vital organisations for professional teachers who interact with more or less defined researchers in the field. The support groups vary from government to non-governmental organisations. The level of legislation is also significant. Both UN-organisations and regional organisations like the Council of Europe, and the EU, have accepted and adopted policy-documents regulating and promoting member countries participation for teaching of such issues (Ritchie 1997, p.291.ff). The supra-national level of organisations requires governments to implement these policies.

The implementation of legislation does, however, vary. Various countries following their curricular traditions impose regulations differently. In countries with a centralistic curriculum tradition strong legislation (e.g. supported in the law, in core curriculas or by central curriculum development projects, regulations for textbook approvals etc.) has been rather influential, and countries with a decentralised tradition seem to have a more diffuse situation in the field, depending of specific balances between federal vs. statewise initiatives.

The formation of the subject is an essential phase to understand a subject on it's way to what Goodson calls "Mythologization" (op.cit. 194). This means that the subject is guarded by groups having achieved a monopoly of interpretations, or a patent for the practice, understanding and research in the field, with full support from legislation and establishment. Canons are developed and conflicts threatening to undermine the rhetoric and hegemony of this group is suppressed. However, the critical question could be raised: Can GE survive or develop further without the support from a wider political and educational alliance to promote its initial aims, or is there a need to seek broader alliances to become really accepted? Is the support from industry and commerce a precondition for further acceptance? (Goodson 1988, p.191).

Global education towards mythologization?

The political accept implicit in the adoption of supra-national policies means that the establishment embraces the policies on a particular level. The implementation into curriculum, teacher education, textbooks and school improvement projects is, however a different level. The interaction with the

subject community, the interest groups, and academic researchers is important for taking the legislative texts further and translate to a curriculum level, to textbooks, etc.

The discourses about GE in policy adoption, curriculum making etc. displays prevailing conflicting views about the purpose and content of the subject area. Likewise, a critical analysis of the present curriculum, textbooks and teaching will reveal the conflicts in the field of GE in itself. One monumental study in the field compares the development of Sweden and Australia by the mid 1970-ies. Burns (1979) identified different patterns in the development of the field in the two countries due to different political philosophies, bureaucratic traditions, but also fundamental beliefs. She points out the necessity of analysing agents and agencies in the interplay with governmental and non-governmental organisations. Hicks (1988) suggest for instance a close relationship between anti-war movement, peace research and interested teachers being essential for the case of UK. A research project in Germany on the history of «entwicklungspädagogik» has a similar focus (Scheunpflug 1995). A report about the history development education in Germany points equally at the close relations between interested persons, teachers, spiritual leaders, operating in organisations concerned with justice and peace, and gaining support from, first of all, social democratic political governments (Hager & Niemann 1994). Starkey underlines also the interplay between, initially Christian organisations, and gradually merging with other evolving movements (1994) for the case of England, but also Sweden and France.

Conflicts in support groups, academic life as well as in teacher corps is only natural in this field being as highly political and sensitive as it is. Peace research has since WWII been accused of being too narrowly leftist to gain any substantial political support (Gleditsch 1986) and women's studies are equally controversial in this field (Brock-Utne 1987). Both peace education and world studies was under heavy attack in the mid-eighties in the UK (Pike&Selby 1986). More recently the criticism against afrocentric curricula and multicultural education, the suggestions to reinstate a western cultural literacy canon in the US, is equally indicative of an academic life which is not as stable nor supportive for GE as in an ideal situation (Banks 1995). In fact many of the core academic subjects like sociology, political science, history, geography and anthropology are undergoing dramatic changes due to criticism from post-colonialist, feminist, anti-racist theory (Brock-Utne 1996, Dias 1988, Serequeberhan 1996, Dussel 1993). Development studies itself is accused of carrying many biases of Western modernist science (Gitonga 1994, Brohman 1995). The history of GE in national contexts might therefore be worthwhile studying for the purpose of understanding and reflect on conflicts inherent in the subject. GE, in its present state, is under attack from a post-colonialist perspective, claiming GE is based on Western science, and therefore carries hidden agendas and a fundamental eurocentrism, as well as from a conservative perspective.

The story behind these coalitions is about the carriers of a type of internationalism as a core value based in various belief systems such as utopian socialism, christian humanism, liberal thinking about political participation, equality and democracy. Moving in to a theoretical analysis of the internationalism engaged in schooling, the influences of Marx and Lenin in their depiction of imperialism, the pacifism-movement and feminism of Suttner and de Bouvoir, and Gandhi, dependency-theory of Amin, Frank and Galtung, existensialism and marxism via Sartre and Fanon, liberation theology and post-colonialism. As for educational theory, the deceased Paolo Freire, had a significant impact on educational thinking. However, American pragmatism is also visible in its support for participatory learning, emphasis on critical thinking skills, problemsolving, all hallmarks of the philosophy of progressivism and of John Dewey in particular. The conservative criticism has, however, a strong support of the political establishment, namely western governments who always will protect own interests. The example of the Nordic countries can serve as an example (Nordkvelle 1997).

A structural/structuralist view: Internationalism vs. Globalisation

Internationalism as a humanistic value is downplayed in recent curriculum policies of the Nordic countries for the benefit of internationalism for competitiveness. Internationalism becomes a term understood as a compromise for left and right, commercial and humanist interests. The ruling classes, depending on their economical and cultural power to stay in power, takes over the term and redefines it's significance. Internationalism understood as resistance and struggle for equity and dignity is fought back out into the margins, at the danger of leaving the stage to vulgar interpretations of internationalism (Nordkvelle 1997). A structuralist view along this line is clearly supported when comparing with the shifting policies in refugee-questions, immigration and multiculturalism. The closing

of borders, repatriation-programmes and cut-backs in mother tongue instruction are motivated by nationalistic attitudes and xenophobia.

This implies that other interested parties than the traditional internationalists have entered the stage. Politically conservative forces are now promoting international understanding to face the globalisation process. My hypothesis is that a closer look into the history and sociology of «Global education» as a subject will display that internationalism has been a spearhead of the development, but that it is in a process of becoming colonised by the proponents of globalisation. McGinn speaks on the contradiction between «cultural awareness» and «global competitiveness» (1997, p.43). Bereket Yebio speaks of the dicotomy of internationalised education: the conflict between a cognitive and an affective dimension and the motives for internationalisation from altruism vs. egoism. Up until the late 1960-ies internationalised education mainly dealt with the affective dimension; the underlying idea was to establish empathy and will to act in a solidaric manner in order to create peace and co-operation. From then a stronger emphasis has been put on a cognitive orientation and egoistic motivation, and the Swedish plan for internationalisation of 1988, simply states that there is no conflict between a solidaric and altruistic and commercially motivated internationalisation (SØ 1988, p.39, after Yebio 1992, p.23).

Internationalism in the educational system is, according to a structuralist view, formed within a political compromise, in which the capitalist economy dictates the need for social reproduction to a work force strongly integrated into a global economy, and with little room for supporting idealism. Internationalisation under this compromise is similar to a production of qualifications for the work force competing in a global market. This implies stronger emphasis on foreign language learning, also in vocational training, vast exchange programs, mainly through EU-projects like SOCRATES, ERASMUS, COMENIUS. Learning about other people's culture, traditions and social arrangements is motivated in national curricula by getting a comparative advantage in economic terms for the nation. Competence for the international community is competence for competitiveness.

Conclusion

Global education is a term that gains significance in national educational policies as well as in the development of educational theory supporting it. Using the terminology of Goodson (1988), evidence supports the idea that GE is about to be in a phase of legitimisation in many national contexts. What lies ahead is the way to mythologization. However, a single basic concept for the development of firm educational theory in a co-ordinated international understanding is unlikely to develop in the near future. Firstly, the spearhead of internationalisation has been a politically fragile group depending on governmental support for succesful implementation of GE-policies. Secondly, the heterogeneity of the field, demands much effort to establish a core of theoretical beliefs and empirical research, a process that has barely begun. Thirdly, the globalisation process allows new agents promoting a totally differently motivated set of arguments. Their view of international understanding is for the case of increased transnationalisation, of trade, commerce and media. My prediction is that these forces have much stronger political support than what the «internationalists» ever had and will force political compromises onto the formation of «Global Education» as a school subject-area.

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