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Choosing and using texts in English

A study of continuity and change in EFL teachers' reasoning about their text practices

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Anja Synnøve Bakken
Trondheim, 1 December 2017

Summary

This dissertation is based on a study exploring Norwegian English teachers' reasoning about their text practices; their choice and use of texts in the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL). The empirical material for the present study includes interviews with 18 lower secondary English teachers and 11 syllabi for English in Norwegian curricula from 1939 to the present. These syllabi enable a juxtaposition of past understandings concerning EFL text practices with present-day English teachers' understandings.

The main research questions of the present study are as follows:

- *What characterises present-day English teachers' notions of text choice and text use?*
- *How do these notions compare with those expressed in current and earlier syllabi for English?*
- *How do the teachers' discursive practices help maintain or change notions of text choice and text use?*

An important aim of the present study is to explore how teachers engage with surrounding discourses and to investigate the nature of these discourses. I apply a critical-historical approach to the interpretation of the empirical material drawing on central perspectives from Norman Fairclough' critical discourse analysis (CDA). One such perspective is that a text – such as the teacher interview – is brought into dialogue with the "'outside' of a text" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17) through discursive practices. In the context of this study, discursive practices may involve teacher colleagues at a school or a wider entity of teachers or scholars in the field. These discursive practices regulate what can be said about EFL text practices and how to talk about them. In addition, discursive practices bring the teachers' reasoning into dialogue with the overall educational discourses. As this dissertation illustrates, certain "enduring concerns" (Lankshear & McLaren, 1993, p. 3) relating to matters of social inclusion and democracy are passed down through generations of Norwegian curriculum making and reflected in syllabi for English. Thus, in addition to exploring the immediate discourses conditioning their reflections, the present study places the teachers' reasoning against the broader canvas of continuity and change in Norwegian educational discourses.

Several factors are likely to affect the teachers' reasoning such as their educational backgrounds, the imminently present classroom pressures, their collegial exchange, curricular demands as well as educational or political ideology. The present study focuses on how the teachers negotiate their EFL text practices in the context of the immediate and more distanced discourses and how they, through their participation in discursive practices, contribute to maintaining or changing established understandings regarding the choice and use of texts in EFL teaching.

Article I presents an analysis of the 11 syllabi from 1939 until the current 2013 syllabus, now called the English subject curriculum. Four notions of reading emerge from the analysis of syllabi. They capture paradigmatic changes in language learning theory and draw on contemporary discourses about the teaching of English in Norwegian schools. Article I also illustrates how notions of EFL reading developed alongside the overall educational discourses, tying these developments specifically to roles assigned to the key social actors: pupils and teachers. Thus, Article I works as an interpretive background for Articles II, III, and IV.

Articles II, III and IV focus firmly on the teachers' justifications for their EFL text practices. Article II addresses the teachers' reasoning concerning their text selection practices both alone and with colleagues, as well as the textbook's role in these processes. The teachers' reflections are examined in the context of recent decades' educational legislation redefining and extending teachers' professional responsibilities. Article II asks to what extent the kind of professional autonomy educational authorities expect from teachers corresponds to what the teachers regard as their space for decision-making. While many appear to support individual "freedom of method", few say they exploit this freedom beyond choosing texts from the textbook's selection. In addition, alternative text choices are often explained as individual initiatives rather than collective ones.

Article III deals specifically with the teachers' notions of reading in English and how they explain their EFL reading practices. It shows how teachers tend to draw on notions of reading carried down through several generations of syllabi for English. Thus, the teachers' understanding of the aims for reading in English may not always correspond with those presented in the current syllabus. In addition, Article III deals with a frequently expressed ambivalence to reading due to pupils' mixed reading abilities and text experiences in English.

This exploration of the teachers' reflections about text choice and use culminates in Article IV. It deals with the teachers' notions of the educational value in fictional films. The teachers' reasoning is categorised into a set of four value assumptions, of which the *compensatory* and *referential* values emerge as the most salient ones. The first of these two categories suggests films may work to compensate for pupils' lack of maturity, motivation or sufficient reading skills in English. The second builds on the assumption that fictional films can be used to document historical or social conditions in the English-speaking world. Article IV also provides examples of how the teachers' discursive practices merge discourses within and outside EFL contexts and past and present notions of the value of this medium.

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Bakken, A. (2016). When teachers talk about films: An investigation into some aspects of English teachers' discursive practices, *Acta Didactica*, 10(1), 5.

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CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

L1: First language (mother tongue)

MC&E: Ministry of Church and Education

MER&CA: Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs

ME&R: Ministry of Education and Research

PART 1: EXTENDED ABSTRACT

1 INTRODUCTION – "THE CHALLENGE OF ENGLISH"

The example presented below is taken from field notes written during a classroom observation and the subsequent interview with one of the lower secondary teachers in the present study. It captures central issues explored in this dissertation, which the teacher wraps up very appropriately as "the challenge of English".

Before the lesson, the teacher warns that this is a "standard boring lesson". The class is going to read a text about fashion in the sixties. There are quite a few pupils, she explains, who "understand only a few words" as the advanced textbook language is rather demanding. When the lesson starts, the teacher makes the pupils listen to a recording of the text while reading it. She stops the CD at intervals, allowing pupils to ask questions about difficult words or explain what words mean. She also translates the meaning of words into English and writes them on the blackboard. She then asks the pupils several questions about their attitudes toward fashion and possible pressures they might have experienced among friends concerning what to wear. After the lesson, she states she does not know how well she succeeded, but feels it was important to engender as much as possible an understanding of "what it is really about". She hopes the pupils can understand how generations before them "went from childhood to adult life without all that luxury we have got now" and the impact of this change on teenage life today. She continues:

> "…in a social science lesson, it is much easier because then you can just talk about the topic, here you need to make everybody understand. This is the challenge of English, I think. When it comes to cultural knowledge, it somehow drowns in the comprehension of vocabulary we have to make sure they get"

The above example reflects a recurrent tension in several of the teachers' reasoning between the content knowledge of a text and the language and vocabulary needed to grasp the content. In this teacher's experience, too much attention to vocabulary may "drown" out the "cultural knowledge" she wants pupils to acquire. Thus, the teacher's concern with making pupils understand "what the text is really about" addresses a tension found in this and other teachers' reflections between the basic language skills often viewed as intrinsic to the subject English and the cross-curricular text awareness needed to become critically aware of cultural and social issues. It accentuates the position of printed texts in the English language classroom, about what texts to read, how to read them, and the challenges reading in English may entail.

The teacher's description of this as a "standard boring lesson" suggests the classroom textbook reading comes with a familiar, and in her view, necessary but too predictable procedure. While

simultaneously addressing subject-specific challenges, the teachers' reflections concerning this specific English lesson also illustrate what the teachers often return to; the challenges of mixed language abilities, motivation, and maturity among their pupils. In the last respect, it gives an impression of how classroom interactions and negotiations condition the teacher's reflections. Lastly, this teacher's description of classroom pressures probably resembles those experienced by teachers across subjects, such as concerns about pupils' attitudes towards reading, general pedagogic issues of mixed abilities, and adapted teaching. At a higher level, these concerns incorporate recurrent discourses of participation and democracy in Norwegian educational legislation.

1.1 Objective, orientation and justification of research

This study investigates 18 Norwegian lower secondary English teachers' reasoning about their text practices – their choice and use of texts – in their teaching. The study is based on interviews with these teachers but also includes syllabi for the school subject English in Norwegian curricula from 1939 to 2013[1]. The first aim is exploring the ways in which teachers make sense of their choices and priorities, and second, to ask what discourses might condition their reasoning. The dissertation attends to the seeming discrepancy between the teachers' notions of EFL text practices and educational authorities' intentions. For instance, despite the repeated insistence of recent syllabi and scholars on greater text diversity and extensive reading in the teaching of English (e.g. Cunningham Stanovich, 2001; Elley; 1991; Drew, 2009, 2013; Hellekjær, 2005; Krashen, 2004), this and other studies (e.g. Bachmann, 2004; Drew et al., 2007; Stuvland, 2016) demonstrate that Norwegian English teachers continue to rely on the textbook as a primary text source and on conventional text approaches. However, why and how these practices are maintained need further investigation. The critical-historical approach of this dissertation allows insight into how certain modes of thought concerning EFL text choice and use have developed and been sustained and thus helps explain their continued stronghold in the teachers' discursive practices. This study also contributes to critical reflection about current notions of EFL text practices in the encounter with previous understandings.

Except for a brief glimpse into the classroom above, the dissertation does not deal with how the EFL text practices teachers talk about are realised in the classroom. Rather, it focuses on the teachers' descriptions of these text practices. The purpose is gaining better insights into the ways teachers

[1] In Norway, the term *curriculum* ("læreplan") refers to the written, physical document regulating national schooling (Westbury, 2007). National curricula include *syllabi* for individual subjects and descriptions of the overriding educational principles. In 2006, the national curriculum was divided into subject curricula, and thus the current syllabus for English is called the "English Subject Curriculum" (ME&R, 2006). In the present dissertation, I use the term *syllabus* to refer to the part of the national curriculum pertaining to the subject English.

negotiate their notions of EFL text choice and text use in the immediate context of collegial exchange, classroom pressures and external demands on their work. Through analysing the teachers' reflections concerning EFL text practices, the dissertation illustrates how their participation in discursive practices contribute to maintaining naturalised notions or allow for change.

This dissertation draws on a social constructionist understanding of how meaning is produced and interpreted using semiotic resources — such as words — in the interaction between participants in social contexts, a view particularly associated with Michael Halliday (1978, 1994). I have found inspiration in critical discourse analysis to explore how the teachers make sense of their EFL text practices in the context of surrounding discourses. The point of departure is the individual teacher's reasoning which is "seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of a social practice" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). Similarly, I place each syllabus in the context of contemporary discourses of language learning and against the wider educational and social developments.

The teachers' discursive practices draw on threads of knowledge developed over time and extend across subjects and fields. The analysis of EFL text practices in the 11 syllabi provides insight into how such knowledge has evolved over time. Thus, the analysis is designed to not only address the dialogue between teachers and discourses related specifically to EFL text practices represented in syllabi, but also give examples of how the teachers' reasoning can be seen as merging elements of several discourses about texts, reading, and the role of teachers and learners. In this manner, the analysis moves vertically through time and horizontally across contemporary notions of EFL text practices and the discourses conditioning them.

The study juxtaposes different categories of texts – syllabi and interviews – both representing social practices related to EFL text choice and use. In this respect, I draw on Theo van Leeuwen's approach (2008, 2009) to critical discourse analysis addressing a range of representations of comparable social events, rather than deal with single texts as elements in social events, which is Fairclough's focus (1992, 2003, 2010). In this way, one becomes explicitly aware of the potential meaning available in a text and across texts. Furthermore, a broader scope of representations, as Jørgensen and Phillips point out, is more useful "to show how dynamic discursive practices take part in constituting and changing the social world" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 89).

1.2 Overriding and interrelated perspectives

The starting point for a critical discourse analysis is presenting "a problem" needing exploration. Such a problem or challenge is suggested in the title of this dissertation. It refers to what appears to be a lack of correspondence between changes to the subject English introduced in educational legislation and the continuity represented by sustained beliefs about the subject and its practices among teachers. It also refers to the complexity of the teachers' discursive practices accommodating past and present views of EFL text practices in the context of everyday school reality. The teacher from the introductory example describes in one sense a very concrete problem, which is the unevenly distributed reading comprehension among pupils in her class. As it appears, "the challenge of English", means cross-curricular topics must be understood through the foreign language. This causes problems for several pupils, as this teacher has repeatedly experienced in her English classes. However, the challenge does not only refer to pupils' mixed language abilities but also pinpoints a related "problem" addressed in this dissertation, the possible discordant views concerning which skills, knowledge, and practices are understood to "belong" to a subject and which are not. This relates to issues of *classification*, or how certain contents are framed within a given area of knowledge and insulated from other areas. Thus, *insulation* or *boundary maintenance*, in Bernstein's terminology (2003a, 2003b), refers to discourses and practices strengthening the boundaries between subjects, contents and contexts. Bernstein states that "what is a school subject (its boundaries and their defining rules) is a function of the relationship with other subjects" (2003b, p. 33).

Concerning the school subject English in Norway, the question of what should count as skills and knowledge in the subject is not altogether straightforward as it is inherently cross-curricular, drawing on the traditions of a range of fields and subjects ranging from teaching in the first language (L1) to social sciences, and to literature and film studies. "The challenge of English" thus relates to teachers' competing notions of what skills and knowledge should be given priority in the subject and what text practices teachers consider relevant for their teaching.

While this dissertation has a broad scope, it still revolves around the teachers' reasoning throughout. The analysis of shifting representations of EFL text practices through roughly 70 years of syllabi for English provides a backdrop for an exploration of the teachers' reflections.

Three key perspectives emerge from the analysis of teacher interviews and syllabi, which are all embraced by the overriding perspective running through this dissertation*, continuity and change*:

- Agency and autonomy
- Boundary maintenance
- Democracy and participation

These three perspectives are treated in various ways in the four articles constituting the basis of this dissertation. Article I discusses how issues of *agency and autonomy* are traceable in different ways at different times in syllabi representations of social actors, particularly concerning pupils' role in EFL reading. Article II links *agency* to questions of teacher *autonomy* in the teachers' reasoning about choosing texts for their pupils. It explores how the teachers negotiate their sense of autonomy between collegial collaboration and "traditional" and "new" understandings of professional autonomy. In these negotiations, textbooks play an important role. Issues of *agency* are repeated throughout Articles III and IV. In Article III, it relates to the agency and autonomy the teachers allocate to their pupils in the EFL reading practices they describe. In both Article III and IV, the teachers make use of their agency by choosing from the repertoire of meaning made available through their discursive practices to justify their priorities concerning reading and classroom film use.

Article II and III also merge perspectives from Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) with elements of Basil Bernstein's (2003a, 2003b) notions of *boundary maintenance* and framing. Inspired by these perspectives, Article II explores how teachers negotiate the boundaries of their work concerning their text selection practices. Similarly, Article III addresses the teachers' understandings of what types of reading practices are considered intrinsic to their teaching of the subject and which are regarded as less relevant. In this way, the teachers are discursively engaging in boundary maintenance between practices perceived as intrinsic to English and those, which are not. Lastly, in all four articles, elements of educational discourses concerning *democracy* and *participation* recur. Such "enduring concerns" are traceable across generations of syllabi (Article I) and seem to contribute to, for instance, the teachers' reasoning about EFL reading (Article III) as well as their notions of the learning value of fictional films (Article IV).

To understand what discourses influence the 18 teachers' perceptions of EFL text practices and how they are maintained or changed, it is necessary to address both the immediate and the more distant context of their reasoning. Through an exploration of similarity and differences between what is and what has been, what is said against what remains unsaid, and what is expressed in educational

policies in comparison with how this plays out in the 18 teachers' reflections, I establish a sense of an "order of discourse" regulating the 18 teachers' reflections about their EFL text practices.

1.3 Research questions

The present dissertation seeks to answer three main research questions: *What characterises present-day English teachers' notions of text choice and text use? How do these notions compare to those expressed in current and earlier syllabi for English? How do the teachers' discursive practices help maintain or change notions of text choice and text use?* I approach these main research questions through the following sub-questions explored in the four articles:

- What notions of reading are expressed in the syllabi?
- What roles are assigned to pupils and teachers?
- What aims for reading do the syllabi express?
- What characterises the teachers' reasoning about their text selection practices?
- What characterises the teachers' reasoning about the role of the textbook?
- What notions of professional autonomy do the teachers express?
- How do the teachers explain and legitimise their EFL reading practices?
- How do the teachers' notions of EFL reading compare with those in current and earlier English syllabi?
- What seems to characterise the teachers' discourse about EFL reading?
- What characterises teachers' reasoning concerning the learning value of films in their teaching?
- What immediate and more distant discourses can be seen as contributing to the teachers' reasoning about films?

2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

In this chapter, I establish a niche for this dissertation in the intersection between curriculum history and research on teachers' perceptions of their professional roles, their subjects, and their teaching practices and EFL research. This broad spectrum of research encompasses several neighbouring fields employed in the investigation of the empirical material and which touch on, if not directly, at least indirectly the issues I have explored or the ways in which I have explored them. I have used the research in different ways in the analysis of the empirical material. First, it has served to situate the present study in the context of the existing scholarly work. Second, it has provided insight into the contemporary discourses the teachers engage with and those that are manifested in curricular documents. Finally, it has been important to compare previous research to findings from the analysis and in this way, this research assists in exploring the empirical material.

I will focus on four relevant strands of research. The first strand maps the development of the school subject English in Norway and the shifting notions of EFL text practices within the broader landscape of curriculum change attended to in Article I. It gives an impression of the "network of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003) and discourses surrounding English syllabi and how they interact with social, political, economic, and pedagogical developments in Norway and abroad. It deals with aspects of continuity and change in Norwegian educational developments; what concerns persist and what characterise school subjects and curricula today, particularly regarding the *agency* and *autonomy* of pupils and roles of teachers. It raises questions of what and for whom school subjects are intended, tying in with perspectives on democracy and participation running through all four articles. The second strand of research relates to teachers' reflections of their professional autonomy and their teaching practices. It addresses teachers' negotiations concerning the boundaries of their work and their teaching practices vis-a-vis intentions expressed in educational legislation. In this manner, it resonates with questions of professional autonomy and teachers' individual and collective decision-making raised in Article II. The third strand intertwines with the second with its continued focus on teachers' reflections. However, now the focus is on language teachers' reasoning about their text practices linked to the topics investigated in Article III and IV. This third strand of research addresses the issue of what teachers view as intrinsic to a subject and its associated practices, what falls outside it, and how teachers' notions of their subjects correspond to current curricular aims. Thus, it concerns the second of the key perspectives, the elements of classification and *boundary maintenance* in the English teachers' discursive practices related to EFL reading. Such issues are minimally reflected in EFL research to date, and therefore, examples of relevant research come

primarily from L1 contexts. The last and fourth strand attends to research investigating EFL classroom text practices, which are included because they give an impression of English teachers' priorities.

2.1 Curriculum change and subject development

In Norwegian contexts, the term curriculum ("læreplan") refers to the written, physical document regulating national schooling (Westbury, 2007). In this sense, the curriculum is "*a plan, intention*, and *prescription*" (Gundem, 2008, p. 16, my translation) provided by educational authorities. Curricula include syllabi for individual subjects and descriptions of the governing educational principles. Curricula vary in design, level of detail, and content over time and may prescribe teaching methods, specify subject content, or recommend titles or textbooks. In Norway, state-published curricula can be traced back to the late 19th century (Sivesind, 2008) and "constitute the heart of the formal educational leadership of departments of education" (Westbury, 2007, p. 46). In the Anglo-American tradition, the term may refer to a national curriculum as well as the organisation of subjects, their content, and practices at the local school level (Gundem, 2008). As this study relates to Norwegian curriculum making, the term is understood, in the former sense, as a piece of educational legislation regulating national schooling including syllabi ("fagplaner") for the various subjects.

Curriculum history approaches the history of education by investigating the role of the curriculum in defining what counts as educational knowledge. It is specifically concerned with gaining insights into how understandings inherited from the past act upon present ones. For instance, Kliebard (1995, 2002, 2004) and Apple (2003) in the USA and Goodson (1992, 1993, 2002) in Britain have pursued such issues. Kliebard (1995) argues curriculum history allows for dialogue between past and present understandings, by:

> "holding up the taken for granted world to critical scrutiny, something that usually can be accomplished more easily in historical contexts that in a contemporary one. Ideas and practices that seem so normal and natural in a contemporary setting often take on a certain strangeness when viewed in a historical setting, and that strangeness often permits us to see those ideas and practices in a different light" (1995, p. 194)

The juxtaposing of previous understandings with contemporary ones allows us to not only discover the "strangeness" of current notions, as Kliebard (1995) notes but also recognise that what seems new may have been around before.

Curriculum history typically pursues the underlying issues of social and political conflict in curricula, including the empowering or disempowering of social groups. Goodson (2002) argues "the curriculum provides us with a written testimony (…) and is one of the best official guide books to the

institutionalized structure of schooling" (p. 16). Goodson and Marsh (1996) point to three interrelated "message systems" contributing to social reproduction in education: "pedagogy, curriculum, and evaluation" drawing on Bernstein's terminology (1971, p. 47, cited in Goodson & March, 1996, p 8). They refer to the "power of curricula to differentiate" (Goodson & Marsh, 1996, p. 8) by prescribing stages or levels for learning for groups of pupils. In many ways, the critical-historical approach of curriculum history ties in with the CDA perspectives informing this dissertation.

To some extent, such approaches to curriculum research have been abandoned in recent decades (Engelsen, 2015). Rather, contemporary curriculum research tends to focus on challenges related to the implementation of current curricular aims. Goodson (2002) argues when approaching the curriculum as a "once and for all given," (p. 22) one ignores its history as a social construction, in which curriculum form and content have been made and remade over time. Also, treating the curriculum as "a fait accompli" (Goodson, 2002, p. 23) helps maintain conventional understandings of schooling while disregarding past controversies over curriculum content and form. It is therefore vitally important to address the history of curriculum making to raise awareness of what counts as valuable knowledge today and how it is legitimised.

In a Norwegian context, Alfred Oftedal Telhaug and other scholars have attended to related research on curriculum history and the history of education (e.g. Dale, 2008; Engelsen, 2015; Gundem, 2004; Sivesind, 2008; Sivesind & Wahlström, 2016; Telhaug, 1974, 1994, 2008; Telhaug, Mediås, & Aasen, 2004, 2006). As examples, Dale (2008) addresses the social reproduction of Norwegian unitary education and what he sees as its failure to remedy social inequality despite its expressed intention to do so since the mid-1950s. Telhaug (1994), for instance, has been critical of the "anti-authoritarian" (p. 12, my translation) mentality he claims redefined the role of teachers and pushed aside irreplaceable values in Norwegian education. Sivesind (2008) has traced Norwegian traditions of curriculum making back to its European origins in the 1700s and investigated their impact on generations of curriculum reforms from the late 19th century to the present. She examines the different contexts in which they are made and how "curriculum reform acquires its inherent status and roles through history" (Sivesind, 2008, p. 25).

A special concern pursued in curriculum history is the development of school subjects: how and why they are established or changed and to investigate the forces behind these developments. The study of "social conflicts within school subjects is central to understanding the subject itself", Goodson argues (1992, p. 67). As accounted for in Article I, Godson and Marsh (1996) identify three major subject traditions in British curricula, traceable elsewhere, such as in the United States and Australia,

also reflected in Norwegian educational discourses. These three traditions, Goodson and Marsh (1996) state, come in cycles and can be tied to both domestic and global developments in politics and the economy. They describe *an academic subject-oriented tradition* inherited from the university disciplines intended to prepare pupils for academic study, and *a utilitarian tradition* intended to provide pupils with practical skills and knowledge for future work and professional life. A third tradition is *a child-centred pedagogy,* which concentrates on the pupils' development and their autonomy in learning processes (Goodson & Marsh, 1996). Sivesind describes comparable distinctions between a *license model* and a *philanthropic model* in curriculum making. The first prescribes core content knowledge to be taught in schools, leaving it to the teachers to decide how to approach it; the second gives methodical instructions for learner-oriented activities (Sivesind, 2008). The latter model, which was in tune with early 20th century progressive "work school" principles, was implemented on a national basis during the 1930s in Scandinavian countries. In addition, an *assessment-model* originating in the USA in the 1880s emphasises the "products of achievement" in education (Sivesind, 2008, p. 18) which is recognisable in recent decades' outcome-oriented curricula. These traditions and models in curriculum making have developed over time. However, they are underpinned by pedagogical and social ideas that often persist even though they cease to dominate educational debates during a given time period.

School subjects follow different trajectories influenced in part by national or international change, and in part, conditioned by subjects' inherent characteristics. In the case of the subject history, for instance, it often serves an identity-building function, particularly in small nation states (Ahonen, 2001a, 2001b; Lorentzen, 2005; Telhaug, et al., 2004). Ahonen describes how the re-established nations in Eastern Europe, such as Estonia, after years of Soviet dominance needed to create a collective memory of the nation's proud past through the national history syllabus (Ahonen, 2001b).

The circumstances influencing curriculum making in the past, such as shifting educational discourses and conflicting political agendas, accumulate in curricula. To provide insight into conditions influencing Norwegian curricula specifically, I will present a brief overview of curriculum change patterns in Norway to show how they interact with contemporary pedagogical, social, and political influences at home and abroad. Then, I will give some examples of how these influences are traceable in the histories of Norwegian school subjects, before concentrating on the subject English.

2.1.1 Patterns of curriculum change in Norway

The international progressive pedagogy movement that gained ground at the turn of the century in the USA and Europe permeated Norwegian curricula in the first half of the 20th century as accounted for in Article I. There was a specific interest in pupils' learning processes and in scientific and efficient teaching methods (Dale, 2008). However, attention shifted after the Second World War when Norway, as most western democracies, saw their public education systems primarily "as vehicles of common purpose and social good" (Goodson, 2001, p. 46). Business interests and egalitarian public education in Norway and other Nordic countries shared a positivist faith in mass schooling towards economic growth and social security for all inhabitants (Sivesind, 2008; Telhaug et al., 2006). Strong ideals of equal participation were intrinsic to what came to be known as "the Nordic Model" of comprehensive common schooling in the post-war era (Telhaug et al., 2006).

Still, international developments resonate differently in different countries. For example, the creed of neo-liberalism embraced by curriculum reforms, particularly in the USA and Britain from the 1980s, was generally belated and have been less forceful in Norway (Helgøy & Homme, 2007; Mausethagen & Mølstad, 2015). This is in part due to our country's traditions of local autonomy at the school level (Engelsen, 2015; Sivesind, 2008) and to some extent the continued emphasis on social inclusion and equality in the common school (Dale, 2008; Helgøy & Homme, 2016). Last, it can be tied to the identity-building of a small nation state as defence against overpowering outside influences (Antikainen, 2006).

As elsewhere, however, Norwegian educational debates from the 1970s onwards were marked by a shift from the collectively oriented educational discourse to a focus on local self-determination and on pupils' individual development (Telhaug et al., 2004). The radical left-wing movement, which manifested in student riots across France and the USA in the 1970s, introduced a new progressive voice in educational discourse. Attention to local identity and culture grew and the top-down state education system came under scrutiny. The content knowledge taught in school, critics argued, belonged to the urban elite and was foreign to many pupils around the country (Engelsen, 2015). In the 1980s, the call for local autonomy merged with a change of direction in pedagogy where the concern for individual pupils' interests and needs were paramount (Dale, 2008). Telhaug (1994) describes how this challenged the conventional teacher-pupil relationship and spoke in favour of pupils' influence on teaching and learning. These changes were reflected in Norwegian curricula from the 1970s. To some extent, they also challenged conventional subject boundaries and content by encouraging topic-based, locally defined cross-curricular approaches (Telhaug et al., 2006).

Telhaug et al. (2006) claim the anti-authoritarian; progressive pedagogy influencing educational policies in this period meant a return to the progressive pedagogy of the early decades of the 20th century with its focus on pupils' curiosity, active participation, and personal development. However, as Dale (2008) argues, while these pedagogic ideas bear resemblance to the first wave of progressive ideology, there is a marked difference between the two, since the first promoted academic and scientific approaches to traditional subject knowledge whereas the second represented a break with these traditions. In addition, the 1920s and 1930s' progressive pedagogy did not really question conventional subject content so much as the methods through which it was taught. The two pedagogic discourses also differ in terms of which roles they allocate to pupils and teachers, as the former promoted the teacher as an "ideal" for the pupils' learning (Dale, 2008, p. 84), whereas the latter emphasised the value of the pupils' own construction of knowledge and responsibility for their learning.

However, discontent with local self-determination and what was considered incongruent practices across the country contributed to a turn to the right (Engelsen, 2015). It made way for a "restorative" (Telhaug et al., 2006, p. 262) course in Norwegian educational policies favouring the dissemination of traditional subject knowledge. This new course aligned in some measure with the 1980s back-to-basics movement in Western countries, which went hand in hand with the logic of business and marketing where knowledge became a commodity, and pupils and parents, customers (Helgøy & Homme, 2016; Telhaug, 2008). The new efforts were visible in the 1997 curriculum (Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs [from here MER&CA], 1997) but appeared to serve multiple and somewhat incompatible purposes. These developments in curriculum reforms are addressed in Article I. First, establishing "common frames of reference" (MER&CA, 1997, p. 42) through centrally chosen content knowledge had an expressed instrumental purpose. As Telhaug et al. point out (2006), public education should again ensure "the health of the entire national community" (p. 262) both socially and economically as in the 1960s. Furthermore, the focus on centrally defined content knowledge can be considered a return to academic and bourgeois taste defining what should count as knowledge for all Norwegian pupils. At the same time, the 1997 curriculum (MER&CA) continued to express concern for the individual pupil's personal development and social inclusion.

Despite the previously mentioned "national filters" (Engelsen, 2015, p. 51, my translation), the impact of global currents became increasingly influential in Norwegian curricula towards the end of the 20th century with fewer traces of a national agenda. In the emerging "evidence-oriented era" (Sivesind, 2013, p. 60), international rather than national standards began to condition curriculum form and content. At the dawn of the new millennium, news of Norwegian pupils scoring at

mediocre levels in international tests (PISA, TIMMS) measuring their attainment in basic skills startled the educational community. It seems a certain complacency with the Nordic Model had developed, obscuring its possible shortcomings (A.O. Telhaug et al., 2006). Consequently, the 1997 curriculum's "input control" was replaced by "output control" (Helgøy & Homme, 2016, p. 56) in the 2006 Knowledge Promotion Act (Ministry of Education and Research [from now ME&R], 2006). Bodies such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) provide a rationale for curriculum design and orientation towards assessment of learning outcomes (Sivesind, 2008; Sivesind, van den Akker, & Rosenmund, 2012). In this context, the descriptions of basic skills are important elements (Engelsen, 2015).

In this way, Norwegian post-war educational discourse has been characterised by a general political consensus that public schooling should provide equal educational possibilities while simultaneously securing pupils' social inclusion in school and society at large (Dale, 2008; Sivesind, 2008; A.O. Telhaug et al., 2006). The main argument for such common schooling was installing a sense of unity and solidarity across social divides (Telhaug, O., 1974). However, while Norwegian schools have succeeded in integrating pupils socially, Dale asserted, they have failed to do so regarding including all pupils in "rewarding learning processes" (2008, p. 29, my translation). Dale (2008) tied the reproduction of social inequality to the "permissiveness" (p. 303, my translation) he found had been inherent in Norwegian educational discourses and practices. These questions of equal participation are touched upon from different perspectives in all four articles and will also receive some attention in the **Discussion**.

2.1.2 Subject development in Norway

Literature pertaining to the history of school subjects in Norway is limited and mostly relate to the mother tongue, in this case the subject Norwegian (Aase, 2002, 2005; Kruse & Nordstoga, 2014; Nordstoga, 2003) and to some degree to history (Lorentzen, 1988, 2005) and English (Gundem, 1989, 1990, 2008). However, this literature indicates both national and international influences have been at work in curriculum development. In the 1939 science syllabus (Ministry of Church & Education [henceforth MC&E], 1939a), for example, the trademarks of progressive thinking were evident. It encouraged teaching methods relying on "object lessons" placing pupils in contact with "the real world" so they could "collect and organise their experiences" in line with scientific thinking (Dale, 2008, p. 110, my translation). In other subjects, such as the mother tongue and history, nation-building characteristics were the most visible. Thus, the 1939 and later curricula reflected a

traditional perception of the subject Norwegian and its literature component. Thus, until the 1970s pupils were encouraged to read canonical oeuvres from Norwegian literature (Engelsen, 2015; Nordstoga, 2003, 2014).

Engelsen (2015) explains that the focus on Norwegian classics changed with the 1974 curriculum (Ministry of Church and Education [from now MC&E], 1974), mirroring the contemporary pupil-oriented and local emphasis in Norwegian educational discourse. From this perspective, work with literature should concentrate on texts of personal and local relevance for the pupils. However, this phase was followed by a gradual return to an appreciation of classical literature from the 1987 syllabus and with concrete recommendations for Norwegian authors in the 1997 Norwegian syllabus (Engelsen, 2015). In the last curriculum reform, the LK6, the 2006 Knowledge Promotion Act (ME&R, 2006) such detailed descriptions of subject content have disappeared. Rather, the Norwegian subject curriculum promotes the development of pupils' text awareness; some argue this means less attention is paid to the literary experience (Nordstoga, 2014).

During recent decades, subject contents increasingly overlap, reflecting characteristics of an "integrated curriculum code" (Bernstein, 2003a, p. 100). In the traditional "collection code curriculum", subjects are clearly kept apart from other subjects through acknowledged and intrinsic criteria; the "integrated curriculum code" applies to curricula where there are superordinate or general ideas the different subjects share and incorporate, and to which each subject is subordinate (Bernstein, 2003a, p. 100-106). Integrated curricula often come with an emphasis on the deep structures of a subject rather than on surface knowledge, and there is more concern with how knowledge is created than on the specific content knowledge pupils need to possess (Bernstein, 2003b). Signs of a move from a collection code curriculum to an integrated curriculum code were visible in the 1974 curriculum (MC&E, 1974) but became more pronounced in the 1997 curriculum (MER&CA, 1997). It introduced a series of overreaching general competencies, creating a bridge between the different subjects. The LK06 curriculum reform (ME&R, 2006b) took this development one step further and in a different direction. It provided streamlined descriptions of basic skills running horizontally across subjects and competence aims, which could be applied and adapted across the country and at the same time, align with international standards. Thus, currently, both subject syllabi and curricula are less marked by national characteristics. As suggested above, international institutions increasingly condition curricula in terms of both form and content.

2.1.3 The development of the subject English in Norway

The teaching of English in Norway dates to the last decades of the 1700s when it was part of the education for the sons and daughters of the growing urban middle class in the larger Norwegian cities (Dale, 2008). From the 1870s, English was also taught in the cities along the coast of southern Norway to meet the needs for practical English skills in trade and shipping (Gundem, 1989). Thus, two types of English teaching serving different purposes developed: one for the practical work life of merchants and sailors, another for professional careers or as preparation for university study (Dale, 2008). Both traditions were traceable influences when English became part of compulsory schooling in the 1939 curriculum (MC&E, 1939a) as shown in Article I.

Bjørg Gundem's doctoral work (1989) has been a great inspiration for this dissertation. In her narrative of the development of English as a school subject, she describes in interesting detail the political and ideological struggles taking place from the introduction of English as a compulsory subject to gradually encompassing all three levels of Norwegian unstreamed education. It is also the only extensive study of how English developed as a school subject in Norway. To some extent, the present study and Gundem's work coincide. For instance, several of the curricula in the period from 1939 to 1974 are dealt with in both studies. There is also a parallel interest in the conflicts manifested in these curricular documents. For instance, Norwegian English teachers in the direct method era appear to have resisted the new teaching principles, possibly because they felt unqualified for this kind of teaching despite educational authorities' insistence on applying them (Gundem, 1989).

However, while Gundem addresses the development of the school subject English from the late 1800s to the 1970s, the present study covers syllabi for English from 1939 until the current 2013 version. Additionally, it addresses shifting syllabi representation of EFL text practices, whereas Gundem attends to the general development of the subject. Gundem's study also includes other empirical material, such as the personal letters of people involved in the processes of curriculum reforms, minutes from political meetings, and preparatory documents related to the introduction of new educational legislation. The present study concentrates on two types of empirical material: a set of 11 English syllabi and interviews with 18 teachers. The aim is to juxtapose current notions of EFL text practices represented in teacher interviews to previous ones represented by 11 syllabi for English. Thus, my examination of English syllabi in Norwegian curricula presented in Article I serves to gain insight into the shifting understandings of EFL text practices, particularly related to reading. At the same time, it serves as an interpretative context for the analysis of present-day English teachers' reasoning in Article III.

Drawing on its academic traditions as a subject for the select few, English developed into becoming a symbol of social equality in post-WW2 Norway (Gundem, 1989). However, until it covered all pupils in lower secondary schools with the 1974 curriculum (MC&E, 1974), it continued to work as a means of selecting pupils for secondary education or further study (Gundem, 1989). Following the 1936 Education Act (MC&E, 1936), English was included in the 7-year common syllabus and made available to pupils if the municipality decided to do so. This depended on the availability of qualified English teachers, who were practically non-existent outside the larger cities. Still, English was required for further schooling at the lower secondary level, thus excluding many pupils educated in rural areas from secondary education (1989). Gundem explains that a commonly held view among contemporary politicians and pedagogical expertise was that English should be taught to pupils who were sufficiently "fit" for learning a foreign language (Gundem, 1989, p. 19, my translation). To determine this, pedagogical experts settled for a combination of achievements tests, skills in the mother tongue, and the teacher's assessments. However, with the 1959 Educational act, English was made compulsory for all pupils at the primary level but where and to what degree the subject was taught continued to depend on teacher resources (Gundem, 1989).

To some extent, the development of English syllabi was marked by the same national educational discourses traceable across Norwegian curricula and subjects. For instance, the utilitarian focus dominating post-war educational discourse was manifest in the practical, instrumental justification of the language from its early beginnings as a voluntary school subject in the common school already in the 1870s. A vital aim of the teaching of English was providing practical communicative skills needed in internationally oriented industries such as trade, shipping, and tourism (Gundem, 1990). English also served an important function in the preparation for secondary schooling and further study as explicitly stated in the 1939 syllabus for elementary level education (MC&E, 1939a). Although a common English teaching was put in place, Gundem (1989) argued, it continued to be conditioned by its academic past.

As a foreign language, English did not serve the same identity-building function as the subjects Norwegian or history (Lorentzen, 2005; Nordstoga, 2014). Rather, the focus has been on "target language" countries, particularly Britain and the USA, and on these countries' cultural heritage. Moreover, the changing social and political conditions in English-speaking countries were reflected in Norwegian English syllabi. For example, the British Empire's decline led to increased awareness of post-colonial issues and speakers of English elsewhere in the world, traceable in the 1987 syllabus and later English syllabi.

In terms of pedagogic influences, British and European institutions have made a tremendous impact on the teaching of English in Norway (Fenner, 2005; Gundem, 1989; Simensen, 2011). English syllabi have also drawn on international developments in socio-linguistics and the extended definitions of literacy promoting the pupil's "meta-awareness" of texts addressed in Article I. These influences tie in with a focus on intercultural competence promoted by the European Council and scholars such as Byram (2008), Risager (2007) and Kramsch (1993, 2013). Kramsch (1993), for instance, describes how foreign language teaching has been presented as consisting of four linguistic skills "plus culture" in teachers' guidelines (p. 8). She argues a language cannot be learned or understood without context since language, when used in communication, whether spoken, written, read, or listened to, creates and expresses context (Kramsch, 1993). As we saw, this social-constructionist stance is not limited to foreign languages but extends across subjects. For instance, as touched upon in Article III, the explanation of the basic skill reading in English is strikingly similar to the Norwegian one and aligns with the recent cross-curricular literacy emphasis in current curricula.

2.2 Teachers' reasoning about their professional roles

As the above accounts of curriculum change and subject developments show, different pedagogical, social, and political influences have contributed to developments in school subjects and redefined teachers' roles. Thus, this second strand of research zooms in on research concerning how teachers engage with and appropriate new curricular requirements, or recontextualise new demands on their professional autonomy. These issues relate to teachers' reasoning about their sense of professional autonomy regarding their individual and collective text selection practices dealt with in Article II.

Since the 1980s, Norwegian school reforms have assigned extended autonomy to schools and teachers to formulate local learning aims based on the centrally given curriculum (Engelsen, 2015; Sivesind, 2008). Aligning with international developments, Norwegian educational authorities have increased their control of teachers' work by assessing pupils' learning outcomes through national and international testing programs (Helgøy et al., 2007; Sivesind, 2008). This comes with a heightened focus on teacher accountability, collective planning, and assessment and agrees with the last curriculum reform's shift from "input control" to "output control" (Helgøy & Homme, 2016, p. 56). In this context, teacher professionalism has become the new buzzword. It relates to the competence and autonomy teachers are expected to exercise and what is seen to fall within and outside of their domain for decision-making. As Helgøy et al. point out (2007), this New Public Management-inspired discourse is ambiguous as it both encourages deregulation of central control towards greater self-

determination for teachers while simultaneously "re-regulating" (p. 198) it by implementing increased external supervision of learning outcomes.

As accounted for in Article II, in a traditional understanding of teacher professionalism, teachers are "licensed" by the authorities to teach conventional subject content where the autonomy of the teacher is vested in "a freedom of method" based on the teacher's professional knowledge (Mausethagen & Mølstad, 2014, p. 32, my translation). This notion of autonomy corresponds to the "license-model" in curriculum making referred to in the first section of this chapter. It originates in a European Didaktik-tradition where the focus is on content but where the methodical or didactical choices are entrusted to teachers (Carlgren & Klette, 2008; Hopmann, 2007; Mausethagen & Mølstad, 2015; Mølstad & Karseth, 2016; Sivesind, 2008). The previously mentioned *philanthropic model*, which Sivesind (2008) identifies, characterises Norwegian curricula from the 1930s. In this model, curricula prescribe teaching methods but to various degrees grant freedom to choose context-based content. Recently, outcome-based curricula neither contain very concrete descriptions of methods nor define specific subject content. It requires teachers to appropriate curricular aims and make informed (research-based) decisions about means and modes to secure the prescribed learning outcome. While the professional roles of teachers often are described as having developed linearly, they can also be seen to represent co-existing discourses teachers draw on and merge when they define their professional space for decision-making (Carlgren & Klette, 2008; Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012; 2015).

Such issues of boundary maintenance are brought up both in Article II and III. In Article III, this concerns how the teachers distinguish between what is intrinsic to and what is placed outside of EFL reading and are tied to Bernstein's social theories of education (2003a, 2003b). A similar approach is chosen by Mausethagen (2013), who, drawing on Liljegren (2012), describes how the teachers interviewed "do discursive boundary work" (2013, p. 134) to legitimise and maintain control over their work. Mausethagen and Mølstad (2014, 2015) find Norwegian teachers tend to rely on the "licensing" tradition, insisting on the freedom to choose how to teach their class. While the emphasis on individual freedom of method is salient in the teachers' reasoning, they do not seem to mind subject content or assessment criteria being decided externally (Mausethagen & Mølstad, 2014, 2015). In this last respect, and as noted in Article II, Norwegian teachers can be considered as aligning with a long-standing tradition in Norwegian curriculum making (Sivesind, 2008) of prescribing comparatively detailed instructions for teachers' work.

In some respects, the exploration of teachers' discursive practices about aspects of their work overlap with research into teachers' beliefs, knowledge, and cognitions. This vast and diverse field of teacher research addresses the individual experiences and backgrounds underlying teachers' perceptions and actions (Borg, 2006; Burns, Freeman, & Edwards, 2015; Kalaja & Ferreira, 2006). While contextual factors are also seen to play a role in teacher cognition, as the term suggests, this line of research has traditionally focused on individuals' mental processes and experiences (Crookes, 2015). Teacher cognition, Borg (2006) states, "can be characterized as an often tacit, personally-held, practical system of mental constructs held by teachers and which are dynamic – i.e. defined and redefined throughout teachers' lives" (p. 35). Some of this research pays attention to teachers' sense of professional identity, as well as how it develops and contributes to their classroom choices (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000; Conelly & Clandinin, 1999; Sakui & Gaies, 2006 Solmon, Worthy, & Carter, 1993). Teachers' sense of their professional identity coincides to some extent with Fairclough's description of "identification" in discourse; how social actors identify themselves and how they are identified by others (2003). However, Fairclough (2003) views identity, not only, but mainly as being construed through language.

In recent years the field has also been extended to include "sociocultural" and "sociohistorical perspectives" which see "thinking as function of place and time, through interaction and negotiations with social and historical contexts" (Burns, Freeman, & Edwards, 2015, p. 589). As an example, Li (2013) describes the complexity of a Chinese English teacher's personal theories about communicative oral skills, which he considers paramount in his teaching. His beliefs, Li argues, are influenced by the teacher's own experience of traditional language teaching with "memorization and translation" (p. 181). Li (2013) also brings in the social context and historical development of the teacher's home country and the thinking the teachers in his generation were exposed to. Similarly, Sakui and Gaies (2006) found that select elements of identity recurring in teachers' narratives about their teaching practices and "multiple identities" (p. 161) coexisted in their reasoning. The teachers sometimes expressed a wish both to be perceived as someone maintaining control in the classroom at the same time as showing compassion towards their pupils (Sakui & Gaies, 2006). These multiple identities, Sakui and Gaies (2006) contend, are "deeply rooted in life and cultural experiences" (p. 154).

One branch of teacher research focuses on the impact of the socialisation processes novice teachers undergo in their first years of teaching. This issue has received substantial attention in the field of general education (e.g. Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997; Lortie, 1975, Urzua, 1999). A few studies also pertain to language teachers (Farrell, 2003, 2008; Freeman, 1994; 2006; Richards & Pennington,

1998). These studies find that what teachers have learned in their teacher education often disappears in the course of the first year of teaching, and novice teachers risk falling back on their previous beliefs and assumptions about foreign language teaching (Farrell, 2003; Freeman, 1994; Richards & Pennington, 1998).

Thus, while there are several touchpoints between the present dissertation and the topics addressed in teacher cognition, their aims differ in several ways. Notably, the purpose of the present study is not to investigate the individual teachers' thinking and how it is shaped by their personal experiences or to investigate congruence or incongruence between their cognitions and their classroom practices. Rather, it aims to explore how teachers' meaning making is brought into dialogue with surrounding discourses, and in this way, contribute to maintenance and change of established understandings and eventually the associated social practices.

2.3 L1 language teachers' notions of their text practices

The following section addresses the third research strand to provide insights into teachers' perceptions of text practices in their subjects and what seems to condition these understandings. I focus first on research related to text practices in mother tongue contexts and teachers' reflections about these practices. In the next and final section of this chapter, I zoom in on the fourth research strand pertaining specifically to EFL text practices and English teachers' perceptions of these practices.

L1 research has problematised the role of L1 subjects in Scandinavian countries, specifically concerning the use of literary texts in L1 classrooms and the teachers' reasoning about these practices (Elf & Kaspersen, 2012; Penne, 2012). Scholars have questioned the role and purpose of fictional narratives considering the previously mentioned developments in mother tongue syllabi and teachers' attention to analytical or cross-curricular perspectives or lack thereof (Kleve & Penne, 2012; Penne, 2012). While most of the research into L1 text practices in Norway and Sweden are case studies including classroom observations as well as interviews with pupils (e.g. Bommarco, 2006; Molloy, 2002; Penne, 2006), they also give insight into teachers' priorities. This research points to two main approaches to the reading of fictional literature; "an experience-based approach" and an "analytical approach" (Rødnes, 2014, my translation). The former approach, which dominates in L1 classrooms, pays most attention to the pupils' responses to literature, whereas the latter focuses on literary analysis and literary periods.

Sylvie Penne has investigated classroom practices in Norwegian lower secondary schools and the language pupils and teachers use when they talk about literature (2006, 2007, 2012). The studies reveal great differences between classes and schools. Some pupils mastered a meta-language when talking about their general learning experiences and interpretations of literature, whereas others relied on commonsensical everyday language. These findings are supported by Skarstein's study (2013). The differences in pupils' reflections about literary texts, for instance, seem to rely on the attention teachers give to analytical or critical perspectives when working with literary texts (Penne & Skarstein, 2015). Similarly, Kjelen's interviews with 18 lower secondary Norwegian teachers illustrate how their primary concern when choosing a literary text was for pupils to identify with the content so they may personally benefit from the reading. Rather than developing "good readers", teachers emphasised they should become "fond readers" (Kjelen, 2013, p. 198, my translation). Literary analysis appeared to be considered "authoritative, old-fashioned and as potentially killing the joy of reading" (Kjelen, 2013, p. 189, my translation). Thus, the experience-based, personal approaches teachers often choose do not appear to distinguish between reading in school and pupils' text experiences outside of school (Penne, 2012; Penne & Skarstein, 2015).

A similar emphasis on the pupils' personal response and corresponding lack of critical distance appear to exist in L1 contexts related to the issue of or *referentiality* in fictional narratives (Olin-Scheller, 2006; Olin-Scheller & Tengberg, 2012; Årheim, 2007). This topic is brought up in Article IV concerning the teachers' reasoning about classroom film use. Both the teachers and the pupils Olin-Scheller interviewed appear to ascribe a documentary function to fictional narratives (Olin-Scheller, 2006). She notes that Swedish syllabi can be considered as adding to assumptions about referentiality by insisting that reading literary texts increase cultural knowledge (Olin-Scheller, 2006; Olin-Scheller & Tengberg, 2012).

Several of the scholars mentioned above argue that an analytical stance is necessary when reading fictional texts. According to Årheim (2007), contemporary literature has an important place in the teaching of literature but needs to be critically addressed, for example, to reveal stereotypical representations of groups of people (2007). Drawing on Gee's (2012) notions of *Primary* and *Secondary Discourse*, Kleve and Penne (2012) claim that learning requires some distance from our everyday world. The *Primary Discourse* can crudely be defined as the type of language young people acquire in out-of-school contexts, either at home or with friends. The *Secondary Discourse* is the kind of "meta-linguistic competence" they learn in school (Kleve & Penne, 2012). Some pupils are acquainted with a Secondary Discourse from home, which makes a "school language" about learning more accessible (Gee, 2012). In addition, the pupils' ability to apply a meta-language to their reading

experiences correspond with their scholarly achievements. Thus, it is argued, that developing such analytical distance through language is an important measure towards social participation (Gee, 2012; Kleve & Penne, 2012; Penne & Skarstein, 2015). Apparently, this view is contrary to the practices many teachers see as securing such social participation.

2.4 EFL text practices and English teachers' notions of their text practices

In terms of the fourth and last strand, most research to date investigates EFL text practices; however, there is limited research attending to teachers' notions of these practices. Much research in the field of English teaching consists of intervention studies exploring the benefits of alternative texts for increased and varied text exposure. These contributions reflect a common aim among scholars in the field of English teaching to supply teachers and teacher educators with practical suggestions to reduce textbook dependence and increase awareness of alternative text sources. They emphasise the potential of literary texts such as novels, short stories, and poetry or films and other multimodal representations (Langeland, 2013, Habegger-Conti, 2015; Wiland, 2012). Some of the research in the field of Norwegian English teaching takes place within the field of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (e.g., Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; DeZarobe & Catalán, 2009, Drew, 2013). The aim of CLIL is twofold, building language skills through extensive and authentic text exposure and providing insight into cross-curricular subject topics. Scholars have also argued for the use of authentic fictional narratives such as films and other multimodal representations to promote intercultural competence (e.g. Fenner, 2006; Kramsch, 2013; Kramsch & Byram, 2008; Pegrum, 2008).

Thus, scholars in EFL teaching and learning have long called for a change away from the conventional classroom close reading of textbook texts to improve pupils' reading proficiency and text awareness (e.g. Charboneau, 2012; Day & Bamford, 1998, Grabe, 2009; Hellekjær, 2005, 2007; Stuvland, 2016, Urquhart & Weir, 2014). Hellekjær's (2005) investigation among Norwegian senior upper secondary students found their reading proficiency insufficient for admission to universities in English speaking countries. This, Hellekjær notes, can in part be explained by a "counterproductive" emphasis on close reading for a detailed understanding of unknown words (Hellekjær, 2005, p. 61). Hellekjær argues that a focus on this type of reading does not develop pupils' ability to deal with texts independently by, for instance, inferring meaning from context. Two master's theses based on interviews with teachers both at lower and upper secondary levels indicate that the English teachers interviewed place little emphasis on differentiated reading strategies or texts outside of the textbook (Faye-Schjøll, 2009; Gilje, 2011).

A very recent study of reading instruction in fourth and fifth-grade English classes in Norwegian primary schools (Stuvland, 2016) investigates the materials, activities and instructional practices used, as well the teachers' reflections about their text practices. Stuveland found that the teachers sourced text primarily from the textbook, while a minority used a combination of textbook and other texts. When the EFL reading relied solely on the textbook, it typically involved teacher-led approaches such as choral reading and recitation whereas individual silent reading was rare. In cases when other texts were included, reading practices allowed for alternative approaches such as guided reading in smaller groups or individual reading, thus text choice appears to influence EFL reading practices in important ways (Stuvland, 2016). In addition, translation or accounts of the texts in Norwegian were also frequent activities. Some teachers gave lack of time and availability of alternative materials as reasons for sourcing texts primarily from the textbook. Others appear to perceive differentiated reading practices as challenging because of pupils' mixed abilities in English (Stuvland, 2016). As seen in Stuvland's research, in the present study and other research (Bachmann, 2004; Drew et al., 2007; Hodgson, Rønning, Skogvold, & Tomlinson, 2010), teachers often view the textbook as a legitimate and reliable text source. Stuvland (2016) suggests textbook texts dominate in the EFL classroom also because teachers find it difficult to challenge the textbook's choice of texts and thus accept them as appropriate options. In addition, teachers may prefer the textbook because the conventional textbook reading is likely to have been part of their own experience as language learners (Stuvland, 2016).

Apelgren's study of Swedish English teachers' personal theories and experiences with change in the subject focuses on the diversity in teachers' understanding of the aims of English teaching. The study shows teachers emphasised the pupils' practical use of the language and that the teaching should provide pupils with a "'survival kit'" in English (Apelgren, 2001, p. 226). The teachers also wanted their teaching to help pupils gain factual knowledge for later written or oral activities. Others appeared to be more pupil-oriented, focusing on building the pupils' awareness of their own learning or on texts or topics of relevance to the pupils. Apelgren points to a series of personal characteristics she relates to teachers' understanding of the aims of English teaching. However, some of the teachers explained it was difficult to change their teaching practices because pupils were used to conventional procedures and often reluctant to new ones (Apelgren, 2001, p. 232). In addition to individual factors, these above examples, as well as findings from Sato and Kleinsasser's (2004) study of Japanese high school English department, suggest that in-situ social practices, norms, and values contribute in important ways to English teachers' perceptions and actions.

2.5 Summing up

This chapter has provided an overview of the research relating directly and indirectly to the issues addressed in this dissertation. The first section of the chapter draws on research in curriculum history and the history of education to illustrate how developments in the school subject English interact with changing educational discourses in Norway and abroad regarding the roles of pupils as well as teachers. Thus, the first strand of research provides a historical backdrop against which present-day English teachers' reasoning about their text practices can be understood. This is also the intention of Article I. The second strand of research deals with teachers' negotiations of their professional autonomy at a more general level. This topic is addressed in Article II through the analysis of the teachers' reasoning about their text selection practices alone or with colleagues. The two last strands of research offer insights into language teachers' text practices and to some extent their views of these practices. The latter is the focus of Article III and Article IV. While scholarly attention has been paid to what conditions individual teachers' knowledge, beliefs, and actions, there is limited research into English teachers' negotiations in dialogue with surrounding discourse and practices. Thus, there is a need to investigate how their understandings are conditioned by social practices and structures at micro and macro-levels and how these understandings are discursively maintained or changed. Ball, Maguire, and Braun (2012), for instance, call for explorations of how teachers' discursive practice negotiate with the wider educational, social and political context.

3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter, I will account for the theoretical framework underpinning this dissertation. It consists of theoretical perspectives at three different levels: at the level of social theory, at the level of discourse analysis, and at the level of text analysis. At the level of social theory, the dissertation draws primarily from a social constructionist paradigm where knowledge is seen to be shaped, changed, or maintained through social interaction (e.g. Burr, 2015, revised edition). This precondition also underlies theories related to discourse analysis and the role of language in the shaping, maintenance, or change in knowledge. The social constructionist basis for discourse analysis implies a critical stance to "taken-for-granted knowledge" and sees language in use as historically and culturally contingent (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 5). In addition, my theoretical stance is inspired by Bernstein's social theory of education identifying specific structural features of pedagogic discourse (2003a, 2003b). The theoretical perspectives at discourse and text levels are specifically tied to critical discourse analytical approaches. Additionally, findings from the research presented above are in several cases used to explore the empirical material.

Thus, in the following, I will attend to theoretical perspectives related to *language, text,* and *discourse*. They are central terms in this dissertation to be operationalised in this and the next chapter. I will present perspectives from Norman Fairclough and Theo van Leeuwen, which help build a theoretical framework for the exploration and interpretation of the empirical material. The view of language as "in active relation to reality" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 42) means that the words teachers use in interviews do not directly mirror their concrete classroom practices. Rather, what they say is shaped by the context of the teachers' social exchange. Nor do what they say give direct access to their thinking (Freeman, 1996). Before arriving at Fairclough and van Leeuwen, I present a brief retrospect of the role language plays in research, asking what kind of knowledge can be gained from language.

3.1 The role of language in research

The role of language in research is far from the objective, neutral instrument mimicking the physical and mental world as envisioned by the young Wittgenstein and later by logical positivists and members of the "Vienna Circle" of the 1920s (Kjørup, 2008, Knowles, 2006). The scholars insisted on identifying a set of neutral and logical sentences as opposed to metaphysical utterances they rejected as part of scientific research. According to the younger Wittgenstein and others, because of its instability and deceitfulness, language must be reduced to manageable and meaningful utterances which could then be tested empirically or logically as false or true reflections of reality. This strategy

proved to constantly run into trouble since it relied on capturing language in use with the logic of the natural sciences (Kjørup, 2008; Kvarv, 2010). According to Meisel and Saussy (2011), the linguistic structuralist Ferdinand de Saussure's distinction between *la langue* and *la parole* can considered as offering a solution to the problem of reference. Saussure applies the notion of signification to the relationship between language and reality. He describes the relationship between the signifier and the signified, between the realisations of the sign as a spoken word and the concept or objects it refers to among its language users, as arbitrary and based on conventions (Saussure, 1974). Thus, in this line of thinking there are no inherent linguistic justifications for a "horse" to be called "horse" in English or "cheval" in French. Rather, the word gains its meaning from other words to which it stands in opposition, just as the word "horse" gains its meaning from being different from a "cat" or other words for animals. This structuralist stance presupposes that each linguistic element has a fixed place in relation to other elements constituting a normative, self-contained semiotic system – *la langue*. This system is placed in juxtaposition to what is perceived as the unlimited linguistic utterances of speech, *la parole*. In Saussure's thinking, language as a fixed structure – *la langue* – provides a model for other semiotic systems (1974).

Although Saussure acknowledged the contextual, social and variable nature of *language in use* – and precisely because of this awareness – he considered the study of language as such, an insurmountable endeavour (Kjørup, 2008). Saussure's (1974) interest was in language in its pure and abstract form and not in its multiple usages. The study of the language should be aimed towards revealing the system to which a linguistic phenomenon belongs. Saussure's (1974) ideas of meaning made from semiotic contrast were further developed in poststructuralist language theory (e.g. Halliday). However, this theory dissolved the strict distinction between language as an inflexible system and language in use: between la langue and la parole (Saussure, 1974). It also rejected the idea that semiotic elements have fixed positions in relations to each other. Signs are considered as gaining their meaning from their internal relations within a network of other signs, and these relations change according to context (Halliday, 1978). Thus, poststructuralists share an interest in the living, changeable language and not as a predetermined system. Among many other critics of Saussure and his adherents, Halliday (1978) totally rejects the notion of any kind of aloof system of language detached from its many social practices. He says, "instead of rejecting what is messy, we accept the mess and build it into theory" (Halliday, 1978, p. 38).

In Halliday's (1978) understanding, meaning is made through paradigmatic and syntagmatic contrast aligning with Saussure's (1974) notions of signs deriving meaning from being binary in opposition to each other. When he states that language relates to the "context of situation", he refers to the

syntagmatic relations present in a sequence of linguistic elements – a syntagm. The linguistic elements in a syntagm – what is realised – are seen in opposition to the absent elements, which exist as unrealised potential. What is realised and what is not, is in paradigmatic relation to one another. These paradigmatic relations represent the meaning potential of a specific syntagm, or the range and combinations of linguistic units allowed by language (Halliday, 1978). The principle of exploring what is said as opposed to what remains unsaid but could have been said is important in discourse analysis and in the analysis and interpretation of the empirical material in the present study.

Even long after "the linguistic turn" brought the awareness of language as inherently contextual and dynamic; the challenges of referentiality present itself in research. Freeman's term *representation* relates to a corresponding problem of reference. A reliance solely on what teachers say is not enough, he argues. It is also necessary to ask how they say it, that is; the words they use – the *presentational* dimension – echoing Halliday's (1978) distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. His proposition is to keep the two dimensions in mind simultaneously: to listen to what teachers say – their representation – and at the same time consider the words they use – their presentation (Freeman, 1996).

3.2 Text and discourse

In Halliday and Hasan's understanding, a text must serve a function within a social context if it is to be called a text. A text is "a semantic unit" and is "both process and product" (Halliday & Hasan, 1989, p. 11) as meaning is received and created in the interaction between members of a speech community. While the terms text and discourse are sometimes used interchangeably, what makes a text also a discourse, is that participants in a discourse must organise what they say or write according to the "context of situation" (Halliday, 1978). Language in use

> "… relates what is being said to the context in which it is being said, both to what has been said before and to the 'context of situation', it has to be organised as relevant discourse, not just as words and sentences in a grammar-book or dictionary" (Halliday, 1978, p. 22).

In addition to having to fit the situational context within a syntagm, Halliday (1978) stresses the paradigmatic nature of language in use as it must also relate to what is available as "relevant discourse" (p. 22). Halliday's theoretical stance forms the basis of Fairclough and van Leeuwen's understandings of the contextual nature of language and their tools for analysis of text and discourse. However, in addition to focusing on how meaning is made in the "context of situation" (Halliday 1978, p. 109), a critical approach to discourse involves further investigating the social aspects of discourse, asking why particular types of meaning are represented in texts. The focus is on

the constitutive properties of discourse and how discourse "help[s] sustain and reproduce status quo, and in the sense it contributes to transforming it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Both Fairclough (1992, 2003) and Van Leeuwen (2008) stress that functional linguistics is not enough to answer such questions. For instance, as Fairclough contends, how people use language is not only as a "reflex of situational variables" (1992, p. 63.) but language in use is also conditioned by its relationship to social practices and social structures. Moreover, in CDA, discourses are seen not merely as manifestations of social practices but as exercising power by conditioning how people talk and act.

So far, I have focused on how meaning is made through verbal language in text and discourse. However, Halliday's theoretical perspectives on language serve as a point of departure for the analysis of a range of representations, visual, verbal, or oral or multimodal texts. In the latter cases, different semiotic resources (e.g. words, sound, images, colour) combine and carry meaning together (Jewitt & Kress, 2008). While subscribing to such a broad understanding of text, my analysis of the empirical material is limited to verbal representations: written syllabi and interview transcripts. However, multimodal properties of texts, particularly in terms of their visual resources, have some relevance in the analysis of teachers' reflection about the value of classroom film use. As described in Article IV the teachers often rely on the assumption of films as particularly apt at creating a deeper understanding of ethical issues because of their *referential* and *emotional* value in a way print texts cannot.

Critical discourse analysis often draws on both structuralist and poststructuralist language theory. Discourse analysts, whether they call themselves critical or not, do not view meaning as pre-existing in the world but see reality as gaining meaning through language. They also share a poststructuralist emphasis on studying "naturally occurring manifestations of language" (De Beaugrande, 1980, p. 1) and how meaning is received and produced in the interaction between participants in speech communities. However, while meaning making is contextual, it is generally perceived to be conditioned by relatively stable social practices determining how social actors express themselves within a certain discourse context. In the following, I will outline the key theoretical perspectives from Fairclough's and Van Leeuwen's CDA inspiring my exploration of the empirical material.

3.3 Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis

While Fairclough builds on Halliday's (1978, 1994) theoretical perspectives of language, text and discourse, he stresses that the study of text is always part of a broader project of social analysis and research (Fairclough, 2003). I base my understanding of Fairclough's CDA primarily on three books:

Discourse and Social Change (1992), *A critical study of language* (2010, revised 1995 version) and *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research"* (2003) where he outlines his theoretical project: to investigate the effect of discourse on social practices. In these books, he defines several key terms central to such an analysis of continuity and change. The following are drawn upon in the present study and addressed below: *interdiscursivity, intertextuality, assumptions*, and the *agency* of social actors. Whereas most CDAs tend to focus on either text analysis or social theory, Fairclough's CDA merges these perspectives in a three-dimensional model, as shown in the reprint of the model in Figure 1 (1992, p. 73, 2010, p. 133). The theoretical premise underpinning this model is that texts can be analysed simultaneously at the text level, as a part of discursive practices, and as drawing on and contributing to social practices.

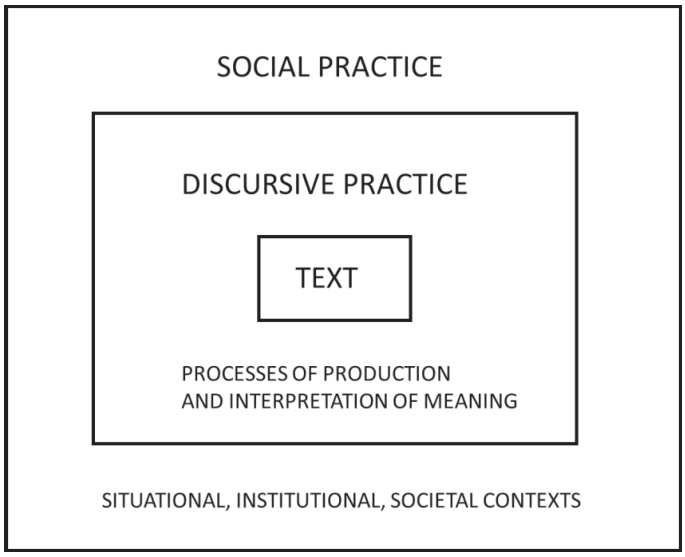

Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA

In Fairclough's model, the innermost box places the individual text within a discursive practice where meaning is made through processes of production and interpretation. A discursive practice brings the text into dialog with a "network of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24) and the associated social structures. The "text" dimension deals with micro-level analysis of the internal relations in a text. The "discursive practice" dimension involves an analysis of the processes of production and interpretation of meaning. Here, external relations are established between texts and social practices. Fairclough provides two sets of analytical categories for each of the dimensions, text, and discursive practice to keep the micro-level text analysis apart from analysis of the discursive practice. I will return to these categories below. Fairclough calls what goes on at the level of discursive

practice a “processing analysis” (1992, p. 4) of the interaction between the text and surrounding discourses and their associated social practices. Lastly, “the social practice” dimension addresses the “situational, institutional and societal contexts” that are mediated by discursive practices (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4).

The present study focuses on the discursive practice dimension: the processes of production and interpretations in the dialogue between texts and social practices. It does not include a detailed systemic-functional textual analysis, as in Fairclough’s project. This would mean taking space and attention away from the core concerns, which are the nature and role of teachers’ discursive practices. Rather, as will be further discussed in this and the following chapter, I draw on certain key CDA principles and make use of a set of semantic and linguistic categories to examine concurring and discordant discursive features across the empirical material; teacher interviews and syllabi.

In terms of the social practice dimension, the three subcategories – *situational, institutional,* and *societal* contexts – are useful, particularly regarding the analysis of teacher interviews, as they distinguish between the immediately surrounding discourses accompanying school practices from the more distant societal practices. The immediate social practices will typically be linked to everyday collegial exchange and classroom routines, whereas the institutional practices and their associated social structures pertain to exams, testing, and time schedules. In the context of this dissertation, societal practices relate to the patterns of social and educational change accounted for in Chapter 2. Obviously, these categories intertwine, such as when the overreaching societal practices are traceable in the institutional practices. Importantly, a social practice does not operate within fixed boundaries as Figure 1 may suggest but within networks of social practices which involve both contemporary texts and “historically prior texts” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 40). Discursive practices, Fairclough argues, should, therefore, be studied historically “in terms of how shifts (in these practices) reflect and constitute wider processes of social change” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 36). In the present dissertation, such a critical-historical stance is of specific interest regarding how discourses around EFL text practices develop over time and how they intersect with social change.

Blommaert (2005) notes that scholars within CDA have tended to define strict requirements for CDA research and distinguish between “critical” and “non-critical” approaches, a distinction which he claims is “hard to sustain in reality” (2005, p. 24). In addition, misconceptions may exist regarding what issues deserve the attention of CDA-oriented research (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). While CDA often seeks to uncover discriminatory social practices or what discourses gain hegemony in politics, questioning the assumptions expressed in daily discourse is also of vital concern in CDA. As Wodak

and Meyer (2009) note, CDA lends itself to a critical investigation of "any social phenomenon" also those which do not necessarily relate to "'serious' political or social problems" (p. 2). The "critical impetus" (Wodak & Mayer, 2009, p. 6) lies in making interconnectedness visible to address the "more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs" (p. 8). Whether the critical approach the present study proposes qualifies as CDA is of lesser importance. More significantly, CDA offers useful perspectives when addressing what appears to be naturalised beliefs concerning EFL text practices among the teachers in the study. In addition, they help shed light on possible conflicting "discourse positions" (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 49) among teachers and between teachers and educational authorities related to the subject English and its practices in Norwegian schools. In this last respect, the dissertation deals in some measure with certain persistent transdisciplinary issues related to discourses of participation and democracy in the history of Norwegian education and curriculum history. Still, for the previously mentioned reasons, I do not claim to adopt a full-scale critical discourse analysis, as defined by Fairclough (1992, 2003, 2010) but borrow Blommaert's (2005) term and describe the present study as "a critical analysis of discourse" (p.2).

3.3.1 Interdiscursivity in discourse

Fairclough identifies three main types of meaning in texts: *action, representation*, and *identification* (Fairclough, 2003). He builds on Halliday's multifunctional analysis of the ideational, relational, and textual elements in a text (e.g. Halliday, 1978, 1994). Fairclough's three types of meaning are identified at the text level (relating to the innermost box in Figure 1) and attended to in the analysis of internal relations in texts. These types of meaning are kept apart from the analysis at the discursive level (second innermost box). At this level, Fairclough describes a set of discourse types: *genres* (action), *discourses* (representation), and *styles* (identification): "ways of acting, ways of representing and ways of being" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27).

Genres, discourses, and *styles* are in dialectic relationship to each other. This means they are distinct categories but which simultaneously gain some of their meaning from each other. The three discourse types allow for an *interdiscursive analysis* of how texts draw on genres, discourses, and styles in their external negotiations with networks of social practices. While these discourse types are to some degree autonomous, the first discourse type, genre is, according to Fairclough, the overreaching one as it conditions both what constitutes relevant discourses and styles (1992, p. 125-125). I will briefly describe these discourse types below and return to their specific relevance to the present study in the **Methods of analysis** chapter.

The first type, *genres,* relates to the how specific contexts regulate social interaction. Fairclough defines a genre as "a relatively stable set of conventions associated with, and which partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity" (1992, p. 126). These conventions condition how a text represents a specific social activity concerning sequence and structure, discourse content, the positioning of social actors, and the nature of their exchange. For instance, a research interview typically relies on a generic structure of questions and answers. The specific turn taking implies an asymmetric relationship between interviewer and interviewee where the former both selects the topics to be dealt with and decides when to introduce new ones. During the interview, the interviewer typically interprets the responses to questions according to a research agenda of which the latter will have limited knowledge (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough points out a text "is not 'in' a particular genre" (2003, p. 69), but genres constitute a potential that can be actualised in texts. Additionally, the actual text may draw upon the "situated" genre conventions of given social practice (Fairclough, 2003, p. 69) while incorporating genre-characteristics from related contexts and across networks of social practices. To continue the example from the research interview, the interviewer, while following a certain generic pattern of turn taking, may draw on associated genres of scientific publications and other fora for academic discourses. At the same time, while adapting to genre conventions, the interviewee may incorporate elements from collegial exchange in the staff room or, from less formal settings such as the media and other spheres of social activity.

Discourses define particular "visions of the world" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 130) where certain contents or topics are promoted, excluded or backgrounded. Discourses intertwine in a dialectical relationship with genres and styles as the ideologies texts draw on can be "enacted" in social interaction (genres) or "inculcated" or embody social identities (styles) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 159). Styles are thus particularly connected to how "texts represent and construct groups and communities" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 149). Fairclough (2003) chooses the term "identification" to indicate the "textual" character of identity (p.159), as something mainly construed through language. In this way, identification takes place when social actors draw on a certain "stock of characters" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 161) to define themselves or others. Styles also express social actors' commitment to a given discourse content through different types of evaluations and modalisations.

3.3.2 Intertextuality and assumption in discourse

Intertextuality is present in texts to a certain extent as direct references to other texts, for instance by quoting or paraphrasing contents from other texts. Intertextuality ties in with assumptions as

both terms deal with how a text engages with surrounding texts. However, unlike intertextuality, assumptions do not refer specifically to other identifiable texts but can be perceived as forms of implicit intertextuality. In this case, the reference to other texts relies more opaquely on the accumulated experiences with "the world of texts" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 40): what one has read or heard concerning a specific topic. Assumptions are vital in any community as they serve to establish '"common ground'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55) among its members. As assumptions tend to convey taken for granted knowledge about the value of certain practices, they often escape scrutiny and may thus be sustained in discourse.

A central concern in Fairclough's approach to CDA, then, is the ways in which a text incorporates elements from other texts and how these processes contribute to defending or challenging social practices. Such questions of dialogality concern how a text engages externally with *genres*, *discourses* and *styles*. Intertextuality and assumption differ in dialogality regarding the extent to which they allow for "potentially relevant voices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 47) to be identified and contested. In addition, assumptions often underlie the stylistic features of identification and evaluation, which may reduce dialogue with competing views and in this manner inhibit change.

The worldviews genres, discourses and styles carry contribute to "structuring areas of knowledge" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3) to define one area of knowledge in relation to another. Here, Fairclough ties these classifying properties of discourse to Bernstein's term "classification" (2003a, 2003b, revised editions) and his sociology of education. According to Bernstein (2003a), classification depends on the strength of *boundary or insulation maintenance* between categories and the internal *framing* of knowledge for instance between "everyday community knowledge" and "educational knowledge" or between subjects in schools (p. 89). Boundary or insulation maintenance ensure that categories are "preserved, repaired and legitimated" (Bernstein, 2003b, p. 24). Bernstein (2003b) contends that "insulation creates a space in which a category can become specific" (p. 23) while framing defines the internal communicative practices that in turn may strengthen or weaken insulation between areas of knowledge (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003b).

3.3.3 The agency of social actors

The issue of structure and agency in CDA concerns the extent to which social actors can express themselves freely through language or other semiotic resources and to what extent social practices and the associated social structures limit the language users' repertoires for meaning making. Fairclough's (1992) understanding of the relationship between structure and agency relies on sociologist Michel Foucault. Fairclough (1992) is, at the same time, critical of Foucault's "one-sided"

focus on structure (p. 57). Foucault (1981) describes the relationships between individual utterances and what is "silently articulated 'beyond' in the text" (p. 57). In this hierarchical dialogue, a discursive practice may "sometimes give rise to new speech-acts" (Foucault, 1981, p. 57). However, while Foucault (1981) acknowledges the author's agency in the creation of discourse, he places most emphasis on the "restrictive and constraining function" (p. 61) of the social structures conditioning individual utterances.

Practice, which Fairclough (1992) defines "as real instances of people doing or saying or writing things", he claims is "'neglected'" in Foucault's work and reduced to descriptions of the "rules" underlying a certain practice (p. 57). People are not "merely passively positioned", Fairclough argues (1992, p. 61), but are social actors who can contribute to reshaping the social world through discursive practices. Hence, he describes a more balanced relationship between the agency of social actors in discursive practices (as part of social practices) and the underlying social structures where "the latter is both condition for and an effect of the former" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). A discursive practice, according to Fairclough (2003) is regulated by "orders of discourse" (p. 3). Again, the term comes from Foucault (1981). Fairclough (1992) defines the term as "the totality of discursive practices" of a specific field, institution or society (p. 43). An order of discourse is the "network of social practices in its language aspect" accompanied by certain linguistic and semantic limitations and potentials in terms of "discourses, genres, and styles" (Fairclough, 2003, p 24). Through taking part in discursive practices, participants may exercise their agency and help shape, maintain and reshape the same orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2003).

In Fairclough's framework, a discursive practice is "the language dimension of a social practice". A central claim in CDA is that discursive practices contribute to maintaining social practices and the associated social structures such as those regarding the roles allocated to social actors and social relations. Conversely, discursive practices help reshape social practices and in turn the associated social structures. Given that a discursive practice may ascribe hegemony to a certain understanding of the social world to the extent that alternative understandings are excluded or subdued, it contributes to both "reproducing" and "transforming" the social world (Fairclough, 1992, p. 65). While there may not necessarily be a direct causal relationship between discursive practices and social practices, Fairclough (2003) contends that discourse "shapes the social world" by contributing to "changes in our knowledge, our beliefs, our attitudes and so forth" (p. 8) but also to concrete social action. If this is not the underlying premise, Fairclough argues, there is no point in addressing language as discourse (2003).

It is, however, necessary to distinguish between the effects of a single text or individual utterances and discourse. The latter, "with its recurring contents, symbols and strategies" leads to the solidification of "knowledge and therefore has sustained effects" (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 3). While some individuals and groups influence discourses more than others, still, as Jäger and Maier (2009) note, "nobody fully controls them or foresees their social implications" (p. 38). Thus, discourses are in most cases not orchestrated or manipulated by individuals or groups. In my understanding, when people engage in discursive practices they consciously or unconsciously promote certain understandings or provide legitimation for certain actions and thereby maintain or change them. As the findings from the present study suggest, features of the teachers' discursive practices silently sustain shared understandings, while sometimes allowing limited room for alternatives. When competing discourses are introduced into a discursive practice, they are negotiated in the context in which these practices operate and to various degrees merge with or challenge previous understandings. However, change in discursive practices contributes to change in our beliefs and common-sense knowledge, which potentially, along with a series of other factors, change how we act. These aspects of change and continuity are vital elements of CDA and particularly valuable in the present study.

Fairclough proposes that CDA should be not only *relational and dialectical* but also *transdisciplinary* (Fairclough, 2003). It the first respect, the present study is indeed relational as it focuses on the relations between individual texts, the teacher interviews and syllabi, and the immediate and distant discourses in which they engage and not on these entities per se. Second, it is dialectical because it examines the complex and contradictory nature of the negotiations between these texts (interviews and syllabi) and the surrounding social practices. In addition, Fairclough proposes a macro-analysis to go with the text analysis. While the "social analysis dimension" is present in this study, it does not aim to provide a broad macro-social analysis of social practices and structures as such a comprehensive analysis extends beyond the scope of the present study. Thus, with regards to a transdisciplinary macro-level "explanation" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73) which means, in Fairclough's words, "bringing theories and frameworks together to co-construct transdisciplinary objects of research" (2010, p. 6) this dimension receives some – by, for example, drawing on perspectives from curriculum history and Bernstein's social theory of education, but limited attention in this dissertation.

3.4 Theo van Leeuwen and texts as recontextualisations of social practices

I complement Fairclough's theoretical perspectives with van Leeuwen's approach to CDA. As Fairclough, Van Leeuwen (2009) places himself in the Foucauldian tradition, defining discourses "as context-specific frameworks for making sense of things" (p. 144). However, he only uses the term in the plural to refer to the many different co-existing or competing discourses regulating spoken, written, or other modes of representation. His theoretical position is that concrete social practices (what people do) lie at the core of every textual representation. In this line of thinking, a text is always a recontextulisation of social practices. Here, Van Leeuwen borrows Bernstein's term (2003b) to describe how social practices are decontextualised from their original setting and recontextualised into new ones, redefining their meaning in the process (Van Leeuwen, 2008, 2009). In the context of this dissertation, such recontextualisations can be considered as taking place when the teachers reflect on their EFL text practices in the context of the interview or when I, as the analyst, make sense of their reflections in a research article, several steps away from the actual classroom practices.

Van Leeuwen (2008) approaches discourses by studying a range of texts representing comparable social events rather than single texts as part of social events, as in Fairclough's case. The aim is to gain insight into "the many different ways in which texts represent social practices" and to investigate how social practices are recontextualised through "different modalities of institutionalized social control" (p. 10). In this way, Van Leeuwen's comparative approach fits the methodical design of the present study as I compare sets of syllabi and interviews dealing with EFL text practices. I also go along with Jørgensen and Phillips' view of a broader range of texts as making it easier to explore how different texts contribute to the maintenance and change of our notions of the world (2002).

Van Leeuwen lists a series of key elements belonging to social practices such as the ways in which actions take place or the *performance modes* of these actions or, the *social actors* participating, and the *resources* (e.g. tools and materials) required in each social practice (2008). These elements of social action are recontextualised and discursively reconstructed in specific ways, for instance in terms of the agency allocated to social actors. Van Leeuwen (2008) describes *eligibility conditions* recurring in discourses concerning a given social practice. These eligibility conditions define a specific group or type of social actors, resources and locations belonging to a specific social practice, such as pupils bringing their new schoolbag, not any other bag, to the classroom on their first day of school. In addition, specific *performance modes* regulate the actions taken by social actors, for instance, parents or teachers must ensure a calm and positive atmosphere on such an important day (Van

Leeuwen, 2008). Such eligibility conditions and performance modes are relevant when analysing the 18 teachers' reflections about their EFL text practices in terms of what text sources are "eligible" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 10) for use as English language learning material or what procedures count as performance modes in the EFL classroom.

While a given social practice always includes specific elements, discourses recontextulise social practices by emphasising, deemphasising or excluding some of these elements (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In addition, discourses transform elements or add new ones. For instance, the actions of social actors are discursively transformed into generalised behaviours and ascribed certain motives such as specific purposes or legitimations (2008). In this line of thinking, discourses contribute to "structuring areas of knowledge" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3) to keep these areas of knowledge apart. These classifying properties tie in with Bernstein's social theory of education (2003a, 2003b) and the terms *boundary maintenance* and *framing*. They decide whether the lines of demarcation between categories such as those between everyday knowledge and educational knowledge or between school subjects are sustained or dissolved. As previously mentioned, *framing* defines the internal communicative practices (comparable to Fairclough's notion of interdiscursivity: genres, discourses and styles) which help strengthen or weaken boundaries between areas of knowledge (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003b). Also, the "performance modes" and "eligibility conditions" (2008, pp. 10-12) described by Van Leeuwen coincides with Bernstein's description (2003b) of how "visible pedagogies" with their rules of assessment, procedure, and sequencing (p. 76) serve to frame and classify a certain area of knowledge and maintain its boundaries against other areas of knowledge.

Van Leeuwen and Fairclough both address issues of agency, the representation of social actors, purpose and legitimation in texts, drawing on Halliday's transitivity analysis (1978). Here, I find van Leeuwen's "socio-semantic inventory" (2008, p. 23) often provides more useful and transparent categories for analysing the positioning of social actors and the purpose and legitimation of social practices, which I will account for in some detail in the **Methods of analysis** chapter. Both scholars express hesitations with linguistic text analysis regarding its lack of focus on social relations or the broader societal dimensions (Fairclough, 1992) or its too heavy reliance on "linguistic structure potentials" to explain features of discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 10). Van Leeuwen states his aim is to show how discursive recontextualisations work "in the service of different interests" (2008, p. 6). This corresponds to Fairclough's project, which is exploring how specific interests, whether they are commercial, political or global, exercise their agenda through a struggle for discursive hegemony.

A troublesome point in Fairclough's CDA is the claim that meaning carried by discourse is available to participants in speech communities through orders of discourse which to various degrees guide them when they speak and act. The challenge here is how such a community is defined and to what extent the shared understanding is indeed accessible or commonly understood among its members. As Blommaert (2005) notes, the premise that existing discourses are also shared and available becomes increasingly more challenging with the size and diversity of speech communities. In the case of the present study, the current subject curriculum can be viewed as constituting an order of discourse capturing current principles for EFL text practices. It is highly relevant to ask to what extent such an overall order of discourse is shared among members of the field of English teaching, potentially encompassing teachers, scholars, textbook authors and curriculum legislators. While the discourses this syllabus draw on exist, they may, to different degrees, be available to teachers or actualised in their reasoning. It seems the views expressed by the 18 teachers' discursive practices concerning EFL text choice and use constitutes a "'local'" order of discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 69), which in various ways diverge from the overall order of discourse represented by the current syllabus for English. In addition, while people may be aware of a given discourse, they may engage with the meaning it carries from different "discourse positions" defined by Jäger & Maier (2009) as "the ideological position from which subjects, including individual, groups and institutions, participate in and evaluate discourse" (p. 49).

In my understanding, the discourse positions teachers develop are likely to depend on the networks of social practices to which they have been exposed as pupils as well as teachers. As discourses operate both horizontally across contemporary networks of social practices and travel vertically through time, previous understandings of EFL text choice and use abandoned by contemporary scholars in the field of English teaching may still coexist alongside more dominant ones and be available and actualised in the reasoning of present-day English teachers.

3.5 Summing up

This chapter has addressed the present study's theoretical underpinnings by concentrating on key perspectives from CDA. It has dealt with some challenges and limitations of using language as a source of knowledge in research. The main focus, however, has been on its potential for and relevance to the present study. For instance, Fairclough's three-dimensional framework allows an analysis of how texts – in this case teacher interviews and syllabi – negotiate with immediate or more distant discourses (situational, institutional and societal) in the reception and production of meaning. This framework also opens for an analysis of these negotiations' complexity through exploring

discourse types (genres, discourses, and styles) and of the role of intertextuality and assumptions in text and discourse. The issue of agency is central to this theoretical framework as individuals are considered social actors who through their participation in discursive practices contribute to both the maintenance and change of our perception of the social world and ultimately to change in its concrete practices. Here, Fairclough's theoretical perspectives (1992, 2003, 2010) on discourse and social change are linked to Bernstein's notions of classification, framing and boundary maintenance (2003a, 2003b) and Van Leeuwen's (2008, 2009) approach to the discursive "recontextualisations" of social practices. The CDA premise accounted for in this chapter is that what is present or promoted in texts or discourses gains its meaning from what is absent or subdued. In the analysis of the material, I exploit this binary opposition asking why discourses actualised in one context are absent in another or why "potentially relevant voices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 47) are represented in certain discourse contexts whereas opposing or competing understandings are deemphasised or excluded.

4 MATERIALS

This chapter describes the empirical material used in the present study and moves chronologically through the data generation processes. The processes are closely connected to the theoretical perspectives presented above in terms of the choice of material, the role of the researcher and validity of the findings. The empirical data encompasses about 25 hours and 279 pages of interviews with the 18 teachers. In addition, the study comprises syllabi for English from 1939 to the revised 2013 English Subject Curriculum (ME&R, 2013) totalling 168 pages.

4.1 Teacher interviews

The interviews and observations were conducted mainly over one year, from March 2013 to March 2014, followed by a last round of interviews in September of 2015 (Table 2). Furthermore, most of the teachers brought schedules or lists of the texts they had studied or planned to work with in their classes to the interview. Along with the observations, they worked as point of departure for the interviews. As will be accounted for later in this chapter, observation notes, schedules and plans formed a supporting material for the interpretation of interviews and syllabi, but were not subject to systematic analysis.

4.1.1 Choice of respondents

In the following sections, I will describe the chronological process of generating interview material. After having applied to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) for and received permission to conduct the study (Appendix 1), the first challenge was contacting teachers and then following up those willing to participate. I approached the teachers through their headmaster, informing him or her about my project and asking permission to send a letter of request by email to the school's English teachers. If the headmaster granted permission, I then approached the teachers inviting them to contact me if they wanted, and advising them that I would call soon (Appendix 2).

The teachers who volunteered come from six schools, ranging from one to six from each school. Out of the 40 teachers I contacted, one teacher answered my email and 17 teachers agreed to participate in the study after I had telephoned them at their office. At one school, the headmaster asked one staff member to find possible respondents. She identified two teachers but it is unknown whether she asked all English teachers at this school, how many or what criteria were used to recruit them. One might assume she approached teachers she thought most likely to be interested in participating. Interestingly, at some schools, there was a general willingness to participate, whereas, at other schools, teachers were more hesitant. Thus, at one school only one among the eight English teachers

on the headmaster's list volunteered whereas, at another, six out of eight teachers agreed to take part.

The participants were *purposefully sampled* (Patton, 1990) to constitute a heterogeneous group regarding gender, experience, age, and educational background and to ensure some level of representativeness. One challenge encountered was recruiting male teachers, primarily because they were a minority in the six schools, and I wanted a minimum of two teachers from each school. This allowed the possibility of finding coinciding features in interviews with teachers at the same school or diverging features between schools. Therefore, an imbalance in gender representation was contended with by choosing schools where no men or a minority of men participated. In one school, however, there was only one respondent but since he was a male teacher, he was included to improve gender balance.

Table 1 demonstrates that the whole group is heterogeneous regarding teaching experience and educational background as well as gender. Even though 13 of the 18 teachers are women, the respondents constitute a relatively diverse group. The teachers are evenly distributed regarding age, which range from 24 to 60 years old at the time of the interview. Except for one teacher, all have the minimum 60 credits required of English teachers in lower secondary schools, either from a university college or university.

Table 1: Educational background and teaching experience

Schools No.	**Teachers**	**Educational background (in addition to English)**	**Years of teaching experience**
1	3 teachers (1)*	social science (1), history (1), political studies (1), Norwegian (1), literature studies (1), L3 (1)	1 1/2, 3, 13
2	2 teachers (2)*	Norwegian (2), literature (1)	12, 13
3	1 teacher	social science (1), religion (1)	29
4	2 teachers	Norwegian (1), sign language (1)	8, 15
5	4 teachers	history (2), Norwegian (1), technology (1), French (1), geography (1), music (1)	5, 10, 11, 28
6	6 teachers	physical education (2), religion (2), social science (2), Norwegian (1), natural science (1), media (1), arts and crafts (1), French (1), music (1)	1, 3, 5, 17, 20, 20

* Number of teachers with more than 60 credits in English

Three teachers hold MA's in English as indicated by the asterisk, as shown in the second column. In addition to English, the teachers have all studied one or more other subject(s) as part of their teacher education, typically Norwegian or a social science subject (history, geography). Seven have additional

studies in topics such as literature, French, and music. The number in parentheses indicates how many teachers at each school have studied these different subjects. Among the four teachers interviewed in school 5, for instance, two have studied history. As the fourth column reflects, teaching experience range from 1 to 29 years. Table 1 gives an impression of this group of 18 teachers' age, experience and educational background.

The teachers' educational background and teaching experience seem to have some bearing on their answers, as touched upon Articles I, II and III. However, correspondence in the teachers' reflections is often easier to trace among participants teaching at the same school. Obviously, when seeking coinciding or diverging features at one specific school or drawing comparisons between schools it makes more sense to consider schools with higher numbers of respondents. A higher number of teachers from the same school also provided a "thick[er] description" (Geertz, 1973) for interpreting teacher interviews, simply because I could visit the same school several times, especially when a primary interview was followed by an observation and a subsequent interview.

When the background variables are broken down to the school level, they become increasingly less reliable in terms of establishing correspondences between them and the teachers' reasoning. Also, it is important to note the teachers interviewed are not the only English teachers at their schools. This means that what might be perceived as possible common features of teachers' talk existing at a particular school cannot be explored beyond those participating in the study. However, relationships between background variables and the teachers' reasoning do not receive much attention in this study, first because of the relatively small number of respondents, and second, exploring such correlations is not the main aim of this study. The focus is exploring certain notable features of the teachers' reasoning that are recognisable across schools, educational backgrounds, and teaching experience.

4.1.2 Conducting interviews

Interviews with 18 teachers were conducted with each lasting approximately one hour. Seven of the 18 teachers were interviewed a second time after classroom observations were completed, as illustrated in Table 2. The interviews were semi-structured and covered a predetermined set of topics with suggestions for specific questions (Appendix 3). Each secondary interview lasted 20–45 minutes and dealt with mostly the same topics as in the primary interviews (Appendix 4). The first two rounds of interviews, covering twelve primary and seven secondary interviews, were conducted during one year from March 2013 to March 2014. An additional six teachers were included in the study in the

autumn of 2015 as there were certain issues needing further explanation. These rounds of interviews are further accounted for in the **Methods of analysis** chapter.

Table 2: Overview of interviews

Rounds	Time periods	Primary interviews	Secondary interviews/observations
Round 1	March 2013 – April 2013	5 primary interviews	2 secondary interviews following observations
Round 2	October 2013 – March 2014	7 primary interviews	5 secondary interviews following observations
Round 3	September 2015	6 primary interviews	No secondary interviews or observations

A relatively loose, semi-structured interview was chosen to allow space for the teachers to develop their reasoning (Kvale & Brinkman, 2015). While interviews covered the same main topics, the teachers were not necessarily asked the exact same questions or responded to them in the same order. The teacher's views were often elicited by following up a topic the teacher had initiated, sometimes just by nodding, gesturing or in other ways encouraging the teacher to further explore a given point. Listening to teachers' concerns while simultaneously keeping the research questions in mind was made possible by utilising this strategy (Kvale & Brinkman, 2015). In addition, most teachers brought plans and schedules for the current school year to the interview, providing a useful starting point for the teachers' reasoning as explained in several of the articles. For the secondary interviews, the preceding observations served as valuable starting points. Hence, interviews enabled insights into teachers' understanding of their text practices while allowing an impression of "naturally occurring manifestations of language" (De Beaugrande, 1980, p. 1). Finally, it gave respondents an opportunity to introduce other and sometimes more valuable perspectives than the ones previously envisioned and helped shape the questions in consecutive interviews. The teachers were asked questions related to three main topics (Appendix 3):

- Choice of text (what types of texts, where they are sourced and why they are chosen)
- Criteria for text choice (personal, professional, pedagogical, contextual)
- The teachers' experiences and reasoning about the use of concrete texts/combinations of texts

These questions are primarily related to the concrete choices the teachers make when deciding which texts to read and how to use them. The teachers' responses and reflections about these questions are valuable in several ways. Obviously, they provide answers to the questions concerning choosing and using texts. Allowing the teachers space to elaborate on their text practices provided insights into teachers' reasoning concerning actual classroom challenges as well their more abstract

generalisations about teaching and learning. I realised when asking more abstract questions, for instance about the purpose of reading in English or how they view their practices in relation to the current syllabus, some teachers seemed to feel uncomfortable. Some of the teachers were possibly not accustomed to answering questions concerning the didactical justifications for their text practices whereas I, on the other hand, had made it my job to explore such didactical justifications. This indicates that our perspectives or the discourse positions from which we spoke differed. Other teachers seemed to reflect on more overreaching matters, or at least their explanations appeared more readily available. To make the teachers feel as confident as possible within the context of the interview and reduce asymmetry between interviewer and interviewee, I would do both, meaning, ask concrete questions related to concrete classroom text practices as well as more general questions about choosing and using texts in the EFL classroom. To facilitate a fair representation of the teachers' reasoning, I often paused and asked the teachers to clarify or expand upon their answer.

Interviews were conducted in Norwegian, the first language of both interviewer and interviewees. They were recorded and later transcribed and analysed in Norwegian. Excerpts for use in the extended abstract and articles were then translated into English. Regarding the translation of interview excerpts, I have chosen words and expressions intended to capture the teachers' reflections as accurately as possible. However, transcribing and translating interview material involve processes of interpretations and recontextualisations (Bernstein, 2003b; Van Leeuwen, 2009). In the first instance, the spoken interaction of interviews is recontextualised into an academic setting as written representations, in the second; the meaning made in one language is interpreted by the resources of another. These processes all rely on the researcher's interpretation of the respondents' reflections, an issue that will be dealt with below and in the **Methods of analysis** chapter.

4.1.3 The role of the interviewer

The theoretical perspectives on language discussed in the theory section inform the epistemological approach to interviews. This implies, for instance, that meaning created in the interview is not there, waiting for the researcher to uncover (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), but rather, it is shaped and reshaped through language by respondent and researcher. Still, while being very aware of the contextual nature of language in use, the possible constraints on respondents in interviews, and the inherent asymmetric relationship between interviewer and interviewee, its implications did not fully dawn on me until the first interviews. The simple word "text", for instance, as I might have anticipated, does not necessarily cover a similarly wide range of meanings (e.g. films,

pictures, music) among the teachers as it does in my thinking. Furthermore, I noticed several of the teachers gradually adapted their understanding of the word to mine and it seemed my own voice was reflected in their explanations. This awareness made me reconsider the words and terms I used, to match the teachers' usage more closely.

The teachers' willingness to comply with the interview context likely contributed to their representation of classroom practices. It is also likely my participation brought the teacher in dialogue with my own discourse position as an educator and researcher regarding how to talk about texts in EFL contexts. In addition, Freeman argues, researchers must acknowledge "that what they hear is a function of who they are" (1996). He calls the dialogue between the participants in the interview situation a "teacher-researcher dyad" (Freeman, 1996, p. 748). In addition, as explained in the theory chapter, the interview draws on certain genre-specific characteristics conditioning participants' meaning making regarding what can and should be articulated, what words to use and what meaning should remain tacit. Thus, the interview context establishes a repertoire of meaning among which participants can choose. However, as will be illustrated in the **Methods of analysis** chapter, the teachers would often bring in topics related to later questions or give fuller answers to previous questions when elaborating on another question. In addition, several other topics emerged which were somewhat loosely connected to the questions asked but worth pursuing. Thus, while, I, as the researcher can seem in "'topic-control'" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 10), the teachers actively used their agency to draw on genres, discourses, and styles embedded in their school contexts.

Challenges concerning how meaning is made and perceived through language are not limited to the interview situation. Such attention should be paid to the processes of reception and interpretation throughout the stages of analysis. My own assumptions about what words refer to and my evaluations of their salience or prominence mean some features will be foregrounded from the initial interviews, throughout the processes of transcription and analysis, at the expense of others. My interpretative framework merges aspects of my own practice theory from twenty-five years of teaching in upper secondary and higher education as well as my social background, age, gender and political persuasions and with the theoretical perspectives informing this study. Even though I reflect upon and aim to suspend my own presumptions in the analysis of material, there will be blind spots escaping my attention. The considerations concerning the contextual limitation of the meaning made in interviews, however, are balanced against the understanding that individual utterances are inseparable to and embedded in social practices and their associated social structures. Therefore, what the 18 teachers say in interviews may resonate with other teachers' utterances regarding the choice and use of texts in the EFL classroom.

4.2 Syllabi for English, 1939–2013

This set of empirical material consists of 11 syllabi prescribing the teaching practices for the subject English in Norwegian schools. Except for the syllabus in the 1939 circular and 1957 preliminary syllabus, which were obtained from the National Centre for Educational Resources (Nasjonalt læremiddelsenter), the other syllabi (1939a, 1950, 1960, 1964, 1974, 1987, 1997, 2006) are accessible online at the Norwegian National Library (Nasjonalbiblioteket). From 1997, syllabi are also available in English translation. Excerpts from syllabi predating 1997 have been translated by me. The current syllabus for English is located on the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training's website.

4.2.1 Choice of syllabi

I will present these syllabi chronologically and briefly explain their relevance to the present study. Table 3 below begins with the 1939 common syllabus for English (from now on referred to as the 1939a syllabus). The second is a syllabus included in a ministerial circular from 1939 containing information about reading plans for the lower secondary level (the 1939b syllabus). Several such circulars were issued in accordance with the 1935 Education Act, however, curriculum making was belated until after the WW2 and the German occupation years. The English syllabus in the 1939 circular and later editions form the basis for the 1950 syllabus. The 1939b and 1950 syllabi prescribe English teaching for a select group of pupils at the secondary level but continue to influence the 1939b syllabus for the common school and later syllabi until the late 1960s when English was made accessible to all Norwegian adolescents. The 1960 and 1964 syllabi are part of the experimental curricula toward lower secondary schooling and of specific interest, as they seem to juggle past and future demands. These circumstances are further accounted for in Article I.

Several editions or revisions of these 11 syllabi exist, for instance, a 1959 revision of the 1950 syllabus and a 1971 preliminary edition of the 1974 syllabus. I have chosen to focus on these 11 syllabi as they provide insight into changing emphases in the teaching of English in Norway in general terms as well as the shifting notions of reading presented in Article I. The last two syllabi on the list are named subject curricula, a term introduced in the Knowledge Promotion Act of 2006 (ME&R, 2006b).

While syllabi vary in content, length, and the nature and level of detail, certain features persist through time. Most of the 11 syllabi present overall aims for the teaching of English after a shorter or longer introduction justifying new teaching practices. The syllabi typically list 3-4 aims mainly related to skills in reading, pronunciation, listening and speaking and knowledge of vocabulary and grammar.

At the secondary level, they also include matters of culture and society in the UK and the USA. However, while language aims are kept throughout, other issues such as the building of cultural awareness take up increasingly more space in English syllabi from 1987 onwards. In 1997, the main subject elements are linked to subject-related objectives for each stage. From 2006, the content is organised in terms of "main subject areas" with specific competence aims after years 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11/12. Some of the syllabi include descriptions of exam procedures and requirements.

Table 3: Syllabi regulating English teaching in Norway, 1939–2013

	Syllabi for English	School years	Outline and content	Requirements/ recommendations
1	**1939a**: Common syllabus for primary education in urban areas (6 pages) Teaching hours: 5–5	6–7	**Aims** – "a good pronunciation" – "ability to understand, read, speak and write the language within a strictly limited area" – "confident knowledge of central features of English grammar" – "an active vocabulary (ca. 1000 words) covering the most common and useful words" **Instruction** (method) **Course plans** years 6 and 7 List of active and passive vocabulary	100 pages from approved textbook Required active and passive vocabulary (1000 active words)
2	**1939b**: Syllabus for English in a governmental circular outlining new plans for academic subjects in secondary schools (2 pages) Teaching hours: 4–4–4	8–10	**Aims** – "a good pronunciation" – "ability to read, confident knowledge of everyday spoken and written English" – "some ability to speak and write the language" – "some knowledge of nature, work life and social condition in England" **Methodical comments** **Reading plan** **Exams**	230 pages from approved textbook
3	**1950**: Syllabus for secondary education (9 pages). Differentiated plans Teaching hours: 3 years B:4-4-4 2 years: 7–7(6) 3 years A: 7–6–5	8–10 (11–13)	**Aims** – "ability to understand an easy text and everyday English" – "ability to use English, both spoken and written (…)" – "some knowledge of nature, work life and social condition in the UK and USA" **Method** **Use of grammar** **Writing** **Reading plan** **Differentiated course plans** **Exams**	170 pages approved texts

	Syllabi for English	School years	Outline and content	Requirements/ recommendations
4	**1957**: Preliminary syllabus "for an English teaching for all" (24 pages) Teaching hours: 3–3–3	5–7	**Aims** – "to teach pupils to understand simple and easy spoken language and to read simple and easy English texts" – "to teach pupils to make themselves understood in English – primarily spoken English – but also, if necessary, in writing – through good pronunciation and a small, but active, practical and useful vocabulary (…)" – "to give pupils knowledge of English grammar as much as necessary to understand the language" **Comments (method)** **Main elements** (correspond to aims) **Instructions** (methods for working with the main elements for each year including lists of grammatical items) **Course plans** years 5, 6 and 7 (with vocabulary lists)	Approved textbook Active vocabulary: 800–1000 words
5	**1960**: English syllabus in the experimental curriculum for universal lower secondary education (38 pages) Differentiated plans from year 7 Teaching hours: 4-4-5	7–9	**Aims** – "to teach pupils to understand simple and easy spoken and to read simple and easy English texts" – "to teach pupils to make themselves understood in English–primarily spoken English–but also, as far as possible, in writing–by emphasising a good pronunciation and a practical and useful vocabulary (…)" – "to give the pupils an introduction to everyday life, history and geography and literature for young people in English-speaking countries (…)" – "to give the pupils knowledge of the main grammatical components in the texts the pupils read (…) to understand the language and develop skills in writing" **General comments** (differentiation) **Main elements** (correspond to aims) **Course plans 1, 2 ,3** Requirements Instructions (methods for working with the main elements) for each course	Plan 1: Years 7/8/9: 170 pages + 1800–2500 words Plan 2: Years 7/8/9: 270 pages + 2300–3000 words Plan 3: Years 7/8/9: 360 pages + 4000 words

	Syllabi for English	School years	Outline and content	Requirements/ recommendations
6	**1964**: English syllabus in the experimental curriculum for lower secondary education (29 pages) Differentiated plans from year 8 Teaching hours: 4-4-4	7–9	As in the 1960 syllabus	Year 7 (Common plan): 125 pages + 900 words Year 8/9: Plan 1: 120 pages + 1800 words Plan 2: 190 pages + 2300 words Plan 3: 225 pages + 2800 words
7	**1974**: Common English syllabus in the national curriculum for primary and lower secondary education (20 pages)	(3) 4–9	**Aims** – "to give pupils practical skills to give them increased possibilities for contact, orally and in writing" – "to build a good basis as possible for continued teaching in the subject" – "to build an attitude to the language to ensure that the pupils gain an interest in developing their skills and a wish to use the language" **Teaching topics/material** **Distribution of learning material and work at the different levels** **Methods** (by which to address the aims) **Learning material** **Assessment** Lists of grammatical items for each year Vocabulary lists	"a complete system for language learning" or a textbook with adapted material for oral and written exercises
8	**1987**: Common English syllabus in the national curriculum for primary and lower secondary education (8 pages) Teaching hours Years: 4–6: 7 Years: 7–9: 9	4–9	**Aims** – "to develop pupils' skills in listening to, speaking, reading and writing the language so that they can understand and express themselves and dear to use the language" – "to develop an interest in learning foreign languages (…)" – "to help pupils understand that English is a tool for acquiring valuable knowledge and experiences and (…) to become acquainted more directly with people and social conditions in other countries" – "to help pupils understand and accept the problems everybody encounters when using another language than their mother tongue" **Learning material and progression** **Work methods** **Learning materials** **Main topics and subtopics** for each level (linked to aims)	

	Syllabi for English	School years	Outline and content	Requirements/ recommendations
9	**1997**: English syllabus in the Curriculum for the 10-year compulsory school in Norway (10 pages) Teaching hours Years: 1–4: 95 Years: 5–7: 266 Years: 8–10: 342	1–10	**Introduction** **Approaches to the study of English** **The structure of the subject** (comprising four main areas linked to General aims) General aims: – "to develop pupils' ability to use spoken and written English, and to encourage them to interact with people from English-speaking and other cultures" – "to develop pupils' awareness of communicative situations and English usage and their perspectives on the foreign culture as well as their own" – "to promote pupils' insight into what it is to learn English and their capacity to take charge of their own learning (…)" **Objectives and main subject elements** to be dealt with in grades 1–4, 5–7 and 8–10	
10	**2006:** "The English Subject Curriculum" in the National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion (LK06) (11 pages) Teaching hours: Years 1–7: 328 Years 8–10: 227 Year 11(11–12): 140 (vocational studies)	1–11(12)	**The objectives of the subject** **Main subject areas** – communication – culture, society and literature – language learning **Teaching hours** **Basic skills** (writing, speaking, reading, numeracy, digital skills) **Competence aims** after years 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11 (12) for each of the main subject areas **Subject assessment**	
11	**2013:** "The English Subject Curriculum" in LK06 (revised) (11 pages) Teaching hours: Years 1–4: 138 Years 5–7: 228 Years 8–10: 222 Year 11: 140 Year 11 (11–12): 84–56 (vocational studies)	1–11(12)	**Purpose** **Main subject areas** – language learning – oral communication – written communication – culture, society and literature **Teaching hours** **Basic skills** (writing, speaking, reading, numeracy, digital skills) **Competence aims** after years 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11 (12) for each of the main subject areas **Subject assessment**	

4.2.2 Syllabi characteristics

The syllabi vary considerably considering the number of pages they cover. The 1960 syllabus, for example, while outlining only three years of lower secondary teaching, consists of 38 pages, whereas the 1987 syllabus for the years 4–9 has 8 pages. Their differing lengths are partly due to the 1960 syllabus including three differentiated course plans, whereas the 1987 syllabus outlines an unstreamed English teaching program. In addition, syllabi from 1939 to 1964 spend considerable space describing and explaining appropriate methodical approaches for all grades. They require an approved textbook or selection of texts and state minimum requirements for the number of pages and words to be read or learned as indicated in Table 3. The 1950, 1960 and 1964 syllabi all provide detailed instructions for each of the differentiated courses regarding the number of pages and vocabulary size.

Until 1974, syllabi were often referred to as “minimum plans” (Gundem, 2008, p.41) defining the minimum knowledge and skills to be learned. Later syllabi are called “maximums plans” or “frameworks” (Gundem, 2008, p. 41) as they allow for choosing the modes of teaching and learning. However, as in 1957, the 1974 syllabus includes lists of high-frequency words quantifying the words pupils must learn. Additionally, it recommends grammatical items to be covered each year. While these lists are called guides and not requirements, they appear to be important because they make up 16 of the 20 pages of the syllabus. In addition, the 1974 syllabus demands a “complete system for language learning to be used” (MC&E, p. 150) or a textbook with appropriately sequenced exercises. Thus, as Article I illustrates, this syllabus leaves limited room for choosing classroom approaches or material on the part of teachers and pupils.

In addition, as illustrated in Table 3, the detailed method or instruction sections, which dominate until 1974, disappear in later syllabi. In the 1997 syllabus, they were replaced by descriptions of “main subject elements” (MER&CA, 1999, English version of the 1997 syllabus) which tie in with the subject’s general aims. The focus is on how pupils should engage with these elements – as for instance “encountering the spoken and written language” (MER&CA, 1999, p. 239) – at the different stages. In the last two syllabi, descriptions of competence aims after years 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11 (12) receive the most attention. As shown in Article I, curricula and syllabi have thus moved from being method-oriented (1939–1974) via an emphasis on the pupils’ learning processes and the content of the teaching (1987–1997) and, in recent decades, to outcome-oriented (2006–2013).

While the syllabi maintain certain recognisable genre features through time with regards to stating the aims of English teaching, justifying pedagogical priorities and suggesting how to address them,

other features have changed. For instance, the method-oriented syllabi not only provide instructions for classroom procedures, they also speak directly to the teachers and name the specific teaching methods to be applied, such as the "direct-method" in the syllabi from 1939 to 1950 (MC&E, 1939a, 1939b, 1950) and the "aural-oral" method in the 1960s syllabi (MC&E, 1960, p. 207). The 1957 syllabus, for instance, is adamant that the teaching of English no longer follows the "traditional teaching in the common school" (MC&E, 1957, p. 168). Thus, this and other syllabi openly announce their intent to change English teachers' ways. While their theoretical and ideological underpinning can be traced, later curricula or syllabi do not explicitly favour certain methods or compare them to previous ones. In the current outcome-oriented curricula, for example, the underlying premise is that the competence aims are intended for appropriation, interpretation, and adaption to local contexts by teachers and school owners but without this premise being made explicit to readers.

The two main types of material used in this study, teacher interviews and English syllabi, differ in one important way from each other. The interview material is generated specifically for use in this study, whereas the second exists independently of my efforts. As mentioned above, the meaning emerging from teacher interviews is a result of common contributions of interviewer and interviewee. However, while the syllabi contents remain the same, the interpretations presented in this dissertation are undoubtedly coloured by this study's research agenda. As is the case for teacher interviews, excerpts from syllabi were translated into English to illustrate discursive features of both types of material. Great care has been taken to represent content and form in the original versions as faithfully as possible. This is particularly important since the choice of specific words and expressions in syllabi and interviews are significant elements in the analysis.

4.3 Supporting material

In addition to the interviews and syllabi, I have used the schedules and plans teachers brought to the interview as well as seven classroom observations as supporting material.

The schedules and plans for the current or previous school year teachers provided are generally common yearly plans covering one specific level or, in some instances, all three lower secondary levels of English. In some cases, they are integrated plans for all subjects at the same school level. The common plans for English typically list the titles of chapters and often, the textbook texts to be used. Most are term plans or two-week class schedules, the latter with more detailed information about tasks and homework. Sometimes, the schedules also include additional or alternative texts, such as films, novels or you-tube links. A few teachers also brought examples of such texts to the interviews. These documents provide an impression of the teachers' text practices but more

importantly their understanding of text choice and text use. For example, a couple of the teachers brought no plans at all because they follow the textbook's outline chronologically, which makes separate plans redundant. Furthermore, texts sourced outside the textbook are often not included in the common plans. Therefore, when the teachers mention texts sourced elsewhere, there is often no record of them.

Seven teachers were observed in their classrooms while actively teaching. My role on these occasions was that of a "nonparticipant/observer as participant" (Creswell 2013, p. 167). This implied that my presence was noticeable, but that I was seated at the back of the classroom without actively engaging with the pupils or the teacher. While field notes were taken while observing the English lessons (based on a premade observation form, see Appendix 4) these have not been subject to structured analysis. They were still valuable as they provided some anchoring in the classroom practices teachers describe in interviews. Observations offer insights into classroom interactions, showing other aspects than those emerging from interviews (Simons, 2009). Moreover, they served as a very concrete basis for the teachers' reflections in the subsequent interviews. In this last respect, the primary and secondary interviews' contexts differ because the conversation in the latter case shifts from an emphasis on the teachers' reasoning concerning choosing and using texts to classroom pressures and negotiations. These issues are imminently present in the minds of both interviewer and interviewee after the lesson. The example presented in the **Introduction** seems to illustrate this point well. While the concern for the pupils who "understand only a few words" is also strongly reflected in the primary interviews, these classroom concerns seem to contribute to the teacher's reflections even more forcefully. While the different interview contexts probably have some bearing on the teachers' answers, I have chosen not to deal with them any further, mainly due to lack of space in the articles.

4.4 Summing up

This chapter has presented the empirical material for the present study, which consists of interviews with 18 teacher and the 11 syllabi for English. It has described the selection criteria for the two types of materials. Attention has been given to how teacher interviews have been conducted in compliance with the main aim of the study, which is to facilitate an exploration of the teachers' discursive practices. It also accounts for the selection of syllabi for English from 1939 to 2013, providing a historical backdrop for present-day English teachers' reasoning about their choice and use of texts. Likewise, the chapter has accounted for the role of the supporting material as an interpretive context for teacher interviews.

5 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Analytical processes in this research have gone through several stages from the first coarse thematisations of the material to the more systematic and detailed analysis of textual and discursive features. In these processes, I have applied perspectives belonging to different theoretical levels and for different purposes, as described in the theory chapter. The methods of analysis accounted for in this section draw on Fairclough's (1992, 2003, 2010) and Van Leeuwens' (2008, 2009) approaches to CDA and their tools for textual analysis. The findings that I construe from the analysis are also related to previous literature. Thus, I have applied a largely abductive methodology to interpret the material (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

As previously explained, a central question in CDA, as in this analysis, is the inherent binary opposition between what is present and absent and how this opposition is realised in text and discourse. These questions drive all stages of the analysis. In the initial stages, I looked for recurrent features concerning both content and form, while attending to discordant features. In the more detailed analysis of the interviews and syllabi, I found supplementing Fairclough's framework with Van Leeuwen's approach useful, as the latter allows a comparison between different texts representing comparable social events. When comparing texts, one becomes aware of the similarities and differences between them. In this respect, my analysis is closer to van Leeuwen's analytical approach (2008) addressing a corpus of texts related to instances of the same social practice: EFL text choice and use.

5.1 Initial analysis of the material

I analysed syllabi and interviews in comparable ways by first addressing each text regarding content and form before placing them in the context of the other interviews or syllabi. This approach has been particularly important in relation to the interviews to avoid being too focused on finding coinciding patterns and consequently being less aware of potential differences. In this way, the analysis "oscillates" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3) between the three CDA dimensions, as shown in Figure 1, i.e. the text, the discursive practice and the social practice dimension.

Juxtaposing the different teacher interviews gives an impression of commonly shared understandings of EFL text practices and those expressed only by a few. The discursive elements that are present in one interview accentuate those that are absent in another and make one aware of the meaning that might have been expressed but was not actualised across interviews. Similarly, as shown in Article I, placing syllabi written at different times next to each other gives an impression of what EFL text

practices are promoted at different times and which ones are left aside by new pedagogical ideas. As syllabi mirror shifting educational discourses, the teachers were probably exposed to different discourses when they were pupils themselves, and this experience contributed to shaping their current discourse positions concerning their subject and its teaching practices. Therefore, it is not very surprising that aspects of the teachers' meaning making sometimes bear resemblance to syllabi representations of EFL text practices. The first two rounds of interviews made me aware of such correspondences. To enable pursuing them further, I included an additional six teachers in the study, as illustrated in Table 2. Other questions also emerged during the first two rounds of interviews, and I felt these were not sufficiently explored. However, rather than returning to the first two sets of teachers to further investigate their views, I expanded the number of respondents. The new contributions were accommodated into the initial interpretations with the addition of new dimensions to categories or the deepening of existing dimensions. Thus, including these six voices into the interview material aimed to provide adequate breadth and depth for the development of categories (Morse et al., 2002) and discourse themes.

When analysing the material, I first organised each teacher's reasoning according to **Text choice** (composition, criteria, selection processes), **Text approaches** and the **Aims of text practices**, as shown in Sample 1. This specific sample is selected from the interview with the teacher featured in the introduction. The teacher explains that texts dealing with history and society are prioritised not only when choosing texts from the textbook but also when finding additional texts, such as films, songs and poetry. Compared with most of the other teachers I interviewed, this teacher has a lengthier list of additional texts; however, her main text source is the textbook. In part, this is because the textbook serves as the point of departure for her and her colleagues' collective planning. In addition, she finds the textbook texts rather challenging and thus feels obliged to spend considerable time and effort on vocabulary work and translation to ensure that each pupil has some understanding of the text. This strategy, however, leaves little room for what she considers an important aim of text work, which is to make pupils relate to historical and social issues. One way to achieve this, the teacher explains later in the interview, is by using fictional films. This teacher's reasoning about the value of fictional films is recognisable across the interview material when the teachers speak about engaging pupils in ethical issues or the lives of people elsewhere. At the same time, a salient feature of this teacher's reasoning and found across teacher interviews is the challenge of mixed language abilities among pupils.

The teachers' reflections in Sample 1 yield at least three discourse themes: the "naturalised" role of the textbook, teachers' notions of EFL reading procedures and assumptions about the value of films.

Furthermore, the teacher's reflections bring attention to discourse themes indirectly related to teaching English. For example, an element of this and the other teachers' reflections is the emphasis on personal interest as a criterion for text choice. I relate this element to questions concerning teachers' individual versus collective decision making in Article II.

Sample 1: Initial analysis of teacher interviews (T: Teacher, I: Interviewer)

Explanation	**Text choice (composition/ criteria, selection)**	**Text approaches**	**Aims of text practices**
I: What texts do you chose? T: Well, most are from the textbook. I: What texts from the textbooks do you choose? T: I'm very interested in history, so the texts that deal with history, I find them very interesting, and they are the ones I like the best. In this textbook, there are many texts about history, and perhaps too few literary texts. I miss that, and, therefore, I have included (…) some authentic texts (…) I: You do have some texts taken from other sources? T: There are some (…) films, maps, other texts. I: How do you choose the texts? T: I choose, well, we use the textbook chapters as a basis for our cooperation and choose texts according to what [texts] seem interesting and how difficult they are. The challenge with this textbook (…) is that it is much more difficult than the previous one. This influences how I work with the texts (…) I: Can you say something about that? T: Let's say it takes longer, in a way. But this is what I have to do, not every time but quite often. We simply read the text, we listen to the text on tape or I read the text, or the pupils read the paragraphs, one at a time. Then, we have to talk about the challenging words (…), and then we help one another translate because otherwise, at least half the class will lose so big parts of the texts that it becomes incomprehensible to them (…)	**Composition:** – mainly textbook texts – factual texts about history or social conditions – some additional authentic texts: films, print texts (poetry, songs) **Criteria:** – level of difficulty in language and vocabulary – interesting content – teacher's personal interest – professional judgment **Selection processes:** – individual decision making based on interest – collective decision making based on textbook chapters	– read the text – listen to the recording – the teacher reads – the pupils read – deal with the words – help one another translate	– to learn vocabulary – to ensure everybody has some understanding of the text – to make the pupils engage with social and historical topics

In addition to these three discourse themes, certain discursive features of the teachers' speech caught my attention during the initial analysis. For instance text work is often described as both tiresome ("it takes longer") and unavoidable ("this is what I have to do", "we have to talk about the challenging words"), and as consisting of a collective close-reading procedure of reading, vocabulary

work and translation ("we help one another translate"). The initial analysis of the interviews resulted in the nine discourse themes listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Discourse themes construed from the initial analysis of interviews

EFL text practices	Discourse themes
Text choice (composition, criteria and processes) Approaches to texts Aims of text practices	– Individual versus collective decision making (Article II) – Textbook reliance/ambivalence (Article II) – Local considerations versus external demands (Article II, Article III) – Perceptions of EFL reading (Article III) – Reading ambivalence (Article III) – Learner autonomy versus teacher control (Article III) – Reading versus watching films (Article IV) – The value of ELF film use (Article IV) – Pupils' mixed abilities, establishing common ground, social inclusion – Assumptions about the pupils' learning, their text habits and preferences

These discourse themes were then further investigated by using the analytical approaches listed in Table 6. The first eight discourse themes in Table 4 are treated consecutively in Articles II, III and IV. The remaining two discourse themes concern the pupils' mixed abilities and assumptions about their learning and preferences, which seem to recur in each aspect of the teachers' EFL text practices that they spoke about in the interviews.

Corresponding aspects of EFL text practices were addressed in the initial analysis of the syllabi, as exemplified in Sample 2. The syllabi were investigated both horizontally and vertically. They were examined horizontally by asking what a syllabus at a given time says about text selection and classroom text use, as well as the types of texts, how they can be approached and the aims of these text practices in the teaching of English, and vertically by comparing how these questions were dealt with at different points in time. To illustrate this point, we can look at the EFL text practices promoted in two different syllabi, from 1974 and 1987. When studying the 1974 syllabus, for instance, we can observe that the main criterion for text choice is that texts are designed with careful attention to language learning progression. This is also the case for the prescribed text approaches focusing on speaking and pronunciation exercises. Both text choice and text approaches align with contemporary language learning theory emphasising habit formation and behaviourist drilling of language patterns, as accounted for in Article I.

A glimpse at the 1987 syllabus suggests a very different view of the aims of text use, compared with that in the 1974 syllabus. For instance, while the 1974 syllabus focuses on verbal print texts, the 1987 syllabus describes texts as "all the material that pupils come in contact with, material that they are going to read, look at or listen to" (MC&E, p. 210). Additionally, while the 1974 syllabus refers to

texts as "language material" (MC&E, p. 147) for the drilling of language patterns, the 1986 syllabus proposes the development of pupils' "critical assessment" (MC&E, p. 211) of, for example, films and TV programmes. Here, the 1987 syllabus incorporates contemporary discourses along the following two dimensions: broadening the scope of what counts as texts beyond verbal print texts, as well as the emerging emphasis on learner autonomy, and making teaching relevant to the pupils' experiences.

Sample 2: Initial analysis of syllabi

	Text choice (composition/ source/criteria)	**Text approaches**	**Aims of text practices**
1974	– texts with an increasingly higher number of high-frequency words, expressions and grammatical patterns – descriptions, stories and dialogues that form the basis for rehearsing words, expressions and language patterns – complementary reading adapted to the pupils' interests and abilities – texts with information about everyday life, geography and social conditions in English-speaking countries – complementary materials, such as radio and TV programmes and texts for free reading not excluded – texts that are interesting both for boys and girls and are adapted to the pupils' maturity level	– listening and speaking exercises related to recorded materials, pictures or read texts – controlled speaking exercises related to textbook texts – simple conversations or accounts based on texts read – summaries of texts read – intensive text treatment depending on an in-depth study of texts led by the teacher – the teacher reads aloud or plays the recorded text; reading of not previously treated language material should not occur – extensive text treatment of complementary texts – texts as a language material	– to be able to read and understand the content – to practice the acquired language – to manage pronunciation and language patterns – to give useful information and factual knowledge – to motivate and stimulate pupils' interest in the language – to strengthen and maintain previously learned language patterns – to develop reading skills and increase language awareness
1987	– texts understood as "all the material that pupils come in contact with, material that they are going to read, look at or listen to" (p. 210) – texts about other subjects – sound and pictures: posters, moving images in films and television, video, radio and TV programmes for educational purposes, audio programmes – print texts: adapted and authentic: manuals, documentaries, newspaper and magazine clippings, etc.; easy literary texts that pupils understand and are of value to them; poetry, songs	– texts as a point of departure for conversation – listen to audio texts, etc. – critical assessment of films, video and TV programmes – critical assessment of computer programmes – cross-curricular work – experience and encounter texts – individual, free reading, group reading, class reading	– to develop the pupils' skills – to read and understand words and concepts from the context – to stimulate imagination – to allow room for experiences – to learn to assess the texts they encounter in their spare time – a tool for information and knowledge about the world

Sample 2 shows how notions of EFL reading expressed in the 1974 and 1986 syllabi differ in important ways. These differences are manifested in the two syllabi's descriptions of text choice, text approaches and the aims of the prescribed text practices. These are, in turn, closely related to the roles and positions assigned to pupils and teachers in the two syllabi. For instance, the emphasis on learner autonomy in the 1986 syllabus is underpinned by a contemporary discourse of democracy and participation, in which pupils' personal preferences and experiences should influence the means and modes of teaching. The 1974 syllabus places emphasis on collective classroom procedures. These shifting notions of reading and their surrounding discourses are addressed in Article I. In addition, the two syllabi differ in terms of the degree of autonomy allocated to teachers regarding text choice. While the 1974 syllabus prescribes the use of an approved textbook, the 1987 does not, leaving decisions concerning text choice to teachers. The initial analysis of syllabi yields the discourse themes presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Discourse themes construed from the initial analysis of syllabi

EFL text practices	Discourse themes
Text selection (text types and criteria) Text approaches The aims of texts	– Perceptions of EFL reading (Article I, Article III) – The role of the textbook (Article II) – The roles and positions assigned to pupils and teachers in EFL text work (Article I) – Teacher autonomy (Article II) – Local consideration versus external demands (Article II, III, IV) – Pupils' mixed abilities, democracy and social inclusion

These discourse themes coincide in several ways with those emerging from the teacher interviews. For instance, the perceptions of reading dealt with in Article I are, to various degrees, recognisable in teachers' notions of reading addressed in Article III. Furthermore, the roles assigned to teachers in the syllabi coincide with the questions of teacher autonomy and textbook reliance addressed in Article II. Finally, issues of social inclusion and democracy that are manifested across these 11 syllabi recur in the teachers' reflections about their choice and use of texts in Articles II, III, and IV.

5.2 Analytical approaches

The next stage involved a more detailed analysis of the material. Table 6 below presents the four articles, as well as the analytical approaches and theoretical perspectives I draw on in the four articles when exploring the discourse themes listed in Tables 4 and 5. Article I addresses the roles and positions of pupils and teachers in the 11 syllabi's explanations of reading, inspired by Fairclough' and Van Leeuwen's theoretical perspectives regarding the representation of *social actors* in texts. Article II studies the elements of *discourse*s, *genres* and *styles* in the teachers' reasoning about their space for autonomous decision making and the role of the textbook in their individual

and collective planning. Article III examines how the teachers explain the purpose of and the legitimation for their reading practices. Both Articles II and III tie in with Bernstein's terminology. Finally, Article IV discusses the *assumption*s the teachers appear to rely on when they reflect on the value of films in their teaching.

Table 6 also lists the research which have helped interpret the findings from the analysis. For instance, Gundem's research on the development of the subject English in Norway, as well as literature on the history of education and on developments in foreign language learning theory, have been important to gain insights into the contemporary social practices and discourses reflected in the syllabi treated in Article I.

Table 6: Articles – analytical approaches and theoretical perspectives

Articles	**Analytical approaches/ theoretical perspectives (Norman Fairclough: NF, Theo van Leeuwen: TVL, Basil Bernstein: BB)**
Article I Notions of EFL reading in Norwegian Curricula, 1939–2013	– The representation of social actors (NF, TVL) – History of education, curriculum history – Development of school subjects and in foreign language learning theory
Article II: Questions of autonomy in Norwegian English teachers' discursive practices	– Interdiscursive analysis: discourses, genres, styles (NF), – Classification, framing and boundary maintenance (BB) – Current educational discourses on teacher autonomy/teacher professionalism. Research on teachers' perceptions of professionalism and on the role of the textbook in teachers' work
Article III: Why should learners of English read? Norwegian English teachers' notions of EFL reading	– Purpose and legitimation in discourse (TVL) – Classification, framing and boundary maintenance (BB) – Research on L1 and EFL text practices and teachers' perceptions of their text practices
Article IV: When teachers talk about films: An investigation into some aspects of English teachers' discursive practices	– Assumptions and intertextuality (NF) – Research on L1 and EFL text practices and teachers' perceptions of the role of films

An important aspect of Fairclough and Van Leeuwen's CDA textual analysis is the examination of how the role and position of social actors can be traced linguistically and semantically in texts. For instance, when social actors are "agentilised" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 66), that is, represented as the subject in a phrase, this may signal their active participation in processes. Additionally, verbs suggest the nature of actors' involvement in social practices, for example, whether they are in charge of actions or at the receiving end of them. Pronouns reveal valuable indications of social relationships, for instance, how social actors identify with other participants in a social practice or are represented by others. The primary aim of this study is using such language features to examine change and continuity in discourse. However, as both Fairclough (2003) and Van Leeuwen (2008) argue, linguistic analysis is insufficient, and language must be interpreted semantically within the context it is

produced and received. Still, both scholars pay more attention to linguistic realisations than I do in this dissertation, in which the social and contextual dimensions of syllabi and interviews are the main concerns.

In the following, I will present examples of the use of these analytical approaches and discuss some methodological considerations. As mentioned earlier, I apply coinciding analytical approaches to both sets of material, i.e. teacher interviews and syllabi. This approach is particularly rewarding in relation to Articles I, and III, which address the same topic – notions of EFL reading from two different angles, namely, the perspectives of educational authorities and teachers.

5.2.1 Social actors, purpose and legitimation

A social practice, such as reading in the English language classroom, involves a certain number of social actors "eligible" for this practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 10). In syllabi and teacher interviews in which teachers reflect on their EFL text practices, the key social actors are pupils and teachers. Moreover, syllabi authors are implicit social actors giving instructions to teachers or recommending new policies on behalf of educational authorities. Fairclough (2003, 2010) and Van Leeuwen (2008) offer coinciding terminology to analyse the representation of social actors in discourse. In terms of legitimation and purpose, Van Leeuween's categories give more depth to the analysis. In the following, I describe how I have used these analytical approaches to answer research questions related to Articles I and III. The analysis of the syllabi explanation of reading presented in Article I focuses on the representation of social actors, whereas Article III concentrates on how teachers explain the purpose and legitimation of their reading practices.

Table 7 lists the terms used in the analysis. The first column shows the **Positioning** and **Roles** of social actors. Social actors may be positioned as foregrounded or backgrounded in texts. In the latter case, relevant social actors may have to be inferred from mention elsewhere in the text or a specific discourse context. For instance, curricula may emphasise pupils' learning processes, while backgrounding the teacher's involvement, drawing on a pupil-oriented educational discourse. Sometimes, social actors are excluded in texts, simply because their presence is assumed to be implicitly understood in each discourse context (Fairclough, 1992; Van Leeuwen, 2008). I distinguish broadly between the roles of social actors as activated and in charge of processes and actions, or as passivated, for instance, as beneficiaries or at the receiving end of actions being taken by others.

The analysis of purpose and legitimation in discourse is inspired by Van Leeuwen' (2008) categories of social action, which are *goal-oriented*, *means-oriented* and *effect-oriented* (pp. 127-130), as listed

in the second column of Table 7. The first places emphasis on specific goals represented and as achieved through the intentional actions of social actors in which the agent and the one benefitting from the action are the same. The second relies on certain means (procedures, routines or materials) to achieve the given action when using these means sometimes becomes the purpose itself. In Article III, such a means-oriented action is tied to the conventional and collective "going through the text" teachers often describe, which involves reading aloud, listening to a CD, and translation. The third is related to the effect or result of certain actions. Here, the agent initiating or in charge of an action is not the same as the one(s) benefitting from the action. In the context of this analysis, typically, the teacher would decide the appropriate actions taken towards the pupils' learning.

Table 7: Elements in the analysis of social actors, purpose and legitimation

Social actors	Purpose	Legitimation
Positioning: – backgrounded – foregrounded – included – excluded **Roles:** – passivated – activated – beneficiaries	**Types of actions:** – goal-oriented action – means-oriented action – effect-oriented action	**Rationalisations:** – instrumental – efficiency, purposefulness **Authority:** – expert – professional – experience (practice theory) – tradition, convention **Moral evaluation:** – evaluation, comparisons – ideology

The third column of Table 7 lists the three main types of legitimations selected from Van Leeuwens' categorisations (2008). Legitimation by rationalisations relies on the efficiency of certain practices; it may draw on some sort of authority vested in, for instance, expertise or legal authority. In addition, a given discourse context may be "bound up" with the authority of a specific author or genre (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 24). For instance, the genre-specific features of curricula provide legitimation based on their implicit expert educational authority to prescribe new policies. Moral evaluations relate to the underlying ideological discourses that must be inferred from historical and cultural contexts. They may be manifest in the evaluations of a given practice or as comparisons between practices in which one practice is presented as more valuable than another (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Social actors, **Purpose** and **Legitimation** are closely connected in discourse. For instance, as exemplified in Article III, both **Moral evaluation** and the **Authority** of tradition seem to underlie the procedural means-oriented actions that teachers describe. Furthermore, the role and position allocated to social actors in discourse are intimately linked to the purpose and legitimation of a given practice. Thus, when curricula accentuate particular teaching methods, while paying less attention to

the pupils' involvement or the teachers' role in implementing the prescribed processes, they may draw on an instrumental legitimation in contemporary educational discourse, as touched upon in Article I. However, these analytical elements do not always apply in the same ways to both types of material, interviews and syllabi. For instance, the practice theory and shared understandings legitimising the teachers' discursive practices are less relevant in the syllabi explanations of reading. Rather, as shown in Article I, expert authority based on language learning theory typically underpins curricular recommendations for new practices.

In the following, I will illustrate how the above approaches involving social actors, purpose and legitimation are useful for the exploration of syllabi. I will use excerpts from the 1939b (circular) and 1974 syllabi's explanation of reading. The same excerpts also appear in the analysis section of Article I. Thus, the main points made in this article will unavoidably be touched upon here. However, Article I focuses on the representation of social actors in the explanations of reading, with a specific emphasis on the agency assigned to pupils without including an analysis of purpose and legitimation. The purpose is twofold. The first is to avoid drifting away from the main foci: the shifting notions of EFL reading and how they developed in tandem with contemporary educational discourses related to the role and position of the pupil. Second, concentrating on social actors rather than also including an analysis of purpose and legitimation reduces complexity. This approach was necessary because of space constraints in the article. However, although I do not pay explicit attention to purpose and legitimation in Article I, as mentioned above, these elements still underlie the analysis of social actors.

Samples 3 and 4 provide excerpts from the 1939b and 1974 syllabi analysis; the aim is to investigate the changing perceptions of reading and their implications concerning the roles of social actors and the purpose and legitimation of the prescribed practices. The roles allocated to pupils and teachers are closely connected, in which the first tends to be a function of the second and vice versa. The syllabi authors, while being excluded in the actual linguistic representations throughout, are implicitly understood as the voice of educational authorities assigning different roles and positions to teachers at different times. While there is insufficient room to explore changes in this relationship in Article I, I will make some comments about it in the following.

In Sample 3, the first column (**Explanation)** presents three short excerpts from the 1939b syllabus' explanation of reading. The second column (**Social actors**) defines the role and positioning of social actors (pupils, teachers, authors). The third column **(Actions)** lists the actions to achieve the intended purposes (means-, goal-, and effect-oriented action). The fourth and fifth columns indicate the

Purpose and **Legitimation** of the prescribed practices. I will first comment on these aspects in the 1939b excerpts (Sample 3) before comparing them with the ones from 1974 (Sample 4).

In Sample 3, the purpose of the new approach to reading expressed in excerpts 1 and 2 is twofold. The first is to "gain time". This purpose also enables the second one, which is to "use more extemporal reading". "Extemporal reading" receives the most attention.

Sample 3: Analysis of social actors, purpose and legitimation – 1939b syllabus (circular)

Explanation	Social actors	Actions	Purpose	Legitimation
1. "One should stop going through texts as soon as one finds it justifiable, provided a text does not present great difficulties, as, for instance, a poem might do" (...)	Teacher (one): – foregrounded – activated Syllabi authors: – implicit	"stop going through texts" (means-oriented action)	gain time for "more extemporal reading"	**Authority:** – expert – impersonal **Rationalisation** – efficiency – purposefulness
2. "The time one gains from doing what is mentioned above should be used for more extemporal reading" (…)	Pupils: – backgrounded – implicit beneficiaries			
3. "The ability to manoeuvre through an unknown text is an important aspect of modern language acquisition. This way, the pupil may use the knowledge he possesses to develop his ability to combine elements and to exercise judgment moving through texts".	Pupils: – foregrounded – activated – beneficiaries Teachers: – backgrounded – implicit	"manoeuvre through an unknown text" "use the knowledge he possesses" "combine elements and exercise judgement" (means/goal-oriented action)	"to manoeuvre through an unknown text" "to develop his ability to combine elements and exercise judgment"	**Moral evaluation** – evaluations, comparisons (modern versus old) – ideology – (pupil-centred, – inductive learning of the direct method)

Achieving the purpose is primarily tied to the potential of a certain proposed method ("extemporal reading") rather than to the efforts of social actors and can thus be categorised as a means-oriented action (Van Leuuwen, 2008). This emphasis is strengthened in the first sentence of excerpt 3 in the same sample, in which the actions to achieve the intended purposes ("extemporal reading") are vested in the methods of "modern language acquisition".

In excerpts 1 and 2, in Sample 3, pupils are backgrounded and cast as beneficiaries of the new approaches to reading. Excerpt 3 further explains how pupils can benefit from being exposed to "an unknown text". While continued emphasis is made on specific methods to achieve a given purpose (means-oriented action), pupils are now foregrounded and assigned a more activated role with some control of their learning, thus bordering on goal-oriented action. As stated, "This way", the direct

method has the potential to allow the pupil to learn to purposefully and autonomously "use the knowledge he possesses to combine elements and exercise judgment".

The teacher ("one") is foregrounded in excerpts 1 and 2, in Sample 3 ("one should stop going through texts") and seems to be assigned an active role in exercising professional judgment concerning when to implement the new methods ("as soon as one finds it justifiable"). In excerpt 3, in Sample 3, the teacher is not mentioned at all. By backgrounding the teacher, excerpt 3 emphasises the advantages of the prescribed method, as well as its efficiency and purposefulness, thus including an element of effect-oriented action legitimated by rationalisation. However, the explicit legitimation of the new approach as "modern" also involves a moral evaluation of conventional practices and of teachers who stay with them as being outdated and as wasting their own and their pupils' time.

When juxtaposing the two explanations of reading, one becomes aware of some similarities.

Sample 4: Analysis of social actors, purpose and legitimation – 1974 syllabus

Explanation	Social actors	Action	Purpose	Legitimation
1. "Intensive treatment of texts requires an in-depth study of the text and practice so that the pupils understand the content, master pronunciation and are comfortable with the new language patterns. The intensive text treatment is led by the teacher" (...)	Teacher: – activated – backgrounded Pupils: – backgrounded – beneficiaries	"Intensive treatment of texts" "in-depth study of texts" (means/effect-oriented action)	"understand the content" "master pronunciation" "become comfortable with the new language patterns"	**authority:** – expert – impersonal **rationalisation:** – efficiency – purposefulness
2. "Extensive reading shall serve to strengthen and maintain already acquired language content, develop reading proficiency and increase language comprehension" (...)	Teachers: – backgrounded – excluded Pupils: – backgrounded – implicit beneficiaries	"Extensive reading" (means/effect-oriented action)	"strengthen and maintain already acquired language" "develop reading proficiency" "increase language comprehension"	**authority:** – expert – impersonal **rationalisation:** – efficiency, purposefulness **moral evaluation:** – ideology (instrumental, social inclusion)

First, both Sample 3 and 4 focus primarily on a certain procedure or method (means-oriented action), while activating or backgrounding teachers and pupils to different degrees. In both samples, legitimation is construed through expert, impersonal authority and rationalisations emphasising the efficiency and purposefulness of the new practices. The differences, however, are more striking and bring attention to important distinctions between the notions of EFL reading expressed in the two

syllabi. These distinctions apply specifically to the roles and positions allocated to social actors, pupils and teachers. While in both cases, pupils are represented as beneficiaries of new practices, the pupil in Sample 3 is represented as activated and involved in independent cognitive processes (e.g. “combine elements and exercise judgement”). In Sample 4, pupils are backgrounded and are merely on the receiving end of the implemented procedures. Moreover, the purpose of the “intensive” and “extensive reading” in Sample 4 is not to develop the pupils’ independent manoeuvring through texts; instead, the goal is to acquire and maintain “language patterns”. In Sample 4, a clearer focus on the impact and effects (i.e. “to master pronunciation”, “to become familiar with language patterns”, to increase language comprehension)” of the prescribed methods (effect-oriented action) is also made.

In Sample 4, there is a row of “agentless” processes (Fairclough, 1992, p. 179), in which social actors are backgrounded or excluded through nominalisations and abstractions (“intensive” and “extensive treatment”, “in-depth study”). The element of professional judgment accorded to the teacher in Sample 3 is absent in Sample 4. Thus, the pupils’ learning appears to rely entirely on the careful implementation of the prescribed procedures “led by the teacher”. The ways in which the 1939b and 1974 explanations construe purpose and legitimation are also different. In Sample 4, legitimation is primarily based on rationalisation, in which classroom procedures are described as “scientific” categories of teaching (“intensive and extensive treatment”). In Sample 3, the new methods are also promoted as being time efficient (“to gain time”). However, here, the authors explicitly argue in favour of the new methods by comparing them with old ones. Thus, a stronger element of moral evaluation exists, as the conventional going-through of texts and translation mean wasting rather than gaining time. In addition, the two samples differ in dialogality (Fairclough, 2003). By explicitly attempting to convince teachers of the benefits of the new methods, the 1939b sample appears to reflect potentially competing views between teachers and educational authorities. This incongruence is minimally reflected in the 1974 sample.

Thus, how social actors, purpose and legitimation are represented in these curricular documents appears to carry significance. This issue becomes more readily apparent when the syllabi are placed next to each other. For instance, the fact that teachers and pupils seem “deagentilised” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 66) by nominalisations and passives in the 1974 sample, while included and activated in the 1939b sample, suggests that educational authorities at different times express different views of the pupil and teachers’ roles in pupils’ learning. However, the diverging roles of social actors in the two samples cannot be understood without some insight into contemporary educational discourses and social practices, in general, and those pertaining to language learning, in

particular. As accounted for in Article I, the 1974 syllabus reflects contemporary developments in language learning theory emphasising behaviourist habit formation through the drilling of language patterns. However, as van Leeuwen points out, there is not "necessarily a nice fit" between the grammatical agency and the social agency which must be inferred from context (2008, p. 24). For instance, the autonomous agency allocated to the pupil in the 1939b syllabus seems strikingly similar to the 1987 and subsequent syllabi's descriptions of learner autonomy. As accounted for in Article I, several touchpoints exist between the progressive ideas of the direct method and the new ideas of learner autonomy from the 1980s onwards. However, the principles of the direct method did not involve a similar shift in balance in the relationship between teachers and pupils, as reflected in the 1987 and later syllabi (Dale, 2008).

The perspective now shifts from educational authorities' presentation of reading in the syllabi to the teachers' reflections around their EFL practices during the interviews. In Sample 5, one teacher explains what she considers important when reading a text in English. I have divided the teacher's reasoning into three separate excerpts for clarity.

The first column contains excerpts from the teachers' reflections (**Explanation**). The second column lists **Actions** that the teachers describe and the social actors involved in these actions. The third column indicates the **Purpose** and **Legitimation** of these actions. As described earlier, the role and position of social actors are attended to through the teachers' explanations of the purpose and the legitimation of their reading practices.

In excerpt 1, in Sample 5, the teacher states that the purpose of reading is primarily understanding the content and meaning of texts, and this requires the pupils to "decode words". While the teacher expects them to assume some individual responsibility in actively engaging in vocabulary learning, agency is downplayed ("they simply have to"), emphasising the necessity of the "decoding" procedure which will lead them towards the proposed purpose (to understand meaning and content). In excerpt 2 of the same sample, the teacher goes on to list a series of actions ("listen", "hear", "read their homework aloud", "practice pronunciation"). These actions are mainly collective classroom procedures of which the teacher is in charge, but also extend to the home ("read their homework aloud"). Thus, the teacher's explanations primarily express means-oriented action, in which the emphasis is on certain methods or material to achieve the intended purpose. Elements of effect-oriented actions also exist, in which the teacher sets the actions in motion ("you have to push a bit") to secure a certain result or effect.

Sample 5: Analysis of purpose and legitimation – teacher interviews

Explanation	Actions	Purpose	Legitimation
1. "It is important that they understand the content, that is obvious, and they have to understand the meaning. And then they simply have to decode words that is, in a way, the basis" (…)	They: "decode words" (means/effect-oriented action)	"understand content" "understand meaning"	**Authority**: – tradition, conformity – professional – experience (practice theory) "it is important" "that is obvious" "it is important" "they simply have to" "they have to" "that is in a way the basis" "I recommend"
2. "And then it is important when we listen that they actually read the text, we always listen first, so that they get the pronunciation, hear the pronunciation, and then I recommend that they read their homework aloud to practice pronunciation" (…)	They: read (while listening) We: "listen" "listen first" "always listen first" They: "read their homework aloud" "practice pronunciation" (means/effect-oriented action)	"get the pronunciation" "hear the pronunciation" "practice pronunciation"	
3. "But then, we have all the new words, and you have to push a bit when it comes to new words; that is boring, but you have to, in a way. So there will be some focus on new and difficult words to gain that understanding".	You (as a teacher): "push a bit when it comes to new words" (agentless) "there will be some focus on new words"	"learn vocabulary" "to gain that understanding" (means/effect-oriented action)	**Moral evaluation:** – evaluations (persistence, endurance) "they simply have to you have to" "but you have to" "there will be some"

Throughout, the teacher legitimises her reading practices largely by the authority of convention and conformity, as well as her own ("I recommend") and other teachers' practice theories. This legitimation is manifest in the pronoun "we", which may simultaneously refer to reading practices involving the teacher and her pupils ("we listen"), or to commonly accepted reading procedures among colleagues ("we always listen first"). In addition, the teacher repeatedly states, "it is important that" or "obvious" that one follows a certain order of events. These actions are naturalised and evaluated as unavoidable in EFL reading practices where "no further argument" is needed (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 109). Furthermore, the legitimation based on the authority of convention is coupled with an element of moral evaluation, as it is the teacher's obligation to ensure that the pupils attend to new words despite their potential unwillingness to do so. This observation is accentuated by the shift from "we' to "you" in excerpt 3 ("you have to push a bit", "you have to, in a way"). Here, legitimation is based on shared moral evaluations of the qualities of a social practice "as a way of distilling the value of that practice" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 111). The procedural classroom

approaches, which involve listening, pronunciation, translation and vocabulary work, allocate particular roles to teachers and pupils and can thus be interpreted as examples of "performance modes" and "eligibility conditions" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 11) that are intrinsic to EFL text practices. Along with the frequently mentioned "props" (the textbooks and the CD player, in particular), they work to frame and classify (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003b) what counts as reading in the subject English, thus maintaining its boundaries vis-a-vis reading practices in other subjects.

The analysis enables comparisons between the two types of material to explore how the notions of present-day English teachers compare to both previous and current syllabi's explanations of EFL reading. For instance, a comparison between the representations of reading in Sample 4 (1974 syllabus) and the teacher' explanations in Sample 5 suggests certain correspondences concerning the emphasis on reading as a tool for practicing spoken skills and the procedural nature of reading ("we listen first"). It also shows how the teacher tends to draw on an authority of convention and tradition when explaining reading practices without any further justification. In this manner, certain notions of reading can continue to exist alongside the more dominant discourses about EFL reading, as discussed in Article III.

5.2.2 Interdiscursive analysis

As previously mentioned, the analysis of the teachers' interviews starts with examining individual teachers' meaning making, or how and what they talk about concerning certain matters. The purpose of the interdiscursive analysis, which I build on in the analysis of the teachers' reasoning in Article II, is to explore how the teachers draw on and contribute to a discursive practice regarding its "ways of interacting" (genres), "ways of representing" (discourses) and "ways of being" (styles) (Fairclough, 2003). In Article II, I focus on two of these discourse types, *discourses* and *styles* due to the limited space available. I will however, comment on the third discourse type, *genres* in the following. As in the investigation of the roles of social actors, purpose and legitimation accounted for above, agency is still a central feature. However, agency is now addressed specifically from a genre perspective concerning how meaning is produced and received in the social interaction between participants in the research interview. This genre perspective intertwines with the methodological concerns related to the interviewer's role touched upon in the **Materials** chapter. Now, however, the focus is on the teachers' negotiations between the competing discourses brought up in the interview. In these negotiations, elements of style and genre interact to strengthen or weaken discourse content. The three discourse types, genres, discourses and styles, are indiscrete forms, but offer three distinct perspectives (Fairclough, 2003) from which to approach teachers' discursive practices, enabling a

richer understanding of these practices. In the following, I will describe these discourse types in relation to the elements used in the interdiscursive analysis of teacher interviews, as shown in Table 8.

Discourses relate to what themes and discourse content are brought up and how they are represented. For instance, as in the case with social actors above, themes and the discourses they rely on may be included or excluded, foregrounded or backgrounded. When discourses are included and foregrounded, they may exclude or background other potential discourse content. Thus, approaching teacher interviews from this perspective allows insight into what themes are considered relevant and important to each teacher and how they coincide or differ across interviews. As previously mentioned, a central element in CDA is exploring how texts differ in dialogality (Fairclough, 2003) in relation to what degree they allow alternative or opposing discourses. For example, when a teacher interview includes multiple competing discourses concerning text choice and the role of the textbook, it may contribute to reshaping rather than sustaining conventional understandings.

As accounted for in the theory section, genres can be considered to condition both discourses and styles. Genres regulate the representation of social relations and interactions between participants in discourse and have a certain stability over time (Fairclough, 2003). However, as illustrated in the analysis of the syllabi representations of social actors in Article I, genres change along with society. Concerning research interviews, they change according to the social practices and traditions in which they are situated (Fairclough, 2003), and they differ, for instance, in how much agency is allocated to the respondent. A research interview in a social-constructivist tradition will be concerned with the respondent's active contributions to the meaning-making process. Still, the researcher will be in control of topics and the organisation of the interview. As is likely the case in teacher interviews, the researcher will be perceived as representing an outside expert authority. These factors establish asymmetry between the participants, influencing the exchange of meaning. However, equally interesting to explore are the ways in which the teachers apply their agency to discursively frame their text selection practices between outside discourses and in-situ teacher discourses.

Styles relate to how social actors identify themselves or others, or how they commit themselves to a certain discourse content. Thus, the exploration of stylistic features illuminates how a given discourse content is strengthened or weakened during the teacher's reasoning. This commitment can be manifested linguistically in several ways in texts, as shown in Table 8. For example, identification is typically expressed by pronouns referring to somewhat abstract members of communities and, in

this context, may be cooperating colleagues, English teachers or teachers, in general. Identification can also be expressed by characterisation denoting the specific features of participants in a community or their social practices. Identification and legitimation often intersect. For example, when one of the teachers describes herself and her practices as "old fashioned", she legitimates her text practices based on the authority of tradition, while identifying with certain behaviours she considers necessary and valuable in her profession. As Article II shows, such characterisations tend to acquire rather hegemonic positions, which may limit dialogality in discourse and serve to maintain teachers' perceptions of their work.

Table 8: Elements in interdiscursive analysis

Genres	Discourses	Styles
– social relations – interactions – agency	– included, foregrounded – excluded, backgrounded – dialogality	– identification – commitment – characterisations – evaluations

Expressions of commitment to a given proposition often take the form of explicit evaluations using adjectives, adverbs or modal verbs, as well as different types of hedging. In this analysis, I will refer to all kinds of modifications or strengthening of a discourse content as evaluations. Interpreting evaluations may not necessarily be straightforward and must often be understood within a specific discourse context or genre.

In Sample 6 below, the starting point is the common plan for the four classes in the 10th grade at one of the schools. In addition to chapter texts and topics, the plan also includes relevant competence aims from the current English subject curriculum. The first column presents the teacher's reasoning about questions concerning textbook reliance **(Explanation)**. In the second, third and fourth columns, I have categorised linguistic elements in the teacher's reflections in terms of the three discourse types, which are **Genres, Discourses a**nd **Styles**.

As mentioned earlier, the first discourse type (genres) is an overreaching category governing both discourses and styles. A research interview establishes a pattern of social interaction in which the interviewee is expected to respond to the topic introduced by the interviewer. In Sample 6, the teacher is asked about her point of departure for text choice; the curriculum or the textbook in excerpt 1 and about the possibility of alternative texts choices in excerpt 2. These questions introduce two potentially competing positions concerning textbook reliance. The teacher can be seen to negotiate between these two positions throughout Sample 6.

The linguistic elements listed in the **Genres** column illustrate the characteristics of the teachers' contribution to the social interaction. These elements will be dealt with in more detail below. The **Discourses** column lists the content of the teachers' argument—the discourse themes that the teacher brings up. The **Styles** column shows the elements that, in different ways, express commitment to, identification with or evaluation of a given discourse content. Together, the linguistic elements listed in the three columns suggest the ways in which the teacher negotiates between in-situ and ex-situ discourses.

Sample 6: Interdiscursive analysis – teacher interviews

Explanation	Genres	Discourses	Styles
1. T: "We have done this a bit differently (…), but it has usually ended with [us] following the chapters. The thing is that they come with a set of grammar tasks that has a certain system [and] which builds up towards the most difficult tasks at the end, so it's a bit stupid to jump chapters" (….) we end up following the chapters a bit; this is what fits best, in most cases" (...)	"the thing is" "so, it's a bit stupid" "a bit"	"following the chapters" "to jump chapters" "we end up following the chapters"	"we" "a certain system" "usually" "a bit stupid" "we end up" "this is what fits best in most cases"
2. I: "Is it possible to choose differently? Not read some of the texts or read alternative ones?" T: "I'm sure that's OK if one has a particular intention with it, something else one wants to do, so I don't think there are any restraints, no".	"I'm sure that's OK" "I don't think there are any restraints"	[choosing differently] "if one has a particular intention with it"	"I'm sure that's OK" "If one has a particular intention" "I don't think there are any restraints"

In excerpt 1, in Sample 6 the teacher foregrounds three discourse themes. She promotes the benefits of following textbook chapters over the risks of jumping chapters. Moreover, she presents close textbook reliance as the norm ("we end up following the chapters", "in most cases"), whereas choosing alternative or additional texts means deviating from the norm. When probed about the possibility of making alternative choices, she responds that it is possible, but it relies on the individual teacher's "particular intention". While including or foregrounding these themes, opposing views are backgrounded or excluded, for instance, the notion that alternative or additional text choices could have been made collectively.

Several stylistic features express the teachers' commitment to discourse content. In excerpt 1, the teacher strongly identifies with the collective decision to "follow the chapters" by placing the advantages of the former in binary opposition to the implicit disadvantages of the latter. In this line of reasoning, following the textbook chapters secures the pupils' progression, whereas jumping

chapters means jeopardizing it. Furthermore, while the teacher presents several reasons why close textbook reliance is both necessary and required ("a certain system"), she dismisses the alternative as being "a bit stupid". Other elements of commitment and identification express a preference for close textbook reliance as the norm ("usually", "in most cases") and the most responsible and realistic option ("we end up following the textbook", "this is what fits best"). Conversely, alternative decisions are described as exceptions to the rule, provided the individual teacher has a "particular intention" or wants to do "something else".

Concerning the last two of the four discourse themes, the teacher creates a particularly salient contrast between collective and individual decision-making. Whereas the "we" in excerpt 1 relates to concrete and collective planning, the "one" in excerpt 2 refers to a more abstract notion of an English teacher and how he or she might act. The teacher explains that even though choosing other texts is possible, "one" should have a good reason to do so, adding to the notion that alternative or additional text choices are exceptions.

The "I'm sure that's OK" as a response to whether alternative or additional text choices are possible shows that the meaning expressed by such evaluations can be ambiguous. It may suggest that the teacher is committed to this proposition, but in the context of her previous reasoning, she is seemingly not altogether convinced that choosing differently is "OK". She may also be unsure because teachers wanting to do "something else" is not a frequent occurrence and, therefore, is unable to foresee her colleague's reactions. Similarly, the expression, "I don't think there are any restraints" seems to allow similar interpretations, suggesting a weak rather than strong commitment to alternative or additional text choices.

These last elements of style can also be seen from a genre perspective relating to the interaction between participants. While the interviewer controls the topics, several examples show the teacher responding to these topics by simultaneously acknowledging and discarding them. The phrase "we end up following the chapters" suggests that the teacher and her colleagues have previously considered alternative text selection practices but have, for the reasons mentioned above, decided to stay with the textbook. Similarly, the responses "I'm sure that's OK" and "I don't think there are any restraints" allow room for such a possibility. At the same time, the phrases "the thing is" and "it's a bit stupid" are directed to the interviewer as an outsider, explaining that deviating from the textbook is not entirely realistic or perhaps even unwise. Notably, "a bit", which occurs three times in this sample, serves multiple functions. It works as hedging, for instance, by reducing the teachers' commitment to what is being said, as when "a bit" softens the impact of "stupid". At the same time,

in this last instance, it asks for the interviewer's consent to the proposition that although alternative practices are possible, following the textbook "is what fits best in most cases".

The discourse themes emerging from the analysis presented in Article II are traceable, to some extent, in Sample 6. Such is the case regarding the role of the textbook as a framework for the teachers' collective planning and as a means of securing pupils' learning. Furthermore, she appears to rely on the notion that choosing alternative texts is primarily the single teacher's domain and not a part of collective decision making. Meanwhile, the sense of ambivalence recurring across interviews concerning heavy textbook reliance is minimally represented in the sample above, as well as throughout the interview with this specific teacher. Alternatively, she seems to identify with the discourse that several of the other teachers subscribe to—that adhering to the textbook is considered acting responsibly with regard to the pupils' learning. Here, identification and evaluation intertwine with legitimation as the teacher justifies current practices by leaning on tradition or convention. For instance, the chosen practices are represented as commonly adhered to not only by this teacher but also her colleagues ("in most cases", "normally", "we end up following the text chapter").

5.2.3 Intertextuality and assumptions

The issue of intertextuality has been an element throughout the analysis to investigate how the teachers' reasoning is brought into the dialogue with surrounding discourses. As previously mentioned, a discursive practice always negotiates with a larger network of social practices and its associated structures. In the context of this study, such external relations may involve the role of education in society, the teaching of English specifically and relevant out-of-school discourses in the media. For example, the teachers' reasoning may draw on educational or non-educational discourses, as illustrated in Article II, concerning the mythology of a single teacher's capacities. Similarly, the syllabi analysis focuses on intertextuality, as it investigates how contemporary educational policies concerning the roles of pupils and teachers, as well as dominant foreign language learning theories, are brought into these documents. This intertextually establishes direct references to other texts or by implicit reference to commonly accepted understandings among colleagues.

Central assumptions in the teachers' reflections relate to commonly shared views of their pupils' learning, their preferences and experiences. This discourse theme is recurrent throughout, but is pursued in relation to teachers' view of classroom film use in Article IV. Here, I explore how teachers seem to draw on assumptions about the value of films recognisable both inside and outside EFL

contexts. Thus, the set of assumptions generated from interviews is brought into the dialogue with the relatively distant discourses possibly considered as influencing teachers' notions of the learning value of films for English teaching.

Sample 7 below is taken from the part of the analysis relating to the teachers' reasoning about classroom film use dealt with in Article IV. In the brief excerpt, the teacher explains how she usually obtains ideas for using specific films and why she chooses to combine a film with a topic treated in a textbook text.

Sample 7: Analysis of intertextuality – teacher interviews

Explanation	**Discursive elements**	**Assumptions**	**Value**
"Often, what happens when one reads a text and then one thinks: wow, there is a film about this that we know, and then we wish to create some variation and that they sometimes can watch a film and not only read. Some remember better when they have watched a bit, and we can have a conversation about it".	"create some variation" "sometimes watch a film and not only read" "some remember better"	– films can illustrate/cover text content – films create variation – pupils prefer films to reading – some pupils remember better when they watch films	**Compensatory value** (adapted teaching, participation, social inclusion) **Referential value** (films as documentation)

The teacher explains that films are useful "to create variation", so that pupils must "not only" read. Moreover, the teacher leans on certain assumptions about the pupils' learning. For instance, she says that some pupils "remember better" when they watch films. The reference to a specific group of pupils as "some [who] remember better" suggests that films can compensate for pupils' lack of ability to remember (or understand) what they read. The learning value of films expressed in this excerpt appears to be related primarily to their **compensatory value**.

The fourth column shows how two of the four categories (the compensatory, the referential, the emotional and the language value) can be traced in the interview excerpt. **The referential value** is possibly indicated by the phrase, "there is a film about this that we know". This suggests that the film this teacher has in mind may refer to or serve to illustrate specific content knowledge in the print text. While this excerpt is used to illustrate the analysis of teachers' notions of the value of films in EFL teaching, it also shows how certain recurrent issues are always intertwined in the teachers' reasoning, such as pupils' mixed abilities and the challenge of EFL reading (Article II, III and, IV). In this excerpt, which primarily deals with films, a certain ambivalence to reading presents itself as a demanding activity for "some" that the teacher is careful not to overdo ("not only read").

5.3 Quality of research methodology and findings

5.3.1 Validity, transparency, and reflexivity in research methodology

I have used several strategies to ensure the present study's research quality or validity by allowing for transparency in data collection and analysis as well as through multi-level interpretations of the empirical material. To allow for transparency, the processes of data collection and analysis are thoroughly accounted for in the preceding sections. For instance, I have supplied a series of samples from the analysis of teacher interviews and syllabi to illustrate how analytical approaches have been used to explore the material. As mentioned above, this study employs an abductive approach (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). This means the material goes through multi-level interpretations alternating between theoretical perspectives and relevant research literature as outlined in Table 6. Approaching the material from different theoretical perspectives and comparing the interpretations within the frameworks and findings from other research allows for "the consideration of different meanings" (Alvesson and & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 273).

Furthermore, juxtaposing the two sets of material – the teacher interviews and the syllabi for English – adds another level of interpretation as the finding emerging from one set of material assist in the interpretation of the other set. This process works to strengthen the analysis. Moreover, the two types of material differ in important respects. While the empirical material based on teacher interviews is construed for the purposes of this specific study, the syllabi already existed. Along with perspectives from theory and other research, exploring syllabi helped identify salient issues for further investigation during the interviews I otherwise may not have considered, and vice versa. For example, addressing current understandings through the exploration of previous ones allows for a greater range of possible meanings. Importantly, the methodology involves reflexivity throughout these processes. This reflexivity concerns the validity of the analysis and findings and also means introducing "an element of suspicion" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 12) regarding my own involvement in the interpretative processes. Furthermore, the supporting material of field notes from classroom observations, schedules, and teaching material (schedules, textbooks, and others) collectively served to help validate the interpretations and findings. In this manner, the abductive process has been inherently hermeneutic as "the researcher eats into the empirical matter with the help of theoretical pre-conceptions and also keeps developing and elaborating the theory" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 5-6).

While the present study can be placed largely within a social constructionist paradigm while drawing on related theoretical perspectives in CDA and curriculum history, it also includes some of

Bernstein's structuralist categories. I have combined these perspectives eclectically to explore the empirical material. I do not follow these scholars' analytical frameworks to the letter or force them into aligning with this study's empirical material. According to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009), a mark of good quality in research is avoiding uncritical acceptance of any given analytical framework or paradigmatic mode of thought. Therefore, I have also related my interpretations to findings from neighbouring educational research fields. Studies in teacher cognitions and beliefs, for instance, constituted valuable points of reference. Most importantly, such comparisons made me conscious of my own methodological stance and its touchpoints with research across theoretical paradigms.

Finally, the analysis and findings accounted for in the four articles have been scrutinised several times by peer review and presented to other researchers at seminars and conferences[2]. Additionally, discussions and feedback on my texts from supervisors and colleagues have been tremendously rewarding throughout. Article III was prepared and co-authored with my supervisor, Professor Ragnhild Lund, thus involving additional critical scrutiny of methodology and findings. I have also asked scholars across disparate fields of study to read and comment on my writing, challenging both research methodology and interpretations. Member checking was applied (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) during interviews in the sense teachers were asked to confirm my understanding of their explanations and by inviting them to elaborate on their answers.

As to the findings' generalisability, the social-constructionist underpinnings of this study view findings from research as interpretations and contextually contingent (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Thus, findings from this research rely on my interpretations, meaning there is room for alternative interpretations. Additionally, the teachers' meaning making can be considered only as examples of one group of teachers' reasoning about text choice and text use. Other English teachers may reflect on their EFL text practices differently. However, as Norwegian teachers' reasoning to varying degrees are influenced by certain shared social structures and practices both within and outside of educational contexts, these 18 teachers' reflections are likely to resonate with discourses about EFL text practices existing elsewhere. Therefore, the findings emerging from this study are relevant as points of reference for other teachers or scholars in the field of educational research.

[2] Norwegian Study Centre, York 2013: Young Language Learners (YLL) seminar (paper). Århus University, 2014: 360 Encompassing Multimodality (paper). Odense University, 2014: PhD Masterclass multimodal analysis including private consultation with Theo van Leeuwen. London, Brunel University/NAFOL, 2014: group sessions with Gert Biesta. FoU i praksis, Trondheim, 2015, (paper), NoFa 5, May 2015, Helsinki (paper).

5.3.2 Ethical considerations

The study was conducted according to NSD' guidelines for research ethics. An important condition is the intentions of the research is disclosed and respondents give their informed and voluntary consent to participate. Towards this end, the teachers received a letter of consent informing them of this study's intention and the principles of anonymity as well as their right to withdraw at any point in time (Appendix 2). At the beginning of each interview, this information was repeated, and I encouraged the teachers to ask questions regarding their participation. I also described how I would use their contributions in the dissertation. The teachers all gave consent to participate. They also accepted interviews to be recorded. As required by the NSD, these recordings were deleted before 31 July 2016, the study's end date (Appendix 1). In the articles based on interviews and in the extended abstract, I have taken certain measures to secure anonymity for the participating teachers. I have avoided presenting unnecessary background details. For the same reason, I refer to all the participants as "she" or "her" throughout, regardless of gender.

Specific concerns related to the inherently asymmetric nature of research interviews were discussed in the **Materials** chapter and when accounting for the analytical approaches above. While measures were taken to counter this imbalance such as by being as transparent as possible regarding the study's intentions, there is still a discrepancy of knowledge between the interviewer and interviewee. Another concern has been to give a fair representation of the teachers' reflection through the processes of transcription and analysis. The abductive methodology described previously involves reflexivity especially concerning the researcher's role at every level of interpretation. This reflexivity also applies to the researcher's contribution to the meaning created in the research process (Creswell, 2013) and in the interactions with the empirical material where the researcher's own "repertoire of interpretations" (Alvesson and & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 273) may risk deemphasizing or excluding competing views. However, in applying multi-level interpretations achieved by engaging with relevant theory and by continuously revisiting the interview material from different angles and through the interactions with scholars in the field, this caused me to challenge and extend my repertoire of interpretations throughout the present study.

As touched upon earlier, when research interviews undergo analysis they are removed from their original context and "recontextualised" (Van Leeuwen, 2008) into academic contexts over which the teachers have limited influence. While such recontextualisation and abstractions are considered both legitimate and necessary research processes (Alvesson and & Sköldberg, 2009) they still have ethical implications. Discourse analytical approaches sometimes receive criticism for not being concerned with the research participants' views, only with the study of abstract language patterns (Alvesson

and & Sköldberg). However, this study has an interest both in the content of the teachers' reasoning as well as with the words they use to express it. Approaching the teachers' reasoning in this way allows for insight into the complexity of their meaning making.

Throughout the present study, I have had some doubts whether a critical approach to teachers' discursive practices is justified. My hesitations were strengthened in response to opinions sometimes voiced among scholars in the field of educational research indicating that one should be careful about criticizing what teachers say or do but rather help them improve their practices. This position is understandable. One does not want to add to what many may perceive as a media hunt for teachers telling them they are not good enough. While commendable, I believe this position is misguided. As Theo Van Leeuwen (2008) notes, one should be able to be critical of social practices without having to make excuses. As professionals, we need to be asking questions about commonly accepted views and practices in the field of English teaching to challenge and improve them. Such critical questions about teaching practices should come from within the teaching profession and not merely from the outside, politicians, or the media. Expecting teachers to explain and justify their practices means taking them and their work seriously. However, critical questions should not only be asked of the teachers' discourses. What struck me from my very first interactions with the interview material was how the teachers' answers in so many ways resonated with my own preconceptions as well as with assumptions expressed among colleagues in teacher education and that we, as a profession, perhaps do little to contest them.

5.4 Summing up

Chapter 5 has accounted for the methods of analysis from the initial thematisations and categorisations throughout the more refined stages of the analysis. The chapter describes how key perspectives from critical discourse analysis have inspired the processes of interpretation of the empirical material, which is the teacher interviews and syllabi. One such key perspective is the investigation of binary oppositions in the material, for example, how certain types of meaning are promoted, while alternative types of meaning are downplayed within and across texts, i.e. teacher interviews and syllabi. This perspective is carried into the analytical approaches applied in the four articles in the exploration of *social actors, purpose* and *legitimation* in Articles I and III, the *interdiscursive analysis* in Article II and the analysis of *intertextuality* and *assumptions* in Article IV. Chapter 5 also addresses the quality of the research methodology of the present study. It explains the measures taken to ensure validity and reflexivity through a multi-layered, abductive methodology. This step meant to, for example, juxtapose the interpretations of both types of

materials, interviews and syllabi, as well as challenge them with findings from relevant research literature. These processes involved reflexivity and transparency concerning my own “repertoire of interpretations” (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 273), thus opening these up for alternative interpretations. Finally, ethical considerations were addressed to balance concerns regarding the critical stance of the study against its intentions and justifications.

6 THE ARTICLES – SUMMARY

At this point, I will first present summaries of the four articles. The main research questions I set out to answer were the following: *What characterises present-day English teachers' notions of text choice and text use? How do how do these notions compare to those expressed in current and earlier syllabi for English? How do the teachers' discursive practices maintain or change notions of text choice and text use?* The four journal articles explore these research questions by specifically answering the sub-questions posed in the **Introduction** and as indicated below.

6.1 Article I

Notions of EFL reading in Norwegian curricula, 1939-2013

Article I presents a critical-historical analysis of several generations of syllabi representations of reading specifically focusing on the role of social actors, thus relating to the first of the overreaching research questions. The notions of reading expressed in these syllabi provide a repertoire of understandings concerning EFL text practices which serves as a point of reference for the issues addressed in Articles II, III, and IV. Article I attends to the following sub-questions:

- *What notions of reading are expressed in the syllabi?*
- *What roles are assigned to pupils and teachers?*
- *What aims for reading do the syllabi express?*

The article shows how notions of reading in English have undergone substantial changes in terms of what texts to read and what text approaches are considered appropriate to satisfy contemporary syllabi's aims. The position of the skill has gone from being perceived as a vital element in the "direct method" in the early syllabi to increasingly being ranked below the spoken skill until the late 1990s. In the current syllabus, the skill is represented as one of five interdependent basic skills, without according priority to any of them. I identify four main notions of reading in the syllabi: reading as exposure, as a tool, as an encounter, and as meta-awareness. The focal point of the article is how different syllabi represent pupils and teachers in reading processes and how their roles and positions change with new developments in foreign language learning pedagogy and alongside the wider educational, political and social debates. The article addresses a recurrent tension between two discourse positions reflected in the syllabi: one prioritising practical (spoken) skills for social inclusion and the good of the nation, the other drawing on an academic tradition favouring reading skills for further study.

6.2 Article II

Questions of autonomy in Norwegian English teachers' discursive practices

Article II addresses English teachers' reflections about their choice of texts for their English teaching, the position of the textbook in this context, and the teachers' notions of the space for decision-making, alone or with others. I relate their reasoning to recent decades' outcome-oriented educational legislation where teachers are accorded extended professional autonomy to appropriate curricular aims and adapt the means and modes of teaching to local needs. An important intention with these measures is for teachers to collectively improve and assess routinized teaching practices. In this article, I ask whether the teachers' negotiations of external demands for increased cooperation in some ways contribute to strengthening rather than challenging the textbook's role as additional or alternative text choices tend to be placed outside of teachers' common planning. To explore the complexity of the teachers' reflections concerning these matters, I draw on Fariclough's interdiscursive analysis of genres, discourses, and styles. Article II attends to the following sub-questions:

- *What characterises the teachers' reflections about their text selection practices?*
- *What characterises the teachers' reasoning about the role of the textbook?*
- *What notions of professional autonomy do the teachers express?*

The main findings can be summed up as follows: The teachers' reasoning about text choice and teacher autonomy seem to be negotiated between two potentially competing discourse positions. The first promotes individual freedom of choice and the second, the view that the textbook represents an authoritative interpretation of syllabi aims. Drawing on the notion of freedom of choice, the teachers tend to speak in favour of a collegial cooperation representing personal preference and individual professional judgment concerning text choice. In this line of thinking, choosing texts outside the textbook relies on the individual teacher's initiative while the joint planning, with few exceptions, appears to consist of agreeing on a given number of texts from the textbook while leaving some room for individual preference. However, while most seem to support the notion of individual choice, few say they do exploit this freedom beyond choosing between texts in the textbook. Thus, by placing possibilities for change firmly with the individual teacher and outside of the sphere of collective planning, the teachers' discursive practices may limit rather than extend what the teachers perceive as their space for autonomous decision-making.

6.3 Article III

Why should learners of English read? Norwegian English teachers' notions of EFL reading

Article III addresses a seeming discrepancy between the aims for reading articulated in the current English language curriculum and English teachers' notions of reading. It explores how teachers negotiate their understanding of EFL reading in the intersection between classroom pressures and past as well as present notions of reading. Through an analysis of how the teachers explain their EFL text practices, the article illustrates converging and diverging views concerning the purpose and legitimation of EFL reading. Article III attends to the following sub-questions:

- *How do the teachers explain and legitimise their EFL reading practices?*
- *How do the teachers' notions of EFL reading compare with those in current and earlier English syllabi?*
- *What seems to characterize the teachers' discourse about EFL reading?*

What emerges from the analysis of teacher interviews is a strong preference among the teachers for basic reading comprehension to help pupils understand and account for the main content of texts. For most of the teachers interviewed, reading is considered a tool for language learning as well as gaining facts and information about the English-speaking world. Recent English course syllabi, however, promote a cross-curricular emphasis on meta-awareness of texts and their contexts as the aims of reading which appear to differ from many of the 18 teachers' understanding of EFL reading. In addition, current syllabi cast pupils as autonomous agents in the text encounters requiring them to make sense of a diversity of texts and their contexts. While some attention is paid to such independent reader-driven text approaches, the dominant focus is on collective, text-driven procedures consisting of close reading of textbook texts, translation and vocabulary work. The teachers' discursive practices often frame these classroom procedures as intrinsic and indispensable to EFL teaching, and as needing no further legitimation. Lastly, several of the teachers talk about reading with some ambivalence due to their pupils' mixed reading abilities and unequal reading experiences from outside of school. These concerns appear to echo tensions in English syllabi discourses as described in Article I, between an emphasis on practical spoken skills for everyone and academic reading skills for the few.

6.4 Article IV

When teachers talk about films: An investigation into some aspects of English teachers' discursive practices

Article IV focuses specifically on teachers' notions of fictional films' value in English language classrooms. This area of EFL text practices has not received much critical attention by scholars although films have been used for quite a while in EFL teaching. Article IV attends to the following sub-questions:

- *What characterises teachers' reasoning about the learning value of films in their teaching?*
- *What immediate and more distant discourses can be seen to contribute to the teachers' reasoning about films?*

Based on teacher interviews, I construe four assumptions, all capturing salient characteristics of the teachers' discursive practices about what one can learn from films. They pivot around four assumptions about films' learning value: the *referential*, *the compensatory*, *the emotional,* and *the language value*. These values are closely interrelated and interdependent. The *referential value*, for instance, builds on the notion that a fictional narrative can be used to document social or historical conditions. At the same time, it relies on the *emotional value* where the latter is perceived to contribute to a more convincing and authentic account of events. The *compensatory value* suggests films may work as a means of compensating an insufficiency in either language skills, motivation, or maturity. Notably, while the teachers sometimes mention the *language value* of films, it is seldom described as the primary aim of classroom film use. In this article, I investigate what might condition and contribute to the teachers' reasoning. I describe examples of how the immediately surrounding discourses of teachers' books and collegial exchange influence teachers' assumptions about the value of films and how these find support in media representations of fictional narratives as "true stories" blurring distinctions between fact and fiction.

7 DISCUSSION

Table 9 below summarises the main findings from each article, as well as the overall findings. It illustrates how Articles II, III, IV, and I address the main research questions in different ways. While Article I does not treat the characteristics of the teachers' discursive practices directly, it provides an interpretative background for the research questions dealt with in Articles II, III and IV. Table 9 also indicates the different ways in which the findings from the four articles intertwine. Concerning the first research question, for example, a salient characteristic of the 18 teachers' notions of text choice is the role they allocate to the textbook. Article II illustrates how the textbook works as a premise underpinning the teachers' notions of text choice and offers terms for collective planning. As touched upon in Article III, textbooks also seem to regulate the teachers' perceptions of appropriate EFL reading approaches. In addition, the choice of texts and topics in the textbook conditions additional text choices, such as fictional films, as shown in Article IV. Another common characteristic of the teachers' reasoning is a concern for pupils' mixed abilities, coupled with an emphasis on establishing common ground, as indicated in the right-hand column of Table 9. In some measure, these recurrent concerns appear to justify the conventional reading, listening and translation procedures described in Article III. These concerns are also common denominators when the teachers explain the continued reliance on the textbook and the justifications for classroom film use.

Another trait of the teachers' notions of text choice and text use is that they are framed by traditional understandings. With reference to the second main research question, one can conclude that the 18 teachers' discursive practices incorporate notions of EFL text practices that have travelled across the 11 syllabi. Thus, they are sometimes at odds with the intentions of current ones. For instance, while previous English syllabi provided detailed instructions regarding the means and modes of teaching, current outcome-based syllabi build on the premise that teachers view assessing syllabi aims and developing their EFL text practices as a part of their sphere of collective work. As illustrated in Article II, the overall impression is that the teachers accord such notions of professional autonomy limited space and instead prioritise textbook-driven text selection processes as a basis for their collective work.

Furthermore, juxtaposing syllabi and teacher interviews reveals how competing notions of reading coexist in both types of materials. For instance, Article III reflects a distinction in the teachers' reflections between a dominant focus on the collective "going through of texts" and a less-frequent emphasis on using texts differentiated to the pupils' abilities.

Table 9: Summary of findings from the articles

Main research questions	**Article I findings**	**Article II findings**	**Article III findings**	**Article IV findings**	**Overall findings**
What characterises present-day English teachers' notions of text choice and text use?		– textbook as the premise for teachers' individual and collective text selection practices – emphasis on the individual freedom of choice – alternative text choices relying on single teachers	– focus on collective, textbook-driven procedures – focus on basic text comprehension – focus on reading as a tool for oral skills	– four value assumptions about films: the referential, compensatory emotional and language value – emphasis on common text experiences	– textbook allegiance – concern with the pupils' mixed language abilities and motivation – emphasis on establishing common ground
How do teachers' notions of text choice and text use compare with those expressed in current and earlier syllabi for English?	– shifting notions of reading: as *exposure*, as *a tool*, as an *encounter* and as *meta-awareness* – oral skills versus reading skills – issues of teacher control versus learner autonomy – In-situ versus ex-situ discourses	– textbook as an authoritative interpretation of syllabi aims – most teachers' perceptions of autonomous text choice do not align with the premise of outcome-oriented syllabi	– focus on conventional reading procedures – focus on reading as a tool for developing practical skills – preference for spoken skills – meta-awareness of texts perceived as less relevant	– films not primarily as a tool for language skills – films as a response to increased emphasis on cultural knowledge and awareness in recent decades' syllabi	– continued ambivalence to reading – continued emphasis on conventional classroom procedures – issues of teacher control versus learner autonomy persist
How do the teachers' discursive practices maintain or change notions of text choice and text use?	Article I serves as a backdrop for present-day teachers' negotiations about their EFL text practices	– the textbook promoted as securing syllabi aims and the pupils' learning – alternative text choices as personal detours – "traditional" notions of teacher autonomy accommodating new demands on teacher cooperation	– conventional procedures promoted as intrinsic to EFL reading – collective "going-through" of texts securing everyone's participation and learning – "naturalised" preference for spoken skills	– films represented as securing common text experiences regardless of language abilities – assumptions about classroom film use drawing on in- and out-of-school discourses	– notions of EFL text practices framed by traditional understandings – the teachers negotiate their notions of EFL text practices between in-situ and ex-situ discourses – concerns of social inclusion merging with demands for adapted teaching

As shown in Article I, syllabi authors in the direct method era insisted on teachers moving away from detailed reading in the grammar-translation tradition. They were instructed to "stop going through texts" as soon as possible, suggesting that the teachers resisted the new text approaches. Notably, as indicated in Article III (which also includes examples from syllabi before 1939), the conventional procedures of close reading and translation preferred by previous generations continue to be referred to as intrinsic and unavoidable EFL text practices by most teachers in this study.

Article III also provides examples of how teachers' descriptions of their reading practices often bear a closer resemblance to notions of reading expressed in earlier syllabi than to the current one. Thus, what teachers deem necessary or relevant reading aims for their pupils may differ from the current competence aims of the English subject curriculum. This lack of correspondence is particularly salient in relation to the current cross-curricular emphasis on varied and extensive text exposure and on the development of the pupils' meta-awareness of texts, which is minimally represented among the teachers. While several teachers pay attention to text experiences that enable cultural encounters, most of their reflections indicate they believe that reading to gain a basic understanding of texts and to develop basic language skills are more important.

Regarding the third research question – How do the teachers' discursive practices maintain or change notions of text choice and text use? – all four articles contribute in different ways to answering this question. I will attend to this question by revisiting the key perspectives presented in the **Introduction** (*agency and autonomy, boundary maintenance* and *democracy and participation*). Article I addresses shifting notions of reading in the 11 syllabi by examining how they relate to the agency allocated to pupils and teachers at different times. In this way, the article provides a backdrop for the 18 English negotiations between competing notions of EFL text practices.

Depending on how teachers use their agency, they may contribute to either maintaining or changing naturalised understandings of EFL text practices. Articles II and III illustrate how teachers, by placing some practices within and others outside the English teaching realm, discursively frame text practices as intrinsic to the subject, while sustaining the boundaries between text practices in English and other subjects. For instance, as shown in Article III, extensive reading outside the textbook may be described as too demanding for most pupils, too time consuming or perhaps not even recommendable. Moreover, the emphasis on individual autonomy in the teachers' discursive practices does not seem to just restrict alternative or additional choices to the single teachers' discretion. Placing alternative text choices outside of the teachers' collective planning appears to

help sustain the role of the textbook as an "eligibility condition" (Van Leeuwen, 2008) in EFL text practices.

Concurrently, teachers may redraw some of the same boundaries in their negotiations with external requirements. As shown in Article IV, certain films seem to be considered compulsory accompaniments to literary excerpts or, in some instances, a replacement or compensation for printed text, particularly for struggling readers. This practice can thus be regarded as a pragmatic solution to demands for adapting teaching methods to pupils' needs, as well as to the emphasis of recent syllabi on cross-curricular cultural awareness. However, classroom film viewing is often presented as potentially balancing disparities in abilities, as it does not discriminate students based on their text experiences from outside of school as does reading books. In the latter respect, the teachers accommodate traditions of concern for the pupils' social inclusion in Norwegian educational debates (Dale, 2008). In line with Fairclough's thinking, teachers appear to draw on networks of social practices both horizontally and vertically, embracing past and contemporary discourses that reside inside and outside of school contexts.

Why is this so? Why are some EFL text practices placed within the scope of English teachers work whereas others are placed outside? One answer might lie with the textbook's strong position in regulating the teachers' views of their subject and their teaching. As Stuvland finds in her study of primary English teachers, "the content of textbooks is what gets covered in class" (Stuvland, 2016, p. 138). Rather than promoting new teaching practices, the textbook tends to serve a "conservatory function" (Bachmann, 2004, p. 119, my translation). Another answer may be related to teachers' lack awareness of alternative text choices or reading approaches (Stuvland, 2016), or perhaps they do not have the confidence, experience, or subject knowledge to carry them out (Drew et al., 2007; Hellekjær, Rødnes, & Thue Vold, 2014; Stuvland, 2016). Insufficient confidence in these matters may make teachers more inclined to go with more familiar practices (Borg & Orafi, 2009; Li, 2013; Wright, 2005) and remain dependent on the textbook, which is not uncommon among inexperienced teachers (Drew et al., 2007).

Many mention their personal language learning experiences, previous studies (not necessarily in English), or experiences from the other subjects they teach as motivation for their EFL text practices, as briefly addressed in Articles II, III, and IV. These concurrences resemble findings from other research between practicing teachers' individual backgrounds and their beliefs and cognitions about their teaching (Freeman, 1994; Richards & Pennington, 1998). However, the notion that teachers will rely less on the textbook with experience and increased subject competence does not seem to be a

general rule among these teachers. While no longer required, most of the 18 teachers, some with extensive teaching experience and subject knowledge beyond what is required at this level, continue to refer to the textbook as the main text source and seldom seem to challenge the textbook's logic. In addition, as Articles II and III exemplify, the teachers just as often refer explicitly to classroom pressures, collegial exchange or more implicitly draw on both in-situ and ex-situ discourses to explain their choices.

This study suggests that what appears important to many of these teachers concerning what they see as compulsory or relevant EFL text practices is how text practices are talked about and shared among colleagues. If cultural or historical aims receive the most attention in their collegial exchanges, it appears that textbook texts are considered to provide insufficient depth. When reading is tied primarily to basic text comprehension and the ability to find and talk about information in texts, there appears to be less interest in sourcing texts outside the textbook. What also seems important is whether such decisions are presented as relying on the individual teacher' preference or whether they are to be made collectively. How teachers talk about text choice and text use appears to be particularly important for the less experienced ones who try to seek guidance from the sometimes contradictory discourses surrounding them. Thus, the nature of "local" orders of discourse seems to weigh particularly heavily on the novice teachers' reasoning about their EFL text practices. Such socialization processes are crucial to developing newly qualified teachers' sense of who they are as teachers and whether they resort to conventional practices or challenge them (Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997; Urzua, 1999). Research also demonstrates how local social practices, promoted for instance by school leaders, can challenge conventional views of teachers' work to create, as Vestheim (2014) reports, collaborative cultures in schools, enabling teachers to assume collective responsibility for their pupils' learning.

The emphasis on common classroom text experiences in these teachers' discursive practices echo concerns expressed in both EFL and L1 contexts (Kjelen, 2013; Stuvland, 2016). For example, in both language learning contexts, there is a focus on pupils' personal responses to fictional narratives rather than building analytical awareness of texts (Kjelen, 2013; Penne, 2007; Penne & Skarstein, 2015; Årheim, 2007). The preference for collective classroom procedures over differentiated approaches can also be explained by the former being considered useful to supervise pupils' work. As Article III demonstrates, to several teachers, rehearsing and testing the glossary that accompanies textbook texts seem to be particularly indispensable tools for such control. This and other predictable procedures are facilitated also because teachers, pupils, and possibly parents see them as both manageable and compulsory parts of EFL teaching. Conversely, challenging the same

practices means going against the grain of what are perceived as natural and necessary EFL text practices. This resonates with what Kliebard (2002) notes that one reason educational reforms may not be implemented in schools is that reform-makers often "fail to take into account the supremely contextual nature of educational practice"; in which, for instance, "the keeping order function" (p. 129) is tremendously important. Thus, practices compatible with the classroom challenges teachers experience or those complying with existing practices and structures seem most likely to be adopted and sustained. To many of the teachers interviewed in this study, one such classroom challenge is finding ways to cover curricular aims while ensuring everyone's participation in classroom activities during the limited time allocated to English teaching. This cannot be achieved without pupils' willingness and ability to participate in classroom activities; teachers may fear that classroom management will be jeopardised if they do otherwise.

Thus, part of the reason certain practices persist while others do not is probably because the former practices are seen as serving multiple purposes, with some going beyond language learning. First, there is a general concern among these teachers that texts provide a shared experience. Both Article III and IV point to teachers' emphasis on text experiences that are ensured by collectively reading the same text or classroom viewing of a fictional film. As noted in Article IV, films are often seen as being particularly fit for this task because they assumedly enable equal access to the storyline of a fictional narrative or to content knowledge without the hassle of making each pupil read a lengthy printed text. Hence, films may be regarded as relieving various classroom pressures related to pupils' mixed reading abilities and motivation, which is a recurrent concern among the teachers.

Notions of EFL text practices expressed by the teachers are not unanimous, as their perspectives on text choice and text use vary. Nonetheless, while their reflections may differ, the analysis of the interview material illustrates a series of parallel features in their responses. Such patterns are not only traceable among teachers at each school but also recur across the entire interview material. This suggests that English teachers across school environments engage with common "orders of discourse" concerning EFL text choice and text use.

7.1 Limitations and further research

I will address two main limitations of the present study concerning the choice of empirical material and research methodology. First, while the interviews with the 18 teachers provide considerable breath in investigating characteristics of their discursive practices, it provides limited access to the actual classroom practices or other in-situ conditions potentially influencing the teachers' reasoning. As the study progressed, I became increasingly aware of how local social practices seemed to

influence the teachers' reflections. Therefore, while classroom observations and other supporting material assisted in my interpretations of interviews, insights into these influences are primarily drawn from the teachers' representations of their EFL text practices. If I were to conduct the study again, I might prioritise differently, for example, by including more classroom observations and secondary interviews to more thoroughly examine how the teachers' reasoning is embedded in classroom interactions. Another option would be to include group interviews with teachers or case studies at specific schools to investigate the in-situ collegial exchange concerning EFL text practices. This exchange may be further explored in light of the collaborative cultures of particular schools. While the study provides useful insights into the impact of some local influences in the teachers' reasoning, social practices and structures affecting English teachers' understandings and their actual classroom text practices at the school level need further investigation.

The 11 syllabi provide an impression of shifting discourses about EFL text practices in Norwegian curricula. To support my interpretations of the syllabi in their contemporary contexts, I rely on secondary sources, such as Gundem's (1989) dissertation on the development of the subject English in Norway as well as literature related to educational and curriculum reform. A range of primary sources, as in Gundem's study, could be included to provide deeper understanding of social and political developments underlying EFL discourses in Norway, particularly in the period from 1970 until today. The framework for the present study did not however allow the inclusion of such sources (e.g. minutes from parliamentary discussions or other documents related to the introduction of new educational policies) pertaining to the subject English in Norway.

7.2 Contributions and implications

The present study has engaged in critical scrutiny of discourses around EFL text practices traceable in the reflections of the 18 participating teachers. Juxtaposing current notions with those held by our predecessors enable an encounter with the "strangeness" (Kliebard, 1995, p. 194) of certain discursive habits. Hence, the dissertation allows teachers and teacher educators to consider their practices in the context of historical developments in the subjects they teach. Studying the history of the subject English through the specific lens of shifting discourses concerning EFL text practices, as exemplified in Article I, has allowed investigating the development of these habits and their continued stronghold amongst present-day English teachers. In approaching English teachers' reasoning from this critical-historical perspective, the present dissertation establishes a research niche in this field.

An awareness of past and present understandings is crucial because it allows insights into taken for granted justifications of current teaching practices and thereby provides opportunities for challenging them. One such insight is how teachers' discursive practices seem to contribute to justifying the continued position of the textbook and certain conventional text approaches as illustrated in Articles II and III. There is also a need for critical attention to naturalised understandings about text choice and text use and how teachers' discursive practices may sustain them. Another insight concerns English teachers' assumptions about the value of film. Article IV shows how teachers' reasoning concerning film use seems to accommodate in-school and out-of-school discourses about its educational value. While classroom film use is not new, critical attention to the discourses supporting teachers' notions of its value is long overdue.

Additionally, this dissertation points to the underlying challenge emerging from analysing the material: the seeming discrepancies between the boundaries teachers draw around their EFL text practices and the intentions of educational policies. As Articles II, III, and IV exemplify, a range of other discourses and practices seem to condition teachers' notions of text choice and use more than those represented in the current syllabus. While the aims of the English subject curriculum are occasionally present in the teachers' reasoning, they rarely appear to be the objects of collective scrutiny and seem disconnected from many of the teachers' EFL text practices. This calls for better alignment between the intentions of current syllabi for English and teachers' perceptions of their subject and its aims. Therefore, increased attention to curriculum analysis in teacher education and in-service teacher courses will probably be necessary. There is also a need for increased attention to English teachers' understanding of joint decision-making and the discourses and practices regulating collaborative work in schools. In exploring common characteristics of the teachers' reasoning, the present study also touches on the "local orders of discourse" potentially conditioning teachers' perspectives of their subject and its teaching practices. In my view, the autonomous professionality educational authorities ask for cannot be achieved without collective assessment and appropriation of curricular aims to secure effective and differentiated EFL text practices.

7.3 Concluding remarks

Historically, there are several examples of curriculum changes lacking meaningful impact on teachers' understanding of their subjects or actual classroom practices (Kliebard, 2002). For instance, progressive pedagogy of the 20s and 30s appears to have been minimally implemented in Norwegian schools (Dale, 2008). In the case of English, it is uncertain how the direct method was received by teachers across the country (Gundem, 1989). As suggested above, there are indications in syllabi

from this period of the new teaching approaches being met with resistance from teachers and of educational authorities wanting to accommodate teachers' hesitations by offering practical advice on how to tackle new practices. As Gundem argues, there is reason to believe that educational authorities were overambitious on behalf of English teachers since the conventional grammar-translation method appears to have coexisted with the direct method in EFL classrooms far into the 1950s (1989). As the analysis of the empirical material suggests, it seems that the former method's logic has proven more persistent and has been woven into the fabric of present-day English teachers' discourses about classroom text work. Additionally, the conciliatory tone of syllabi written in the era of the direct method is suggestive of the unease teachers at that time probably felt when faced with the unfamiliar methods. These methods made new demands on the teachers' English competence and probably challenged their sense of control over pupils' learning.

However, while certain challenges and the teachers' answers to them seem strikingly familiar, the people who are going to tackle them are never the same, nor are the circumstances in which they work and live. As Kliebard (1995) points out, "whatever it is that we can learn from the past must be reinterpreted in the light of these differences" (p. 196). For example, the specific context of the 18 teachers' reasoning is one in which the subject English has developed substantially from a language once indeed foreign to both teachers and pupils into becoming almost a second language to many. The availability of text sources in English has increased enormously and present-day pupils interact with English text every day outside of school, through films, music, and on the Internet and social media. The syllabi's aims for English have developed accordingly and describe sophisticated literacy aims meant to deal with complex textual landscapes.

The reality of classrooms has also changed. Unstreamed education must now cater to each pupil's needs and abilities. Thus, there are increased demands on teachers' subject knowledge and didactical competence to address these challenges. In these 18 teachers' discursive practices, the concern for the individual pupil is paramount, particularly for those who are struggling. However, the emphasis is often placed on collective processes to secure everyone's participation rather than differentiated approaches to match the individual pupil's abilities. Hence, the teachers' discursive practices seem to merge previous discourses of social inclusion with a more recent discourse concerning the pupils' well-being and individual preferences.

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9 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Research permit from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)

Appendix 2: Project no 33145: Informed consent from teachers (oral/written)

Appendix 3: Project no. 33145: Interview guide: primary interview

Appendix 4: Observation form – Interview guide: secondary interview

Appendix 1: Research permit from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD)

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

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N-5007 Bergen
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Anja Synnøve Bakken
Avdeling for lærerutdanning
Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag
Røstad
7600 LEVANGER

Vår dato: 22.02.2013 Vår ref:33145 / 3 / HIT Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 01.02.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

33145	*What moves the Young Reader in the Encounter with Texts? A Study a Texts and their Uses in Lower Secondary Education in English*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Anja Synnøve Bakken*

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

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

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

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.07.2016, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Hildur Thorarensen

Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 33145

Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal det innhentes muntlig samtykke basert på muntlig og skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og behandling av personopplysninger. Personvernombudet finner informasjonsskrivet tilfredsstillende utformet i henhold til personopplysningslovens vilkår, såfremt dato for prosjektslutt tilføyes.

Data innhentes via personlig intervju med lærere. Elever blir ikke inkludert i prosjektet, jf. epost fra prosjektleder.

Prosjektet skal avsluttes 31.07.2016 og innsamlede opplysninger skal da anonymiseres og lydopptak slettes. Anonymisering innebærer at direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger som navn/koblingsnøkkel slettes, og at indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger (sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. yrke, alder, kjønn) fjernes eller grovkategoriseres slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes i materialet.

Appendix 2: Project no 33145: Informed consent from teachers (oral/written)

Anja Bakken
Avdeling for lærerutdanning
Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag
Levanger 2013-2014

Til deg som er engelsklærer i ungdomsskolen

Denne forespørselen gjelder en undersøkelse i forbindelse med et forskingsprosjekt som retter seg mot engelskundervisningen i ungdomsskolen. Jeg er ansatt som doktorgradsstipendiat i engelsk ved Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag og ønsker å undersøke forhold knyttet til undervisningsmateriell i engelskundervisninga når det gjelder:

- Hvilke tekster og materiell som brukes?
- Hvordan og hvorfor disse/dette brukes?
- Hvilke kilder lærere bruker når de velger tekster og materiell? (lærebok, Internett etc.)

I dette arbeidet trenger jeg hjelp fra engelsklærere som underviser i faget. I første omgang vil det dreie seg om en samtale der jeg ønsker å se på det utvalget tekster og materiell som du har brukt forrige skoleår og/eller skal bruke i klasserommet i år og å høre hvordan du som engelsklærer tenker omkring bruken av disse/dette. Det ville være til stor hjelp om du kunne fremskaffe f. eks leselister eller terminplaner før samtalen slik at den får et konkret utgangspunkt. Prosjektet går i perioden august 2012 – juli 2016. Deltakelse er frivilling og man kan når som helst trekke seg uten å oppgi grunn.

Til sist litt om min bakgrunn. Jeg har vært engelsklærer i videregående skole i ca. 20 år, på alle trinn og innen de fleste programområder. Siden 2009 har jeg arbeidet ved lærerutdanninga ved HINT og gikk i august 2012 over i en doktorgradstipendiatstilling.

Jeg kommer til å ta kontakt i løpet av relativt kort tid for eventuell avtale.

Med vennlig hilsen
Anja Bakken
Stipendiat i engelsk

Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag
Avdeling for lærerutdanning
Tlf arbeid: 74022625
Mobil: 45604415

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

---

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 3: Project no. 33145: Interview guide: primary interview

INNLEDNING:

- Informasjon om formål, konfidensialitet, frivillighet etc
- Lydopptak
- Informasjon om framgangsmåte og innhold

BAKGRUNNSINFORMASJON:
Kjønn, alder, utdanning, undervisningserfaring: antall år, skoleslag, trinn

TEMA 1: Hvilke tekster brukes? Hvordan velges tekstene? Tekstutvalg og sammensetning
Materiale: lister/planer for semester/år:

- *Hva slags tekster inngår i tekstutvalget? (genre og modaliteter)*
- *Hvor fant du tekstene du har brukt/skal bruke?*
- *Hvordan går du fram når du velger tekster?*
- *Hva tenker du om omfanget av tekster? Kan du beskrive det?(bredt, smalt, formål, sammensetning?)*
- *Hva tenker du om sammensetningen av tekster?*
- *Hvilke tekster tenker du er de viktigste i utvalget? Hvorfor?*
- *Kan du anslå hvor mye tid som brukes på de ulike genrene og modalitetene?*
- *Er det tekster du har brukt som ikke står på leselista/planene: Gi eksempler*
- *Hvorfor valgte du akkurat disse tekstene?*

TEMA 2: Bakgrunn for valg av tekster

Personlige:

- *Hvordan vil du beskrive dine erfaringer med tekst i fra egen språklæring?*
- *Hva slags type tekster likte/liker du best å lese?*
- *Hvilke type tekster liker du best å arbeide med i klasserommet?*
- *Er det tekster på lista du ser spesielt frem til å arbeide med?*
- *Er det tekster du ikke er like begeistret for?*
- *Hvilke faktorer spiller inn når du velger tekster?*

Profesjonelle: didaktisk, pedagogisk, faglig kompetanse og erfaring

- *Hva er det viktigste for deg i valget av tekster?*
- *Hvilke erfaringer har du med å bruke tekstene i utvalget? Gi eksempler*
- *Har du valgt tekster som du har brukt før men ønsker å bruke på nye måter?*
- *Kan du si noe om formålet med de ulike tekstene?*

Hensyn til elever/klasseromsdynamikk

- *Hva skal elever lære ved å arbeide med de tekstene du har valgt ut? Gi eksempler*
- *Har alle det samme utbyttet av tekstene?*
- *Er de noe som slår an mer hos enkelte enn hos andre?*
- *Kan noen elever påvirke valg av tekster mer enn andre?*

Kontekstuelle faktorer

- *Hvordan går du fram når du velger tekster?*
- *Arbeider du alene eller sammen med andre når du velger tekster?*
- *Hva begrenser eller oppmuntrer deg i valg av tekster*
- *Hvordan påvirker læreplanen valget av tekster?*

TEMA 3: Lærers egne eksempler og tenkning omkring bruk av tekst i klasserommet

- *Kan du gi eksempler på erfaringer med bruk av tekst i klasserommet?*
- *Her kan spørsmål fra TEMA 2 og 3 være aktuelle og bli stilt spesifikt for de ulike testsettene eller enkelttekster*

Avslutning/debriefing: Spørsmål, tilføyelser

Appendix 4: Observation form – Interview guide: secondary interview

Observasjonsskjema :		
Respondent:	Dato / tidspunkt:	
Fokusområder:	**Observasjonsnotater**	
TEKSTSAMMENSETNING Hvilke tekster inngår i opplegget for timen? (genre og modalitet) Hvilken oppmerksomhet får de ulike tekstene? - Rekkefølge - Tidsbruk - Rolle Hvordan presenter lærer teksten/tekstene? Hvordan formidles formål med lesing av teksten/tekstene? Faktorer som lærer selv har nevnt i intervju om rolle og formål med tekster **ARBEID MED TEKST** Hvilke aktiviteter og oppgaver har lærer valgt? Førlesning, underveis, etterlesning, hjemmearbeid (før og etter) Hva gjøres for å fange interessen for arbeidet med tekst eller holde den ved like? Hvilke hensyn synes å ha betydning i arbeidet med teksten? • Faglige hensyn (språk, ordforråd, faktakunnskap. forståelse, refleksjon, tekstforståelse, sjangerforståelse, struktur - Pedagogiske/ praktiske hensyn, Elevgruppen/klasseromsdynamikk, enkeltelever, Tid • Hensyn som lærer selv har nevnt i intervjuet **ELEVRESPONS/ENGAGEMENT: individuelt/par/grupper** • Hvor mange deltar i muntlig aktiviteter i plenum? • Hvem styrer responsen på tekster i klasserommet? • Hvor mange deltar i muntlige aktiviteter i par/grupper? • Hvor lenge tar det før de første/siste er i gang med oppgaver/aktiviteter • Hvor lenge tar det før de første/siste er ferdige med oppgaver/aktiviteter • Negativ respons – mangel på respons - positiv respons		

Sekundærintervju: ***TEMA 1 og 2 fra primærintervju***
Tekstutvalg, sammensetning og bakgrunn for valg av tekster

- *Hvorfor valgte du denne teksten/ disse tekstene?*
- *Inngår denne teksten eller tekstene du brukte i timen i en sammensetning/opplegg med flere tekster? I tilfelle hvilke?*
- *Hvilken rolle har denne teksten i et slikt opplegg – finnes det en hovedtekst– i tilfelle hvilken og hvorfor?*
- *Hvilke forhold spilte inn i valget av teksten/sammensetningen av tekster?*

Profesjonelle: didaktiske, pedagogiske, faglige hensyn:

- *Har du brukt denne teksten/disse tekstene før? Hvis ja bruker du teksten eller sammensetningen av tekster på samme eller en ny måte? Forklar.*
- *Hva er det viktigste for deg i valget av denne teksten/ disse tekstene?*
- *Hva er formålet med teksten/tekstene du valgte i dag? Forklar.*
- *Hva tenker du om de oppgavene og aktivitetene du valgte for elevene sett i forhold til dette formålet?*
- *Hva hadde du som mål at elevene skulle lære i denne timen gjennom arbeidet med teksten? Beskriv og forklar.*
- *Hvordan synes du at de arbeidet mot dette målet i dag? Beskriv og forklar.*
- *Overrasket, skuffet eller gledet noe deg i så måte i dag? Hvorfor?*
- *Hvordan vil du vurdere de ulike aktivitetene opp mot det du hadde som mål og hensikt med de tekstene du hadde valgt?*
- *Hva ville du eventuelt endre neste gang du bruker teksten/tekstene og hvorfor?*

PART 2: THE ARTICLES

Article I

Bakken, A. (2017). Notions of EFL reading in Norwegian curricula, 1939–2013, *Acta Didactica,* 11(2), 1

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Notions of EFL Reading in Norwegian Curricula, 1939–2013

Abstract
This article explores how English syllabi between 1939 and 2013 dealt with reading in English as a foreign language (EFL). Using perspectives from critical discourse analysis (CDA), I address the different notions of reading expressed in these syllabi, the purpose of reading and the roles of the reader and the teacher. I distinguish between four notions of reading: reading as exposure, reading as a tool, reading as an encounter, and reading as meta-awareness. How curricula explain reading is tied to contemporary pedagogical thinking, but must also be understood in a political and ideological landscape where increasingly larger groups of the Norwegian population gain access to universal secondary education. The notions of reading addressed in this article are part of a historical development as well as a recognisable repertoire of understandings related to EFL reading today.

Key words: EFL reading, curriculum history, critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Sammendrag
I denne artikkelen undersøker jeg sentrale utviklingstrekk i læreplaners beskrivelser av lesing i engelskfaget fra 1939 til 2013. Jeg anvender perspektiver fra kritisk diskursanalyse i utforskingen av læreplanene for å illustrere hvordan ulike forståelser av lesing kommer fram og hva disse innebærer når det gjelder elevens og lærerens rolle. Jeg inndeler de ulike læreplandiskursene omkring lesing i engelfaget i fire forståelser av lesing: lesing som eksponering, verktøy, tekstmøte og meta-forståelse. Hvordan lesing forklares henger sammen med skiftende pedagogiske strømninger men må også forstås i et politisk og ideologisk landskap hvor stadig nye grupper av befolkningen deltar i et obligatorisk løp fra barneskole til og med videregående opplæring. Disse forståelsene kan ses som ledd i en historisk utvikling men også som et gjenkjennelig repertoar av forståelser knyttet til lesing i engelskfaget i dag.

Nøkkelord: lesing i engelsk, læreplanhistorie, kritisk diskursanalyse

Introduction

This article explores shifting notions of reading in English as a Foreign Language (EFL), encompassing roughly 70 years of curriculum history, a topic which has received little academic attention to date. It begins with the 1939 syllabus, the first to regulate English as a compulsory subject in primary school (Ministry of Church & Education [henceforth MC&E], 1939a), and ends with the 2013 English Subject Curriculum, which covers both primary and secondary education (Ministry of Education and Research [henceforth ME&R], 2013). From its central position in the first decades of the 20th century, when English was still a subject for a select few, reading was gradually downplayed in favour of spoken skills until the late 1980s. From the 1997 syllabus, reading was restored to an equal position to that of other linguistic skills (Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs [henceforth MER&CA], 1997). In the National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion (LK06), reading is presented as one of five equally important and interdependent basic skills: oral, reading, written, numeracy and digital (ME&R, 2006).

This article traces elements of continuity and change in the explanation of reading in English syllabi, concentrating on the lower secondary school. It addresses the following research questions: What notions of reading are expressed in the syllabi? What roles are assigned to pupils and teachers? What aims of reading do syllabi express? As indicated by the title of the article, the English syllabi analysed are integral parts of their respective curricula. Therefore, I situate the different syllabi explanations of reading within the broader context of educational and social change.

Research Context

This article relates to the field of curriculum history and specifically to the development of school subjects. Curriculum history considers how understandings inherited from the past act upon present ones (Apple, 2003; Goodson, 2002; Kliebard, 2002; Sivesind, 2008). Goodson argues that if the curriculum is perceived as a fact, one "risk[s] ignoring circumstances that are directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Goodson, 2002, p. 14). Curriculum history explores how the changing representations of school subjects tie in with social, political and educational developments, both nationally and internationally. It traces the conflicting interests at work in the development of school subjects such as the language arts, science, maths and history (Ahonen, 2001; Elgström & Hellstenius, 2010; Engelsen, 2015; Englund, 1986, 2015; Goodson & Marsh, 1996; Goodson & Medway, 1990).

Per Goodson and March (1996), studying the development of school subjects means studying a "microcosm" of differing interests—educational, social and

political—at work at given points in time (p. 42). Such interests have been established as "subject traditions [. . .] which exist with varying degrees of articulation within most school subjects" (Goodson & Marsh, 1996, p. 41). The first is an *academic* subject-oriented grammar school tradition, which focuses on preparing pupils for professional or university study. The second is a *utilitarian* tradition, intended to provide pupils with practical and professional skills. A third is the child-centred *pedagogic* tradition, which focuses on the pupil's learning and development (Goodson & Marsh, 1996, pp. 42-44). The authors show how corresponding traditions are traceable in England, the United States and Australia, but that their manifestations reflect the different countries' historic developments and political priorities. In England, for instance, the academic Grammar School tradition retained hegemony even when comprehensive lower secondary schooling was introduced in the 1970s (Goodson & Marsh, 1996).

Several studies in curriculum history also analyse teachers' experiences and negotiations with curriculum change (Goodson, 2014; Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006). In recent decades, scholars have looked at curriculum change from cross-national and globalisation perspectives as international testing and standardisation of learning outcome increasingly influence national curricula regarding both content and form (Goodson, 2014; Karseth & Sivesind, 2010; Mølstad & Karseth, 2016; Sivesind & Wahlström, 2016). However, while curricula across countries reflect international movements, they are also conditioned by national school systems and political priorities (Sivesind & Wahlström, 2016; Yates & Young, 2010).

In Norway, scholars in curriculum history or the history of education underscore the importance of the values of democracy and social inclusion (Dale, 2008; Sivesind, 2008; Telhaug, Mediås, & Aasen, 2006). When the idea of a common school emerged in the mid-1800s, an important concern was that an undifferentiated classroom should unite pupils across social divides (Telhaug,1974). In 1936, Norway established a 7-year common school. In 1969, a 9-year compulsory education abolished previous divisions between academic and vocational schooling at the lower secondary level (Dale, 2008). In 1994, Norwegian adolescents gained equal access to upper secondary education, (MC&E, 1994), and with the 2006 reform (LK06), schooling was extended to 13 years including the voluntary upper secondary level (ME&R, 2006).

As in most Nordic countries in the post-war period, there has been a political consensus that state-mandated schooling should provide equal educational possibilities while securing pupils' social inclusion (Antikainen, 2006; Telhaug et al., 2006). Political and business interests went hand in hand to build an educational system that would promote the nation's economic progress (Sivesind, 2008; Telhaug et al., 2006). In the 1970s and '80s, Norwegian educational discourse espoused a radical pupil-oriented pedagogy, reminiscent of the 1920s and '30s progressive movement, but which, this time also

demanded local self-determination for pupils and teachers. The tide turned, and from the late 1980s, an international economic recession coincided with a "restorative" emphasis on the dissemination of traditional subject content in Norwegian curricula (Telhaug et al, 2006, p. 262). As Dale points out, the concern for social inclusion was strengthened in the 1980s and '90s through educational legislation securing pupils' right to teaching adapted to their individual abilities (2008). From the beginning of the 20th century, neo-liberalist ideas have increasingly put their brand on Norwegian educational legislation (Helgøy & Homme, 2016; Sivesind, 2008; Telhaug et al., 2006). Still, Helgøy and Homme (2016) contend, recent decades' educational outcome-oriented discourses continue to accommodate traditional ideals of equality and inclusion.

Both the more general "subject traditions" (Goodson & Marsh, 1996, p. 41) and national political discourses are recognisable in the development of school subjects in Norway. For instance, Aase describes how the position of the mother tongue "has balanced between being justified by its practical usefulness and by its broader cultural 'Bildung-aims' (Aase, 2005, p. 71). The subject has served an important identity-building function and been responsible for maintaining the national literary heritage of a young nation state (Engelsen, 2015; Nordstoga, 2003). The development of the subject English was marked by corresponding tensions between utilitarian and academic elitist traditions. Gundem (1989) investigated the differing interests at play in the development of English as a school subject in Norway from the 1880s to the early 1970s. She describes how two competing discourses struggled for hegemony in the processes towards compulsory English teaching in the 7-year common school in 1936 and the lower secondary school in 1969. One discourse saw English as intended for the study of canonical texts; the other promoted English as a modern subject that would provide practical language skills for all (Gundem, 1989, 1990). Also, English has been influenced by British and American institutions and international developments in foreign language learning (Simensen, 2008, 2011).

As previously stated, this article presents a study of syllabi representations of EFL reading in Norwegian curricula, a topic which is minimally represented in the existing literature. While Gundem's study ended with the 1970s, this article deals with developments in the subject until 2013. The purpose is to understand present notions of reading by looking at how reading has been represented in curricula in the past and how these notions have intersected with the surrounding educational discourses. These notions of reading can be interpreted in two ways: as a linear development where new understandings replace or merge with the old, or as an available repertoire of meaning about EFL reading that cuts across generations of Norwegian syllabi. It appears that these notions of reading continue to condition the reasoning of present-day English teachers (Bakken, In progress, 2017).

Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives

Goodson argues that the written curriculum provides us with "the best official guides to institutionalised schooling" (2002, p. 16). For instance, it allows us to trace the disempowering and empowering of social actors. Through examinations and streaming, the curriculum establishes distinctions between the able students and the less able and between the content knowledge that is assumed to be suitable for either of the groups (Goodson & Marsh, 1996).

This critical and social constructionist stance ties in with the CDA perspectives that I draw on in the analysis of English syllabi. A vital concern in CDA is an exploration of how the truths of the past are built into present understandings, thus contributing to the maintenance of or change in our "systems of knowledge and belief" about the social world, social identities or social relations (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). In this respect, how social actors such as pupils and teachers are cast in a text, such as a curricular document, is significant, particularly if they are dealt with differently in different texts representing the same social practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Paying attention to developments in the representation of social actors provides insight into these "systems of knowledge and belief" and how they persist or change (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64).

Sometimes, social actors are left out simply because their presence is perceived as superfluous in a discourse context, or because certain social actors are promoted at the expense of others (Fairclough, 1992; Van Leeuwen, 2008). For example, when curricula fail to mention teachers in the explanation of reading, this omission may indicate that their roles are assumed to be commonly understood by their readers, or that the roles of pupils are seen to deserve more attention. Social actors may be represented as activated or passivated in a process, or they may be excluded or backgrounded (Fairclough, 2003; Van Leeuwen, 2008). They may also be represented as an undifferentiated group or explicitly differentiated from other groups of similar social actors (Van Leeuwen, 2008). To some extent, curricula cast social actors in genre-specific characteristics that persist over time. However, genres adapt and change with social developments (Fairclough, 2003), and how curricula explain the proposed practices or assign roles to social actors are salient discursive features that mirror such developments.

The CDA perspectives introduced above were carried into the analysis of the curricula. I examined how different syllabi explain reading regarding the roles of pupils and teachers and the aims of reading. To gain insight into these questions, I pursued linguistic and semantic features that explicitly or implicitly deal with reading, how to approach reading, what texts are considered appropriate and the degree of agency allowed to pupils. The word *reading* itself, for example, frequently used in the early curricula, is later replaced by words and expressions that mirror new perceptions of reading. Such discursive features may promote

the pupil's own efforts to achieve curricular aims or tie those efforts to the use of specific procedures. Whether pupils are represented as actively in charge of processes or as "beneficiaries" of proposed measures (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 30) reflects contemporary views of the pupils' roles in learning processes. Also, the roles of pupils are likely to be conditioned by the roles of teachers and vice versa. Thus, the analysis examined the agency assigned to pupils and the balance in their relationship with teachers.

The titles of the four periods—reading *as exposure*, *tool, encounter* and *meta-awareness*—are categories that emerge from the analysis of syllabi. They capture the essence of syllabi representations of reading regarding the positioning of the pupils and the aims of reading. I also paid attention to how syllabi explanations of reading change when new groups of pupils gain access to English. What curricula explicitly or implicitly say about the roles of social actors provides insight into the dominant notion of reading, who it is for and what purpose it serves.

Material

The empirical material for this article comprises eleven syllabi for English, including a 1939 government circular and a preliminary plan from 1957. The first two rows in Table 1 relate to compulsory English teaching both at the primary and secondary levels whereas the third and fourth row relate to non-compulsory English teaching in the lower secondary school. The material does not include syllabi for non-compulsory English teaching at the upper secondary level.

The 1939 syllabus introduced English as a compulsory subject in years 6-7 of the 7-year common school. It was followed by a 1957 preliminary plan outlining "An English teaching for all" (Attempts Council for Schools, 1957, p. 168). This plan was further developed in the 1960 and 1964 experimental syllabi, introducing compulsory but differentiated English courses at the lower secondary level. The 1974 syllabus was the first to regulate unstreamed English teaching at the lower secondary level. In the 2006 and the current 2013 revised version of the English Subject Curriculum, English is a compulsory subject from school year 1 throughout the general (year 11) and vocational courses (years 11 and 12) of upper secondary education. In 2006, the national curriculum was divided into subject curricula, and thus the current syllabus for English is called the "English Subject Curriculum."

Table 1: Syllabi regulating English teaching in Norway: 1939-2013

Compulsory education	Syllabi	1939	1957	1960/64	1974	1987	1997	2006/13
	School years	6-7	5-7	7-9	4-9	4-9	3-10	1-11/12
Non-compulsory education	Syllabi	1939	1950					
	School years	8-10	8-10					

The 1939 governmental circular introduced new principles for non-compulsory English teaching in the academic branch of lower secondary schooling (*realskolen*) and formed the basis for the 1950 syllabus. I have included the 1939 and 1950 syllabi for non-compulsory English teaching for two reasons. First, reading at the lower secondary level was designed for a more mature and competent group of pupils than the 1939 syllabus and is thus more comparable to present-day EFL reading. Second, the syllabi for non-compulsory English teaching were important, as they defined English teaching in compulsory education well into the 1960s (Gundem, 1989).

These eleven curricular documents vary in length from two to five pages (1939 circular, 1939 syllabus) to about 30 pages (1960 and 1964 syllabi), the last two including descriptions of the differentiated courses. From 1987, the syllabi cover eight to eleven pages. The syllabi are all analysed in the original language to avoid meaning loss in translation. Syllabi excerpts and quotes from 1939 to 1987 are translated into English, but for the 1997 syllabus and 2006 and 2013 subject curricula, I use the official English versions.

This article takes a critical approach to what insights can be gained from text-based research. The findings construed from an analysis of texts are "inevitably partial" and "always provisional and open to change" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14-15). Such critical reflections also extend to my "repertoire of interpretations" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 273), which is likely to emphasise some and de-emphasise or exclude other interpretations. Also, understanding the past from a current perspective has certain limitations. As Goodson (2002) states, "there are always substantial dangers in drawing conclusions from past historical experiences embedded in different political and social contexts" (p. 16). Still, as a cultural artefact, a syllabus can be seen to accommodate both preceding and contemporary understandings, which in turn condition later ones.

Analysis: From Reading as Exposure to Meta-awareness of Texts

This analysis is presented chronologically through four periods of curricula history to trace the changes in the roles of the social actors that developed in tandem with the surrounding educational discourses. For each of the periods, I describe the essential features of such discourses, specifically those about

reading and the teaching of English. The aim is to provide an interpretative context for the shifting notions of reading and their resurfacing in later periods.

Reading as exposure: 1930s–1950s

The direct method that influenced English syllabi in this period incorporated several progressive ideas in contemporary language learning pedagogy. The first was that of the Reform Movement originating in Germany in the 1880s (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). It promoted three principles for foreign language learning: the acquisition of correct pronunciation based on new advances in phonology, the use of connected texts, and monolingual teaching. A second and related influence encompassed several different "natural methods" that favoured unmoderated one-language exposure (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004, p. 211).

These influences underpinned Carl Knap's (1921) version of the direct method in Norwegian EFL teaching (Gundem, 1989). Notably, Knap (1921) pointed out that even though mastering spoken English was the priority, reading was always the ultimate aim. He proposed reading exercises that were aimed towards an immediate understanding of the text and argued that translation of texts to compare the foreign language with the mother tongue was an obstacle to such immediate understanding. Language patterns should be induced from connected texts and not deduced from abstract rules and artificial examples.

Contemporary English syllabi express close commitment to the direct method at both the primary and the secondary levels. The 1939 syllabus states that the teaching of English at the primary level will be conducted using the principles of the direct method that apply to the secondary level (MC&E, 1939a). When reading English, "two things need to be practiced (. . .) pronunciation and the ability to immediately understand the meaning and content of texts" and, "reading will gradually take up the first and the most space in the work with the language" (MC&E, 1939a, p. 236)

Thus, in the 1939 circular and 1950 syllabus for lower secondary English teaching, reading receives the most attention. It is vital to take on texts directly and not spend unnecessary time on preparation. Pupils are encouraged to "read as much English as possible" on their own both at school and at home (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8; MC&E, 1950, p. 42). Also, texts must fit the ability of the reader so that they are "easy enough to avoid having to translate them" (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8). In this way, pupils will be able "to move faster" than with the conventional methods (MC&E, 1950, p. 45).

Excerpts from the 1939 circular below illustrate this emphasis in EFL reading at the lower secondary level:

> One should stop going through texts as soon as one finds it justifiable, providing a text does not present great difficulties, as for instance a poem might do (…) The time one gains from doing what is mentioned above should be used for more extemporal reading. (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8)

> One should not require any detailed study of the texts. The pupils should have understood them [the texts] in terms of their main content, and one can control this by asking them questions in a lesson, or the pupils can make short summaries of what they have read. (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8)

Thus, the first course of action for the teacher is to "stop going through texts" as soon as possible. This would save time and allow for more extensive reading. While the above excerpts focus on the concrete measures taken by the teacher, the following one relates to the specific role of the pupil and the aims of reading:

> The ability to manoeuvre through an unknown text is an important aspect of modern language acquisition. Hence, the pupil may use the knowledge he possesses to develop his ability to combine elements and to exercise judgment. (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8)

First, the unprepared text exposure is essential because it allows the pupil space to develop an analytical attitude to reading. In this way, the pupil may use previous knowledge to "combine elements" and "exercise judgment" when having to "tackle unknown texts" (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8). Independent manoeuvring helps the learner understand text content, and it also encourages the ability to master future text exposure, thus assigning pupils an "activated" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145) and autonomous role as well as control of their language resources. At the same time, the teachers are to decide when the new approaches are "justifiable" for their pupils, and make sure that they have understood the main content of the texts (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8).

Reading as a tool for practical language skills: 1960s and 1970s

In the experimental period leading to compulsory lower secondary schooling, educational authorities signalled a profound shift in discourse. As a compulsory subject, English teaching had to change. As the newly established Attempts Council for Schools (1957) contended, it would be against the principles of "An English teaching for all" to continue with the conventional emphasis "on reading, grammar and written work" (p. 170). Thus, syllabi in the 1960s and 1970s reflected the demand for an English teaching true to the values of the Norwegian common school by underscoring the importance of practical and particularly spoken skills that so far "had been pushed into the background" (Attempts Council for Schools, 1957, p. 170).

However, this commitment did not mean that everybody was to be taught the same. There was general agreement among scholars and teachers at the time that compulsory lower secondary education had to be differentiated by the pupils' academic abilities (Gundem, 1989). Therefore, both the 1960 and 1964 curricula

outlined differentiated courses for the different subjects at the lower secondary level. In the case of English, the requirement for reading was an important distinguishing criterion between courses. The most extensive reading was to be reserved for the courses that would allow access to upper secondary education (MC&E, 1960, 1964). The 1960 syllabus states that for the pupils "who follow the general, practical course," a change of direction is of great importance "so that oral use of English receives the most attention in the teaching" (MC&E, 1960, p. 207). Still, the emphasis on speaking skills continued in the following years when the syllabi no longer differentiated pupils by their language abilities. It was last repeated in the 1987 syllabus, which declared that "the oral use of the spoken language is most important at all levels" (MC&E, 1987, p. 206).

The call for "practical language skills" in English coincided with new advances in language learning theory and applied linguistics underscoring the importance of habit formation and graded language acquisition (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). Hence, from the 1960s onwards, syllabi moved away from the principles of the direct method. The extensive and independent reading promoted in the 1939 circular and 1950 syllabus was downplayed. This development culminated in the 1974 syllabus, which promoted behaviourist drilling of pronunciation and language patterns in the teaching of English (Simensen, 2008). In the 1974 syllabus, texts are referred to as "language material" intended to exemplify language patterns (MC&E, p. 147). The following excerpts demonstrate what was considered the appropriate approach to reading in the teaching of English and what roles should be allocated to pupils and teachers:

> Intensive treatment of texts requires an in-depth study of the text and practice so that the pupils understand the content, master pronunciation and are comfortable with the new language patterns. The intensive text treatment is expected to be led by the teacher. (MC&E, 1974, p. 150)

> There must be strict requirements to form and content in a text that is to be treated intensively. It must be organised in such a way that it creates a natural sequence where the level of difficulty increases gradually in terms of vocabulary, expressions and language patterns. (MC&E, 1974, p. 150)

The reading processes described in the above excerpts focus on the means and modes that teachers and pupils must observe in the intensive and extensive treatment of texts. To understand the content, master pronunciation and become comfortable with new language patterns, the pupils need to be collectively led through reading procedures that the teacher controls and monitors. The purpose is not to encourage the pupils' individual judgement, but for the pupils to acquire the selected language patterns. Thus, texts that are treated intensively must have "strict requirements to form and content" and "require an in-depth study" (MC&E, 1974, p. 150). Texts for extensive reading are to be

conscientiously chosen to help sustain already acquired language, and teachers are cautioned against using independent material without careful planning.

Even though the teacher is placed in charge of the appropriately sequenced procedures, this role is restricted. The 1974 syllabus makes clear that "the work with the learning material must take place in accordance with a carefully adapted plan" ensured by an approved textbook or a "complete programme for language learning" (MC&E, 1974, p. 147, p. 150).

Reading as encounter: 1980s–1990s

From the mid-1980s onwards, earlier notions of reading were revisited when syllabi merged notions of the direct method with several contemporary influences. The most striking feature from this point onwards was a complete change in discourse, placing the pupil at centre stage. The word "encounter," introduced in the 1987 syllabus, captured the new emphasis on the pupil's meaning-making and personal preferences. Thus, texts had to be meaningful and of "value for the pupil" (MC&E, 1987, p. 210). The 1987 syllabus encouraged teachers to choose relevant topics at the local level, preferably in cooperation with pupils.

Two influences were particularly relevant to EFL reading in this period. The first was Krashen's input hypothesis in foreign language learning, which sees language as innate in human beings, meaning that the individual subconsciously recognises the structural elements of a language when exposed to it. Thus, the learner will automatically make sense of texts in the foreign language providing the texts constitute "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1982, p. 9). With this precondition in place, the learning of the foreign language takes care of itself.

The second influence focuses on the building of learner autonomy. Holec (1981) defines learner autonomy as "the capacity to control important aspects of one's language learning," which is not inborn, but can be learned (p. 3). This understanding is incorporated in the 1997 syllabus and is clearly expressed in one of the general aims for the subject: "to promote insight into what it is to learn English and their [the pupils'] capacity to take charge of their own learning" (MER&CA, 1999, p. 240, [English version of the 1997 curriculum]). These excerpts trace the above influences in the description of reading:

> Learning takes as its starting point the pupils' encounters with the language in contexts which provide pointers for understanding and exploring what is new. Thus, pupils can develop the ability to find their way around English texts, express what they experience in the encounter with those texts and thereby enhance their text competence and language awareness (MER&CA, 1999, p 239).

> It is emphasised that the pupils are also to work with texts that are not specifically designed for language learning (authentic texts). Through a variety of texts [that] can inspire them, arouse their curiosity and serve as models for them when they express themselves in English, pupils will come into contact with the living language (MER&CA, 1999, p. 238).

First, the attention to the pupils' *encounters* with texts permeates both excerpts. Second, pupils should be provided with "texts that are not made with language learning in mind" to enable experiences with the "living language," thus underscoring the authenticity of the encounter. Third, the repeated use of the possessive "their" accentuates the pupils' conscious awareness and ownership of their learning.

These excerpts suggest that a series of simultaneous processes are at work in the interaction between the pupil and the text. As pupils "find their way around English texts," they can add new elements to both their language skills and text competence. Also, texts can "arouse their curiosity" at the same time as they "serve as models" for the pupils` own oral or written production, thus merging a spontaneous response to the text with analytical reflection. Notably, while keeping the pupil-centred aspect of the 1987 syllabus, the 1997 syllabus introduced recommendations for literature echoing earlier concerns for canonical texts in the study of English.

In both the 1987 and 1997 syllabi, achieving the proposed aims for reading does not depend on the efficiency of the teacher's method, nor is the pupil's development of learner autonomy presented solely as the result of his/her individual reflections. It is seen to come about in "cooperation with teachers and fellow pupils" where "they gain experience of shaping their own language learning' (MER&CA, 1999, p. 238). While the role of the pupil is promoted and represented as "activated", the role of the teacher is "backgrounded" and must be inferred from context (Fairclough, 2003, p. 145). The backgrounding of the teacher suggests a new balance in the relationship between teachers and pupils; rather than providing authoritative interpretations of texts, teachers are expected to facilitate text encounters that encourage the pupils' own reflections.

Reading as meta-awareness: 2000s

At the dawn of the new millennium, the Norwegian educational community was shaken by the news of Norwegian lower secondary pupils scoring at mediocre levels in the international PISA test that measured competencies in core subjects (Lie, Kjærnsli, & Turmoe, 2001). Also, a study of final-year upper secondary students showed that their reading skills in English insufficiently prepared them for academic study (Hellekjær, 2005). Research into foreign language learning brought new insights into the complexity of reading. It underscored how purposeful and strategic reading is essential to improved reading proficiency and text comprehension (Grabe, 2002; Urguhart & Weir, 2014).

Spurred by these developments, the LK06 provided explanations of reading and other basic skills across subjects, aligning with international standards. In the case of English, the Common European Framework of Languages (CEFR) offers descriptors of the language learner's competencies that allow for uniform assessment (Council of Europe, 2001). Also, the 2013 explanation of EFL reading ties in with recent decades' international literacy discourses of social

empowerment. For example, in UNESCO's (2006) definition, literacy develops along a continuum, from basic reading and writing skills to a critical literacy that enables individuals to participate fully in society. These influences are traceable in the 2013 syllabus where reading in English is explained as follows:

> Being able to read in English means the ability to create meaning by reading different types of text. It means reading English language texts to understand, reflect on and acquire insight and knowledge across cultural borders and within specific fields of study. This involves preparing and working with reading English texts for different reasons and of varying lengths and complexities. The development of reading proficiency in English implies using reading strategies that are suited to the objective by reading texts that are advancingly more demanding. Furthermore, it involves reading English texts fluently and to understand, explore, discuss, learn from and to reflect upon different types of information (ME&R, 2013, p. 2).

The introductory sentence expresses an emphasis on differentiated text exposure to develop the ability "to create meaning from texts". Thus, the notion of the autonomous pupil who can navigate a variety of text landscapes is retained from the 1997 syllabus but, now this ability relies primarily on a purposeful and strategic reading that is "suited to the objective". Also, the explanation focuses on the outcome of reading rather than on the pupils' spontaneous response to the text encounter. What should result from reading is the ability to "understand, explore, discuss" and "reflect upon" texts echoing the descriptors for reading in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). In this way, the current syllabus promotes reading as a *meta-awareness* that enables pupils to critically think and talk about texts and their contexts.

The above explanation of reading is kept in universal terms with no explicit reference to social actors or their relationships. For instance, the "agentless" processes (Fairclough, 1992, p. 179) of "preparing and working with reading English texts for different reasons" (ME&R, 2013, p. 2) make no concrete mention of how these activities involve pupils and teachers.

Summary and Discussion

In the period inspired by the direct method, the emphasis in syllabi was on unprepared text *exposure* to promote an immediate understanding. In "modern English acquisition", the conventional grammar-translation method belonged in the past (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8). In the 1960s and 1970s, syllabi saw reading *as a tool* to acquire practical language skills. Pronunciation and spoken skills were paramount, while meaningful text content, which was equally important in the direct method, was gradually lost towards the end of this second period. The syllabi in both periods were largely method-driven and gave clear instructions for reading procedures and the roles of pupils and teachers. This characteristic

was strengthened in the 1974 syllabus, which assigned less agency to both pupils and teachers in the teacher-led drilling of language patterns. The syllabi in the 1980s and 1990s merged elements from the direct method and favoured the pupils' *encounter* with authentic texts. Reading was vital to the development of both the pupils' analytical skills and for personal development. With the LK06, Norwegian curricula became competence-driven. The most recent curriculum emphasises the purposeful reading of a variety of texts to encourage the pupils' *meta-awareness* of texts.

Notions of reading and the roles of pupils and teachers

The different notions of reading expressed in curricula are intimately related to the pupil's agency. Reading as described in the 1939 and 1950 syllabi implied that the pupil would meet the text directly—*as exposure*. The purpose was for the pupils to develop their ability to use previous text experiences in their encounters with new ones. Similar notions of reading are manifest in the 1997 and 2013 explanation of reading. For instance, reading in the 1997 syllabus was represented as a metaphorical journey in which pupils were supposed to "find their way through English texts" (ME&R, 1999, pp. 239). It appears that a similar idea of reading as "reader-driven" interaction (Urguhart & Weir, 2014) underlies the notions of reading expressed in these syllabi. Despite such fascinating resemblances, the later notions of reading are not replicas of previous ones. For instance, the 2013 explanation reflects a much more complex view of reading involving "meta-cognitive" strategies to make sense of texts and their contexts beyond basic text comprehension (Urguhart & Weir, 2014, p. 179). Moreover, when Knap advocated exposure to "meaningful" texts, the primary intention was to spur pupils' interest in reading extensively as a means of acquiring the language. Here, the 1987 represented a "paradigmatic shift" (Simensen, 2008) due to the unprecedented value given to the pupils' meaning-making. Now, texts should not only appeal to pupils to ensure further text exposure but also to arouse "curiosity" (ME&R, 1999, p. 238) or encourage "insight across cultural borders" (ME&R, 2013, p. 2). Also, reading as an *encounter,* as expressed in the 1987 and 1997 syllabi, represented a new emphasis on social interactions with peers and teachers in line with socio-cultural learning theory.

The shifting notions of reading are also closely tied to the role of the teacher. In the era of the direct method, syllabi gave the teacher clear recommendations about not interfering too much with the pupils' reading. Still, there is little doubt that the pupils' learning was seen as the responsibility of the teacher. By contrast, the new radical movement influencing Norwegian curricula from the 1970s onwards came with a peer-based learning and pupil-centred pedagogy where teachers were "process-oriented supervisors" (Telhaug et al., 2006, p. 259). These influences were somewhat belated in the case of the subject English. As we saw, the 1974 syllabus still placed the teacher firmly in charge of the

pupils' learning. But, in the 1987 and 1997 syllabi, the pupils' ownership of their learning became paramount, and the role of the teacher changed. An important job of the teacher, it appears, was to provide suitable arenas for pupils to express and share their responses to texts. In the 2013 explanation of reading, the actions of both pupils and teachers are backgrounded or excluded. These "textual choices" are important (Fairclough, 2003) because they build on the premise that teachers appropriate centrally given aims to their local contexts (Engelsen, 2015; Sivesind, 2008). As part of a new output-oriented generation of curricula, syllabi no longer prescribe improved practices or offer recommendations, but leave it to the teachers to decide how to achieve syllabi aims.

Notions of reading and their shifting legitimation

Reading in line with the direct method promoted a scientific-academic approach where pupils could learn to induce abstract rules or patterns from concrete experiences and thus develop their intellectual capacity (Dale, 2008). At the same time, it underscored the importance of preparing individuals for participation in society, expressing a clear "utilitarian endpoint" in line with the progressive pedagogy of the 1920s and ´30s (Elgström & Hellstenius, 2011). Still, the reading prescribed for non-compulsory English teaching was intended for the select few.

When English syllabi gradually left the principles of the direct method, this happened for several reasons. First, paradigmatic shifts towards behaviouristic methods in language learning pedagogy did not agree with the direct method (Simensen, 2008) and, second, extensive and independent reading appears to have been perceived as unfit for the more practically inclined pupils. Hence, syllabi in the 1960s and '70s favoured practical and preferably spoken skills to enable "possibilities for contact" in the pupils' future work or leisure (MC&E, 1960, p. 204). The emphasis on practical skills in English syllabi aligned with an expressed utilitarian post-war discourse in education. As in most Western democracies in this period, state education systems were seen "as vehicles of common purpose and social good" (Goodson, 2001, p. 46).

While EFL reading in the 1960s and '70s was legitimated by its usefulness, a pupil-centred discourse gained hegemony in the 1987 and 1997 syllabi, where the priority was the learner's autonomous reading. In the current 2013 explanation of reading, analytical approaches reminiscent of the inductive thinking of the direct method dominate. The word "practical" has disappeared. In addition, the concern for the pupil's personal response to texts is downplayed. Also, EFL reading is legitimated by measurable learning outcomes that are adaptable across language learning contexts.

As the above examples suggest, it appears that the shifting notions of reading have intersected with the national discourses of democracy and social inclusion in important ways. For instance, in the process towards compulsory lower

secondary teaching, the differentiated syllabi of the 1960's "represented an, effort to break with the hegemonic position of the text" (Gundem, 1989, p. 299) thus linking social inclusion to spoken English skills for all. As we saw, the preference for spoken skills was maintained in subsequent, unstreamed syllabi until 1997. In 1987, democratic participation meant allowing for locally determined texts and topics that would fit the pupils' interest and needs. The 1997 syllabus' recommendations for classical literature can also be understood against these discourses. The expressed intention of the 1997 curriculum was to establish "common frames of reference for all" through centrally chosen subject knowledge (ME&R, 1999, p. 42). Thus, the cultural texts previously reserved for the few should now be available to everyone across social and ethnic divides. The current explanation of reading also includes important elements of social inclusion, but they align with an international literacy discourse of citizenship and the individual's societal involvement (UNESCO, 2006).

Concluding remarks

The aim of this article was to show how notions of EFL reading in syllabi representations of reading have evolved in tandem with developments in foreign language learning theory and how this relates to the roles of pupils and teachers. It also provided examples of how the shifting notions of EFL reading interact with the broader educational discourses, which to different degrees reflect utilitarian, academic and pedagogic "subject traditions" (Goodson & Marsh, 1996, pp. 42-44).

These shifting notions of EFL reading seem to have coincided with the national political agenda in important ways. For instance, when new generations of pupils gained access to English in post-war Norway, this democratic enterprise came to be more closely associated with speaking the language rather than reading it. It seems that in the process towards compulsory English teaching for all in the 1960s, English syllabi not only established a distinction between speaking and reading but also between those who were disposed towards reading and those who were thought to be better served by learning oral skills. This latter concern appears to translate as ambivalence to reading in the discursive practices of present-day English teachers where pupils tend to be referred to either as fond or avid readers accustomed to reading from childhood or as less fortunate and reluctant to read. While acknowledging the benefits of reading to language learning, several teachers said that differences in the pupils' reading abilities and backgrounds were difficult to remedy in their English teaching (Bakken, in progress, 2017).

This article is intended to raise awareness of how previous notions of reading travel across generations of syllabi and adapt to new contexts thus reflecting change and continuity in our "system of knowledge and belief" (Fairclough,

1992, p. 64) about what EFL reading means and what is its purpose and legitimation. I believe teachers must be aware of these accumulated understandings to critically reflect on the notions of EFL reading that condition their practices. To gain further insight into these matters, one should also explore other texts, such as texts books or exam papers, or investigate how the understandings of the past affect present reading practices in the English language classroom.

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Article II

Bakken, A. (submitted). Questions of autonomy in Norwegian English teachers' discursive practices.

Questions of autonomy in Norwegian English teachers' discursive practices

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Abstract

Recent Norwegian educational legislation has redefined teachers' scope for teacher autonomy. This means that teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) can make autonomous decisions about text choices locally to fit pupils' abilities. At the same time, teachers are expected to act as members of professional communities ensuring learning outcomes that meet curriculum aims. To assess whether this redefined space for professional autonomy corresponds to teachers' understanding of their autonomy, this article reports a study of discourses underlying lower secondary teachers' selection of texts for English language learners. While most speak in support freedom of choice, few teachers challenge the textbook as an authoritative text source. Decisions to deviate from the textbook appear to rely mainly on individual initiatives.

Keywords: *teacher autonomy, curriculum, textbook reliance, EFL teaching, critical discourse analysis (CDA)*

1 Introduction

This article explores lower secondary English teachers' reasoning about their independent or collaborative text selection practices. The aim is to examine their notions of teacher autonomy and the role of the textbook in this context. To those ends, I pursue the following research questions:

- What characterises the teachers' reasoning about their text selection practices?
- What characterises the teachers' reasoning about the role of the textbook?
- What notions of professional autonomy do the teachers express?

Previously, national curricula required teachers to use an approved textbook or text selection and prescribed specific reading procedures, but this is no longer the case (Bakken, 2017). The 2013 national English subject curriculum specifies competence aims for all subjects that are to be adapted to local learning contexts. This means that teachers are expected to exercise their joint professional competence in appropriating the national curriculum and securing the required learning outcomes for their pupils (Carlgren and Klette, 2008; Engelsen, 2015). The present article addresses these questions of professional autonomy by exploring teachers' reasoning about their individual and collective text selections practices. Using perspectives from critical discourse analysis (CDA), I investigate how teachers draw on and contribute to existing discourses around professional autonomy, linking this to the role of the textbook in their individual and collective planning. The aim here is to explore teachers' negotiation of their professional autonomy in the context of external requirements for increased teacher cooperation, textbook reliance and 'traditional' and 'new' discourses of professional autonomy.

2 The role of the textbook

It is generally accepted that the textbook plays a significant role in teachers' classroom practices (Pinar, 1995; Sosniak and Stodolsky, 1993; Svensson, 2000; Svingby, 1985). This includes EFL

teachers, who rely heavily on textbooks in their teaching (Bachmann, 2004; Drew et al., 2007; Nunan, 1991; Stuvland, 2016). In many ways, the textbook serves as the 'dominant form of curriculum' and as the main tool in teachers' planning (Hodgson et al., 2010: 26). The textbook has attracted widespread criticism for preserving routinized teaching practices and uncritically transmitting traditional content knowledge (Apple, 1992; Englund, 1997) and as a 'stabilising' or 'conserving' factor that insufficiently challenges teachers' work (Bachmann, 2004: 119, my translation). This criticism extends to teachers who continue to rely on the textbook and are sometimes presented as 'mindless practitioners' (Schug et al., 1997: 98). Ball and Feima-Nemser noted the explicit assertion in US teacher/educator programmes that 'good teachers don't follow the textbook' (1988: 414). Nevertheless, a majority of teachers continue to rely on the textbook, based on reasons such as lack of time, satisfaction with the quality of textbooks (Hodgson et al., 2010; Sosniak and Stodolsky, 1993) or as a legitimate means of securing implementation of curriculum reforms (Bachmann, 2004).

Notably, professional autonomy does not necessarily mean disregarding the textbook; instead, teachers may use a given textbook autonomously without following its instructions to the letter. Even then, it is often perceived as an indispensable 'prop' (Sosniak and Stodolsky, 1993: 266) that seldom receives critical attention. In an EFL context, the textbook regulates choice of text and influences teachers' perceptions of how texts should be approached (Bakken and Lund, 2018) Ellingsund and Hellekjær, 2009; Stuvland, 2016). It is considered especially important in EFL teaching to source alternative texts in order to build pupils' foreign language proficiency and text competence through sufficient and differentiated text exposure (Hellekjær, 2005; Krashen, 2004; Urquhart and Weir, 2014).

There is little existing research on the discourses underlying the role of the textbook in teachers' work. One study by McGrath offers a 'thematic classification of teacher images' (2006: 174), capturing teachers' views of the textbook in terms of metaphors used to describe its role in their teaching. Based on teachers' written descriptions, McGrath identified four main views of the textbook: as 'guidance', as 'support', as 'resource' and as 'constraint' (2006: 174). He argues that these reflect varying degrees of autonomy or control in the teacher's relationship with the textbook, ranging from close allegiance (guidance) to a critical view of the textbook as 'constraint'. More generally, the varied images suggest mixed feelings about reliance on the textbook—for instance, one teacher describes the textbook as 'a straightjacket', and another refers to it as a 'smokescreen' that conveys a sense of professionalism to parents (McGrath, 2006: 175). While these metaphors offer some indication of teachers' individual perceptions, there remains a need to more fully understand the role assigned to the textbook by teachers in their collegial interaction.

3 Teacher autonomy & professionalism

Aligning with international developments, the current output-oriented national curriculum makes teachers and school owners collectively responsible for choosing means and modes of teaching appropriate to local needs (Engelsen, 2015). Perhaps paradoxically, the redefinition of teachers' professional autonomy in recent decades has extended their decision-making space while at the same time imposing increased control of teachers' work (Carlgren and Klette, 2008; Helgøy et al., 2007). New testing regimes measure pupils' learning against universal standards, making teachers accountable for pupils' learning. However, as Goodson observe, 'these world movements of school reforms "embed" themselves in national school systems in very different ways' (2014: 769). For instance, Norwegian teachers and their Nordic colleagues have not generally been subject to the same degree of external control as their Anglo-American counterparts (Mausethagen, 2013a; Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2015; Stephens et al., 2004). At the same time, teachers in Norway have

historically been accustomed to top-down, state-mandated, prescriptive curricula regulating how and what to teach (Westbury, 2007)—more so than in Denmark and Finland (Carlgren and Klette, 2008; Mølstad and Karseth, 2016; Sivesind and Wahlström, 2016; Telhaug et al., 2006).

In this context, the central term 'autonomy' is associated with the idea of 'teacher professionalism'. The term can be seen to comprise two main components: 'freedom of action' and 'an agent's capacity for action' (Lundquist, 1987: 39). On this view, autonomous action requires that the agent is not inhibited by external controls and has the knowledge, interest and capacity for self-governance (Cribb and Gewirtz, 2007). While autonomy is often linked to the individual, it may also be exercised collectively and institutionally (Cribb and Gewirtz, 2007)—for example, teachers can act autonomously alone or collectively, in teacher teams or as members of teacher unions. Beyond the competences and capacities of the individual teacher, autonomy can be understood as membership of 'expert communities' and as participation in the 'safeguarding of a shared knowledge' (Hermansen, 2017: 2).

In more traditional understanding of teacher professionalism, educational authorities 'licence' individual teachers to make autonomous choices informed by their professional 'knowledge base' (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2014: 153). This relies on the notion of 'pedagogical freedom' in the continental Didaktik tradition of curriculum making, 'which put[s] into the single teacher's hand the planning of how to enact which part of the curriculum, where and when' (Hopmann, 2007: 113). This implies that teachers' autonomy is largely confined to making decisions for their class (Helgøy and Homme, 2007). Building on this idea, discourses around teacher autonomy often emphasise 'freedom of method' for the individual teacher, where teacher autonomy equals absence of external control. While this has positive connotations, interference in teachers' work is seen to infringe on the creativity, integrity and professional judgment of the individual teacher (Cribb and Gewirtz, 2007).

In tandem with the introduction of cross-national result-based curricula and standardisation of learning outcomes, a so-called 'new' professionalism has developed. Following recent Norwegian educational legislation, the domain of teacher autonomy now extends beyond the competences previously required to teach a specific subject and, indeed, beyond the classroom. Teachers are not, however, expected to handle curriculum change on their own but by exercising their autonomy as members of 'professional communities' (Ministry for Education and Research, 2008–2009: 14)

Apparently, Norwegian teachers do not automatically embrace the increased opportunities for decentralised decision-making (Carlgren and Klette, 2008; Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2014, 2015). In many cases, they welcome external control in matters perceived as extending beyond their core work, such as analysing and assessing curricular competence aims (Mausethagen, 2013b; Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2015). Nonetheless, as suggested here and in other research, the notion of teacher autonomy as individual freedom of method persists among Norwegian teachers (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2014, 2015). Mausethagen asks whether the 'strong focus on individual autonomy contributes to diminishing autonomy at a more collective level' (2015: 38) and calls for further study of teachers' discursive practices 'to enhance our understanding of how and why some aspects of policy are placed within teachers' main frame of teaching, whereas other policies and practices are not' (Mausethagen, 2013a: 424).

4 Methodological perspectives

The methodological premise for the analysis of the teacher interviews is that individuals become 'co-producers of discourse' (Jäger and Maier, 2009) through their participation in discursive practices.

These practices place social actors in dialogue with the 'situational' practices of family relations or particular work environments, 'institutional' practices (including those in schools) and more distant 'societal' or cultural practices (Fairclough, 2010: 133). By participating in these practices, individuals draw on, maintain or alter the meanings these discourses carry (Fairclough, 2003; Jäger and Maier, 2009). While single utterances may exert a limited effect on existing discourses, they resonate with other utterances, and thus contributing both to 'reproducing' and 'transforming' (Fairclough, 1992: 65) our understanding of a given aspect of the world and, ultimately, the associated social practices. However, discursive practices differ in their 'dialogicality' (Fairclough, 2003: 41)—that is, the extent to which they accommodate diverse and competing views.

To explore the characteristics of the 18 teachers' discursive practices, I build on Fairclough's notion of *interdiscursivity*: how different discourse types (*genres, discourses* and *styles*) are simultaneously expressed in texts—in this case, teacher interviews. These indiscrete forms nevertheless accommodate three distinct analytical approaches. The first type (*genres*) influences the specific communicative context in which people write or speak and thus regulates both discourse content and style. For instance, certain genre-specific characteristics condition the interaction between researcher and respondent in a research interview. At the same time, participants may be influenced by genre characteristics that are not 'situated' within a specific practice but operate across practices (Fairclough, 2003: 69). The second type (*discourses*) relates to the manner in which the content of a specific discourse is represented—for instance, which themes are foregrounded or backgrounded in a text, and how. Style relates to 'how people identify themselves and are identified by others' (Fairclough, 2003: 160). For instance, such 'identification' is manifested in pronouns denoting what 'we' (as members of a profession) believe or do, or by metaphors expressing certain characteristics associated with members of communities and their practices. Fairclough argue that such elements of style draw on ideologies that 'have a durability or stability that transcend individual texts or bodies of texts' (2003: 9). Styles also express social actors' degree of commitment to a proposition through explicit or implicit evaluation (Fairclough, 2003), in turn contributing to the weakening or strengthening of a given discourse content. The three discourse types allow for an investigation of the internal relations of a text (i.e. what elements are promoted or subdued in a teacher interview) as well as its external negotiations with outside discourses.

4.1 Participants

The empirical material consists of interviews with 18 lower secondary English teachers. The respondents were purposefully sampled for maximum variation in terms of age, experience, educational background and gender (Patton, 1990). The group is therefore heterogeneous with respect to age (ranging from 20 to 60 years) and teaching experience (from one to 30 years). As the majority of teachers in these schools are women, female respondents outnumbered males (13 to 5). Most of the participants had 60 credits in English from either a university or a university college, and two teachers had a master's degree in the subject. While background and teaching experience can be expected to have influenced their reasoning, these correspondences are not of immediate interest here. Rather, the heterogeneity of this group of respondents facilitated the investigation of discursive practices that can be seen to operate across educational backgrounds and levels of

teaching experience. This is also the focus of this article. My objective was to examine how these teachers discursively frame one important aspect of their work.

4.2 Data collection and processing

Most of the teachers had provided plans that listed texts or textbook chapters they had read or planned to read in class during the current year. In many cases, these plans were common to all English teachers at the school or to teachers who taught at the same level. They were organised according to textbook logic, with a topic headlining each chapter. To varying degrees, the plans also listed the titles of texts the teachers had chosen, either individually or with colleagues and contributed to an understanding of text selection procedures. The plans themselves were not included in the analytical material but were used as a point of departure for questions and as an interpretive context for the analysis.

Using a semi-structured approach, all the interviews addressed largely the same topics while accommodating individual elaboration (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). These topics were approached in slightly different ways, often taking a cue from the teachers' reasoning. This strategy sought to get as close as possible to 'naturally occurring language use' (Jäger and Maier, 2009: 2) in order to capture the immediate repertoire of meanings that teachers rely on in reasoning about their practices. The interviews were conducted in Norwegian, and the chosen excerpts were then translated into English for the purpose of this article.

The CDA perspectives mentioned in section 4 were incorporated in the analytical processes. The initial stage traced congruence and incongruence across the interview material in terms of discursive features of content and language. The material then underwent a more refined analysis employing the discourse types: *genres, discourses* and *styles* from Fairclough's (2003) interdiscursive analysis. The purpose of this analysis was to explore the complexity and characteristics of each teachers' meaning making and their negotiations with external discourses. The analytical processes involved an abductive approach (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009), which, for instance, meant juxtaposing interpretations from the interdiscursive analysis with relevant theoretical perspectives and previous research as accounted for in section 2 and 3. For present purposes, I will focus on two of the discourse types: discourses and styles in the Analysis and findings section (5).

In any research interview, it is impossible to avoid influencing the respondent to some degree (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Referring again to Fairclough's use of the term *genres* as discussed above, research interviews draw on genre characteristics that condition the interaction between interviewer and respondent in terms of what themes are included/foregrounded or excluded/backgrounded (Fairclough, 2003). The fact that I come from a teacher training institution is, in itself, likely to encourage certain assumptions about my view of EFL text selection practices. Thus, in one sense, the validity of the findings presented here is confined to a specific time and place; teachers elsewhere might introduce other themes or speak differently about them. Nevertheless, as the way people talk is conditioned by relatively 'durable' social structures and practices, such as those supported by language itself (Fairclough, 2003), the issues that emerge from this analysis of teachers' reasoning are likely to be familiar to other English teachers and to teachers of other subjects.

5 Analysis and findings

The first part of this section (5.1) explores three of the 18 participating teachers' meaning-making. These three teachers were chosen specifically because their individual profiles reflect important attributes of all the 18 teachers' reflections. At the same time, certain features of the three teachers' reasoning serve to illustrate the complexity and incongruence that recur across the interview material. The second part (5.2) relates the three teachers' shared and diverging characteristics to the interview material as a whole while tying the overall findings to Fairclough's discourse types: *discourses* and *styles*. To preserve anonymity, all of the teachers are referred to as 'she' or 'her'.

5.1 Analysis of teacher interviews

5.1.1 Teacher 1

Teacher 1 explains that, on completing the current course, she will have taught English at all three levels of lower secondary school. At the beginning of each course, she has made it a priority to acquaint herself with the textbook for that specific course. Other than a few fiction films and a text found in another textbook, she has restricted her selection to those provided by the textbook. Looking back at the texts she has used with her ninth graders this year and in earlier classes, she asks herself: 'Am I too tied to the textbook?', thus introducing an element of ambiguity towards her current practices. She contends that this is 'how it will be' because she is still a novice teacher. In the two interview excerpts below, the teacher's reasoning evolves around the 'framework' that regulates text selection and the possibility for the single teacher of moving beyond the textbook.

When asked who decides what texts to choose, the teacher emphasises her freedom of choice.

> T: That is entirely my decision, and I think that's really good. I know that this varies from school to school, but our plans—term plans and so on—do not decide what texts we will read. In terms of the chapters we work with, there are texts from A to F or A to G, depending on the number of texts in the chapter, and then I choose, myself within that framework.
> I: And that framework is?
> T: It is the chapters and topics we use as points of departure—the topics that the textbook brings up.

The teacher expresses strong commitment ('this is really good') to what she describes as relatively loose cooperation between teachers. She states that because she and her colleagues list only chapter topics and not what texts to read, she can choose between the relevant texts in the textbook and other sources if she is so inclined. The phrase 'I know this varies' reinforces the sense that she feels fortunate not to be part of a form of cooperation that allows individual teachers less flexibility. She explains that the manner in which plans are organised 'varies from school to school', juxtaposing 'our' loose plans with the rigidity that other teachers must endure. At the same time, she positions her own space for decision-making ('my decision', 'I choose myself') in the context of collaboration with her colleagues ('the chapters we work with', 'the topics we use'). It is within this 'framework' that she appears to define her professional autonomy.

The conversation then moves on to what underpins her choices. First, she explains that while her own interests are important in her choice of texts, she is also compelled to consider the relevance of those texts for the pupils' learning. In the excerpt below, she is also asked to reflect on her sense of being 'too tied to the textbook' and the possibility of choosing texts beyond it.

> I: You said you realised that you used the textbook quite frequently.
> T1: What I would have wanted is…I have added one now. I have used a text from another textbook from the tenth grade in my own ninth grade class (…), but while this is the textbook we use, we still have books from other publishers and authors with texts that are just as good and perhaps better in many ways. But to sit down and familiarise yourself with a lot of books and then pick… but ideally, one should have done that rather than slavishly following these books.

Here, Teacher 1 declares that she would have preferred to become less dependent on the textbook—for instance, by sourcing texts from other textbooks and becoming conscious of the different priorities of authors and publishers. At this stage, however, she appears to view these tasks as somewhat overwhelming. While distancing herself from the notion of just 'slavishly' following the textbook, several elements modify her commitment to that proposition, notably the phrases 'I would have wanted' or 'should have'. While she identifies with the counterpart of the 'slavish' teacher, the 'one' who does what 'one ideally should have done' (i.e. critically assess textbook choices) this seems to represent an abstract idea rather than a reality.

5.1.2 Teacher 2

Like Teacher 1, Teacher 2 quickly comments on her reliance on the textbook when asked what texts she reads with her class.

> T18: (…) I guess I'm pretty driven by the textbook, but we do have some wishes about not being so tied to the textbook. But I do realise that one tends to fall back on it.
> I: Being 'driven by the textbook'— what does that mean?
> T18: Well, we put together the plan for the year according to the chapters, in a way, because it has a natural progression in terms of grammar and so on. And then there is varied selection of texts, so in a way, it is convenient to follow the book.

In the first sentence, 'I guess I'm pretty driven by the textbook' suggests a critical attitude to close reliance on the textbook. However, while the teacher expresses a wish to reduce that reliance; her commitment to that proposition is modified in a number of ways. For instance, the 'I guess' suggests the teacher refers to an outsider's view of text choice rather than her own. In addition, while sourcing texts beyond the textbook is represented as desirable ('we do have some wishes'), it appears to be considered an exception to the norm ('one tends to fall back on it').

Teacher 2 offers several reasons for adhering to the textbook. First, it secures 'a natural progression' of language learning and offers a 'varied selection of texts'—views that emphasise the convenience of following the textbook. Second, this practice is valued because it provides what the teacher seems to regard as a safe option that teachers can 'fall back on' or 'keep to', as she adds later in the interview. In this way, the teacher juxtaposes the benefits of textbook reliance with the risk of deviating from it—that is, the possibility of jeopardising pupils' learning.

When subsequently probed about the possibility of choosing alternative or additional texts, Teacher 2 describes the common plan as 'dynamic', as it allows some space for individual priorities. She goes on to explain that, at the beginning of each year, teachers at each level must agree on two of the four texts from each chapter. This means that they can source texts elsewhere if they wish to introduce other material into their classes. Although admitting that she rarely takes advantage of this opportunity, Teacher 2 seems ready to defend it on behalf of others.

> This means that we talk together and, in a way, establish the frames but not necessarily the content. So, we try to do the same but with a degree of artistic freedom—because we are different as people and as teachers.

Up to this point, the 'we' in Teacher 2's reasoning refers to herself and her colleagues; now, it expresses affinity with certain universal teacher characteristics. She explains that although she and her colleagues cooperate and try to 'do the same', one must recognise they are 'different as people and teachers', and that individual preferences should be respected. As an example, she says that a teacher's decision to include literary texts depends largely on the individual teacher's interest in literature. She admits that although she reads English articles on the Internet every day, she is not particularly fond of reading books and is therefore less likely to prioritise such reading in her teaching. In contrast, she explains, some of her colleagues have a particular interest in literature and are thus more likely to incorporate literary texts in their classroom practices.

In a number of ways, the reflections of Teachers 1 and 2 coincide. While questioning their current textbook-driven practices, to differing degrees, both seem to commit themselves to the notion that sourcing texts primarily from the textbook is the unavoidable norm. Alternative text selection practices seem to depend on the individual teacher's initiative based on personal interests and concern for their class.

5.1.3 Teacher 3

Teacher 3's description of text selection revolves around the new cooperation with a colleague; their common planning has turned the situation around:

> T4: Now, we work as a team with myself and another teacher, who is an English teacher at this level. So, I have two classes and she has two classes, and I'm quite fortunate because she is not afraid to try something new. So, after about seven or eight years, from being something of a boring English teacher, using the textbook a lot, we now try to move away from the textbook and try other things. We are tired of reading texts and working with tasks, and it's not very motivating for the pupils either.
>
> I: You work primarily with that teacher, then?
>
> T4: So, we are the ones who cooperate to put the plans together. What are the pupils going to learn? We use the topics in the books mostly as a point of departure. The biggest challenge is that the pupils are at such different levels—some at fourth or fifth grade, and some are a bit too good for where we are at. So, the challenge is to find common texts for them—; to find texts in the textbook that appeal to all.

Teacher 3's reasoning emphasises the balance in teamwork ('I have two classes', 'she has two classes'). In addition, repeated expressions that include 'try' imply some measure of risk-taking that accompanies a change in practice. The statement 'we are the ones who cooperate' is juxtaposed against an implicit 'them', perhaps referring to those who adhere to the textbook and familiar reading and task-solving procedures. Apparently, Teacher 3 is happy to have left that part of her career behind, conveying that distance by reference to 'the boring English teacher' she once was. She seems to attribute that achievement to her colleague's willingness to 'try something new', and she now feels that she has the courage to change previous patterns.

Teacher 3 explains that the textbook topics generally serve as the starting point for text selection, but their main concern is to find texts that match their pupils' differing levels. Those pupils are perceived as equally 'tired of reading texts and working with tasks'. Their assumed lack of

enthusiasm for textbook work ('it is not very motivating for the pupils' either') together with their mixed abilities serves to justify the teachers' collective change of approach to text selection.

Teacher 3's reasoning differs in a number of respects from the first two teachers' reflections, which foreground the link between autonomy and individual choice (especially in the case of Teacher 1). This discourse theme is less apparent in Teacher 3's reasoning. Additionally, while Teacher 2's reasoning represents textbook reliance as the safe and sensible choice, Teacher 3 sees it as too predictable. However, while both Teacher 1 and Teacher 3 adopt a critical stance to excessive reliance on the textbook, Teacher 2 seems less inclined to challenge its priorities. While evaluating the textbook as insufficient in catering for her pupils' mixed abilities, Teacher 3 concedes that chapter topics serve as points of departure for choosing alternative texts. Corresponding positions are expressed across all the interviews, both in relation to the role of the textbook and to teachers' expressions of autonomy.

5.2 Findings

This section considers how findings from the analysis of the three teachers' reflections resonate with the group as a whole. It is organised around the two main interrelated topics: the role of the textbook in the teacher's text selection and notions of professional autonomy with regards to this aspect of English teachers' work.

5.2.1 The role of the textbook

Four somewhat contradictory discourse themes related to the role of the textbook seem to coexist in these teachers' discursive practices. The first is that the textbook is a 'framework' for the teachers' individual and collective planning; second, that it represents a syllabus or authoritative interpretation of curricular aims, securing pupils' learning; third, that the textbook fails to sufficiently cater for pupils' needs and, finally that textbook reliance potentially hinders teachers' independent thinking.

The idea that the textbook provides a 'framework' (T1) or 'frames' (T2) for teachers' individual and collective text selections recurs across the interviews with the 18 teachers. In addition, some see the textbook as offering teachers useful and necessary support. One novice teacher states that the textbook is her 'trusted advisor', providing a safe direction for her work, at least at this stage in her career. This is compatible with McGrath's ideas of the textbook as 'guidance' or 'resource' (2006: 174). Like Teacher 2, a couple of other teachers refer to the textbook as a compulsory and legitimate syllabus (Bachmann, 2004)—a means of ensuring pupil progression, as well as offering appropriate and sufficient textual diversity, noting as one teacher does that 'there is more than enough to choose from'. A view expressed by several of the teachers is that following the textbook is essential in providing a transparent structure and predictability for pupils.

Certain stylistic elements reveal a commitment to the proposition that adhering to the textbook is the safe and advisable option in the long run—concluding, for instance, that this is what 'we end up with' because it 'fits best in most cases'. In addition, when the teachers talk about making alternative or additional text choices, these elements tend to diminish their commitment to alternative practices. Deviating from the textbook is commonly referred to as a personal 'wish' or as a 'break' from everyday routine. Such stylistic features reinforce the sense that any alternative strategy is temporary, and that the textbook represents the safer and more realistic option. In this way, features of the teachers' discursive practices contribute to legitimising and naturalising close reliance on the textbook on the basis of shared professional judgment.

However, like Teacher 3, several of the teachers argue in favour of alternative or additional text practices, based on concerns about pupils' mixed abilities and because they feel that the textbook lack depth, diversity, or fail to include texts that appeal to pupils. In addition, there is a very tangible sense of ambivalence about excessive textbook reliance as a 'constraint' (McGrath, 2006: 174), in the sense of inhibiting professional autonomy. This ambivalence seems to stem form the teachers' negotiation between two competing positions: moving away from the textbook versus promoting it as a necessary and reliable source. This is apparent in Teacher 1's reasoning; while identifying with the self-reliant teacher who adopts a critical stance to conventional text selection practices ('Am I too tied to the textbook?'), she simultaneously concedes that relying on the textbook is 'how it will be' at least at this point in her career. At the same time, this and other discursive elements such as 'I guess I'm pretty textbook-driven' appear to reflect aspects of negotiations between an in-situ teacher discourse and external expert advice that are brought into the interviews by the participants.

5.2.2 Teacher cooperation and notions of professional autonomy

Two dominant and interdependent discourse themes that emerge in Teacher 1 and 2's reasoning are also visible among the other participating teachers; features that I interpret as notions of professional autonomy. The first of these is an emphasis on the teachers' own interest in certain text types or topics when deciding which texts to use. The second theme is that deciding to deviate from the textbook selection of texts seems a matter of the individual teacher's discretion. It seems generally accepted among the 18 teachers that choosing texts on the basis of one's own interests helps ensure good quality teaching, and unduly close cooperation is often represented as potential infringement of personal creativity and professional judgement. Both of these discursive features imply that the individual teacher should be accorded sufficient scope to make independent choices in collaborating with others. Notably, few express discontent about colleagues not wishing to go along with new initiatives. Rather they seem generally inclined to support their 'right to exercise personal preference' (Little, 1990: 513), regardless of whether they themselves find it necessary to source texts beyond the textbook. Many of the teachers also express frustration that a lack of time inhibits their choices and direct this frustration towards curricular requirements that demand too much in too little time.

There is some variation in teachers' accounts of common planning and the commitment this demands. Teachers 1 and 2 describe a shared planning that is mostly structural, involving agreement about which textbook chapters or texts to list, with little discussion of how to use texts or whether they satisfy competence aims. As one teacher observes, 'if we were to find texts outside the textbook together, it would mean that we would have to cooperate much more closely'. Such cooperation would require considerable time that many of the teachers state they do not have. A small number of teachers express frustration with inflexible structures based on a very detailed common plan. While this frustration is minimally reflected in the reasoning of the three selected teachers, a few others express discontent with plans that restrict individual choice. As one teacher puts it, 'there are times when I wish I had more freedom to choose, but we have chosen to be loyal, to agree about what texts to read'. Another teacher echoes this frustration, expressing a fear that attempts to deviate from the common plan might lead to discontent among her colleagues. She explains that this structural cooperation is intended to ease logistics across classrooms to be able to regroup pupils according to their abilities.

A majority of the teachers say that the textbook texts they choose together serve as common points of departure for written or oral tasks. A couple of the teachers note that they focus

on texts that can provide 'products' for assessment enabling teachers to agree on common assessment criteria. Such close commitment to collective decision-making is particularly salient in Teacher 3's account, which differs in some respects from most other teachers' reasoning. She seems to express a sense of autonomy in text selection that derives from close cooperation with a colleague rather than from her scope for independent choice. Her reasoning indicates that joint efforts enable her to 'try new things' that she might not have chosen on her own. At the same time, her cooperation with a colleague does not extend (at this point at least) beyond a team of two. As in the case of Swedish English teachers interviewed by Apelgren, there seems to be an understanding that close cooperation to develop teaching practices would mostly involve 'the allied teacher' (2001: 294) rather than as a part of organised planning. This suggests that the possibility of change is still seen to depend on the individual and on having the opportunity to cooperate with someone who shares one's views.

The recurring ambivalence in respect of reliance on the textbook suggests discontent, first, with a personal lack of initiative that is closely associated with notions of teacher autonomy. This ambivalence is often visible in stylistic features such as metaphors of enslavement and captivity, which express distance from certain practices. As an example, Teacher 1 describes textbook reliance as 'following the textbook slavishly', and Teacher 2 referred to being 'driven' by it. These discursive elements seem to equate textbook reliance with a lack of independent thinking that should therefore be avoided. Additionally, words that promote teachers' individuality—their 'passions' and 'freedom'—express an affinity with the notion of the self-reliant teacher. At the same time, most of the teachers' reasoning reflects to differing degrees another strong discourse promoting textbook-driven text selection practices as a sensible solution 'in the end'.

6 Discussion

In most of these 18 teachers' reflections, the textbook continues to serve as an authoritative interpretation of curricular aims and as an indispensable 'prop' (Sosniak and Stodolsky, 1993) that most find little reason to challenge. This aligns with other findings that Norwegian teachers rely more on textbooks than on curricular aims (Hodgson et al., 2010; Rødnes and de Lange, 2012). In addition, the textbook is seen as a convenient and time-saving solution in a busy teaching schedule and as an organizing principle for common planning. Apparently, the textbook lends itself to a form of structural cooperation because it provides a given, agreed-upon procedure that requires minimal shared reflection (Bakken and Lund, 2018). In this way, the textbook is represented in teachers' discursive practices both as a natural point of departure and as a precondition for teacher cooperation. Deviation from its priorities is commonly placed outside of teachers' core work and is rarely mentioned as an element of collective planning. In addition, as described by most of the teachers, textbook-driven cooperation seems to facilitate streamlined practices and fairer assessment criteria. In some cases, an emphasis on seamless logistics can be seen to serve as an in-situ response to external demands for standardisation and measurement of learning outcomes. In this way, important features of teachers' discursive practices appear to sustain the role of the textbook in negotiating external demands for increased teacher cooperation.

The view advanced by education authorities that teacher collaboration should foster professional autonomy and make teachers to identify as members of a 'professional communities' (Ministry for Education and Research, 2008–2009: 14) seem to receive limited attention among these teachers. Instead, a recurring feature of their discursive practices is the assumption that the teacher's individual creativity and engagement would be diminished by the constraints of tight

collective decision-making. As also seems the case among other Norwegian teachers (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2014), most of these teachers express little interest in extended collective autonomy but draw instead on a discourse of 'freedom of method' in the classroom. The collegial relations described by several of these teachers do not extend much beyond choosing common texts or chapters from the textbook or sharing tips for additional material. As Little argues, such uncommitted 'story swapping' does not make for 'improvement-oriented change' (1990: 511).

When discussing changes in established text practices, the teachers tend to take this task upon them as a matter of individual responsibility. The recurring metaphors of captivity resonate with the view of textbook reliance as lack of independent thinking, establishing a dichotomy between the idea of the 'mindless practitioner' (Schug et al., 1997: 98) and the self-sufficient autonomous teacher. Here, the teachers appear to rely on persisting discourses of teachers as 'independent entrepreneurs' (Little, :509) in education debate and in the media. This discourse inflates the single teacher's capacity to achieve lasting change, as well as their effect on pupils' achievements (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012).

Among these 18 teachers, despite a repeated insistence on personal preference, there seem to be a general acceptance for collegial cooperation. However, the textbook-driven collective planning that most describe seem to offer limited leeway for individual or collective initiatives to challenge routinized practices. This tension in the teachers' discursive practices is especially noticeable among some of the less experienced teachers when trying to make sense of the competing discourses that surround them.

It has been suggested that recent external demands have sometimes de-professionalised teachers (see Ball, Maguire, & Braun et al., 2012; Goodson, 2014; Hargreaves, 2000), where 'authoritative judgment is replaced by trust in the mechanisms of explicit, transparent, systematic public accountability' (Helgøy and Homme, 2007: 234). However, it remains unclear whether Norwegian teachers have always had the interest, knowledge or capacity (Lundquist, 1987) to exercise such 'authoritative judgment', even before new public management (NPM) put its mark on educational discourse. It seems likely that many teachers rely on a tradition in Norwegian educational legislation that has offered relatively detailed instructions (at least in a Nordic context) about how and what to teach (Telhaug et al., 2006). Like other Norwegian teachers (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2014), a majority of the teachers do not seem to mind receiving specific instructions about teaching practices, nor see critical assessment of curricular aims as part of their domain.

7 Final remarks

The aim of the present article was to raise awareness of certain discrepancies between the intentions of educational reforms and English teachers' perceptions of the scope of their professional autonomy, with specific reference to text selection practices. The article also explores how the 18 participating teachers accommodate 'new' and 'traditional' views of professional autonomy in the context of their immediate work environments. The analysis suggests that these teachers' reasoning is dominated by a discourse compatible with a 'traditional' view of professional autonomy, which is restricted to the individual teacher and his or her class. While some express a collective commitment to developing their text selection practices, this view is underplayed. The focus on individual autonomy is coupled with a recurring view that 'we are different as teachers' and that individual preference must therefore be respected. Additionally, when alternative choices are referred to in

terms of an individual 'wish' rather than collective professional judgment, they may be perceived not as part of a new development but as a personal detour from the steady textbook-driven course.

These teachers' discursive practices negotiate a notion of teacher autonomy that promotes individual freedom of choice while allowing little room for alternative decisions. Many teachers ascribe to textbook-based cooperation that in practice involves choosing between two or more texts. Finding alternative texts where deemed necessary or relevant is perceived as an individual responsibility rather than a collective one. However, this notion of autonomy seems to work in two ways. First, it suggests that teachers must have some freedom to choose alternative texts, from within and outside the textbook, as they see fit; secondly, those who prefer to rely solely on the textbook should feel free to do just that. The teachers' discursive practice around text selection to some extent facilitates juggling of individual freedom of choice with textbook reliance and recent requirements for collaboration between teachers.

By promoting the textbook as an undisputed organisational principle, and by defining alternative text choices as beyond their collective work, teachers' discursive practices can be seen to limit discursive 'dialogicality' (Fairclough, 2003: 41) concerning the boundaries of their work. When professional autonomy and possibilities for change are restricted to the decisions made by individuals, this restricts opportunities for collective reflection about routinized practices and inhibits the development of teachers' notions of their scope for exercising professional autonomy. This article does not give a complete picture of how surrounding school-level discourses contribute to these teachers' reasoning but invites further study of how, for instance, discursive practices and structures at school level encourage or challenge persistent understandings of professional autonomy among English teachers.

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Article III

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Why should learners of English read? Norwegian English teachers' notions of EFL reading

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HIGHLIGHTS

- Teachers' notions of EFL reading framed by traditional understandings.
- Basic text comprehension and practical spoken skills perceived as most relevant.
- Traditional collective classroom reading seen as a means to secure social inclusion.
- Meta-awareness of texts advocated in current curricula perceived as less relevant.
- Teachers' discursive practices work to sustain boundaries between subjects.

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ABSTRACT

This article presents findings from a study investigating Norwegian lower secondary English teachers' reasoning about their classroom reading practices in English as a foreign language (EFL). What notions of EFL reading do these teachers express? How do they explain their priorities? Based on perspectives from critical discourse analysis, the article shows how teachers negotiate their notions of reading at the intersection of past and present understandings and their everyday school realities. Specifically, it illustrates how features of their discursive practices may help maintain understandings of what is perceived as intrinsic and less relevant to EFL reading.

1. Introduction

Why should learners of English read? How do Norwegian English teachers answer this question? This article is based on an analysis of interviews with 18 lower secondary teachers who were asked to reflect on and justify their practices related to English as a foreign language (EFL) reading.

Through their experiences as learners, teachers or both, today's teachers have been exposed to a variety of classroom approaches and justifications for reading. These personal experiences — as well as a range of other contextual factors—impact their notions of EFL reading. At the same time, teachers' perceptions must be seen 'as a function of place and time, through interaction and negotiations with social and historical contexts' (Burns, Freeman, & Edwards, 2015, p. 589). Our investigation sheds light on Norwegian English teachers' notions of EFL reading and how previous understandings of EFL reading act upon their reasoning. Based on the reflections of 18 lower secondary teachers, we aim to answer the following research questions:

- How do the teachers explain and legitimate their EFL reading practices?
- How do the teachers' notions of EFL reading compare with those in current and earlier English syllabi?
- What seems to characterize the teachers' discourse about EFL reading?

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2. Background and rationale for the present study

Reading has traditionally held a central place in the English language classroom. However, syllabi for English have described the role that reading is expected to have in quite different ways, in correspondence with contextual changes and shifting educational ideas (Bakken, 2017).[1] Society's need for language skills has increased, and learners' perceived needs for English have changed. English instruction has been made available to larger groups of the population through a series of reforms. New objectives for the subject have been formulated, and new insights about language learning and teaching have emerged. A variety of new resources has become available, and learners' opportunities for exposure to the language have changed dramatically. Although reading has maintained its central position in the syllabi's description of English through the years, it has, naturally, been linked to different approaches and purposes.

Current curricula can be defined as following an 'integrated curriculum code', involving a superordinate or general idea that the different contents share and incorporate, and to which each subject is subordinate (Bernstein, 2003, pp. 100–106). This is reflected in the description of reading in the current Norwegian curriculum, in which the syllabi for English and Norwegian, the mother tongue of most learners, are strikingly similar. In both subjects, learners are expected to develop the ability to understand, reflect upon and make use of a great variety of texts. Learners are supposed to read to acquire insight and knowledge, and to work with reading strategies and different objectives for reading (Ministry of Education and Research [ME&R], 2013). Thus, in the syllabus for English, specific foreign language perspectives are difficult to discern. What, then, is it that characterises reading in English from the perspective of present-day English teachers? How do the teachers' reasoning about their EFL reading practices correspond to the expectations in the English subject curriculum? How do teachers practice 'boundary maintenance' (Bernstein, 2003) between reading in English and reading in other subjects?

Questions can also be asked about the rather high aspirations for reading in the current English syllabus and how these correspond to teachers' perceptions of EFL reading. This issue has not been researched in relation to English; however, research related to reading in first language contexts suggests that there is a discrepancy here. Several studies indicate, for example, that little attention is paid to the development of meta-skills for dealing with texts critically and analytically (Kjelen, 2013; Krogh, Penne, & Ulfgard, 2012; Penne, 2012; Rødnes, 2014; Skarstein, 2013). Lower secondary teachers of Norwegian say that their primary concern when choosing literary texts is to find ones that will appeal to pupils and engage them in classroom discussions. In addition, they seem to hesitate to address text analysis because they fear it will cause unwillingness among pupils and thus impede lessons (Kjelen, 2013). The Norwegian lower secondary teachers Penne (2012) interviewed felt that the most pressing concern was simply to make pupils read. A study conducted by a network of 10 scholars in Norway, Sweden and Denmark found that L1 teachers tended to choose texts that appeal emotionally to the learners' own situations and that reading for cultural insight and the understanding of others was often seen as an unattainable goal (Krogh et al., 2012; Penne, 2012). In other words, research related to reading in the learners' first language suggests discrepancies between the intentions in the curriculum and teachers' perceptions of what constitute relevant and necessary classroom practices. When reading is done in a foreign language, this gap may be even more difficult to bridge.

Research has shown how English teachers' beliefs and personal practice theories are shaped by social and historical contexts (Burns et al., 2015; Li, 2013; Zhang & Liu, 2014). However, little attention has been paid to English teachers' discourses concerning contents and practices that are seen to 'belong' in their teaching and the forces that condition these discourses. Negotiations related to this are often 'embedded' and 'enacted' in the contexts of teachers' classroom pressures, collegial exchanges and professional norms (Ball, 1994; Coburn, 2001; Hermansen & Mausethagen, 2016; Mausethagen, 2013; Spillane, 1999). A study related to reading instruction policies in California shows how conversations in formal and informal settings in their professional communities influence the ways in which teachers dismiss or accept new ideas or approaches. The teachers' practices, in turn, are often based on shared understandings of what is appropriate for a certain level or too 'unmanageable' to be implemented in the classroom (Coburn, 2001). Naturally, teachers' discourses concerning school subjects also draw on and contribute to what Goodson and Marsh (1996) refer to as 'traditions within subjects' (p. 41); that is, institutionalised knowledge and teaching practices.

There is reason to believe that previous understandings and justifications for EFL reading constitute one part of today's discourses related to EFL reading. Curricular documents provide important insights into such traditions by offering a view of the perspectives that have been given priority and the educational discourses that have prevailed at different times (Goodson & Marsh, 1996). In the following, we will therefore provide an overview of how syllabi for English for age groups comparable to today's lower secondary level have described reading as a part of English language instruction over time.

3. The description of EFL reading in Norwegian curricula

Traditionally, reading was at the very centre of English language instruction. The syllabus for the 'middle school' from 1885, for example, starts as follows: 'Instruction in [English] starts in class IV. The main emphasis will be given to correct reading and translation (…)' (Ministry of Church and Education [MC&E], 1885, p. 15).[2] Subsequent syllabi also refer to reading as the main element in the English classroom, with an emphasis on translation (MC&E, 1911, 1925).

Influenced by the direct method and an increased focus on the development of oral skills, the 1939 syllabus for English at the primary level describes reading primarily as a means for learners to be exposed to the language. Reading was still a central element in work with the language, but detailed study e.g. by way of translation, was not recommended (MC&E, 1939a, p. 8). Learners were expected to concentrate on understanding the main content of the texts and to 'read as much English as possible' (MC&E, 1939b, p. 8).

In the 1960s, English became a compulsory subject for all pupils in Norwegian schools (Gundem, 1990). Learners were, first and foremost, expected to develop practical language skills, and the syllabi were clearly inspired by behaviourist theories in their descriptions of classroom approaches. The 1974 syllabus, for example, refers to texts primarily as examples of vocabulary, expressions and language patterns (MC&E, 1974).

[1] The term 'syllabus' refers to the section of the national curriculum pertaining to a specific subject. In 2006, the Norwegian National curriculum was divided into 'subject curricula'. Thus, the syllabus for English is now called the English subject curriculum. In this article, we use the term syllabus for both syllabi and subject curricula in the generic sense.

[2] Before 1997, the curricula were written in Norwegian only, and the translations are ours.

The 1987 syllabus introduces the word 'encounter' (MC& E, 1987) into its description of reading, and the same perspective is followed up in the 1997 syllabus. Learners are expected to:

> develop the ability to find their way around English texts, express what they experience in the encounter with those texts and thereby enhance their text competence and language awareness (Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs [MER&CA], 1997, p. 237).

These syllabi were written in an era when the importance of comprehensible input and learners' 'affective filter' was emphasised (Krashen, 1982, p. 9). Other influences came from sociolinguistics and the belief that meaning is produced in social contexts (Halliday, 1978) and from research on learner autonomy (e.g. Holec, 1981). Both syllabi placed the learner at centre stage and recommended selecting texts with the learners' preferences and interests in mind. Texts were also expected to provide learners with examples of 'the living language' and to 'serve as models for them when they express themselves in English' (MER&CA, 1997, p. 238). The 1997 syllabus provides recommendations that classical literature be covered, thus indicating that reading should contribute to the learners' general knowledge.

The 2013 English subject curriculum, which is the current syllabus for English, presents reading as one of five basic skills, along with oral, written, numeracy and digital skills (ME&R, 2013). In addition to basic text comprehension, reading is seen as involving meta-cognitive skills and reading strategies to make sense of texts and their contexts (ME&R, 2013), aligning with recent decades' perspectives on foreign language reading (e.g. Grabe, 2002; Urquhart & Weir, 2014). Thus, the current explanation of reading appears to favour a 'reader-driven' approach rather than a conventional 'text-driven' (i.e. detailed reading) approach (Urquhart & Weir, 2014, p. 46). The description of reading also seems to reflect recent discourses on literacy, in which reading and writing are seen as joint skills fundamental to participation in society (e.g. European Commission, 2012). Learners should be able to read 'English texts fluently and to understand, explore, discuss, learn from and to reflect upon different types of information' (ME&R, 2013, p. 2). Through work with different types of texts, they are expected to 'understand, reflect on and acquire insight and knowledge across cultural borders and within specific fields of study' to help 'promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship' (ME&R, 2013, p. 1). A varied text exposure is seen to develop an awareness of texts in the learners that will help them make sense of future text encounters. In emphasising learners' ability to interpret, reflect on and evaluate a wide variety of texts in different genres, one could say that the syllabus for English promotes a 'meta-awareness' of texts (Bakken, 2017).

4. Theoretical perspectives

In our analytical approach to the teacher interviews, we draw on perspectives from critical discourse analysis (CDA). This theoretical stance implies that people are seen as taking part in discursive practices that condition what they say and how they talk about a specific topic: in this context, reading in the English language classroom. An important premise of CDA is to explore how discursive practices contribute to both the maintenance and change of social 'systems of knowledge and belief' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 65). The visions of the world that discourses articulate contribute to 'structuring areas of knowledge' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3). The lines of demarcations between these areas of knowledge may be either 'well-defined or fuzzy and ill-defined' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 69). Fairclough (1992) ties these classifying properties of discourse to Bernstein's (2003) terminology of educational transmission. According to Bernstein (2003), classification depends on the strength of the 'insulation maintenance' between categories and the internal 'framing' of knowledge (p. 88). Insulation or boundary maintenance works to keep areas of knowledge apart, such as school subjects, so that the boundaries between them can be preserved, repaired and legitimated (Bernstein, 2003).

The main inspiration for the analysis is Theo Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach to critical discourse analysis, which explores how purpose and legitimation are constructed in discourse and seeks 'to explain why social practices exist, and why they take the form they do' (p. 113). The question of agency is particularly relevant, as both purpose and legitimation can be tied to the extent to which human beings are 'discursively empowered as intentional agents' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 127) and in charge of actions and processes. We link this to the role that teachers assign to learners in the reading activities they describe.

Van Leeuwen (2008) describes how discourse can construct three different types of actions to achieve a given purpose. The first has to do with the 'purposeful action' of human beings towards a given goal, and it is referred to as *goal-oriented action* (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 127). The second type, *means-oriented action*, focuses on the specific means or procedures that help to achieve a given purpose. Here, human agency is absent or deemphasised. The third type, *effect-oriented action*, focuses on the result or effect of a given action (Van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 127–130). In the context of teachers' explanations of their reading practices, we relate goal-oriented action to the role that teachers seem to allocate to their pupils when they talk about reading. We relate means-oriented action to the teachers' descriptions of the methods they use, and effect-oriented action to teachers' emphasis on the intended outcomes of reading activities. Notably, while Van Leeuwen (2008) investigates the detailed linguistic realisations of each of these categories, we employ them as tools to explore the semantic content of discursive features.

Legitimation in discourse may be tied to *professional or personal authority* or to the *authority of tradition or convention*. Legitimation may also rely on *rationalisations* that indicate the purposefulness or efficiency of a certain procedure in relation to alternative ones. Lastly, legitimation may be based on *moral evaluations* that draw on shared understandings of the qualities of a certain practice, such that one practice is presented as more valuable than another (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Such moral evaluations may be difficult to trace or challenge, as they tend to be tacitly accepted without further justification by participants in a discursive practice and often draw on understandings that must be traced historically (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In educational contexts, such as in teachers' reasoning, moral evaluation can be tied to certain 'enduring concerns' (Lankshear & McLaren, 1993, p. 3) related to, for example, issues of pupils' equal participation in school. One issue here may be the Norwegian ideal of *enhetsskolen*, or 'one school for all', which is based on the belief that unstreamed schooling should provide equal access to education and secure social inclusion regardless of social or geographic backgrounds or academic abilities. These democratic concerns have been at the heart of Norwegian educational development since the 1930s. However, educational discourse changed from the 70s, now centring on the individual pupil's needs and preferences (Telhaug, Mediås, & Aasen, 2006). The latter emphasis, Penne and Skarstein argue, tends to prevail among Norwegian teachers today and translates as a discourse of 'care and concern' for the individual pupil's well-being (Penne & Skarstein, 2015, p. 15).

5. Methods

This section presents the participants and the methods for data collection and data processing.

5.1. Participants

Eighteen English teachers from six lower secondary schools were interviewed. The respondents were purposefully sampled to provide as diverse a group as possible with regard to age, experience, educational background and gender (Patton, 1990). Since female English teachers are overrepresented in these lower secondary schools, they also represent the majority of interviewees: 13 women to five men. The teachers vary in age from 25 to roughly 60 years, and their teaching experience ranges from just one to approximately 30 years. Two of the teachers hold MA degrees in English, while most others have 60 credits in English from a university or a university college. Six of the teachers have additional credits from university in subjects such as literature and social science. Seven teach Norwegian in addition to English, and the others teach such subjects as religion, history or social science along with English. With a few exceptions, the teachers describe a textbook-driven cooperation with colleagues that allows different degrees of individual or alternative text choices. The nature of this cooperation, as well as the teachers' age, education level, personal reading habits and other taught subjects, are all factors that may impact their answers. While other research has established that such links can be traced between teachers' backgrounds and their thinking and actions (e.g. Borg, 2006; Kalaja & Ferreira, 2006), they will only be briefly exemplified in this article. We wanted to search for shared understandings in the group of teachers, despite their differences. Our interest lies in the common discourse in which the teachers take part.

5.2. Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were used to allow the respondents space to elaborate, while simultaneously maintaining a degree of focus (Kvale, 2007). In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer always touches on the same topics, but does not necessarily ask exactly the same questions. From a discourse analysis perspective, such a strategy may enable one to get closer to the 'naturally occurring language' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2). Sometimes, the teachers introduced new issues that the interviewer later pursued with other teachers. To ease communication and minimise asymmetry, the interviews were conducted in Norwegian. Each interview lasted around 60 min and was recorded and later transcribed in Norwegian. We have translated the examples included in this article.

In the case of seven of the teachers, observations were conducted of an English lesson in which the class worked with a text chosen by the teacher. This lesson then formed the basis of a subsequent 30- to 60-minute interview that concentrated on the teacher's reflections on the lesson experience. The analysis does not distinguish between possible differences in the teachers' reasoning in these two interview contexts.

The teachers were asked to come to the interviews with textbooks, schedules and, when relevant, additional material. This combined material was used as a point of departure for questions and worked to facilitate the conversation. Our questions explored the teachers' choices of texts for reading, their approaches to work with specific texts and their justifications for these choices. The interview would typically follow a procedure where the teachers explained what texts were used or intended to be used that year, where they were sourced and whether certain genres or text types were prioritized. The teacher would then attend to concrete examples of texts. This sequence provided ample opportunity to encourage the teachers to describe their text approaches and explain what they intended pupils to learn from engaging with these texts. Talking about these concrete examples would then often move teachers to touch upon the more general purposes and justifications for EFL and the ways in which they perceive the value of reading for pupils' learning. To provide an interpretative context for the teachers' reasoning, teachers were asked about their own reading experiences and attitudes to reading; however, we did not explore these issues in detail. Along with the combined material of textbooks, schedules and field notes from observations, these factors provided an interpretative context for the analysis of teacher interviews.

5.3. Data processing

The interpretation of the material began by tracing congruence and incongruence across interviews. The aim was to explore the salient features of their discursive practices and the extent to which 'potentially relevant voices' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 47) were included or excluded. The interviews were analysed using an abductive approach, which meant alternating among the empirical material, theory and other research to allow for a greater 'repertoire of interpretations' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 273) of the teachers' reasoning. An additional analytical level was added by linking the interpretation of interviews closely to an analysis of 11 Norwegian syllabi for English from 1939 to the current 2013 English subject curriculum. The notions of reading that these syllabi express are accounted for in a previous article (Bakken, 2017). In this way, questions about the purpose of and legitimation for EFL reading and what text choices and approaches are deemed appropriate were asked both horizontally (across teacher interviews) and vertically (across generations of syllabi). Preliminary interpretations of syllabi and teacher interviews were then juxtaposed. This process permitted an investigation of present-day English teachers' meaning-making about their EFL reading practices against the backdrop of past and current notions of reading in the subject. In this way, the interpretations of one set of empirical material assisted in the investigation of the other set.

Three coinciding and overreaching discourse themes were construed from this initial exploration of syllabi and teacher interviews. These discourse themes relate to comparable issues of reader agency versus teacher control and competing views of the role of reading versus spoken skills traceable in both types of material. In addition, both interviews and syllabi point to an ambivalence to reading with regards to the pupils' different abilities and backgrounds. These discourse themes were further pursued in the analysis of teacher interviews, as described below. With reference to Van Leeuwen's (2008) analytical perspectives, we examined the ways in which the teachers talk about the purpose of reading in English. We also examined how the teachers legitimate their reading practices by drawing on personal or professional authority, on the authority of tradition or convention, or on moral evaluations based on shared understandings about the quality of a given practice.

Table 1 shows an extract of the analysis of purpose and legitimation in teacher interviews. The first column contains one teacher's explanation of reading practices, the second column lists the actions the teacher describes and the third column links the teacher's explanation to the three types of actions to achieve a given purpose (goal-oriented, means-oriented and effect-oriented actions) accounted for in the theory section. The fourth column deals with the types of legitimation (professional or personal authority, the authority of tradition or convention, rationalisations

Table 1
Data extract.

Explanation	Action	Purpose	Legitimation
T: I make the pupils read one paragraph and then they can translate. I: Ok, do you do that with all the texts [in the textbook]? T: No, but most of them (…) to make sure they understand the content. (…) T: And they learn new words, they have to learn the new words that are listed at the back of the book for each chapter (…) I select the most common words from each text and (…). Then, they have a vocabulary test.	Teacher: makes the pupils read and translate They: read and translate learn (rehearse) new words Teacher: selects words gives the pupils a vocabulary test then, they have a vocabulary test	to make sure pupils understand the content to understand content to learn new words to prepare for the vocabulary test **means-oriented action**	they have to learn the new word listed at the back of each chapter **authority** of tradition or convention

and moral evaluations) teachers draw on when they explain their EFL reading practices.

In the above extract, one teacher explains how she normally 'goes through' a text in the textbook. This includes processes of reading, translation, rehearsing and testing the vocabulary that are seen to ensure pupils' understanding of text content and vocabulary learning. We characterize these actions primarily as means-oriented action, which gives priority to certain classroom procedures in which the pupil's agency is downplayed. While the teacher underscores her being in charge of these actions ('I make the pupils read', 'I make sure they understand'), they appear as set routines rather than the result of the teacher's conscious choice between alternatives. This interpretation is strengthened by the phrase 'then, they have a vocabulary test', which is represented as a compulsory and generalised activity in which the efforts of both pupils and teachers are downplayed. Purpose and legitimation are often closely connected (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In this case, it appears that the means-oriented action the teacher describes is legitimated by the authority of tradition or convention ('they have to') without any further explanation of why such procedures are necessary.

The meaning construed from the empirical material is, in one sense, exclusive to a specific time and place (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Thus, lower secondary English teachers elsewhere might hold different or additional notions of reading. However, the social structures that condition how communities of speakers talk are relatively durable (Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, we believe that aspects of the teachers' reasoning are likely to be recognisable among a wider community of English language teachers as well as across language teaching contexts.

5.4. Findings

There are several examples in this material that the teachers' reasoning about these matters is influenced by their backgrounds and experiences, as mentioned earlier. It appears that an educational background and interest in history or literature, for instance, make some of the teachers prioritise these aspects in their English teaching. Teachers who are also teachers of Norwegian seem more inclined towards text analysis. In addition, the teachers' own reading experiences might matter. One teacher explains how she as a young student improved her English skills tremendously by extensive reading of literature and therefore wants to prioritise this approach in her teaching. However, such patterns do not seem to be consistent, nor do individual preferences seem to be decisive for the teachers' reasoning around their EFL text practices. Since our interest lies in exploring the common discourses that teachers, despite their individual differences, can be said to take part in, we will concentrate on the features of these discourses from here on.

For the sake of clarity, the presentation of the findings is organised into three sections: what kinds of texts the teachers say they use and their reasons for choosing these texts, the approaches to reading that the teachers describe and what the teachers seem to perceive as the aims of reading. Since these aspects are intimately related, these sections occasionally overlap. Quotes from the teachers are identified with the numbers T1 to T18, referring to the 18 interviewed teachers. All the teachers are referred to as 'she' or 'her' for anonymity.

What kinds of texts do teachers say they use, and what are their reasons for choosing them?

Research has shown that the textbook holds a particularly central position in Norwegian classrooms (Bachmann, 2004; Drew, Oostdam, & Van Toorenburg, 2007; Hodgson, Rønning, Skogvold, & Tomlinson, 2010; Rødnes & de Lange, 2012; Stuvland, 2016). The present study supports this, as most of the teachers state that they rarely read texts that are not in the textbook. However, most of teachers say that they occasionally use additional or alternative texts, such as songs, poetry, pictures, YouTube clips and other internet-based texts. The most commonly mentioned fictional narrative is a film. A majority say they watch films with their class on a regular basis, ranging from one to about five films a year. In contrast, less than a third say that they read a teenage novel at least once in lower secondary, either as a class reading of the same book or as a self-chosen novel. One teacher explains that she selects a couple of novels from which the pupils can choose their own readings. She mentions titles such as *Boy* (Dahl, 2008), *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (Dahl & Blake, 2001), *Coraline* (Gaiman & McKean, 2008) and *Slam* (Hornby, 2008), while other teachers mention *The Diary of a Wimpy Kid* (Kinney, 2009), *Skellig* (Almond, 2009) and *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* (Bach, 1970). While some of the other teachers also say they wish or intend to read more literary texts, they also express concerns related to the availability of books and whether time allows for such additional reading.

Several teachers emphasise that texts sourced from the textbook and elsewhere cannot be 'too difficult' or 'too long'. They must be comprehensible in terms of both the subject matter and language, so that pupils are not dissuaded from reading in the first place. Asking pupils to find texts on the Internet seems to be a common strategy for class presentations. In such cases, pupils are allowed to choose texts that are individually adapted in terms of length,

content and level of difficulty.

Different principles seem to be at work in the teachers' choices of texts. While there is an overall agreement that reading should engage pupils on a personal level to encourage them to read, fewer teachers seem to focus on the knowledge and understanding pupils should gain from their reading. One teacher calls for text experiences that offer possibilities for dialogue between the experiences of the reader and those represented in the text, seemingly allocating space for the pupil's agency and interpretation in the text encounter. She explains how she uses a range of different texts, including factual texts, songs and YouTube clips, to give an impression of the conditions of homeless people in London and to encourage new insights: 'It could have been them, or it could have been young people or families who live like that. OK, this is how they live!' (T2).

A small number of teachers express discontent with textbook texts, stating that they do not offer enough text exposure because they are too short. Another, more frequent concern is that these texts often do not match the pupils' mixed abilities or interests. Some argue that it is necessary to source texts elsewhere, since the textbook texts do not provide enough depth. Their view is that pupils who are only exposed to textbook texts may miss out on texts that give better insight into the lives of people at different times or in other parts of the world. A view expressed by a majority of the teachers is that a film is often more useful than an additional print text to awaken the pupils' awareness of conditions elsewhere, and that, to some extent, such material may 'compensate' for a lack of reading skills, maturity or motivation to read. This corresponds to results found in previous research (e.g. Bakken, 2016; Olin-Scheller, 2006).

There appears to be an awareness of the benefits of extensive reading among most of the teachers. They often give examples of pupils who read books in English both at home and in school and that the same pupils perform well in all areas of the subject. Still, a minority of the teachers say they offer longer texts in the class than those provided by the textbook. A recurrent legitimation for this is the significant difference between pupils who read effortlessly and those who, for various reasons, cannot or do not want to read longer texts (e.g. a teenage novel). One teacher explains that 'we often see that not everybody is capable of doing that' (T15). She adds that, this year, she wants to have her pupils read a novel, provided that she can find one that comes in an adapted version for those who struggle to read. This is important, she maintains, 'because we do wish that everybody reads the same textbook or the same book so that we can have a common understanding or experience of the book' (T15). In this comment, the teacher expresses a recurrent concern among the interviewees that the reading of a text should be a shared experience in which 'everybody reads the same book' (T15, T17).

A general characteristic of the teachers' reasoning is the distinction made between 'those who are fond of reading' and those who 'only read what they have to' (T10). Pupils in the first category tend to be seen as experiencing reading as their second nature: an inherent trait, appetite or passion that cannot be easily acquired at school. They are described as 'avid readers' who 'have devoured' or 'ploughed through' books from childhood (T14). By contrast, the language used to describe the pupils belonging to the second group suggests a degree of conflict, persuasion or vulnerability. When asked if she could have used a longer text or a novel in her class, one teacher responds that 'some would do that in a week', but 'it would be very difficult to make all the pupils do that' (T1). Some also express concern that reading a longer text in class would expose and potentially 'stigmatise' those who are not able to read well (T14). In other words, it appears that most of the teachers limit their choice of texts to those in the textbook. They present many different justifications for doing so, often related to a moral evaluation linked to a discourses of social inclusion and concern for the individual pupil.

5.5. What reading approaches do teachers describe and how do they explain them?

The most frequently mentioned approach to reading is to 'go through texts' in class, where the whole class read the same textbook text together or in pairs. One teacher describes it like this:

> It might vary a bit. Sometimes, I read the text to them or we listen to the CD, and then we stop and talk about the text in English. Or, let's say they have listened to the CD already, they sit together in pairs (…) and then they read aloud to each other and translate (T18).

The teacher adds that she summarizes the main content of the text in class after the pupils have read and translated it. When asked why translation is necessary, she explains that she wants to be sure that all the pupils understand the content of the text. She goes on to explain that when pupils work in pairs, the stronger pupil (who may not need a translation) can help the pupil who needs more guidance A majority of the teachers echo this concern, saying that the aim is to make sure that everybody has acquired a sufficient understanding of the text to talk about it in class or to answer the questions in conjunction with the text in the textbook. Here, emphasis is given to certain procedures that are seen to secure basic text comprehension and a common understanding of the text.

Most of the teachers seem to see pronunciation and reading aloud as parts of the classroom reading routine. As suggested by T18 above, listening to recordings is considered an important element of this work. One teacher says that 'we always listen first so that they hear the pronunciation, and then I recommend that they read their homework aloud to practice pronunciation' (T14). Vocabulary work also seems to be viewed as unavoidable in EFL reading. One teacher expresses the view that, in order to understand a text, pupils must be willing to 'decode words'. She describes this process as follows:

> (…) they simply have to decode words. That is, in a way, the basis (…) you have to push a bit when it comes to new words. It is boring, but you have to, in a way. So, there will be some focus on new and difficult words to gain that understanding (T14).

To this teacher and most of the others, attending to the glossary is considered vital. Regardless of what texts pupils read or how engaging these texts are, the teachers describe words as potential stumbling blocks that pupils must overcome before moving further. As one teacher puts it: 'This is fundamental to the subject. If you haven't got the words, you haven't got a chance' (T4). However, the ways in which the teachers describe vocabulary work vary. The most common strategy, it appears, is to address new and difficult words either before or while reading texts in class. A frequently mentioned procedure is that pupils learn the words from a glossary list that comes with the textbook text and that this constitutes the basis for a subsequent vocabulary test. A minority of the teachers say they ask pupils to look for words they consider crucial and then write them down. One teacher states that she wants her pupils 'to notice new words and understand them from context. This is how you build vocabulary: from encountering them in different texts, preferably longer texts' (T9). She adds that convincing pupils of the value of this strategy is not always easy. 'Some will not do that', she

says, 'because they are not assessed in any way' (T9). With this comment, she seems to indicate that pupils have learned to expect some form of vocabulary testing from previous English classes. A couple of the teachers note that such vocabulary tests are particularly appreciated by weaker students because, as one teacher says, 'they are very concrete' and 'this is something they feel they can manage' (T15).

A small number of teachers state that they apply reading strategies. These teachers typically mention pre-reading activities designed to connect pupils' previous knowledge to a topic or activities in which the pupils study pictures and subtitles and then guess the content of the text. A few explain that they also pay attention to the structure and communicative characteristics of texts, specifically when the class reads literary texts, such as short stories, poetry and songs. One teacher says that she uses the lyrics in pop music in her class as a way of making pupils aware of the poetic devices in these texts 'without calling it poetry' (T4). At the same time, about a third of the teachers seem to believe that attention to, for instance, genre or text analysis primarily belongs to the subject of Norwegian. As one teacher explains, she does not see a reason to spend her classes' limited time 'doing the same job twice' (T8).

As suggested above, the teachers differ in their views concerning how much support and control pupils need and in the degrees of agency they are prepared to allow pupils in the reading process. A majority of the teachers do not seem prepared to expose their pupils to texts without preparation. As one teacher expresses, 'I do not want to just give pupils a new text for homework before they have worked with it at school' (T5). A couple of the teachers argue that it is important to assign pupils more independence when reading in English and to try to encourage learners to become more aware of the learning potential that reading affords. They link this to vocabulary building and to an awareness of textual features, which may be useful in future text encounters. One teacher also mentions the ability to assess what is 'important information in the text', suggesting that pupils will fail to develop this ability if they become too absorbed with details and do not 'pay attention to what it is that they are reading' (T12). When talking about pupils' awareness, the teachers seem to refer to quite autonomous beings capable of taking charge of their own learning: in other words, 'intentional agents' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 127).

The teachers can be said to legitimate their choice of classroom approaches primarily through the authority of tradition or convention. The repeated use of the pronoun 'we' in expressions like 'we listen to the CD' (T18) and 'we always listen first' (T14) points to routinized procedures that individual teachers find useful and necessary. However, such practices can also be interpreted as being commonly accepted among colleagues. Similarly, the phrase 'there will be some focus on difficult words' (T14) emphasises vocabulary work as an unavoidable procedure to which the teachers are committed and which pupils must endure, as indicated by the following comments: 'they simply have to'; 'it is boring'; 'you have to push a bit when it comes to new words' (T14).

5.6. Why read? What do teachers consider the aims of reading?

There appears to be a shared understanding among the 18 teachers that pupils read texts to 'learn to express themselves in English' (T8). Attention is typically paid to reading as a starting point for 'practical oral use' (T16) and as a means to develop confidence in spoken English through, for instance, text dramatisations that 'make it [reading] less serious' (T16). One teacher contends that when pupils read individually chosen novels, the primary purpose is to 'talk about the book they have read' in front of their fellow pupils (T10). These examples suggest that the effect or outcome of the reading takes precedence. Some explain that having pupils give presentations in class on a regular basis helps prepare them for their oral exam in the tenth grade.

Most also state that an important aim of reading is to understand a text, at least with respect to its main content. As we have seen, this may involve being able to sort out 'what is important information in the text' (T12). Notably, when the teachers speak about 'understanding the main content', their descriptions suggest that such an understanding still requires a careful reading and translation of at least parts of the text. Several of the teachers describe understanding a text as 'understanding the text in Norwegian' (T10). In a couple of instances, teachers argue that being able to translate is an aim in itself. This requires a close reading of the text that allows for comparisons between English and Norwegian.

The majority of the teachers seem to value reading as a tool for gaining knowledge about the world in general and the history and geography of the English-speaking world in particular. As one teacher states: 'There are certain things that one just expects them to know' (T1). Certain topics relating to American history and society are seen as compulsory, such as the history of African-Americans. A small number say that they strive to position the information within a larger context, and one teacher explains that she tries to show pupils how subjects overlap: 'When we deal with topics in American history in the ninth grade (…) I refer to what they have gone through in their history lessons in the eighth grade' (T1). Another teacher says she focuses on the cultural and historical contexts in which texts are produced. When working with the song 'Bloody Sunday', for instance, she recalls that many of the pupils thought it was 'just about another crappy Sunday' and had no idea of the underlying conflict (T12). Therefore, she focuses a great deal 'on content, on understanding' because 'it is so important to understand how things are connected in the world' (T12).

Comparatively few of the teachers say that they work with texts to develop the pupils' consciousness of textual features. As previously mentioned, one of these teachers uses pop lyrics to make pupils aware of poetic devices. Another teacher says she tries to make the pupils aware of genre-specific aspects of a teenage novel. She is 'very concerned that the pupils understand how the author works: that there is a technical part to it, too'. She explains that several of her pupils felt that reading and analysing a novel 'made them more aware of the elements that a novel consists of when they wrote their own stories' (T3). Here, then, reading can be said to aim towards developing pupils' awareness of their own text competence.

A commonly expressed concern is that pupils should be able to relate the topics of the texts they read to their own experiences and interests. However, a few emphasise the need for reading processes that both touch pupils emotionally and bring about critical reflection. One teacher says the following about what 'a good text' should do:

> [It] should leave you with an emotion that touches you in one way or other, I think. Or it gives you information that provokes you (…), and I hope I make them think on their own (…). And if, in that process, the pupil learns something that expands his or her horizon with fact or thoughts, that is a huge benefit. (T12)

In this teacher's view, pupils should be allowed to read texts that they find interesting and relevant. However, reading should also 'touch' and 'provoke' pupils to 'make them think on their own' and 'expand their horizons' (T12). Another teacher expresses similar views, stating that 'a good text' must do more than appeal to the teenagers' interests: 'Often, pupils will think that a text is interesting if they can relate to it (…), but you can't just read about

things that pupils do' (T5). She suggests that there needs to be a balance between reading about 'the things that pupils do' and reading about issues that may push pupils beyond their immediate points of reference.

6. Discussion

With reference to Van Leeuwen's (2008) categorisation of different types of purpose in discourse, it can be concluded that the teachers focus primarily on *means-oriented action*. This is particularly evident in the teachers' descriptions of such classroom procedures as going through the text, reading aloud, listening to CDs, reading and translating. These approaches are presented as commonly accepted and necessary procedures that many of the teachers seem to assume will lead to the intended learning outcome. It is worth noticing, however, that the teachers are often not very specific about the nature of this outcome. Rather, as Van Leeuwen (2008) puts it, 'the emphasis lies in describing purposes that are somehow built in the actions that achieve them' (p. 129). Here, purpose and legitimation intertwine, as the routinized practices teachers describe are 'naturalized' (Fairclough, 2003) and do not demand any further explanation, suggesting that they lean heavily on the *authority of tradition or convention*. When asked whether she discusses her work with texts with her colleagues, one teacher says that she typically does not. As time goes by, she notes, 'it is obvious how we should do things' (T10).

The interviewed teachers can be said to focus on *effect-oriented action* primarily when they talk about using reading as a tool for developing pupils' oral skills or providing essential facts and knowledge about the English-speaking world. While many teachers share these concerns, there are also those who stress the need for pupils to be able to relate to textual information on a personal level. Here, the teachers provide manifestations of *goal-oriented action* in their discursive practice by discussing ways in which reading engages pupils in 'purposeful action' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 127) towards a given goal. The same type of orientation can be seen in the teachers' comments advocating the need for pupils to develop a 'meta-awareness' of text features and contents. The development of increased awareness seems to presuppose agents who work actively and consciously towards a different state of mind.

However, a recurring concern in the interviews is the need to control pupils' work. This is evident when the teachers legitimate reading through collective reading, translation, listening and pronunciation practice, suggesting that a fairly thorough 'going through of texts' secures a minimum of understanding and everybody's participation. There is also an element of control in the teachers' reflections about the vocabulary rehearsing and testing that seems to accompany much EFL text work. In these instances, legitimations combine *the authority of tradition and convention* and *moral evaluation*.

The tendency to describe the classroom routine of listening, translating and rehearsing vocabulary as an unavoidable approach suggests that this process is seen as intrinsic to EFL reading and English. The tradition of going through texts in class is a very old one that seems to have been resistant to change. This may be so partially because it casts pupils and teachers in conventional positions. For example, such an approach was advocated, as we have seen, in the Norwegian syllabi for English from 1885, 1911 and 1925. Subsequent syllabi, inspired by the principles of the direct method, encouraged extensive, unprepared text exposure and warned against unnecessary translation or detailed study of texts – and even expressed impatience with teachers who resisted the new methods (Bakken, 2017). Although translation disappeared from Norwegian syllabi descriptions of EFL reading in the 1950s, it lingers on as a salient feature in many of the 18 teachers' reflections about EFL reading.

As previously mentioned, syllabi from the 1980s have asked for a more differentiated approach, emphasising the pupils' interactions with texts (Bakken, 2017). The 1987 and 1997 syllabi both emphasise the need for learners to 'encounter' and find their way around English texts (MC&E, 1987; MER&CA, 1997). The 2013 syllabus also links reading to the development of each individual learner's 'meta-awareness' of texts and their contexts (Bakken, 2017). As we have seen, several of the interviewed teachers do not seem to find what Urquhart and Weir (2014, p. 46) refer to as 'reader-driven' text approaches very relevant to their English teaching, choosing instead to prioritise a 'text-driven' close reading of textbook texts. In fact, several argue that analytical approaches to texts belong primarily to the teaching of the pupils' first language (in this case, Norwegian), thus maintaining boundaries between the reading practices of these two subjects.

These findings suggest a discrepancy between what many of the 18 teachers perceive as relevant and attainable for their pupils and the current syllabus's aims for reading in English. The teachers describe a fundamental challenge in which pupils either struggle to master basic text comprehension or are reluctant to reading altogether. Similar discrepancies between syllabi aims and teachers' experiences with classroom challenges are reflected, as we have seen, in first language contexts (Kjelen, 2013; Penne & Skarstein, 2015; Penne, 2012). However, while some of the interviewed English teachers also say they pay attention to the need for pupils to personally engage with literary texts, most seem to see this concern as having little relevance. One reason for this might be that literature reading in the EFL classroom tends to be restricted to the short texts and excerpts provided in textbooks. In addition, the reading of any text in English is promoted primarily as a tool for linguistic development, especially oral skills. While oral skills were given priority in the syllabi from the 1960s until 1987 (Bakken, 2017), this tradition seems to linger on.

Several teachers express a wish to alter conventional procedures and are critical of their tendency to resort to familiar textbook reading, translation and vocabulary testing. However, many also say it is difficult to change their ways because of a lack of time or resources or, as some state, pupils' resistance to unfamiliar procedures. Thus, the teachers' negotiations about their EFL reading practices seem to be firmly embedded in their everyday school realities (Coburn, 2001) and may work to constrain their notions of alternative practices.

A frequently mentioned challenge is the inequality among pupils' different reading experiences outside of school, which many perceive as difficult to reconcile in the classroom. The teachers often present pupils' reading as a powerful resource; however, for some, reading seems to be an insurmountable challenge. In this respect, many of the teachers appear to see the traditional collective classroom reading as a means to secure the participation of pupils who otherwise would falter or 'opt out' (T1). Here, traces of a *moral evaluation* and the ideals associated with *enhetsskolen* (i.e. 'one school for all') merge with the more recent concern for the individual pupil. Providing the whole class with the same materials might be an answer to such 'enduring concerns', to borrow Lankshear and McLaren's (1993, p. 3) phrase. However, this characteristic of the teachers' discourse may also sustain persistent understandings about the subject and, thus, be an obstacle to more differentiated EFL reading practices.

7. Conclusion

In this article, we have addressed Norwegian English teachers' notions of reading and how certain aspects of their discursive practices work to frame and classify EFL reading and maintain a

border between reading in English and related subjects. Many of the interviewed teachers link reading in English almost exclusively to the development of language skills and basic text comprehension. They appear to regard texts as sources of input for vocabulary building and as starting points for oral and, to some degree, written work. In addition, reading is often described as a source for information about issues in the English-speaking world and, in some cases, insight into conditions elsewhere. However, the 'meta-awareness of texts' advocated in the current syllabus appears to be absent from many English teachers' understandings of EFL reading.

When the familiar procedures of 'going through' texts and rehearsing and testing vocabulary are given prominence in teachers' discursive reading practices about reading, this may serve as a type of 'boundary maintenance' for EFL reading. When boundaries between subjects blur, as they do in current curricula, teachers' discursive practices may sustain and legitimate the lines of demarcation between subjects.

The teachers' negotiations about EFL reading seem to take place at the intersection between past and current understandings and present school realities. A majority of the teachers are more likely to rely on notions of reading that have been carried across several generation of syllabi than on the explanations in the current syllabus. Reading for basic text comprehension and practical spoken skills is still perceived as the most relevant and necessary aim, both for imminent oral exams and for life. These understandings are legitimated by an authority of convention and tradition that often needs no further justification.

What seems to matter more than extensive and varied text exposure is the provision of manageable text units and predictable reading activities for everybody. In this respect, the teachers' reasoning appears to accommodate ideals of pupils' equal participation.

As we have seen, the 18 teachers exhibit differences in their reflections, particularly concerning the agency allocated to pupils during their work with texts. Despite these differences, there are certain common features that dominate in their reflections. These discursive practices may, in turn, help to sustain certain understandings about reading in English, to the exclusion of alternative understandings. What the interviewed teachers say about reading may serve as a basis for discussions of what EFL reading means today among both teachers and scholars in the field. In addition, similar negotiations between previous and current curriculum discourses and everyday school realities are likely to take place also among teachers of other subjects. In this way, the issues discussed in this article are likely to be relevant outside the field of EFL language teaching.

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Article IV

Bakken, A. (2016). When teachers talk about films: An investigation into some aspects of English teachers' discursive practices. *Acta Didactica*, 10(1), 5.

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When teachers talk about films: An investigation into some aspects of English teachers' discursive practices

Abstract
When teachers say: "you can learn a lot from films", what does this imply? This article explores interviews with eighteen Norwegian English teachers about the learning value of films in the lower secondary classroom. The films that these teachers talk about are mostly fiction films about conditions in the English-speaking world or film adaptations of literary texts. This article focuses on the teachers' reasoning about fiction films. I use perspectives from critical discourse analysis (CDA) to explore how the teachers justify their choices and what notions of films they can be seen to rely on. There appears to be some sort of general agreement in the field of English teaching that films deserve a place in the classroom. Still, notions about the value of classroom film use might represent a blind spot that has escaped scrutiny.

Keywords: fiction films, EFL teaching, critical discourse analysis, teachers' discursive practices

Sammendrag
Denne artikkelen utforsker hva atten ungdomsskolelærere sier om læringsverdien av film i engelskundervisningen. De filmene lærerne nevner er hovedsakelig fiksjonsfilmer om forhold i den engelskspråklige verden eller filmatiseringer av skjønnlitterære verk. Hvordan begrunner lærene bruken av disse filmene? Hvilke ytre forhold kan bidra til lærernes meningsskaping omkring filmbruk? Jeg bruker perspektiver fra Norman Faircloughs kritiske diskursanalyse for å utforske trekk ved lærernes refleksjoner i intervju. Jeg inndeler lærernes meningsskaping i fire antakelser om filmens læringsverdi; den referensielle, den kompensatoriske, den emosjonelle og den språklige verdien. Videre skisserer jeg hvordan disse refleksjonene kan knyttes til omliggende diskurser om hva man kan lære av film; i engelskfaget, i media og i lys av mer abstrakte diskurser om deltakelse og demokrati i norsk skole. Det synes å være enighet om at film fortjener en plass i engelskundervisningen. Imidlertid virker det som om forestillinger om filmens læringsverdi representerer en blindsone som i liten grad har fått kritisk et søkelys. Jeg mener at de perspektivene som

belyses i denne artikkelen kan være gjenstand for diskusjon både i engelskfaget og på tvers av fag.

Nøkkelord: fiksjonsfilmer, engelskundervisning, kritisk diskursanalyse, læreres diskursive praksiser

Introduction

In the current *English Subject Curriculum*, films are mentioned along with other texts in the descriptions of competence aims for the lower secondary level (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013). Their use is often encouraged by textbook authors and sometimes by examination tasks. Although films appear to be acknowledged as an educational resource, research into English teachers' notions of the role of this medium has so far not received much attention by scholars in the field.

This article deals with one of several perspectives that I investigate as part of my PhD-project concerning 18 lower secondary English teachers' reasoning about their choice and use of texts. In this context, the focus is on these eighteen teachers' reflections about the learning value of films. When they explain how and why they use film in the classroom, they tend to express themselves in very similar ways. The aim of this article is to explore some aspects of these discursive practices.

I will address the following research questions:

- What characterises teachers' reasoning about the learning value of films in their teaching?
- What immediate and more distant discourses can be seen to contribute to their reasoning?

In the analysis part, I will present what I consider the most salient features of what teachers say, categorised as four *assumptions about the learning value of films: the referential, the compensatory, the emotional and the language value*. Then I will discuss briefly some examples of how these assumptions appear to merge notions of the value of films both within and outside the field of English teaching – and how they seem to accommodate aspects of Norwegian educational discourses of participation and democracy. The article does not aim to prove these assumptions wrong or true but rather to explore how such discursive practices can be seen to shape and maintain certain commonly shared understandings. The intension is to provide a basis for further discussion and exploration of the learning value of films in the English language classroom.

Background

English is a compulsory subject from year one in Norwegian schools. This means that when pupils start at the lower secondary school level they have been taught English in school for seven years. The school subject English is not defined as a foreign language such as German or French in educational documents, it is simply called English. In many ways, its position resembles that of ESL (English as a Second Language) as young people are heavily exposed to the language through the media, through music, books and the net. Also, English is likely to work as a lingua franca, when Norwegians interact with other non-native speakers on the Internet or elsewhere (Berns, 2009). Although the language is familiar rather than foreign to most, it does not quite qualify as ESL or as lingua franca in traditional terms (Crystal, 2007; Berns, 2009). For instance, not all Norwegian teenagers are likely to experience or seek the same level of immersion into English through the net, books or travels. In school contexts, Norwegian teenagers are not required to use English except in the English language classroom. In addition, English teachers generally share their pupils' native language and understand their English from that perspective. As others point out, English in Norway appears to be "caught between paradigms", between English as foreign language, second language and lingua franca (Rindal & Piercy, 2013, p. 212). I still choose to use the terms EFL (English as a Foreign Language) because I believe it best reflects the language-learning context.

The current English syllabi are divided into four main subject areas: *language learning*, *oral communication*, *written communication* and *culture, society and literature*. These four main subject areas run through all levels from year one throughout the first year of the upper secondary level. However, they come with different descriptions of competence aims at four different stages: after years 2, 4, 7, 10 and 11. The revised syllabus from 2013 mentions films specifically in the competence aims for culture, society and literature at the lower secondary level (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013).

Films in Norwegian schools are nothing new. A report from a cross-curricular project in 1957 at Ruseløkka School in Oslo mentions different approaches to films in the classroom such as film as a work of art or as a mass medium. The authors recommend films of "artistic quality and positive content" and caution teachers as to possible pitfalls when films fall below that standard (Marcussen, Ness, & Germeten, 1957, p. 3, my translation). Films have long been mentioned also in the context of the subject English. As early as 1939, a ministerial circular announcing a new syllabus in English for lower secondary education promotes the use of films (Ministry of Church and Education, 1939). This and subsequent syllabi focus on how films can encourage pronunciation and listening skills. There is no specification as to genre; yet it seems likely that what curricula authors have in mind are shorter educational films. They explain that films make it possible to expose learners to the target language and enable learners to mimic every-day habits and customs. In the 1987 syllabus, they are

listed along with other media texts that pupils need to learn to critically assess (Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 1986). Currently, this critical stance is lost and the purpose of this medium is rather obliquely defined as "inspiration" and "cultural expression" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, English Subject Curriculum, Purpose).

Delimiting the field

I have not come across studies that investigate teachers' reasoning about fiction films in EFL or ESL teaching, nor is the teacher perspective given much attention in native language contexts. Of the relatively few ESL and EFL studies related to classroom film use, most are based on intervention studies that investigate learners' engagement with films. Some focus on the benefits of films to develop linguistic proficiency (Hayati & Mohmedi, 2011; Wang, 2012). Others apply content and language integrated approaches to teaching topics of history and culture (Chapple & Curtis, 2000; Drew, 2012). A few contributions critically address EFL film use (Lee Zoreda, 2006; Mackie & Norton, 2006; Pegrum, 2008). Ardiss Mackie and Bonny Norton, for instance, problematize essentialist representations of ethnic groups in fiction films. They advocate "resistant reading" of mainstream American films as their EFL college students often tend to rely on such films for their cultural knowledge about the USA (Mackie & Norton, 2006, p. 227).

However, how English language learners receive the fictional films they watch in class is outside the scope of this article. Moreover, my emphasis is not on what teachers *do* with films but on the ways in which they *talk* about their classroom film practices. Still, perspectives from research into text practices in L1 contexts seem relevant to this article as they also address L1 teachers' emphases in the work with fictional narratives. Sylvie Penne and Dag Skarstein, for instance, find that both lower and secondary L1 pupils in Norway tend to rely on an everyday language of "affinity, intimacy, and feelings" in their encounters with fictional literature that might not be met with much resistance from their teachers (2015, p. 12). Similarly, in Swedish L1 contexts, both Christina Olin-Scheller (2006) and Anette Årheim (2007) describe how students tend to treat fiction as fact and that their teachers do little to challenge such positions.

In addition, lack of critical distance to fictional texts is not only recognisable among adolescents. Årheim makes the point that media discourse conditions both young and grown-up readers' expectations of realism in fictional narratives (2007). This brings up the issue of *referentiality* in fictional texts; that is their relationship to the real world. In contrast to factual texts, fictional narratives have traditionally been defined as having "no reference" to a physical reality or that they do not make "claims of referential truthfulness" (Schaeffer, 2013, 1

Definition). However, as Årheim's study indicates, the "paratexts" that surround contemporary fictional literature dissolve such divisions between fact and fiction. She adds that "contemporary literature has an essential function to fulfil as long as the reception does not take place privately, which often leads to reproducing prejudices"(Årheim, 2007, *Abstract*).

In terms of film use specifically, Olin-Scheller identifies three functions based on classroom observations and teacher interviews: film "as illustration, "as comparison", and a "filling in" function (Olin-Scheller, 2006, pp. 112-13, my translations). They correspond in several ways to the four assumptions that I develop in my analysis. She also finds that films are sometimes perceived as a possible replacement for literary texts or some content knowledge, particularly in vocational classes (Olin-Scheller, 2006). A study of literature habits among first year Swedish teacher students expresses similar notions about films as possible replacement for literary texts. About half of the male respondents say they feel films and other multimodal texts reduce their need to read literary texts (Ruhnstrøm, 2000).

Methods and materials

The 18 teachers I interviewed come from six different schools, varying in number from one to six. They were randomly selected from lists supplied by their headmasters in the sense that those who agreed to participate were included in the study. The group is rather heterogeneous in terms of experience, age and educational background but, as male English teachers are in minority in these schools, two thirds of the respondents are women. Their age and teaching experience range from 26 to 63 years and 1 to 30 years, respectively. Two have a Master's degree in English; most of the others have 60 credits in English. The most common subjects that these teachers teach, in addition to English, are Norwegian, Religion and Social Science. Although gender, age, experience, educational background and what other subjects they teach probably have some bearing on their answers, there is no clear pattern.

The teachers were asked to bring textbooks and plans to the interviews. These worked as concrete points of reference throughout. I would typically ask two types of questions. The first type would deal with the teacher's more general notions of the learning value of films; the second type was specifically related to films the teacher had chosen. Interviews were conducted in Norwegian, first, because it is the native language of both teacher and researcher and anything else would feel forced and possibly increase the asymmetry between the two (Kvale, 2007, p. 14). Second, the aim of the interview is to explore how teachers describe aspects of their teaching practices in a Norwegian school context. The quotes from teachers that appear in this article are translated into English and kept as closely to their words as possible.

I chose semi-structured interviews, as they enable a sense of direction while allowing respondents to introduce other and sometimes more valuable perspectives than the ones I had envisioned. This relatively open approach was chosen to give room for diversity and explorations in the teachers' reflections (Kvale, 2007, p. 51). Still, my interpretative framework probably conditioned both the questions I asked and what elements in the teachers' answers I decided to pursue. What I consider salient features in interviews is likely to be coloured by my own experiences and values as teacher educator as well as the discourses that potentially bias my interpretations (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). My background might also have influenced the teachers' assumptions about how they are expected to answer in the context of the interview (Kvale, 2007, p. 8). Despite such self-reflection, there will always be blind spots that escape attention (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 9).

I borrow perspectives from Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) in my approach to the teachers' reasoning (CDA). Each text – in this case the teacher's creation of meaning in interviews – takes part in a certain discursive practice among colleagues at a school or a wider community of English teachers and scholars in the field (2003). Therefore, my analysis started with the individual teacher's reasoning. Then I looked for sameness and difference across interviews both thematically and linguistically to get an impression of common features of their talk. I traced words or expressions with similar meaning potentials. For instance, when teachers say fiction films can provide "information" about conditions elsewhere or make pupils realise "how it was" these expressions seem to draw upon assumptions about *the referential value of films*. Such discursive elements may carry naturalised understandings about "what is, can be or will be the case" or what is "good" or "desirable" in a given discursive practice (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). Based on such linguistic and semantic features, I generated categories that I believe capture as set of *assumptions about the value of films* in these teachers' reasoning.

A discursive practice brings the individual text into dialogue with other discourses at different levels of abstraction through *intertextual relationships*. In the discussion, I give examples of such relationships between the set of value assumptions that emerged from the analysis and the immediate and more distant discourses that appear to have encouraged them. Such commonly agreed upon notions often linger in the words or expressions of a discursive practice through time while their meaning is reshaped to fit new contexts. An investigation into intertextual relationships can therefore provide insight into developments in a discursive practice and although not directly – changes in the associated social practice (Fairclough, 1992, 2003).

Obviously, the value categories I established imply a homogenization of meaning that can obscure complexity in the teachers' answers. For instance, there are recurrent issues intertwined in the teachers' reasoning that fall outside of the four value assumptions. The ambiguity expressed by some about using

films in the classroom is mostly pushed aside. Also, while a discursive practice offers participants certain repertoires of utterances, it may at the same time restrain both what issues to address and how to talk about them (Fairclough, 2003). However, the set of assumptions that I have construed from their reasoning do not purport to reveal the truth about English teachers' notions of films; they are in one sense exclusive to a specific time and place. This means that other English teachers in other contexts might express different or additional understandings of their learning value. This limitation is balanced against the view that "relatively durable" social structures and practices condition the way people talk (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). Therefore, it is not unlikely that the notions expressed by these teachers are transferable across classrooms and subjects.

English teachers' discursive practices – an analysis

Before presenting the analysis I will try to give an impression of the teachers' attitudes to classroom film use based on what they tell me in interviews. It is important to point out that there is a discernible difference between the teachers who seem to see little learning value in films and those who regard them as integrated elements in their teaching. There are certain distinguishing features in this respect but they are by no means consistent. For instance, those who also teach social science and religion seem to pay more attention to films and particularly their cross-curricular value than others do. In addition, several of the teachers express a sense of personal engagement for films that reflects in their reasoning. At one of the schools, for example, the teachers appear to share a particular enthusiasm for films and describe very similar practices. A couple of the teachers, however, seem quite critical of film use and of their colleagues' film practices. Although colleagues tend to mention the same films and talk about them in comparable ways, such discursive similarity is as common across school contexts. Overall, teachers tend to emphasise the importance of showing "good films" that fit the topic and that films should not be used as an emergency measure or as entertainment.

Some teachers explain that they seldom watch films with their classes; others mention one or two films, whereas others again say they might show four or five films in the course of a year.

As previously mentioned, the teachers mainly refer to fiction films and the examples below all relate to this genre. Since quite a few teachers say they rarely read a whole novel with their pupils, perhaps only once in lower secondary, a film may be the one longer fictional narrative that pupils encounter in the course of a school year.

Most of the fiction films that these teachers talk about relate to a topic in the textbook. Examples of such topic-text combinations are *Dancing with Wolves*

and *In the Name of the Father* used with topics dealing with Native Americans and Northern Ireland (Wilson & Kostner, 1990; Byrne & Sheridan, 1993). Some teachers mention films such as *Mississippi Burning* and *Amistad* in connection with chapters about African Americans (Zollo, Colesberry & Parker, 1988; Allen, Spielberg, Wilson & Spielberg, 1997). Similarly, there are several examples of a film adaptation accompanying the whole or parts of a literary text. The most frequently mentioned combination is an excerpt from *Romeo and Juliet* and a film adaptation of the play. Almost all of the teachers explain that they either show the Baz Luhrman adaption or in some cases, the Franco Zefferelli version of *Romeo and Juliet* to their tenth graders (Martinelli & Luhrman, 1996; Brabourne, Havelock-Allan, & Zefferelli, 1968). Films such as *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* are also often mentioned as part of cross-curricular designs (Heyman & Herman, 2008).

Assumptions about the learning value of films

I have construed four categories from the teachers' reasoning in interviews that express assumptions about the learning value of films. These four values are closely related and sometimes difficult to separate, as will be illustrated below.

- *the referential value*
- *the compensatory value*
- *the emotional value*
- *the language value*

The first value is *the referential value.* As mentioned earlier, the term relates to the reoccurring question of referentiality in a fictional narrative i.e. its relationship to an outside reality (Schaeffer, 2013). The *referential value* seems to rest on the assumption that a fiction film can work as a direct reference to social conditions or events of the past. Thus, its purpose is to provide factual knowledge or "documentation" of a topic (Penne, 2013, p. 49). In addition, a film might be seen to refer more loosely to abstract issues. This last dimension is comparable to Olin-Scheller's "film as illustration" when a film is used to exemplify and visualise "ideas and ideals" of literary periods. This function is primarily instrumental, as films are not treated as "autonomous works of art" (2006, p. 113, my translation). Moreover, *the referential value* is closely linked to the *emotional value*. The latter is seen as important if a fictional narrative is going to make pupils grasp some in-depth truth about a topic. In several of the teachers' reasoning, the film narrative and particularly its visual display are perceived to strengthen the pupils' experience of realism in the film encounter.

The *compensatory value* appears to have a wide range of meanings. It seems to build on the assumption that a film can make up for some inadequacy either in the print text, the learner or in the encounter between learner and text. It might be that the print text is considered too difficult or does not offer enough

depth. The pupils might not be sufficiently prepared, motivated or mature. One salient metaphor that recurs across several interviews is that films can "fill in" or "fill out" what appears to be missing. A film is also described as a means to ensure that everybody "gets" the main content or story line of a novel. This understanding seems to indicate that the visual display of the film may replace the whole or parts of the print text. I have not singled out the comparative perspectives in the teachers' reasoning as Olin-Scheller does with the function "film as a comparison" (Olin-Scheller, 2006, p. 130, my translation). Some of these teachers also mention comparisons between a literary text and a film adaptation. However, what they tend to emphasise are the features of the adaptation they believe make the literary text more accessible to pupils. Therefore, such comparisons are dealt with as dimensions of *the compensatory value* in the analysis.

These features of *the compensatory value* correspond in some measure to Olin-Scheller's "filling out function"; where teachers use films as complement or as conclusion to the work with a topic or novel (2006, p. 121). What I perceive as an important additional dimension of *the compensatory value,* however, is the notion that a film may compensate pupils' lack of adequate language skills in English. The *language value of films* relates to instances when the teachers talk about the particular benefits for language learning or as in the case of *the compensatory value* in particular, to the implicit language issues intertwined in the their reasoning.

In the following, I will give examples of how these four *assumptions about the learning value of films* can be detected in the teachers' meaning-making. These examples are chosen because they seem to illustrate well what I consider the most important findings from the analysis. I refer to the teachers as T1, T2 etc. or *she* or *her* to mask gender identity.

The referential value

When one teacher talks about the film *Mississippi Burning*, the emphasis seems to be on *the referential value* (Zollo, Colesberry & Parker, 1988). The film builds somewhat loosely on the disappearance and murders of four young white civil rights workers in Mississippi. The subsequent FBI investigation reveals how influential figures in high positions subdue and terrorise the African-American population as active and cloaked members of the local Ku Klux Klan branch. She says this about the film:

> (…) it deals with race discrimination and I think it is a very good film and at the same time, they work with ethical and moral issues in religion and I think that the pupils have a basis when they argue and discuss at the mock exam. We have to give them background knowledge so that they may, when they see a black hand and a white hand, they have to have some points of reference so that… we do want them to (…) to have an historical overview and understanding. (T3)

The teacher says that the film is a "very good film" that can work as a source of "background knowledge" pupils can apply in later contexts. The image of "a black hand and a white hand" gives "points of reference" that enable learners to make cross-curricular connections about "ethical and moral issues" in religion. Thus, the film provides an "historical overview" of race relations in the American South. At the same time, it seems to be perceived as an illustration of "moral issues" that have relevance in other subjects. The pronoun "we" appears to merge this teacher' voice with the voices of other teachers, probably across subjects, to justify the use of a fiction film as a source of "background knowledge".

Another teacher explains why she uses the opening sequence from the film *Amistad* (Allen, Spielberg, Wilson & Spielberg, 1997). The film is based on actual historical events and tells the story of how captured Africans committed mutiny on the Cuban slave ship Amistad. However, the mutineers fail to take the ship back to the African shore and end up in New York. In the USA, the captives are tried in court and later set free. The teacher explains that the class has first read a text in the textbook about the slave trade and studied a historic drawing of how slaves were stacked as human cargo below deck. The opening clip that the teacher refers to shows the capture and loading of Africans before the slave ship sets sail. In a long sequence, the camera zooms in on the desperate and crying faces as the captives are chained together and forced into the darkness of the lower deck.

The teacher says that watching these scenes "was useful" and enabled learners to see "how it was". She does not seem primarily interested in the story line of the film but explains that she has chosen this sequence "only to see how they were treated on board" (T5). The discursive element "to see how it was" indicates that the clip works as reflections of past events. Although the pupils already have studied an illustration and read a factual text in class, the teacher's reasoning suggests that the film clip provides more convincing evidence of the brutal treatment.

A third teacher also appears to draw upon *the referential value* when she talks about the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Noyce, Olsen, Winter & Noyce, 2002). She says she has used it with a section from the textbook about Australia and Aboriginal history. The film, which is an adaptation of a novel, tells the story of three young Aboriginal girls who manage to escape from the reservation where they were placed in 1931. They walk for nine weeks before two of them are reunited with their Aboriginal community. The teacher says, "it gives you information, which is in a way correct, in terms of the main developments, at least". Although she appears to have some doubts that the film is historically "correct" in all the details, it still seems to suffice as "information" about Aboriginal history. The teacher adds, "it is also a true story" which apparently makes the film more reliable (T1).

The notion that a fiction film can strengthen the pupil's engagement with a topic is more pronounced when another teacher talks also about *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Noyce, Olsen, Winter & Noyce, 2002). When combined with an excerpt from the novel, the film can "reinforce the impression" of "how they [the Aboriginals] have been treated through the times" (T14). She continues:

> (…) one thing is to read but then you get the film, the whole film (…) and then it is based on a true story, I feel that, at least I feel myself that particularly films that are based on true stories do something. (T14)

In addition to strengthening the narrative, the teacher explains that films based on "true stories" add authenticity to the topic they deal with. She also stresses the importance of being able to see "the whole film" which might further "reinforce" the pupils' understanding of a subject matter.

Two dimensions of *the referential v*alue seem to be present in these teachers' explanations, first the notion that a fiction film can provide "information" about a topic, second that it can work as a reference to more abstract issues. In addition, a film seems to be able to create a sense of realism that is necessary if pupils are to relate to events in history or the lives of people in other parts of the world.

The emotional value

As we saw in the last excerpt, the teacher says that films based on true stories "do something" which the teacher feels cannot be experienced through reading (T14). This notion is echoed by another teacher who states that "if a pupil is going to get what the text says, it needs something more, some kind of reinforcement". She explains that this is generally the case in all subjects, not only in English. In her Norwegian class, for example, she seldom just "asks pupils to read a paragraph" but tries to find ways so that pupils can engage with the content of a text (T17). This is where films come in, she says. This "reinforcement" appears to correspond to *the emotional value of films*.

This value seems particularly forceful when films include disturbing scenes of violence and abuse towards human beings. In the following example, a teacher describes how scenes from the film *Mississippi Burning* may awaken pupils to the persistent challenges of race and prejudice in the USA (Zollo, Colesberry & Parker, 1988):

> *Mississippi Burning* shows really well - and the lynching - it is almost impossible for the learners to understand this. That it in a way was acceptable for some, it was entertainment - and to understand the attitudes to human beings that lie at the core. I think this is so important because I think that in a society as ours - when some claim that racism doesn't exist and then it is not long ago that people were treated so badly. (T4)

To this teacher, the film's explicit visual representation "shows really well" the degradation, violence and pain that these victims suffered in public lynchings. She pauses before and after pronouncing the words "the lynching" and "entertainment". It is as if these interruptions in the flow of speech express the teacher's own sense of repulsion with the display of violence. The teacher explains how the film deals with existential issues of the human psyche; of prejudice and evil. By exposing the pupils to the powerful moving images, they may be able to relate to atrocities that it otherwise would be "impossible for them to understand". The film is seen to bring the challenges of racism closer to the pupils' own lives as they exist even in "a society like ours".

The examples above illustrate how a film is perceived as referring both to actual events and to more abstract human experiences. Some examples also indicate how *the emotional value* is seen to strengthen the *referential value* and the pupil's understanding of a topic. Thus, *the emotional value* appears to have an important compensatory dimension in the sense that what cannot be understood through words, can be understood emotionally.

The compensatory value

The compensatory value suggests that a film can make up for some shortcoming or lack in the pupil, in a text or in the encounter between the reader and text. As one teacher explains, a film can "fill in" for "the proportion of weak readers […] who do not understand much of the text" (T1). Below, another teacher explains how a film can compensate insufficient language skills:

> I think for some young people a film does more because they are not strong enough readers and not strong enough language wise, not in English at least. They can understand certain issues much better because they also lack some terms in Norwegian, which makes it more difficult for them to understand. (T4)

The teacher explains how a film helps pupils who "are not strong enough readers" understand concepts they would struggle to read about even in their native language. Her reasoning suggests that the film helps adapt the acquisition of advanced matters to the abilities and maturity of the reader.

Similar notions of the *compensatory value* occur several times when the teachers explain their use of film adaptations with a literary excerpt. One teacher says, "no matter language difficulties or reading difficulties […] everybody gets it". When asked what it is that "they get" she responds: "They get the descriptions, the environment and the characters. They know who they are and what they do" (T15). To this teacher, watching the film seems to imply that everybody is given an opportunity to become acquainted with a complete fictional narrative. As another teacher says, "it is a way of evening out a bit" (T1). This and other dimensions of *the compensatory value* are brought up when the teachers talk about film adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet,* which I am going to dwell on for a moment.

Longer or shorter excerpts of the play are printed in the textbooks these teachers use but the amount of time and attention they say they give to the source text may vary. Some explain that they spend quite a lot of time working with it; others say they treat it quite superficially or sometimes rely solely on the adaptation. One teacher says that she would not consider using an excerpt from the play on its own: "it wouldn't be the same" because pupils are so engaged by the film (T10). Also, not showing the adaptation would imply that the class would need "much more knowledge about the play in advance" through other sources (T15). To the latter then, the film appears to compensate for the time and energy such preparations would entail. In addition, the film visualises "what is actually going on" and "puts it more into place" (T15). In the following example, a third teacher explains why she chooses only to watch a film adaptation of the play:

> I think that is very problematic - we have tried to read it, but they only complain about the difficult language, so we may have treated it fairly superficially or watched the film instead. (T11)

Pupils' unwillingness to read the scenes from the play appears to dissuade the teacher from working with the original text. Since she does not choose to read much of the text, she finds it important to show the older, Zefferelli version, which "follows the book completely" and is "more Shakespeare" (T11). Another teacher seems to agree that the Zefferelli film is more faithful to the original play than the Lurhman version and therefore the better choice (Martinelli & Luhrman, 1996; Brabourne, Havelock-Allan & Zefferelli, 1968). The newer version, which is set in a contemporary environment but with the original language, is too modern and "Americanised" (T2).

Interestingly, several of the teachers explain that they prefer to use the more recent adaptation and to compare it with scenes from the source text. One teacher says that "it gives them the leap from the original text" to the modern setting (T14). In a similar vein, a colleague explains that pupils often feel a distance to "old times" and that this is a way to achieve a "blend between the old and the new" which she says goes down well in her class (T15). In this last respect, the film appears to work as a mediating device between the playwright's old-fashioned language and form and the pupils' own text experiences. The adaptation seems to bridge this gap and makes the story "much more recognisable" to young people (T15).

As in the previous examples, the concern with the individual's abilities and preferences is present in the teachers' reasoning about the *Romeo and Juliet* adaptations. As one teacher says, watching the film "gives everybody something to relate to, so that they have something to offer on an equal basis" in class (T14). Apparently, most of the teachers seem to agree that some kind of knowledge of this author is required and that an adaptation of the play works as

a useful addition or alternative to the source text. This way, everybody can get a glimpse of Shakespeare's work.

The language value

The *language value* of films rarely comes up as a primary issue. When probed about additional purposes, one teacher says, "Well, they do get some listening practice, too" (T9). She adds that using English subtitles may work as a compromise with the wishes of the weaker readers who would have wanted them in Norwegian. Another teacher says that she generally resists this pressure because she considers watching a film in the original language a useful exercise. As illustrated in the sections above, *the language value* appears to be an essential dimension in the *compensatory value.* When several of the teachers explain that they use no subtitles, as many say they prefer, it seems that the spoken language and particularly the visual representations are thought to compensate potential reading challenges. Sometimes teachers explain that Norwegian subtitles are necessary if both the speech and the English texting are too difficult, as in the *Romeo and Juliet* adaptations. If, in addition, the subject matter is complicated, as one teacher explains is the case with *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas,* they will need subtitles in Norwegian (Heyman & Herman, 2008) . In this last instance, it appears that what matters most is to make pupils understand what the film is about. The joint efforts of the Norwegian subtitles and the film's other semiotic resources seem to be perceived to do just that.

The teachers' discursive practices and the surrounding discourses

In the analysis, I presented some recurrent features across teacher interviews categorised as *assumptions about the learning value of films*. The *referential* and the *compensatory values* appear to be the most salient of the four, with the *emotional* and the *language values* acting more as inherent properties. Some teachers seem to describe a factual reading of films where "good films" are seen to provide information about social conditions or past events. Others emphasise the sense of deeper understanding and awareness of human experiences that can come about in the spectator-film encounter. In this last instance, films appear to make pupils engage more successfully with topics if "reinforced" emotionally with a film. Not surprisingly, what emerges as important dimensions from my analysis of teacher interviews are issues related to language. However, a film is not very often forefronted as an educational resource to improve language skills but rather as a means to compensate challenges related to language.

What do the teachers draw upon in their reasoning about the learning value of films? In the following, I will place the set of assumptions presented above against the backdrop of both the more or less immediate and the wider context of teachers' reasoning. In the first part of the discussion, I give some examples

of such possible intertextual relationships, specifically related to assumptions about *the referential value*. These assumptions seem to merge discourses within the field of English teaching with the "accumulated text experiences" of what one has heard or read about films (Fairclough, 1992, p. 11). Moreover, the teachers' justifications for using films in the classroom, and particularly the compensatory features of their reflections, seem to accommodate aspects of more abstract educational discourses of participation and democracy. This is the focus in the last part of the discussion.

The immediate and less distant context

First, these teachers seem to find support for their justifications in the immediate surrounding context of textbooks, the accompanying teachers' guides and exam tasks and sometimes mention these explicitly. In terms of *the referential value*, the teacher's books in the series *Crossroads, New Flight* and *On the Move* list films in connection with topics in the textbook (Bromseth, 2006, 2008; Heger, 2008). Films like *Mississippi Burnin*g and *Amistad* are recommended as "good films" that are "thematically tied" to textbook chapters (Zollo, Colesberry, & Parker, 1988; Allen, Spielberg & Wilson & Spielberg, 1997; Heger, 2008, p. 26). These discursive elements may encourage the notion that certain fiction films can provide true accounts of conditions in the English-Speaking world. In addition, as some films are dealt with cross-curricularly, discourses from related subjects possibly contribute to the teachers' reasoning.

The notion that fiction films provide information about conditions elsewhere seems to incorporate both previous and contemporary discourses of referentiality in films. From the early years of the cinema, the aim of the moving image was to reflect a physical reality by means of an objective "mechanical recording" (Bazin in Grodal, 2002, p. 79). This understanding resonates with early English syllabi where films were recommended to make foreign cultures "come alive" in the classroom (Ministry of Church and Education, 1951, p. 42, my translation). This reliance on images as reflections of reality is in part based on our immediate response to the visual as real and in part on its "history of social work*"* as with any semiotic mode (Grodal, 2002; Jewitt & Kress, 2008, p. 15*)*. When people trust films and images as evidence of real events, it is to some extent because this has been their job, past and present. As examples from the analysis illustrate, this notion also extends to fiction films in several teachers' reasoning. In addition, the encounter with a film narrative appears to be perceived as a pathway to a more profound understanding of "how it was" at other times and in other places.

It seems likely that these perceptions of referentiality in fiction films also negotiate with aspects of contemporary media discourse. Årheim refers to a type of "reality language" which confuses traditional distinctions between fact and fiction: novels and films "based on true stories", the seemingly "genuine" behaviour of reality show participants. In this discursive context the "truth

claims", such as those printed on paperbacks, shape people's expectations of realism in contemporary fiction. They seem to encourage new "interpretative strategies" where the sense of realism in a narrative is primarily measured against the reader's own experiences and presumptions (2007, pp. 9-13). Apparently, the promotional language of film production companies belongs to the same media discourse as such truth claims are repeatedly made on behalf of fiction films. An example of direct relevance in this context is *Amistad*, which was described as "an accurate historical drama" by the producers when released (Allen, Spielberg & Wilson & Spielberg, 1997; Thornton, 1998). The words "accurate" and "historical drama" seem to encourage this ambiguity between fact and fiction. Interestingly, the revised *Crossroads'* teacher's guide appears to echo features of such reality language in its recommendations of fiction films. For instance, while the film *12 Years A Slave,* is promoted as being "based on an incredible, true story" on the production company's web site, the teacher's guide points out that this film as many of the others listed are "based on a true stories" or "based on true events" (*Film4 Productions*; Heger, 2015, p. 46; Pitt, Gardner, Katagas & McQueen, 2013).

As we have seen, several of the teachers say they choose films they believe touch pupils on a personal and emotional level, and sometimes express a preference for those telling "true stories". It appears that the discursive practices in which these teachers, curricula and textbook authors take part tend to give little critical attention to issues of truth and reality in fiction films. This might be the case either because they are not aware of them or simply because they do not consider them relevant in EFL contexts. As research suggests, a similar focus on the pupil's personal identification with fictional narratives rather than a critical stance to such texts is recognisable in L1 contexts (Olin-Scheller, 2006; Penne & Skarstein, 2015; Penne, 2013; Årheim, 2005).

It does not seem unlikely then, that such accumulated notions of referentiality in films, as the ones mentioned above, have been shaped and reshaped by teachers' discursive practices over time, for instance in response to new curricula demands. The current syllabus does not just ask for "knowledge of" the English-speaking world (Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 1987, p. 207, my translation) but also requires "insight into the way people live" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013, English Subject Curriculum, Purpose). To some of these teachers, fiction films seem to be perceived as very apt for the job of providing such insights.

In terms of the assumptions about *the compensatory value of films,* these cannot be explicitly traced to earlier or current curricula or contemporary textbooks. Still, the understanding that for instance an adaption gives pupils a chance to become acquainted with a literary universe seems to be shared by several of these teachers and across subjects (Olin-Scheller, 2006). It is possible that this assumption relies on the generally held view among film critics and film audiences that a film adaption is expected to be as faithful as possible to the

original literary source (Hutcheon, 2013, p. 7). If the film is perceived to be true to the source text, some teachers may see it as a useful substitute.

The wider context: educational discourses of democracy and participation

It is possible to see the *compensatory value of films* in light of the more abstract discourses of participation and democracy that ran alongside school reforms in Norway throughout the 20`th century. From the early 60s onwards such reforms gave everybody equal access to universal secondary education with an aim to even out social inequality (Grunnskoleloven, 1969; Reform 74). When new legislation introduced a common core curriculum for primary and secondary education in the late 90s, democracy and participation meant equal access to a certain shared body of knowledge. One of the cornerstones in the core curriculum was that concrete knowledge would help build common frames of references for everybody no matter social or ethnic background (Opplæringsloven, 1998, Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 1996). From then on educational discourses gradually shifted from participation to increased emphasis on the rights and resources of the individual learner promoted by buzzwords such as adapted teaching and learning styles (Jenssen & Lillejord, 2009, Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 1998).

These are aspects of educational discourses that appear to have re-contextualised in several of the teachers' reasoning about films. To some, a film helps ensure everybody's participation in classroom discussions about a text or a topic. It is also sometimes described as a means to cater to individual learning styles, abilities and preferences. Several of the teachers say they experience challenges that result from unequally distributed language skills in their classes. A film might be perceived to reconcile such challenges and "even out" mixed abilities. Sometimes texts or topics appear incompatible with the pupils' reading abilities, maturity, motivation or academic potential. In some teachers' reasoning, then, a film seems to allow equal access to a text or some content knowledge, echoing the intentions of the core curriculum. One salient example of the possible democratisation potential in films occurs when the teachers talk about using adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet.* To some, an adaptation seems to represent an opportunity for every English language learner to experience Shakespeare's famous play.

Lastly, these compensatory features in the teachers' reasoning seem to resonate with early notions of the role of films in society. From its beginning as a mass medium, a film belonged to everybody, and spoke in a language people quickly grew to appreciate. Therefore, it could both serve as a means of reaching out to large audiences and securing new groups in society aesthetic and cultural experiences, which they were denied before (Marcussen, 1953).

Final remarks

Early on in this article, I asked what it means when teachers say that you can learn a lot from films. Through interviews with eighteen lower secondary English teachers, I have explored their notions of the learning value of films captured in a set of assumptions. For example, films seem to be perceived as useful resources to provide the knowledge and awareness about the world that contemporary curricula require. Very few describe them primarily as tools for language learning. Obviously, the overall improvement of English oral skills among Norwegian pupils over the last decades might give the impression that a specific language emphasis is less relevant (Bonnet, 2002; Hellekjær, 2012a,b). Also, teachers may find support in discourses outside of the subject area, for instance in cross-curricular work. In these contexts, it is likely that a common theme rather than specific EFL perspectives is given priority. In addition, a film might present itself as a welcome opportunity to reconcile opposing concerns in the classroom, such as mixed abilities, varying motivation and maturity among pupils. Finally, there seems to be little critical attention to films as an educational resource in the field of English teaching and possibly across subjects. This might be so since films have been around for a long time and probably escape the scrutiny that otherwise befalls newer media when introduced into school contexts. As a result, their value might have become naturalised by discursive practices, which, if not contended, may allow little room for alternative understandings.

However, if films are considered relevant in the EFL classroom by teachers, textbook and curricula authors, I believe they deserve to be critically explored in terms of their value in EFL contexts. This article investigates merely aspects of teachers' reasoning about the value of films and not the actual classroom practices. Therefore, studies of teachers' classroom film use or pupils' experiences with films in their English classes would be interesting paths to pursue.

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