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The shift in evaluation in Norwegian education

A critical discourse analysis of the OECD's 1988 Reviews of National Policies for Education in Norway

Master's thesis in Master of Science in Education and Upbringing Supervisor: Petteri Hansen June 2023

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Abstract

This master's thesis is a critical discourse analysis of the subject of evaluation in: Reviews of National Policies for Education (1990), a report the OECD wrote after a visit to Norway to evaluate the Norwegian educational policies. In the thesis I discuss the OECD examiners' urging more evaluation in all levels of education. I focus on how this urging is done and how it is discursively legitimated. Policy borrowing and lending has served as a theoretical frame in which the report has been analysed. I analyse and discuss textual samples following Norman Fairclough's methodology of critical discourse analysis, to gain insight into how evaluation is a hegemonic theme in the OECD report. I also included a rhetorical aspect to the analysis in an attempt to broaden the scope of analysis, so as to get a clearer picture of how the text is both assertive and persuasive. The main findings in this thesis are that evaluation is presented as a solution to many challenges in Norwegian education on all levels. The examiners also express the need for self-criticism and self-evaluation on a local level, but by emphasising the need to establish an information and evaluation system, they also relate these ideas to the national level.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven er en kritisk diskursanalyse av temaet evaluering i: Reviews of National Policies for Education (1990), en rapport OECD skrev etter et besøk i Norge for å evaluere den norske utdanningspolitikken. I oppgaven diskuterer jeg OECDeksaminatorenes oppfordring til mer evaluering på alle utdanningsnivåer. Jeg fokuserer på hvordan denne oppfordringen gjøres og hvordan den er diskursivt legitimert. Policy borrowing and lending har fungert som en teoretisk ramme der rapporten er analysert. Jeg analyserer og diskuterer teksteksempler etter Norman Faircloughs metodologi for kritisk diskursanalyse, for å få innsikt i hvordan evaluering er et hegemonisk tema i OECD-rapporten. Jeg inkluderte også et retorisk aspekt ved analysen i et forsøk på å utvide omfanget av analysen, for å få et klarere bilde av hvordan teksten er både påståelig og overbevisende. Hovedfunnene i denne oppgaven er at evaluering presenteres som en løsning på mange utfordringer i norsk utdanning på alle nivåer. Eksaminatorene gir også uttrykk for behov for selvkritikk og selvevaluering på lokalt nivå, men ved å understreke behovet for å etablere et informasjons- og evalueringssystem knytter de også disse ideene til nasjonalt nivå.

Foreword

After seven long years I conclude my journey as a student with this master's thesis. It is with mixed emotions I write this foreword. On the one hand I look forward to taking the steps into the working life. On the other hand, I have enjoyed my two years at IPL here at NTNU immensely, and leaving this life as a student will undoubtedly sadden me. However, both of these aspects have strengthened my motivation to perform well on this thesis.

When I got to work to figure out what I wanted to write about, I experienced a problem: choosing an object of research. Luckily, the reason for this was that most, if not all, of the subjects we have undertaken has been exiting beyond words. Ultimately, I settled on educational politics in both a national and international setting.

I want to thank my girlfriend Sandra, my family and friends as well as my classmates for words of encouragement and support through the process. Last, but not least, I must thank my supervisor Petteri Hansen for exciting discussions, directions, and helping me navigate through the process.

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1. Introduction

Norwegian education has been praised for its emphasis on concepts like equality and inclusion, with 'a school for all' being the guiding idea after the second world war. Starting in the 1970s and continuing through the 1980s, the tides turned from the unity Norway enjoyed after the second world war, to a more globalised and neo-liberal way of running the country. Long-standing traditions of equality and progressive pedagogy, though not abolished, took a back seat to new and, what many considered to be, improved policies (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014).

How can these changes be understood? One explanation could be that globalisation creates an ever-smaller world and brings with it a change of economic thinking. Globalisation does not happen by itself but requires actors. Today, the presence of global actors in the educational sphere is well known among several countries, and Norway is no exception. The most known and prominent of them all is without a doubt the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The core of the OECD's framework is economic theories applied to questions of educational policies (Elstad & Sivesind, 2010, p. 28). The schools which traditionally laid its weight on inputs, learning, and equality, suffered from massive reform work which transformed the schools to focus more heavily on the outputs of education (Volckmar, 2016; Imsen & Volckmar, 2014). As opposed to the centrally regulated education system after the Second World War, the public sector became subject to the new political strategy of decentralisation from the 1980s (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). A strategy which allowed international organisations more room in national policy making. Furthermore, the decentralisation encouraged the focus to be shifted from input to outputs and results (Volckmar, 2016).

The output-oriented education has been the subject of much debate as well as academic research. Since the start of the 2000s, focus on evaluation has accelerated even more. With the advent of the first round of PISA-tests and the following publication of the results, the OECD ventured from public obscurity into the spotlight by way of national headlines. The reason for this being clear and concise: Norway scored just around average in all three PISA subjects reading, mathematics, and science. Following this well documented "PISA shock" the scores on international tests became a topic in politics. With a new educational reform on the doorstep only nine years after the 1997 curriculum was introduced, *Kunnskapsløftet 2006* placed a heavy weight on assessment with *assessment for learning* being an integral part (Østby, 2019), which have continued into the latest curriculum reform from 2020.

However, this begs the question: how did we get here? How did a country with such a tradition as Norway come to place assessment and evaluation in such high regard? The reasons for these changes are complex, manyfold, and indeed have been the subject of countless books and research articles. This thesis however is concerned with a particular document which have aided and *legitimized* this change towards a boom in assessment and evaluation. The OECD have enjoyed making an impact on education for decades before the PISA-tests, providing policy advice to national governments, and indeed, in a recent *Norges Offentlige Utredninger* (NOU 2023:1) the researchers point to the massive effect OECD's 1988 report had on the changing in the school system. Especially, an evaluation- and control function was necessary, as well as outside supervision.

The Norwegian government invited the OECD to evaluate the Norwegian education system both in 1974 and 1987. The OECD obliged, visited, and provided the government with reports after the visits in 1976 and 1988 respectively. The latter of which is this thesis' subject matter. To gain insight into the OECD's views on evaluation, I will do a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of what 1988-report has to say about the subject of evaluation.

My interest in evaluation began in my own school days when I received grades on my academic performances and have persisted throughout my journey in higher education. In this concluding thesis I have decided to delve deeper into the subject of educational evaluation with the emphasis being on how the OECD suggests more evaluation on all levels of the Norwegian education system. Therefore, I have reached the following research problem and research questions:

Research problem:

How does the OECD's 1988 report urge more evaluation, and to what end?

Research questions:

- 1. On which assumptions on changes in society and education is the report based?
- 2. How does the text build in pre-existing ideas of evaluation, and how are new evaluation practices discursively legitimated?

2. Theoretical and historical perspectives to OECD's influence in Norwegian education politics

The theoretical part of this thesis starts with a brief recapitulation of the OECD's history and its influence in Norwegian education policy. After this I will focus on evaluation as an OECD driven policy. The chapter concludes with the theory of policy borrowing, which is paramount to understanding the OECD's role in international education and how the organisation influences education in Norway.

My presentation focuses especially on policy changes in the 1980s. The 1980s is an interesting era as it serves as the preparation work for the OECD's later advisory domination over global education, with the most prominent programme being the PISA-tests. The 1980s is characterized as a time when neo-liberal ideas of decentralisation, accountability, goal orientation, quality, globalization, and efficiency took hold in national policies (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014). The aim of this thesis is not to discuss the OECD as a proclaimer of neo-liberalism, but how ideas and concepts which is often classified as neo-liberal, are presented, and stated as a force for good as well as for the development of education. Moreover, the 1980s is relevant as it is the starting point for the influence of international actors and global indicators. Understanding changes in the 1980s is also important as the OECD's document which is analysed in this thesis was published in the late 1980s.

2.1 The OECD's influence in education politics

Globalisation is a term frequently utilized when speaking of policies changing from a wellfare state to a competition state with increased investment in economy, trade, and technology. Countries compete on efficiency and reform their institutions to increase their competitive abilities (Wiborg, 2016, p. 241). This also applied to the educational sector. Increased competition between countries paved the way for international tests like PISA, which firmly cemented the OECD as the leading supranational actor of education (Sjøberg, 2014). The globalisation of education can lead to a homogeneity in schooling, often called standardisation (Wiborg, 2016). A common object of research in macrooriented research projects is the convergence of national educational policies (Wiborg, 2016, p. 247). However, other researchers take a micro-approach to globalisation, and claim that the policies must be translated and adjusted to a national and local setting (Wiborg, 2016, p. 248). The process of translating the policies can also lead to a divergence. Dovemark et al. (2018) exemplifies this by stating that the Nordic countries, which have often been seen as a homogenic group, have adopted policies differently. In Sweden and Denmark evaluation policies boosted marketization of education, while Norway and Finland did not (Dovemark et al., 2018). Therefore, globalisation may lead to more homogenous educational policies, but they might also diverge as the policies are adapted to each country.

The OECD has no regulatory or direct power over any government. They serve only as an advisor to governments. As the name suggests, their mandate is economic growth and stability (OECD, 1990, p. 2). Their goal after the second world war was to aid countries with this goal, and this still consists to this day (OECD, n. d.). They have, however, expanded upon this. They have a direct hand in education through programmes like PISA and 'Education at a Glance'. They are also involved in several other policy areas like in renewable energy and pioneering the 'polluter pays' principle all the way back in 1972 (OECD, n. d.). Healthcare, digital transformation, trade, and food systems are other areas in which they advise and assist governments. In the 1988 report, the OECD's

official mandate is stated on the second page. The OECD's official mandate, according to article 1 of the convention in Paris in 1960, is to promote policies that achieve sustainable growth, raised standard of living, employment, maintaining financial stability which contribute to the development of the world economy (OECD, 1990). In addition to this they are to contribute to expansion of the economy both of member states as well as non-member states, and expanding the world trade (OECD, 1990).

As the OECD is the organisation whose report will be put under scrutiny, it is necessary with a brief revisit of OECD's emergence and how they come to hold such an important and prominent role in the educational sector. The OECD's history starts in the aftermath of the second world war under a different name; Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The original aim of the OEEC was to administer the Marshall Aid (OECD, n.d.). The decision to transform the OEEC to OECD was signed in 1960 and enforced in 1961. Ever since their goal has been "... to deliver greater well-being worldwide by advising governments on policies that support resilient, inclusive and sustainable growth" (OECD, n. d.). A part of this goal has been the entering into the educational sector. At a conference in Washington in 1961 a key speaker of the OECD made the following statement "The fight for education is too important to be left solely to the educators" (Ydesen, 2019, p. 1). Although not a clear guideline in OECD's mantra, the statement speaks of their aim in the educational sector.

Rinne et al. (2004) separate the OECD's educational goals into four categories that align with the decades from the 1960s and onwards. In the sixties the OECD placed an emphasis on the natural sciences and economic educational theories (Rinne et al., 2004). They aided the United States in the space race against the Soviet Union by publishing "... abundant teaching materials for science" (Rinne et al., 2004, p. 459). A key point in the 1960s were a strong weight on the concept of *inputs* in education, while the 1970s emphasised *outputs* to a higher degree.

In the 1970s, the OECD were more ambiguous in their educational aims. Rinne et al. (2004) names this era as the "social objectives and recurrent education" phase. This meant that the economic theories of education took a backseat as the number of member countries declined as a result of the 1973 oil crisis. Goals of educational equality and social goals were emphasised. Another shift in the OECDs agenda in the 1970 was the changing of their focal point from *inputs* to *outputs* and managing by objectives. The OECD conducted several country visits in the 1970s and visited Norway in 1974 to assess its education.

The 1980s are described by Rinne et al. (2004) as the OECD's 'searching phase'. This is why this thesis will focus mainly on this decade, as several interesting changes occurred around this time. The emphasis on educational equality continued, but the importance of measuring quality in education became evermore salient. Several of the projects have continued into the twenty-first century. The INES project (International Indicator and Evaluation of Educational Systems) is an example of this. An important point, to which I shall return below, is although the OECD might be the one doing the evaluation, they did not make their visit by their own initiative. The Norwegian government invited the OECD to come to Norway to do an evaluation of the educational system, suggesting that the OECD was not the only participant willing and indeed wanting to alter the educational course of Norway. The invitation issued to the OECD can also be seen in relation to the strengthening decentralisation taking place at the time (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013).

As the name implies, decentralisation concerns the shift from central governing to local governance. The OECD report is written in a time when decentralisation was becoming established as the accepted political policy (OECD, 1990, p. 16). However, the criticism of centralized governing was not in its infancy during the writing of the OECD-report. Starting in the 1970s and continuing throughout the 1980s there was a growing opinion that the 'old' model to some extent had reached its end (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014, p. 39). With concerns of the old model of governing being to top-heavy, inflexible, and bureaucratic, there was a wish to improve the government's efficiency (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014, p. 40). Management by goals and objectives, emphasizing outputs, and more accountability for schools, teachers, and school leaders replaced the old model of management by regulation, a focus on inputs, and state control (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014; Eliassen & Oldervik, 2020). The 1990s saw the return to economics of education and quality monitoring (Rinne et al., 2004). The concept of lifelong learning also became important. Rinne et al. (2014) states that this was the decade where the OECD took on the role of judge of academic achievements of their member countries.

As one of the original member countries, Norway and the OECD have a long relationship. Norway received the Marshall Aid after the second world war and have been a member of OECD since its conception in 1961 (OECD, n.d.). The OECD made a visit to Norway in 1974 to make an evaluation of Norway's educational system. The Norwegian ministry of education made a background report containing everything from an overview of the educational system, equality, integration, and planning and innovation (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, 1976). Subsequently, the OECD made their report on the Norwegian education. The next visit the OECD made to Norway in 1987 was the background for the paper this thesis will analyse. The Norwegian government invited the OECD to come once again to help evaluate the educational sector. Once again, the Norwegian government provided a background report. Their visit lasted for two weeks, which included visiting three different cities in Norway, as well as meetings with different parts of the Norwegian government and other relevant interest groups (OECD, 1990). Further deliberation and discussion of their itinerary will follow in the analysis.

2.2 Evaluation as OECD driven policy

As the analytic focal point in this thesis is concerned with evaluation some explanation is needed as to what evaluation means and entails. Kizlik (2012) differentiates between measurement, assessment, and evaluation in education. He claims evaluation is the most ambiguous of the three terms, requiring that one engage in a process where the goal is to gather information which will help one make judgements of a situation (Kizlik, 2012). He aptly sums up the three terms thus "... we measure distance, we assess learning, and we evaluate results in terms of some set of criteria" (Kizlik, 2012, p.2). If subscribed to this definition one can view the OECD as to possess their own set of criteria on which they base the evaluation of Norwegian educational policy.

There are some general terms used in relation to the theme of evaluation. The purpose of this clarification is to make the reader aware of terminology associated with a certain view of evaluation and assessment in education. Words like effects, outcomes, standards, monitoring, results, and goals are commonly utilized in discussions about evaluation in both schools and the educational system as a whole. According to Kizlik's definitions of evaluation, one cannot partake in an evaluation if one does not already have a previous set of criteria with which to base one's evaluation (Kizlik, 2012). However, evaluators can also obfuscate their own evaluation by not stating any criteria upon which the evaluation is based, and rather make use of 'goal achievement' as being a justified criterium in and of itself (Nevo, 1983, p. 121). This also leads to the question as to what end they see the increased evaluation practice serving. If the belief is that more evaluation works in a way as to disseminate good practice, more development in schools, and a greater monitoring control for the central government, then the evaluators seem to view evaluation, testing, measuring, and assessing as a continuous process without an end goal. MacDonald (1976, p. 126) views educational evaluation as, at least in some respects, a political activity, with differing approaches to evaluation being utilized in distributions of power. Furthermore, he claims that evaluators have an influence on the changing relationship of power. The OECD is one of the most influential actors in distributing policies through for instance the INES programme (Grek & Ydesen, 2021).

Maroy (2012, p. 68) claims that the 'evaluative state model' supposes centrally defined objectives and programmes, and school autonomy in pedagogical and organisational matters. However, this also supposes an explicit or implicit contract between the state and the schools. The goals are set centrally and are to be reached locally. Furthermore, he states that an evaluation culture ensues which relies just as much on self-evaluation as external evaluation by organisations like the OECD (Maroy, 2012, p. 68). A central point to make when discussing this model is the important role of the state. The central government is in charge of the making of the curriculum, but it is the schools and teachers' job to interpret that curriculum in order to achieve the best results. This aligns with the process of decentralisation which the OECD examiners claimed Norway was experiencing at the time of the visit in 1987 (OECD, 1990).

2.3 Policy borrowing and lending as exercising of power

Policy borrowing is the term used when a country adopts policies from other countries and implements them in their own country. Often utilized in comparative research to see the effects of the borrowing and lending of policies. Both 'policy borrowing' and 'policy lending' are chosen deliberately to differentiate them from terms like 'policy learning' and 'policy transfer' which are common in political science (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 6). The question of "what can country A learn from country B and how will this benefit them?" (Ochs & Phillips, 2004, p. 8) is the baseline for the policy borrowing. A key point in policy borrowing is the *voluntary* interest in, and adoption of, foreign policies by a country which seeks to improve its policies. An important follow up question which needs to be asked is what makes these foreign policies so attractive?

Ochs & Phillips (2004, pp. 10-11) follows this up with three more points – policy making (how foreign policy can be used at home), implementation (logistical requirements, support, and opposition to the policy and how the policy can be adopted to a local context) and internalisation (how the policies become internalised in the existing system). Florian Waldow differentiates between policy borrowing and policy lending by how policies originates (lending) and how they are received (borrowing) (Waldow, 2012, p. 411). Policy borrowing does not have to occur only between countries. Organizations like OECD are important actors in the borrowing and lending processes. Indeed, Steiner-Khamsi points to the increasing tendency to refer to international standards, rather than concrete policies from other countries (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 9). This does not mean

that organisations like the OECD have formal control over Norwegian policy making. However, the interplay between the national and international policy making should be approached differently. The theory of policy borrowing and lending provides one such frame which can be utilized in the analysis of the flow of international policies.

A concrete example of borrowing from OECD is the country of Sweden who followed the OECD's recommendations closely but did not state clearly from where their new policies originated which Waldow has termed *silent borrowing* (Waldow, 2009). Steiner-Khamsi, and most of the authors of the book 'Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education' (2012) work from a methodological approach where they believe that policy borrowing starts locally. Then one looks to other countries which scores well, on for instance the PISA-tests, and integrates that language into their own discussions about education. A concrete example of policy borrowing in Norwegian education is the introduction of the extension of compulsory education in the 1950s. Helge Sivertsen was tasked with leading a committee who were to renew the labour party's education policies. He closely followed the debate on introducing a 9-year school in Sweden in 1950. In 1959 a new law was passed in Norway which introduced and eighth and ninth year in Norwegian compulsory education (Volckmar, 2016, p. 59).

Without going too deep into concepts power, the OECD's influence could also be viewed in light of *soft* power and *soft* governance. The concept of soft power is relevant to the analysis of the report, because that it might not always be discernible. While 'hard' power consists of possessing "tangible power resources – more direct and often coercive methods" (Gallarotti, 2011, p. 28), soft power works through different policies, actions, and qualities that "endear nations to other nations – more indirect and non-coercive methods" (Gallarotti, 2011, p. 28). This conception of power makes influence and ideology visible. Soft power is also closely connected to Fairclough's use of hegemony as a theory of power which will be further discussed below. In addition, several researchers have connected the OECD to the concept of soft power (Eliassen & Oldervik, 2020; Sjøberg, 2014).

Closely connected to the aspect of soft power, the terms *governing* and *governance* are ways of describing the way in which a field is governed. Though one might perceive little difference between the two, the contrast between the terms is larger than one might initially believe. In this thesis, the former has a 'top-down' form, and the latter has a 'bottom-up' one. In Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education (2012) it is stated that uncritical acceptance of OECD's terminologies like measurement, accountability, and knowledge economy, can lead to education policy to be moved away from matters of government and be replaced with matters of governance (Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012, p. 151). The distinction between government and governance is drawn between actors within the different terms, and the processes by which they work. Government is seen as being habited by elections and citizens, while governance is described as being habited by agreements, networks, and peer review (Takayama, 2012, p. 151). The latter is more in line with the neo-liberal ideology as well as the concept of hegemony.

3. Methodology, research data and research design

In this chapter I will introduce the methodological and empirical approaches to research object. I will start with methodology which, unlike the traditional understanding of method, is more related to how a researcher is making conscious selections of how he or she approaches the research object. The methodological approaches are thus highly varied. From political interventions to textual analyses, or to a variation of both. In other words, whereas methods are selected to the construction of the research object, a methodology is a process which "constructs an object of research ... for the research topic by bringing to bear on it relevant theoretical perspectives and frameworks" (Fairclough, 2010d, p. 225). Besides critical discourse analysis (CDA) my approach to language and power is inspired by rhetorical analysis. After methodological discussions I will introduce the research data and research design.

3.1 Norman Fairclough, scientific theory, and Critical Discourse Analysis

In this thesis, I will largely lean upon Norman Fairclough and his works on critical discourse analysis. The epistemic grounds of Fairclough's CDA is based on critical realism. Unlike the naïve realism in which the researcher expects the world to exist as perceived, or in radical constructivism where the world does not exist without the constructor, the starting point in Fairclough's critical realism is there is a world of objects but becomes mediated by language and influenced by power relations (Fairclough et al., 2010).

Within critical realist ontology, the reality is stratified in three levels (Fletcher, 2017). The three levels are the empirical, the actual, and the real. The empirical level contains our experience of events which can be measured (Fletcher, 2017). However, even though empirical events can be explained through rational thought, or 'common sense', the events are mediated by our experience. The actual level contains events which occur, whether they are observed or not. This level does not contain any human interpretation (Fletcher, 2017). The real level contains casual structures or 'mechanisms' which "... are the inherent properties in an object or structure that act as causal forces to produce events" (Fletcher, 2017, p. 183). Fairclough uses the term 'potential' rather than 'real', because both the empirical and actual level, in most senses, are real (Skrede, 2018, p. 80). Furthermore, he does not accept that reality (the potential, or the actual) can be reduced to our knowledge about reality (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14). This makes critical realism an anti-reductionistic view of the world. Fairclough elaborates by stating that in the same way that reality cannot be reduced to our knowledge of it, texts cannot be reduced to our knowledge of texts (Fairclough, 2003).

Critical discourse analysis is used in a variety of ways in several different fields. Therefore, it is not uncommon to see CDA connected to different scientific theories, like social constructivism. The common thread in the different approaches is that they are largely concerned with "... how language and/or semiosis interconnect with other elements of social life, and especially a concern with how language and/or semiosis figure in unequal relations of power, in processes of exploitation and domination of some people by others" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 25).

The main reason for looking to Fairclough, is his research on New Public Management and neo-liberalism which, although not being the object of the analysis, will be a theme in this thesis. Fairclough (2010a, p. 12) states that the lifespan of CDA match that of neo-liberalism quite closely. One can argue that CDA is both theory and method (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 16). It figures as a method in its analysing "... social practices with particular regard to their discourse moments within the linking of the theoretical and practical concerns public spheres ..." (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 16). In the ways of theory, the analysing operationalises, or 'makes practical' "theoretical constructions of discourse in social life..." (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 16). Furthermore, CDA brings social and linguistic theories together in an effort to describe, interpret, and explain (Fairclough, 2010c, p. 132).

Fairclough recommends using CDA as one analysis strategy in conjunction with others, as will be explained further below (Fairclough, 2003, p. 6). Therefore, as the question of how the OECD suggests changes on education policy will arise, there will also be a rhetorical component to the analysis. The reason for this is the language used in the report is laden with rhetorical implications, and thus, the adoption of rhetorical analytic means will serve to achieve a better analysis of the text. I will in the following two chapters first introduce how and what CDA analyses after which I will introduce some key concepts and design of my critical discourse analysis.

3.1.1 How and what Critical Discourse Analysis analyses?

As stated in the introduction CDA can be used in several different ways, but what is CDA an analysis of? As well as it consists of several different approaches, the analytic aims may be different. Fairclough claims that CDA is not an analysis of discourse *itself* but relations between discourse and other elements or objects as well as "... analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse" (Fairclough, 2010a, p. 4). The term *discourse* is somewhat confusing, as it is used in several differing ways in every-day life. Fairclough sees discourse as "... meaning making as an element of the social process..." (Fairclough, 2010e, p. 230). However, he also points out that discourse can include language in a specific field, for instance political discourse, or that of a particular social view, such as that of neo-liberal education. Fairclough uses *semiosis* instead of discourse to distinguish between the meaning making (semiosis) and more general term for language in a specific field (Fairclough et al., 2010). Semiosis connotates that language is only a part of several semiotic modalities (others include body language, illustrations, and images) (Skrede, 2018, p. 26). Therefore, one can say that Fairclough analyses semiosis *as* discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p. 26).

Semiosis is only one part of the social process *dialectically* related to others. The concept of dialectics is, like many other terms within the CDA sphere, a complicated one, and rather relating more to *how* CDA analyses as opposed to *what* it analyses. Aspects of meaning are dialectally related to each other. This means that they are different, but not fully separate or discrete, one internalises the others (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) draws inspiration from the Hallidayan tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which claim the multi-functionality of texts. Whereas SFL sees texts as having interpersonal, textual, and ideational functions, Fairclough uses the terms 'action', 'representation', and 'identification' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27). More specifically, this entails ways of acting, representing, and being. These functions of the text are dialectically related.

Semiosis is defended by social theorists and discourse analysists alike due to the fact that it has a real effect on the social order (Fairclough et al., 2010, p. 203). If semiosis is an element of social practice, the question of what the relation between semiosis and

other elements of social practice, arises. This necessitates the need for CDA to be an interdisciplinary, or as Fairclough puts it, a *transdisciplinary* methodology. It is not a matter of adding concepts from other theories or methods but elaborating and extending one's own methodology to best tackle the research problem at hand (Fairclough, 2010f, p. 295). Furthermore, a stabilisation of CDA as a method would have its advantages, but it would compromise CDA's ability to work in a variety of different ways in different fields (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 17).

When it comes to *what* CDA analyses, we again find ourselves in a thicket of different aspects depending on the problem one is to research. Fairclough uses the term 'wrongs' instead of problems as injustices, inequalities, and lack of freedom, which might not be completely wrong if they can be mitigated or rectified (Fairclough, 2010e). This often leads to the concept of power, which is large and complex. As the 'critical' part in critical discourse analysis often deals with imbalances of power, Fairclough has drawn upon the term *hegemony* to better describe what kind of power imbalances he usually analyses. Borrowing the concept from Antonio Gramsci, Fairclough introduces hegemony as "... leadership as well as domination across economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society" (Fairclough, 2010b, p. 61).

This power over society can never be achieved more than temporarily and partially. Fairclough terms this an "unstable equilibrium" (Fairclough, 2010b, p. 61). The domination is achieved by making alliances and integrating instead of forcing domination upon a society. These alliances are made through consent or acquiescence instead of using brute force like military power (Fairclough, 2003). This can be done through ideological means, but not through ideological means alone. The concept of hegemony is related to the concept of soft power by ways of alliances and non-coerciveness. Another important aspect of hegemony is the reshaping of the 'selves' (Fairclough, 2010c, p. 128), a point to which I will return in the analysis and discussion.

3.1.2 Fairclough's three-dimensional model and central methodological concepts

Arguably, the most used method of visualising CDA, is Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis. The model consists of three embedded boxes each represented by a different term. The terms within the model have been renewed since his book *Analysing Discourse* (2003). The terms have been upgraded to better grasp the core concepts of CDA. In the old model the boxes were called text, discursive practice, and social practice. The new terms are called: (text) social events, (discursive practice) social practice, and the last term (social practice) social structure. I find it necessary to point out this change, as most books and articles which use this model, still prefers the old version.

Even though the general idea is the same, that is to say, the function of the model is practically identical with the new, there are subtle changes which better incorporates other aspects of CDA such as other mediums of communication like pictures or videos and not just texts. This model visualizes the relationship between text, the discursive practice in which the text is a part, and the following social practice (Bratberg, 2021, p. 57). Skrede (2018, p. 30) makes it clear that the different levels in the model does not make up a hierarchy or an order in which one does the analysis. All parts are equally important, even though there is a tendency to put more weight on one of the boxes according to where one is to put one's analytical focus.

Box 1 - Social events (Text)

The reasoning behind the changing of the first term is to include aspects of semiotic modality and the fact that social events cannot be reduced to 'text', but rather that texts are a part of the social events (Skrede, 2018). Social events can be highly focused on texts, but talking is also a social event. In mountain climbing, one climber can call to the other about what route to take, but most of the act of mountain climbing will be physical and non-linguistic, and certainly not textual (Fairclough, 2003). On the other hand, social events can be primarily linguistic. Lectures, or speeches are examples of this.

When analysing the textual material there are techniques to use to show how discourses are put into action textually and thereby reach and support one's interpretation (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999. p. 95). In this thesis I shall keep three of these (modality, assumptions, and transitivity) especially in mind when analysing.

The first such technique *modality* relates to how the author of a text commits themselves when writing, either asking questions or making statements, offers, or demands (Fairclough, 2003, p. 165). Statements like "that's far away", "I don't think that's far away", and "that may be a bit far away" are all different ways of expressing perceived distance. However, the way in which you express yourself, have consequences for how the discourse is perceived. The first two of these statements are assertive and denying respectively. The last one contains a modal verb (may), which pertains to the commitment to truth (Fairclough, 2003, p. 168).

Assumptions are viewed as being closely related to assertive and denying statements and are built on a collective understanding or a common ground (Skrede, 2018, p. 55). Assumptions are ideologically important as they can, to a significant extent, shape the nature of the common ground (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). Fairclough differentiates between three types of assumptions: existential (what exists), propositional (what is, can, or will be the case), and value assumptions (what is good or desirable) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55).

Transitivity is how events and processes are, or are not, associated with subjects and objects (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 95). This is a way to point out ideological ways in which the text is written in relation to people. An example of this can be an e-mail from the head of a company in which he writes "the goals for this quarter have been reached". This statement is written as a law of nature, almost as the company have reached the goals of its own accord. The employees of the company have been excluded, even though they have contributed to the achievement. Another way the head could have written the e-mail is "your hard work has made the company reach its goals for this quarter". This includes the employees and builds on the idea that the collective efforts have made the company succeed.

Box nr. 2 - Social practice (Discursive practice)

The second term, social practice, is the mediating level between social events and social structure. A social structure can be thought of as a way to control and select certain structural opportunities (Fairclough, 2003, p. 23). The changing of the term from discursive practice to social practice is a better way of illustrating that all practice is social. Discursive practice, therefore, is impossible as no mediating element between social events and social structures can create itself (Skrede, 2018). In other words,

language is an important part of our social practice, but one cannot reduce social reality to language (Skrede, 2018, p. 34). When analysing the social practice, one is interested in how the text is produced, to whom and how it is consumed (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 93). Similar to the first box, the second also have special methodological concepts, *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity*, which helps the analyst with the production and consumption of the text.

To make intertextuality the focal point of the analysis one needs to analyse the relationship between one text and other texts (Skrede, 2018, p. 51). Fairclough makes use of a broad view of intertextuality. The most obvious example of intertextuality is this very thesis as well as other academic texts which both quotes and clearly points to other text with references (Fairclough, 2003, p. 39). Other less salient forms of intertextuality can be that of reported speech, where it is possible to quote what was said, but one can also summarize. This opens the possibility for the writer to reword what was said or written (Fairclough, 2003). "The concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones" (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 270). According to Fairclough intertextuality is also contingent on a 'theory of power' and cannot itself account for social limitations. The way in which power relations shape, and are shaped, by social structures and practices matter. Intertextuality can therefore be said to build on previous texts, and one never starts on a blank sheet of paper (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999).

Fairclough usually makes use of the term interdiscursivity instead of intertextuality, as the two terms are quite similar. Therefore, most aspects of intertextuality can be linked to interdiscursivity. However, the difference lies in intertextuality laying its weight on the textual relations usually in the first box (social events), interdiscursivity resides in the middle box (social practice) and focuses more on when a discourse draws from different genres and discourses, possibly without there being a known origin (Fairclough, 1992; Skrede, 2018). This difference points to the heterogeneity of the discourse. However, a homogeneity in discourses is also relevant to the analysis, as this points to a shared common ground. With this in mind, one can think of a small amount of interdiscursive heterogeneity (if any) to indicate a relatively stable field, while the opposite, a large amount of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, points to a changing field (Skrede, 2018).

Box nr. 3 - Social structures (Social practice)

The third term, social structures, are more apt to describe societal macro-relations as social practice can be interpreted more in the direction of action between people on a micro-level (Skrede, 2018). The term social structures better grasp the socio-cultural context to which the discourses are related (Skrede, 2018, p. 32) These social structures are relatively stable and affect the everyday life of people. In this the social structures are abstract entities such as economical structures, bureaucracy, or power relations. The social structures are defining a potential or possibilities. However, the relations between social structures and the other two boxes are interesting. Social events are not a direct consequence of social structures, or the other way around. These very complex processes are mediated by social practice (Fairclough, 2003). Social structures are, in Fairclough's model, contingent on a theory of power or ideology (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 86). A further point to keep firmly in mind when the analysis reaches this box, is the

need for another theory (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). This lends to the idea that CDA needs to be a transdisciplinary methodology.

3.2 Rhetoric

The research object of Faircloughian critical discourse analysis is often hegemonical discursive practices where the language possesses power over the subjects and practices it describes. In this study, the relation between the policy text producer (OECD's examiners) and consumer (Norwegian government) is hegemonic as the text aims to convince and persuade the receiver over whom they have no formal authority. To capture the persuasive nature of the policy text I have adopted some key ideas from rhetorical analysis. The idea of combining CDA and rhetorical analysis could be argued by stating that both CDA and rhetorical analysis deals with the concept of persuasion. Fairclough argues that rhetoric is "persuasion by any available means" (Fairclough, 2010g, p. 502), while CDA deals with persuasion by arguments. Whereas consent can be established through the use of rhetoric, legitimation needs a dialectic way of thinking and arguing (Fairclough, 2010g, p. 501).

As with critical discourse analysis, rhetorical analysis does not present a method as such, but rather a toolbox to make use of when analysing strategies for convincing an audience (Säntti et al., 2021). Stemming from the Greek antiquity, rhetoric was used primarily by orators and politicians in public speaking. This classical rhetoric is known by the Aristotelian classifications of ethos, pathos, and logos (Säntti et al., 2021). Ethos refers to the way in which a speaker convinces the audiences that they have the authority to speak. "The successful "ethical proof" requires that the speech be given in such a way that the speaker sounds credible" (Braet, 1992, p. 311). Furthermore, the delivery of the speech must be the source of the credibility, and not the audience's previous thoughts about the speaker (Braet, 1992). Pathos is the appeal to the audiences' emotions, and in so doing can convince the audiences by arousing feelings which in turn will serve the speaker. Pathos pertains to putting the listener into a certain frame of mind through speech (Braet, 1992, p. 314). An example of this can be if a judge in a trial come to like the accused, he would be less inclined to think he could be guilty, or that his deeds are as bad as presented, and the opposite if he comes to dislike the accused. Logos pertains to the use of facts and reasoning, with a common theme being showing to research results and statistics (Säntti et al., 2021).

When analysing rhetoric, it is important to understand the relation between presenter and audience. This relation is contextual, meaning that what can be used as logos, ethos, and pathos are related to a particular time and space. In theoretical analysis, the concept of Kairos is used to describe the socio-temporal dimension of rhetoric. The term *Kairos* has not been as readily used in modern times as the three mentioned above. This might be due to its absence from large works on rhetoric (Kinneavy & Eskin, 2000, p. 432). Kairos is commonly understood as 'the right time'. There are several different ways to interpret Kairos depending on the different translations one uses, in this thesis however, I shall limit myself to two interpretations. Both of which fits well into the temporal context of the analysis. Within the first interpretation, Kairos can be seen as existing independent of the rhetor (Witte et al., 1992, p. 312). This entails that the rhetor must be able to grasp that particular moment in time. The second interpretation flips that notion on its head. A rhetor can create a situation, and thus any moment in time has a Kairos (Witte et al., 1992, p. 312). Working from the understanding of Kairos as 'the opportune time', the political landscape was ready for the evaluation undertaken by the OECD examiners. As will be further deliberated in the analysis, the invitation expresses that there was to be a broad political agreement that such an evaluation was needed. Norway's political parties seemed susceptible to change. This needs to be seen in conjunction with the chronos (the quantifiable time). The specific period in which this report was written can be viewed as a kairotic point in time when the western world in general experienced a change. This connects with the interpretation of Kairos where there exists an opportune time of which the examiners took advantage. The promotion of the different aspects of evaluation would perhaps not have been as easily acceptable at an earlier time, for instance in the 1960s. As the neo-liberal ideas took hold in the 1970s, progressed through the 1980s, and became established as the *de facto* form of political governance in the 1990s, the strategy of goal management was already being accepted as the main policy in Norway, moving away from regulations and towards a policy of goal achievement (OECD, 1990, p. 72). This change of policy is more welcoming to a stronger culture of evaluation (Karlsen, 2014.

Norway has a long and rich educational tradition of inclusion and equality built on social democratic values (Volckmar, 2016). After the second world war, there was bi-partisan support to rebuild the country, which naturally included the school system. Norway subscribed to the idea of a plan economy, where the state was to ensure economic growth through industrialization and work for the people (Volckmar, 2016, p. 56). Right after the war this way of running the country had been a major success, but the conservative parties began to demand a freer market economy. The result became a mix of the two, until the 1980's when the previously demanded freer market economy became the political strategy (Volckmar, 2016, p. 57).

3.3 Research data, document analysis, and previous research

As research data for this thesis, I have selected the OECD's (1990) country report called "Reviews of national policies for education – Norway". The original report was published in 1988 in English, and the translated version was published in Norwegian in 1989. The report is commonly referred to as the 1988-report in other articles or books. However, I refer to the report published in 1990. This is due to the original report not being available in the OECD online library, and I had to ask them for permission to get a scanned version, which was published in 1990 with the addition of a summary of the background report from the Norwegian government and records of a following review meeting. I am also in the possession of the Norwegian translation from 1989 published by the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs and Ministry of Church and Education, and I shall cite this when discussing the itinerary for the examiners' visit.

The 1990 version of the report contains a few additional parts. The second part of the report contains a record of the review meeting conducted between a delegation from the Norwegian government and members of the OECD, both the examiners who visited Norway as well as other members like George Papadopoulos from the OECD secretariat who wrote the book on OECD's history from 1960-1990. There were also OECD members from several different countries. This offers a unique opportunity to get an impression of the reception of the report and following discussion of the topics from the examiners' report. In addition to the examiners, the other OECD members from different countries offers their own questions to the delegation from the Norwegian government.

There are several common themes seen through the report which could serve as objects for analysis. In this thesis, I shall only analyse some of them. The reason for not thoroughly analysing the whole document is mainly the vastness of it in conjunction with the time allotted. I will, however, point out suggestions for objects of further research in chapter 6.2. Furthermore, I have limited the scope of the analysis to comprehensive education (years 1-9) and leaving out upper secondary education, special education, adult education, and higher education. At some points in the report, it is not specified to which level of education the examiners refer, for example during the discussions of the central government retaining monitoring control which could be applicable to both comprehensive education as well as kindergarten and higher education.

Why is this report so important? What are the implications and ramifications of this report, and why is now the time for a deeper analysis? Even though several researchers have mentioned this report in their research (Imsen & Volckmar, 2014; Karlsen, 2014), only a few researchers have discussed its impact on evaluation policy (Sivesind, 2008). Especially this report seems to have had a large impact on several parts of the Norwegian education system. In NOU (2023: 1) about quality assessment and quality development in schools, a small chapter is written about this report's conclusions on assessment and its following role in the establishment of more assessment in mandatory education. Furthermore, some of the report's viewpoints were mentioned in the white paper St.meld. nr. 37 (1990-1991). In fact, it would be interesting to research which policy documents published after 1990 have quoted the OECD report. More about this in chapter 6.2 suggestions for further research.

In academic research it has been mentioned in Imsen & Volckmar (2014) where the authors stated that the report concluded that the Norwegian education system lacked sufficient knowledge and management. Karlsen (2014) states that the report received much attention and served as a legitimizer for a reformation of the whole sector of education. Sjøberg (2014) claims that messages to the parliament as well as other documents affecting education is relying less and less on terms like *bildung* and *allmenndannelse*, but rather an increasing reference to PISA and OECD experts. Oldervik & Eliassen (2020, p. 34) claims the report paved the way for the new goal governance of Norwegian education. Kirsten Sivesind (2008) wrote a chapter on the 1988 report in her doctoral dissertation where she, among several interesting aspects, discusses the examiners' urging to establishing statistics about the system and evaluation as an aid for decision-making.

3.4 Summary of the research design and research questions

The Faircloughian methodology is a vast landscape of different terms and theories which he spent decades developing. In lieu of including the as many aspects as possible, I have chosen interdiscursivity, assumptions, modality, and transitivity as my main lens through which to analyse how the report builds on previous works as well as pre-existing discourses, Fairclough's three-dimensional model to visualise the dialectical relations between the text and society, and rhetorical means of persuading the recipients of the report. The point of using these specific themes and theories is to analyse *how* and *why* the OECD discussed evaluation and how they encouraged more emphasis on evaluation throughout the whole school system, from top to bottom. Thus, I have made my own version of Fairclough's model for the reader to easier keep in mind how I will conduct the forthcoming analysis.

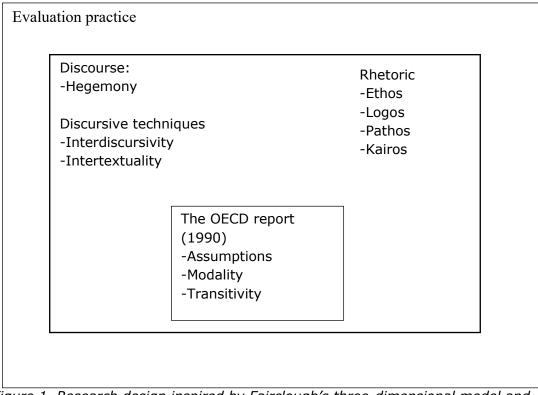


Figure 1. Research design inspired by Fairclough's three-dimensional model and rhetorical analysis. (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 73).

Figure 1 is inspired by Fairclough's three-dimensional model and gives a visual representation of where the different discursive techniques, and rhetorical means reside. In Fairclough's point of view, you can go within the text, but in rhetorical analysis ethos, logos, pathos are related to context or Kairos.

4. Analysis

In the following chapters I will analyse how the OECD examiners urge the Norwegian government to implement their suggestions of evaluation. Following the work of Fairclough, I start with what I see as a 'wrong' in education, namely an overbearing weight on evaluation. Even though not all evaluation in education could be seen as a 'wrong', the examiners' views of evaluation permeated the whole report, with one interesting exception: evaluation of the pupils. It is mentioned below that testing is an important but rather delicate subject, as it must not be over-done. Other than that short mention, evaluation or assessment of pupils is not discussed. I find this an interesting thought to keep in mind when reading through the report, because evaluation is a key concern for the examiners. The report stresses the need for more evaluation on every level of education, but it offers little thought to whom the evaluation effect the most: the pupils who undertake the education which are to be evaluated.

I have chosen to separate the critical discourse analysis and rhetorical aspects of the analysis to keep the presentation in line with the research design. The two are undoubtedly intertwined, but in my efforts to keep the thread through the text I separate the two. To start the analysis, I analyse a statement from the report to show how evaluation is closely connected to the concepts of hegemony and soft power.

The rhetorical analysis starts with the examiners' itinerary, the mandate for their visit, and how their ethos is established already before they conducted their evaluation. Following this, the logos of the report is analysed in light of how an over-bearing weight being put on evaluation creates an instrumental education primarily concerned with efficiency and outcomes. The analysis concludes with an analysis of the journey from pathos to ethos.

4.1 Evaluation as hegemonic discourse

In the analysed document, evaluation - or lack of it – seems to be all encompassing solution -or problem – in Norwegian education. The OECD's tendency to put a great emphasis on evaluation will but put under scrutiny in relation to theories of power imbalances and struggles, policy borrowing, as well as rhetorical aspects of their evaluation discourse. Following Fairclough's thinking, one could argue that in the analysed document, evaluation forms a hegemonic discourse, or a lens, through which educational practices and policies are observed and subordinated. When the examiners speak of evaluation, they speak mainly of evaluation for teachers, testing practice, the system as a whole, the establishment of a national system for evaluation and information, successively re-evaluating working plans, and the standard of the students. The following quote illustrates how the use of tests can be used as a base on which to evaluate the whole educational system.

Testing evokes two sets of issues. It can be directed primarily at the performance of the pupils; and we have already referred to the potential feedback on teaching. It can also be directed towards evaluation of institutions, local authorities or, indeed, the system as a whole. Both purposes are legitimate and we refer later to the possibility of light sampling testing which could enable the authorities at different levels to check on key sectors of achievement without harmful feedback on the individuals concerned.

Such use of testing places it in a broader context of evaluation and curriculum development. But for these ambitious goals to be realised, teachers would have to be secure in a good knowledge of their subjects and of the methods and professional ethics evoked by testing and evaluation. (OECD, 1990, p. 25)

The first sentence of the excerpt it an existential assumption, stating what exists. This, however, raises some problems. Firstly, that testing evokes only two sets of issues, reduces the complexity of testing, both tests that pupils undertake, as well as means to evaluate the whole school system. Testing would indeed give some insight into what level of accomplishment the pupils achieved. However, testing only give some sense of the pupils' knowledge in certain subject, and it would not say anything about the schools' larger task of education such as aspects of critical thinking and understanding democracy. This second, third, and fourth sentence seems to be, not only propositional assumptions, but also a value assumption (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). By testing pupils and using the test results to evaluate the school system, they inadvertently state that academic achievement in the form of test results is the best way to evaluate both pupils and the school system.

What is also apparent in the statement above is the concept of transitivity (Fairclough, 1992a, pp. 177-178). The OECD writes about evaluation but does not clarify who are to

do it. Not until the very last sentence are teachers mentioned. The large task of evaluation 'the system as a whole' as well as students, is placed upon the teachers. When read as teachers are the ones who are evaluating the whole school system, it would entail evaluating their own work, which is consistent with the examiners' encouragement of more self-evaluation (OECD, 1990, p. 47). Another interpretation of this last part of the excerpt could be that the results from the tests teachers sets the pupils are to be used as a means to evaluate the system. This would make the teachers' tests and subsequent assessments responsible for a systemic evaluation. This shows how tests as a form of evaluation can permeate the whole system, from the micro all the way to the macro level.

"The process of education as well as its outcomes need to be considered" (OECD, 1990, p. 50). Using light testing which says something about pupils' knowledge to evaluate the whole school system, does not appear to be comprehensive enough to achieve that goal. Although it is unclear what the examiners mean when they say, 'light sampling testing', it would most likely take light testing of most, if not all, subjects to build up a base on which to make developmental changes. Moreover, to get a 'full' insight into what the students learn in the different subjects, every part of the subject needs testing, which in turn would make 'testing for development' a very large task indeed. The examiners warn against too much testing as it will inevitably lead to teachers teaching to the test (OECD, 1990, p. 49). Evaluation, along with aspects of assessment, testing, and measuring, can then clearly be viewed through a stratified and hegemonic lens. The layering of different hegemonic struggles can appear somewhat opaque. By analysing these different struggles, one can see how the OECD argues and justifies these imbalanced 'wrongs' and bring some clarity to the discourse (Fairclough, 2010d, p. 226). To further the clarification, I will move on to how the examiners propose more evaluation on the three levels: macro-meso-micro. This tripartite must not be confused with Fairclough's threedimensional model, which will be utilized in the discussion.

When I refer to the macro level, I mean the national as well as the international level. This level will largely be concerned with policy borrowing and lending, and evaluation as a tool to alter Norwegian education to become more internationally competitive. The meso level is more locally oriented with how different municipalities must adhere to the central control, and how testing is being used to control the development of the schooling. Herein lies the accountability of the schools to perform well, as well as provide information to the central government. The micro level is concerned with the emphasis on self-evaluation and self-criticism of the schools and teachers – and to some extent also pupils. One can analyse this micro-meso-macro stratification from both ends, either starting with the micro, or starting with macro. I have deliberately started with the macro to show how the OECD examiners' proposals permeates the whole education system from the top to bottom. When analysing the different levels, I will start with the at the textual level of Fairclough's model, moving on to aspects of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The broader context of the advice and what effect it might have on policy will follow in the discussion, then the findings from the analysis will be discussed in relation to hegemony and policy borrowing and lending.

4.1.1 Macro: Economic changes, education as competition

The OECD examiners frequently brings up the need for a national system for evaluation and information (OECD, 1990, pp. 18, 24, 48, 49, 55). Closely connected to the

continuing decentralisation they express the need for such a system (OECD, 1990, p. 18). The examiners raise the question of how national goals can be guaranteed within the framework of the new curriculum – the Mønsterplan of 1987, and indeed they state that their evaluation of the compulsory education system has been framed by this question. "It explains out emphasis on the need to build up a central evaluation and information system" (OECD, 1990, p. 24). Such a system (Nasjonalt kvalitetsvurderingssystem) was established in 2004 which may point to a reluctance with the Norwegian government to implement the OECD's recommendations too hastily.

In the review of the summary meeting Mrs. Grøndahl answered to questions of evaluation, as well as a need for the centre to have an evaluation system with which they could gather information about school development, by saying that there were no clear answers, but their policy was to evaluate and rationalise (OECD, 1990, p. 72). What this suggests is not a refusal to establish such a system, but rather that it needs to be done correctly rather than quickly. To add further to this point, in the white paper Meld. St. 37 (1990/1991), the authors state that a greater degree of goal governance demands an effective evaluation and feedback system (Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet, 1990/1991, p. 15). NOU 2002:10 also pointed to the OECD report as a starting point for the discussion about establishing an evaluation system (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2002).

Regarding the need for the Norwegian government to establish an evaluation and information system, the examiners draw upon the previous OECD report from 1976, in which they stated Norway's authorities did not possess adequate means to easily monitor and evaluate the school system (OECD, 1990, p. 3). This points to a homogeneity in the OECD's proposals to the government as well as their educational proposals and advise. This is an interesting intertextual point to make, as the examiners refer to other OECD documents in order to further legitimate their ideas. The examiners do not refer to other academic texts nor point to other countries which might have created such systems.

To get a better understanding of a prominent, yet hitherto not thoroughly analysed, interdiscursive aspect of the report, I refer to the OECD's official mandate of economic development which is stated on the second page of the report (OECD, 1990), as well as briefly summarized above. The examiners noted an anxiety about outcomes of education from the central government. That anxiety is related to outcomes in relationship to costs (OECD, 1990, p. 55). To figure out where all the money goes, there needs to be more evaluation conducted with a broader approach so to make sure education is cost effective. This bases their view of the evaluation discourse firmly on economic grounds. Naturally, the economics of education is a valid topic of research as it makes up a considerable amount of Norway's national spending. The OECD report also makes an assumption that education is concerned with the economical contribution and the efficiency of education which could be discussed and subordinated in economic terms.

The statement below is related to this cost-effective view as an outcome of education.

"At the same time, education must not be restricted to technical training but also conceived as producing dynamic and innovative people able to contribute to an economy that must be diversified, modernised and productive" (OECD, 1990, p. 15).

This statement is a propositional assumption, containing aspects of what education can, and perhaps, should be (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). However, there is also an aspect of value to this assumption. The reason for suggesting an education which contributes to the economy, is because the examiners (and thus OECD) see this as valuable for Norway. It should also be noted that the examiners advise against education being too technical.

The modality in the statement lies in the words "must" which is more akin to a command than a proposition. However, the word "conceived" may also be attributed to the concept of modality, in that education must be regarded or interpreted in this particular way. The last statement is a decisive concerning the Norwegian economy which "must" change. This also suggests that the OECD possesses the answers to what is good for the economy and what is not. In terms of transitivity, the lack of people involved in an educational process is reduced agency. The word "education" in the statement could also be a nominalization wherein a single word replaces the process. Moreover, when the word "people" is included, it is linked to a production which in turn is to benefit society without much regard to the individual.

4.1.2 Meso: Administration of local level and management of a decentralised system The meso level is concerned with the local aspects of the examiners' proposals on evaluation. In this level the examiners stress the importance of self-critique and selfevaluation, as the following quote exemplifies. This relates to the decentralized form of governance for which the Norwegian government has advocated.

"As far as the schools are concerned we would hope that they will develop a strong practice of self-critique and self-evaluation and at the same time will be able to seek help from external evaluation" (OECD, 1990, p. 50)

The excerpt relies partly on the concept of transitivity as central actors are left out of the process (Fairclough, 1992a). The schools cannot practice self-critique nor self-evaluation, only the people who work there can do that. This removal of the actors puts the responsibility on the process. In doing so, the actions and processes which will lead to the establishment of a stronger self-evaluative practice within schools (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 95). The modality of the excerpt should also be noticed. By expressing a *hope* that the schools develop a strong practice of self-evaluation, the examiners are commenting on the lack of these processes, while at the same time stating clearly that more self-evaluation is needed. The qualifier "strong" intensifies the following word's meaning, meaning that not only should the schools develop more self-critique and self-evaluation, but they should also engage in a strong practice of it.

The excerpt, as well as most other the examiners' mentions of evaluation, is a value assumption (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). The 'fact' that evaluation is good is taken for granted as being obvious. The examiners have not deliberated in the report as to why evaluations are necessary, and indeed, good. The over-arching theme connected to evaluation in the report is development and progress on the lower levels of government, and central control on the higher levels, however, they do not provide any reason or evidence for more evaluation being a good thing. When building on this idea of a

'common ground' this is an example of a hegemonic struggle, as the OECD gains influence with the Norwegian government by legitimizing the need for more evaluation.

The examiners' emphasis on the creation of an evaluation and information system does not only relate to the macro level. They stress the importance of such a system in a decentralized form of governance. "But decentralisation creates the need for a reappraisal of instruments for governing and new structures for information and evaluation" (OECD, 1990, p. 18). Yet, the emphasis on the creation of the evaluation system lets the central government retain their monitoring as well as legislative power over the local authorities. Thus, the very notion of decentralisation can be seen as an imbalance of power.

The OECD make several suggestions, both direct and indirect, to policies other countries practice. A direct example of this is in relation to parents' involvement in determining the curriculum (OECD, 1990, p. 25). In relation to self-evaluation, the examiners suggest Norway could join other OECD countries in letting schools develop their own key points in the curriculum.

"If schools become stronger because of self-evaluation and because they command the right to develop key points in their own curriculum, they will also become sufficiently confident to work with the other concerned groups in determining the curricular and social life of the school. It would be advantageous if Norway could join those other OECD countries which are taking steps in this direction"

(OECD, 1990, p. 47).

The examiners and the OECD in general seem to have continued their agenda of focusing on outcomes like they did in the 1970s (Rinne et al., 2014). Intertextually, this is homogenous advice, in that they simply rely on their own ideology without looking outside of their own sphere of interest to bring in new ideas and perspectives to their agenda or mandate. This theme will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, especially in relation to the hegemony.

4.1.3 Micro: Evaluation of test practices in the name of the students' best

In this chapter I focus on how evaluation is presented as solution on the micro level, mainly as a way to improve quality of learning and teaching through the use of testing.

"There is still testing followed by feedback to pupils which is believed to be far more meaningful to all parties than a formal system of marking. It is felt that it increases the information to people outside the school about what the school is trying to achieve. Such diagnostic and formative methods of testing might help teachers to identify students in need of special help. Standardized tests are available to teachers who want to test their own assessment of pupils". (OECD, 1990, p. 25)

In contrast to other examples above, the modal verb "might" in the third sentence can be read two ways: either as a replacement of 'can' or 'may', or it can be read as doubting the claim that formative methods of testing really can identify students in need of help.

There are several modal examples in the statement above (Fairclough, 1992a). "It is felt... is believed..." signals that the authors might not agree with the people who feels that testing followed by feedback is more advantageous than simple testing followed by a formal marking. Compared to the previous language of the examiners' report, where the examiners state their opinions as a given fact without much doubt, this example shows how they might distance themselves from the idea of formative assessment. The first part of the first sentence also removes the actors from the process of testing. The testing appears to be something which is happening by itself, when, the teachers are the ones who test and give feedback to pupils.

The examiners write this in third person and disregarding the actors to whom the process of testing regards. By distancing themselves from a way of assessing pupils which gives more feedback than a standard numerical scale, it reads as they do not agree that formative feedback serves a greater purpose than grades. This may point to their disinterest in a deeper form of learning for the pupils and put a more quantitative form of assessment in higher regard. The examiners' distancing in their writing is worth noticing. They write in a different way than in most other parts of the report, which might indicate that they disagree with the subject they are discussing. This transitivity can then be viewed as ideological and connects with the OECD's policy proposals of more weight being put on the outcomes of education. Furthermore, the outcome should be measurable and quantifiable.

An interdiscursive aspect worth taking note of on the micro-level is the involvement of parents in school policy. The examiners urge Norwegian policy makers to invite parents to be a larger part of everyday life in schools (OECD, 1990, p. 25). They also suggest following the United Kingdom in letting parents on governing bodies have a say in determining the curriculum (OECD, 1990, p. 25). With parents more directly involved and schools and education being subject to outside supervision, there is a clear relation to the speaker on the 1961 OECD conference who stated that education no longer could be the domain of just the educator (Ydesen, 2019).

When discussing the schools' connection to the labour market, the OECD examiners refers to local businesses as clients (OECD, 1990, pp. 25-26). However, the examiners also call the pupils' parents clients. This is more in line with seeing education itself as a business, and firmly drawing inspiration from the economic sector in not only an interdiscursive or intertextual way, but clearly *recontextualising* the economic language into the educational sphere (Fairclough, 2010f; Skrede, 2018).

4.2 Rhetorical analysis

In the following chapters the rhetorical aspect of the analysis seeks to bring into light the ways in which the examiners state their claims, and on what grounds. The rhetorical part of the analysis is a different way to show ways in which the examiners persuade the Norwegian government to implement more evaluation into educational policy. In this chapter there resides a short historical retelling of the changing of values within Norwegian educational tradition which changed during the 1970s and 1980s. In short, this shift concerns the value of inputs to output value. The former suggests a process in which one is never fully educated, one never stops learning, and thus to set arbitrary goals is relatively uninteresting and only achieves a quantifiable way of assessing students.

4.2.1 Building the ethos of expertise by collaborating with stakeholders

The invitation points to the Norwegian government's pre-held perceptions of the OECD and their abilities to conduct an evaluation of the Norwegian educational system. By introducing the mandate for their visit, they begin the establishing of their ethos. The mandate for the organisation's visit was to undertake an assessment of the Norwegian educational system in the same way as in 1974 on the request of the Norwegian government. In the introduction of the background report from the Norwegian government they explain that an evaluation in an international perspective had been a political wish for quite a while (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet et al., 1989, p. 10). Three examiners from the OECD visited Norway for two weeks in 1987.

The examiners who made the visit were Mr. M. O'Donoghue associated with Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland, Mr. M. Kogan (rapporteur) associated with Brunel University, Uxbridge, United Kingdom, and Mr. U. Lundgren associated with the Institute of Education, Stockholm, Sweden. The latter of whom, was most likely the only one who could read and understand Norwegian. I point out their associations as this lends to the idea of them being educational 'experts'. This term 'expert group' is not mentioned in the OECD's report, but rather constitutes the very title of the Norwegian version from 1989 (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet et al., 1989). However, further into the introduction when disseminating reports which they had to their disposal, they state their access to a series of "... expert OECD and other reports" (OECD, 1990, p. 10) which places their own reports in high regard.

The examiners visited three cities in Norway: Oslo, Bergen and Bodø. This visit, the five reports the examiners mentioned, and the background report provided by the Norwegian government, does not appear to be sufficient grounds on which to base an evaluation of the whole educational sector of a 'foreign' country. The question of what constitutes 'sufficient grounds', however, is arbitrary. Furthermore, the examiners' other work engagements as well as their personal life most likely not permitting them to remain in Norway over a much longer period. Two weeks might be the longest possible time for the examiners to visit Norway, or that might also be a standard time period for such visits to last. According to Kizlik's definitions of evaluation, one cannot partake in such an evaluation if one does not already have a previous set of criteria on which to base one's evaluation (Kizlik, 2012). Thus, it can be argued that, although the OECD does not plainly state any criteria upon which they base their evaluation, the perceived criteria are to ensure development and what they call 'good practice' (OECD, 1990, p. 50).

With all of that said, when they visited Norway, their itinerary seems to have been packed full. They had meetings every day of their visit (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet et al., 1989, pp. 178-180). The examiners met with representatives of "... students, teachers, local authorities, adult education, organisations, the advisory councils, the trade unions and employers" (OECD, 1990, p. 9). In addition to this they met with the two educational ministries, and visited schools, colleges, and universities in areas of the three cities. The meetings the examiners conducted are contributing to the building of their ethos in a system consisting of decentralised actors. This also serves the purpose of building a qualitative base of knowledge on which to base their larger policy advise.

4.2.2 Logos: Evaluation as a tool for making processes visible and controllable

As a second rhetorical dimension I will next discuss the logos in the OECD report. As discussed in the theory part, during the 1980s there was increasing doubt in Norway that the school system is not performing as well as it should. What seems to constitute an answer to this doubt in OECD's document is the idea of making the processes in all levels of system visible and controllable through evaluation policies and practices. There are multiple ways this rationalisation and controllability is considered to be achieved. The main feature of how this logos is played out in the report is the management by goals. Rather than a journey towards more comprehensive process of education, the report argues for an education with specific end goals.

Transforming general goals into specific goals by way of a working plan, awareness between goals and methods, and how can goals be guaranteed. These are all examples of how the examiners speak of goals (OECD, 1990, p. 24). This includes goals within the working plan, as well as national goals for the education also in relation to other countries (OECD, 1990, p. 47). The management by goals requires more evaluation to make sure one has reached the goals. It is easier to manage by measurable goals than by goals that are related for example to understanding democracy or critical thinking. Furthermore, this is underlined by the examiners' urging to acquire more data on what is happening in the schools. The evaluation and information system is an excellent example of the examiners' logos. Achievement of goals needs to reflect the knowledge reached within the schools and subsequently disseminated to the relevant audience like the central government or the parents.

To make sure these goals are being achieved, evaluation is paramount, and one purpose is to ensure the transparency in education and about what the students learn. This, however, may alter education to become a more instrumental, in which knowledge is reduced to what is measurable. The Norwegian school system was, as noted in the review meeting, moving towards a goal-oriented mode of governance (OECD, 1990, p. 72).

Another aspect of the logos pertains to making local actors more accountable by encouraging more self-evaluation and making the outcomes visible. This comes as a natural effect of the decentralisation as the accepted political strategy (Møller & Skedsmo, 2013). The examiners do suggest publishing the results of individual schools (OECD, 1990, p. 45). One interesting rhetorical act in the report is that it modifies the ideals of non-measurable goals as a question of emotions. This is especially clear in the chapter "meeting the anxiety about standards" (OECD 1990, p. 27-28) which expresses views of the pupils that the school is a place to be and not to work. Note how this is an example of the examiners referring to the concerned group. However, the teachers are mentioned in the following sentence where they explain their maintaining that students are required to take on more demanding work (OECD, 1990, pp. 27-28). Furthermore, the examiners states firmly that in spite of differing opinions, a good education is never good enough, and a proposed solution to this is for local authorities to "... incorporate the functions of educational leadership, of evaluating and monitoring the progress of the schools..." (OECD, 1990, p. 28).

4.2.3 From pathos of tradition to ethos of self-criticism

Besides the logos, the OECD report includes use of ethos and pathos. The modes of traditions are being viewed as admirable, but old and unfit for the strong move towards decentralisation. Prominent in the report is the examiners' praise of the Norwegian educational traditions (OECD, 1990, pp. 9, 53). However, they insist that the traditions should be broken to make way for new ideas (OECD, 1990, p. 60). Especially the examiners urge a move towards an education of quality. In the conclusion of the report the examiners have this to say:

"Throughout all of this, Norwegian values of power for the people in their home localities, a universal belief in the state school system as opposed to private institutions, an innate belief in equality, have all informed what can be described as the massive social engineering of recent educational policy. The next stage of reform will move the focus from major changes in the system to improving quality of what the system produces"

(OECD, 1990, p. 60)

The examiners start the statement by listing up central qualities in Norwegian education. These values are a large part of Norwegian educational tradition as thoroughly explained in Volckmar (2016). However, the examiners, while praising the educational traditions, seem to indicate that these ideas are *passé*. The *pathetic* feelings derived from traditions must be shunted aside in order to progress and develop and make the outcomes of education a priority. In doing this, the examiners downplay the important aspects which can be derived from tradition. Value to the people, belief in equality, and a strong state school are presented in a romanticized manner. The first two of the three beliefs just listed, should be seen as a somewhat universal demand in education, in that these values are for the benefit of most people. Democracy and equality are both aspects of which the examiners speak very highly previously in the report. Yet, in the statement from the conclusion it seems that democracy and equality have been achieved, and that Norwegian education must move on.

By stating the traditional values as being a part of a massive social engineering project, it seems that the examiners deem the project to be completed. Furthermore, in persuading the Norwegian government that these goals have been reached, Norwegian education must commence other goals, which are a higher educated population with more knowledge to contribute to the economy. This is seen, by the examiners, as a superior form of quality. They state that to be able to safeguard this quality, Norwegian education need "... well analysed and well-expressed central view on what constitutes good institutions, effective planning at the local authority level and good monitoring and evaluation for the nation as a whole" (OECD, 1990, p. 54). This may be interpreted as evaluation being part of the solution to the problem of relinquishing the hold on educational traditions and values of equality and democracy.

The old traditions had run its course, and new ways of doing education is necessary.

We believe that the ministries, in relinquishing their earlier and more traditional forms of power, should generate new forms of influence through the power of knowledge, the ability to collate and to disseminate news of good practice, and to sustain a critical and evaluative eye on the whole system. That will be a stronger

role than is created by the administration of detailed and perhaps archaic restrictions and rules. (OECD, 1990, p. 60)

The rhetorical tools used in the quote above match with the sub-chapter's headline quite perfectly as the use of ethos and pathos is palpable. The use of the word 'archaic' is an unsubtle way of negatively associate restrictions and rules with, not only being outdated, but ancient and thereby ineffective compared to the alternative. The new forms of influence should be through knowledge, good practice, and evaluation. To evoke their ethos, they begin the first sentence with "we believe" which serves a dual purpose. One the one hand, it can be interpreted as a safeguard, in that this is what they mean will happen based on their expertise or indeed their assumptions, but if it does not happen it is not their fault. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as a form of self-critique, showing that they are aware of a possible lack of evidence for this (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

The lack of any evidence for the examiners' claims, yet the fact that their words are still taken as fact – is interesting. The credibility of the OECD and their examiners are not called into question. The summary of the review meeting shows little 'resistance' from the Norwegian government in the discussions of evaluation. The examiners' credentials play a role in their ethos. All three of them associated with institutes of higher learning gives them credibility. Even though the Norwegian government sought and evaluation from the OECD, pointing to their pre-held impressions of the organisation's credibility, the experience of the examiners legitimates their proposals and advise (Braet, 1992).

The examiners frequently disseminate ideas of bettering the different 'selves'. This includes self-knowledge, self-confidence, self-appraisal, self-development, and self-evaluation to name a few. All these aspects can be connected to the idea of self-criticism. When the examiners speak of multiple aspects which are changing in the Norwegian education, a way to control and monitor what is happening is through evaluation (Sivesind, 2008, p. 391). However, in a rather rampant decentralisation, there is little help from the central government, as the local authorities have an increased accountability to deliver results. Thus, the schools, school leaders, and teachers have to continuously evaluate themselves to make sure they follow the curriculum and are updated on how to do their job in the best possible way.

5. Discussion

Much research has been done about international actors' influence on Norwegian education, with the OECD being, perhaps justly so, the main culprit. Evaluation, assessment, and international tests have been the main analytical focus in the context of globalisation. However, the majority of research has been on the school policies of the 1990s and onwards. The findings in my analysis may indicate that the OECD gained a significant influence earlier than this. The research done on the 1988 OECD report have not gone into considerable depth with regards to evaluation. My analysis has shown how the OECD's advice on evaluation have permeated all levels of government. The findings in my analysis supports earlier notions on the late 1980s as a turning point in Norwegian education politics (Karlsen, 2014). In the next chapter I will discuss the key findings in terms of evaluation as a hegemonic discourse and the rhetorical means it uses for convincing the Norwegian audience.

5.1 Hegemony of evaluation discourse in light of Fairclough's boxes

I will begin this sub-chapter by referring to the last part of research problem: evaluation to what end? The rhetorical analysis and the critical discourse analysis above leads to the notion that the OECD's influence in Norwegian education strengthened with this report. In the following I will make use of figure 1 inspired by Fairclough's three-dimensional model to show how the different discursive techniques is utilized to distinguish the hegemonical struggle in the report.

The textual techniques utilized in the analysis exemplifies the uses to which they are put in order to obtain a form of hegemony. There are few instances of modal verbs which could point out the examiners' belief or disbelief in their statements. In most of the examples in the analysis, the statements are assertive. This can suggest that the examiners' voice in the text is more determined than experienced in the first readthrough. This is exemplified in the second example in chapter 4.1.2 in which they say that 'schools' will become sufficiently confident in determining curricular and social life in the school through self-evaluation. Inadvertently, that statement explains how selfevaluation is the way in which schools become 'stronger'.

The transitive aspect of the report consists of repeatedly omitting the actors in the processes which the examiners discuss (Fairclough, 1992a). The key thing to take note of in regard to transitivity is the exclusion of actors in social processes. In the same example from chapter 4.1.2, the examiners exclude the actors from the process of self-evaluation, disregarding the teachers and school leaders, but still perpetuating the need for self-evaluation, because the process should happen.

The two textual techniques mentioned are both related to the assumptions which the examiners express in order to achieve hegemony. The examiners present ideas of evaluation as a value the Norwegian government should share. In most of the examples from the analysis, evaluation is taken for granted as a positive (Fairclough, 2003, p. 53). However, the examiners' frequent advice about more evaluation, are propositional assumptions (Fairclough, 2003).

The second box in Fairclough's three-dimensional model is concerned with the intertextual and interdiscursive aspects of the OECD report. In line with Fairclough's methodology, more aspects of texts, other than grammatical and linguistic, may be ideological. The overall argumentation may also be ideological (Fairclough, 2003). The most obvious point to make regarding the examiners' writing being ideological, is the intertextual and interdiscursive aspects of the report. The homogeneity in their references points to a lack of inclusion in other people's works, or indeed as the examiners are all academics, any scientific backing for their claims. According to Fairclough (1992a, p. 35) a common theme to look for is the heterogeneity of texts. A heterogeneity may lead to ambiguousness in the text's meaning, making the semiotic aspects difficult to distinguish. The 1988 report on the other hand, lack much of the heterogeneity, which points very clearly to the OECD's ideology throughout the whole report. Moreover, both the interdiscursive semiotic aspects of evaluation, as well as the assumptions in the report relies heavily on the OECD's ideology as shown in the analysis. The report is doing 'ideologic work' in that it takes for granted that evaluation is a relatively unquestioned positive (Fairclough, 2003, p. 58).

Indeed, the 'lack' of drawing upon other discourses, besides the obvious economic aspects, indicate a relatively stable field (Skrede, 2018). This stability needs to be considered, as this fact diminish the *struggle* for power or influence. The Norwegian policy was already moving towards a more goal-oriented, and indeed neo-liberal governance (OECD, 1990, p. 72). The OECD was already well regarded and considered as 'experts' by the government, and thus mitigating the hegemonic struggle (Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet et al., 1989). Despite the document being written by academics, there are not many references to studies or texts besides the other OECD reports. While the interdiscursivity is clear, the intertextuality is more implicit. One reason for this might be, that unlike in the moment of time in which we currently live, in the 1980s there was no well-established knowledge or knowledge indicators on what will lead better learning outcomes in all system levels. In addition, when building a legitimacy of new policies in the 1980s, it was more important to collaborate with local actors and hear their opinions. This also relates to Waldow's (2009) idea of silent borrowing: Even though evaluation relates to global policy drifts and ideas have been adopted on local policy level also before the PISA-tests, there was no need to be vocal about them. Furthermore, the reliance on acquiescence as a form of influence or persuasion could lead the examiners to not make the report overly reliant on external sources in the text, and thereby making it too academic.

The intertextuality and interdiscursivity which is clearly visible, however, is the economic language on which the examiners base a lot of their assumptions. The developmental aspect which the examiners suggest is largely based on their mandate as an organisation for economic prosperity. Hence, the cost-effectiveness of education is a focal point of their policies. The different economic interdiscursive aspects are prominent throughout the whole report, relating to several different themes including evaluation and assessment. The focus on the outcomes of education relates, in their opinion, to the inclusion of young people into working society (OECD, 1990, p. 15).

The third box in Fairclough's model relates to the dialectical relationship between the discourse and the broader practices in society. In a Faircloughian sense, a hegemonic discourse is a process which naturalises ideologic and relational implications in terms of development (Fairclough, 2010c, p. 129). A key point to which the examiners refer, is the developmental benefits of evaluation. The monitoring control the central government achieves is paramount to the development of the education (OECD, 1990, p. 45).

The hegemony of the OECD report can be viewed partly in the examiners' naturalizing more evaluation as part of the OECD's ideology (Fairclough, 2010b, p. 62). For example, the examiners state that decentralisation (a process in which they expressed Norway was already far along) creates the need for new structures of information and evaluation (OECD, 1990, p. 18). The examiners not only suggest a new structure, but they assert that decentralisation (a transitive nominalization) automatically must include this structure, and thereby altering the social structure (in a Faircloughian sense) through their policy advice.

Fairclough (2010c, p. 138) states that 'persuasive and manipulative' discourse specialists have a long-standing history. In modern times, one distinguishing feature is the conception and relationship with knowledge, as these specialists usually hold a scientific position in places of higher learning (Fairclough, 2010c, p. 138). Often considered to be experts in their field, their discursive practice often carries with it a pre-conception of

truth. This view, though to call the examiners 'manipulative' might be loaded with to strong negative connotations, connects with their position as experts. In the review meeting, Ulf Lundgren asked the Minister of Church and Education Kirsti Kolle Grøndahl three questions about evaluation. These questions related to the quantitative aspect of collecting data in order to develop Norwegian education (OECD, 1992, p. 72). The weight on numbers can also be interpreted as an ideological strategy of the OECD, as they collect or receive data to make or revise policy advice. This view also connects the concept of hegemony as they construct an alliance with Norway to gain influence through ideological means (Fairclough, 2010b, p. 61; Gallarotti, 2011).

However, as there is little evidence of resistance from the Norwegian government in the summary of the review meeting, one interpretation can be that the Norwegian government was already moving towards an education which consisted of more evaluation. This also supports Karlsen's (2014) conception of the report, in that it served more as a legitimizer more than a report whose purpose was to directly change the Norwegian education. It seems the report is playing along with the notions of the Norwegian government at the time. Waldow (2012) explains that anyone could make an attempt to set standards as a means of legitimation, but the ones setting the standards must be perceived as legitimate in order for the standards to be legitimized. The next chapter follows this line of interpretation, in which I will discuss more detailed about the issue of discursive adaptation to the socio-context.

5.2 Socio-context and adjusted discourses of policy borrowing

As the OECD have a relatively long educational history, their ethos is firmly established, and politicians of their member countries lay a heavy weight on their proposals and advice (Sjøberg, 2014). This makes it easier for the governments to look to the OECD for policies to develop education. There is little to suggest that the OECD does not 'make use' of their ethos and logos in form of statistics and 'successes' with lending to other countries.

The way in which the examiners have written the report presents their words as facts. There is little to suggest otherwise. Their language shows little uncertainty in their statements, and to connect the rhetoric to CDA, there are few modal verbs in the report to suggest little commitment to their statements, and thus perhaps weakening their ethos. By wording the report in this way, the examiners rely on ethos as a means of persuasion by convincing the audience that they have the authority to make the advice and proposals they do (Säntti et al., 2021). They manage to achieve an aura of expertise in their proposals and advise. However, as proposed in the Aristotelian rhetoric, in order to persuade, one needs all three modes of persuasion. This again leads the discussion to the example from 4.1.3 in which the examiners distanced themselves from the idea that a numerical scale is an insufficient form of feedback. Passive forms like "... it is felt..." signifies that the Norwegian government is relying on emotions (Säntti et al., 2021).

Furthermore, Sivesind (2008) also states that the structure of the OECD report follows a traditional approach in that it begins with a description of how the Norwegian educational system is organised. I will argue that the traditional structure serves the purpose of bringing up the traditions of Norwegian education in order to establish rapport with the audience through the rhetorical means analysed above. By framing the traditions in a positive light early in the report, it is easier to convince the Norwegian government that

the world has moved on, and the traditions are 'archaic'. Thus, exemplifying that the lending of policies has a clear rhetorical aspect.

There are several examples of policy borrowing in the report and review meeting. A direct example of this, as analysed in chapter 4.1.2, is when the examiners express that following other OECD countries in having 'schools' conduct more self-evaluation would be advantageous (OECD, 1990, p. 47). A more indirect and inquisitive suggestion of policy borrowing is the examiners' statement about other countries having school inspectors and advisers who can aid in the school's work in self-criticism as well as receiving an impression of the schools' progression (OECD, 1990, p. 49). The idea of school inspectors was shut down quickly by the Norwegian Minister of Church and Education, but that other evaluative measures were available, and their interest in doing other kinds of evaluation was emphasised (OECD, 1990, p. 73).

As explained above, the examiners did not provide much advise on the testing of students. When they did discuss the matter, they did so in passing, or by distancing themselves from the subject. The examiners were aware of the work that had been done to move away from testing and grading, partly due to the works of philosophers Hans Skjervheim and Erling Lars Dale (Volckmar, 2016, p. 74). This may have led the examiners to avoid the subject of testing in a greater extent. This notion can also be linked to the need for translating policies (Wiborg, 2016; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

The OECD report is a 'borrowed' policy document. In line with Steiner-Khamsi (2012) and her co-authors' observations, the politicians in Norway looked outwards for inspiration in their wish to change Norwegian education policy. In this thesis, the policy borrowing is seen as a hegemonic struggle and an exercising of soft power (Fairclough, 2010c; Gallarotti, 2011). However, as the OECD visited Norway on an invitation, the Norwegian government might not have viewed it as such. One can also see it from another perspective, namely that the report is also a lent document (Waldow, 2012).

When the OECD is viewed in through the lens of policy borrowing and lending, their emphasis on an evaluation and information system becomes ever more interesting. As a member country, the OECD would not have any problem to gain access to such a system, or indeed, be a part of it, and thus increasing the flow of policies between its member countries. One could argue that their consistency in proposing the evaluation system is not only for the good of the countries to whom they propose such a system, but also for their own educational agenda and in return strengthening their position as a supranational actor in education.

6. What have been done – and what could have been done differently

The process of writing a thesis is a difficult and messy one. The researcher makes decisions where some of them are clear and explicit, and some remain more implicit. However, it is important in qualitative studies that the researchers will reflect and problematize the solutions of their research both in terms of validity and reliability, as well as the writing procedure, and further elaborations. In next two chapters, I will explain the validity and reliability aspects of the research, after which I discuss alternative paths which could have been chosen and suggestions for further research.

6.1 Validity and reliability

There are some concerns connected to the validity of critical discourse analysis. Some researchers possess a negative attitude to using documents as their empiric material (Skrede, 2018, p. 156). Bratberg states that discourse analysis should lead to *something* (Bratberg, 2021, p. 69). When doing a critical discourse analysis following the works of Fairclough, there are some theoretical and methodological aspects which must be taken into consideration. Firstly, the analysis cannot solely rely on CDA methodology, as this would be insufficient for the object of research to be as fully explored as possible (Fairclough, 2010d, p. 225). Fairclough emphasises the fact that no analysis can be 'complete' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14). This has led me to adopt the rhetorical analysis to contribute to the critical discourse analysis. Moreover, the inclusion of policy borrowing and lending has offered a theoretical frame in which the research phenomenon can be viewed.

Bratberg (2021, p. 69) argues that a discourse analysis is based on an interpretative scientific perspective where there is inherent scepsis towards causal explanations. However, he continues by saying that discourse analysis has potential to study beyond just numbering causal effects. He claims there are two ways in which discourse analysis can discuss causal relations: Firstly, one can attempt to deliberate from where the discourse originated and its hegemonic position, or secondly, one can focus upon consequences and implications of the discourse, and where it leads (Bratberg, 2021, p. 69).

To some, other qualitative research methods like interviews or quantitative methods comes across as more authentic. Skrede (2018) challenges this interpretation by stating that the interviewer will influence their informant's behaviour and their following answers to some degree (Skrede, 2018, p. 156). Texts of this nature, however, are written, edited, and sent to the receiver. This means that one can be sure that the statements in the text are agreed upon, and indeed approved by the OECD.

Fairclough does not see a problem with the question of objectivity, because there is no objective analysis of texts (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14). Critics have raised concerns of the mixing of description and interpretation of the Faircloughian methodology, claiming that the contradictory nature of a neutral *and* critical analysis (Hitching & Veum, 2011, p. 20). However, when following Fairclough's version of CDA, one is mainly interested in questions of hegemony, and thus there is a motivation for choosing some certain questions over others (Fairclough, 2003). Moreover, this lends to the idea of starting the analysis from a social 'wrong' rather than a more common research question (Fairclough, 2003, p. 209). However, one should be conscious about the statements one choses, to avoid cherry picking to a greater extent, which is why I have mentioned, for instance, the examiners' notion that one should not overdo testing of students as teachers would teach to the test (OECD, 1990, p. 49).

Critical discourse analysis requires reflexivity and self-critique, and how one goes about doing one's research, what institutional position one holds, and the outcomes of one's research are important factors (Chouliaraki & Fariclough, 1999, p. 9). By referring to McCulloch, Bratberg (2021) argues that the goal of discourse analysis is to focus on ideological ambivalences and misuses in and of texts. I would like to add, that it is equally important to be open about texts and discourses they represent, also texts

should not be read from a counter-ideological viewpoint. The text somewhat surprised me, in that they warned against too much testing.

As a student of pedagogy, and not specifically teaching training, I have been introduced and indeed influenced by several different pedagogical viewpoints. This has led me to consider alternative paths to take as I wrote this thesis. Pedagogical philosophy is another interest of mine, and analysing the OECD report in relation to quality and measurement following Gert Biesta could have proved useful and interesting. Also, Foucauldian approach to emergence of the self and self-criticism in policy discourse would have allow me to elaborate for example the subjectification of teachers, students, parents, and school leaders in OECD promoted evaluation discourse. A more sociological route could follow the framework of Pierre Bourdieu and the concept of doxa/heterodoxa and how the OECD have altered Norwegian education. Whatever route I might have chosen, the subject of evaluation was something I wanted to research. I am fascinated about evaluation and assessment in education because of the large effect it has on the people whom it concerns, but also the institutional and political use of educational evaluation.

As for questions of reliability, several of the same concerns persists. The question of reliability relates to the replicability of the analysis (Skrede, 2018, p. 156). As there is indeed an interpretative part to the analysis, the replicability might be called into question. However, if one follows the methodological steps I have taken, one should come to similar results in their own analysis. Hitching & Veum (2011) states that by reconstructing and explaining how one arrived at the interpretations which were made, other researchers may reach similar findings, and thus the reliability is ensured to the possible extent it can be ensured in a critical discourse analysis.

When starting the thesis, I had already decided that I wanted to do a critical discourse analysis this report. I started early by reading through the Norwegian version of both the background report as well as the OECD report, the latter of which seemed the most interesting to me. A preliminary object of research was external actors' influence on Norwegian education', so themes of decentralisation, globalisation, neo-liberalism, evaluation, accountability, economics, power, and generally how the OECD exerted some form of influence over Norwegian education. However, it became clear that to thoroughly analyse the whole document would be too much, and I therefore decided upon the limitations described above.

When I finally settled on evaluation as the primary hegemonic struggle, I read through the report several times to start coding terms related to the object of research, with evaluation, assessment, measurement, outcomes, effects, and results being terms I underlined. It is important to avoid cherry picking and not take statements out of context. Therefore, I strive to not misrepresent the examiners' words, but rather relying on the analytic means at my disposal to uncover meanings behind them. In addition to this, I must address the historical aspect as I have attempted to analyse the report without relying too much on hindsight. It would be too easy, and unfear, to criticise a thirty-five-year-old report by today's standards. Thus, my analytic focus has been upon the actual words of the report and what they may imply. Where a temporal aspect is mentioned, I proceed with caution, so as not to misinterpret the examiners. I have also chosen quotes of a certain length for analysis so as to gain a better understanding of the context about what was written. Furthermore, I have deliberately sought sources from around the time of the examiners' visit, as well as modern sources to gain a broad theoretical base on which to base my analysis.

6.2 Suggestions for further research

It is difficult to only analyse a few themes of an entire document. The reason for this is that things does not exist independently of each other. In this thesis, for instance, even though the aim for all the evaluation is development and improved quality, I have not delved deep into the highly complex nature of the term 'quality'. Questions about what constitutes quality, how to achieve it, and how to measure it, remains for other researchers to analyse. Another path available is to analyse the document in a firmer neo-liberal context, by focusing more on, for instance, decentralisation, human-capital theory, or accountability. Yet other paths which would indeed be interesting to follow could entail the ramifications of the report. Research could be conducted with a heavier weight being put upon intertextuality by tracing the OECD report influence or reference in later government documents, as has been proposed in the POLNET study (Karseth et al., 2022). One could undertake a comparative study of the 1976 and 1988 reports to see how the language may have changed, or if the OECD's advice and proposals remain true to their economic mandate. When doing this comparative research, one could also make use of the respective background reports. Luckily, there are endless other possible ways one may choose to analyse this document, as it contains so much more which ought to be researched.

7. Conclusion: from the ethos of self-criticism to ethos of excellence?

The 'wrong' in this thesis is the overbearing weight being put on evaluation practices throughout the educational system. The aim for this thesis is not to convince the reader that any and all evaluation is an act of power in a hegemonic sense. However, as I have demonstrated in the analysis and discussion above, the examiners' proposals on evaluation permeates the entirety of the comprehensive educational system. There are several more instances of advice on evaluation pertaining to higher education, adult education, kindergarten, and upper secondary school. This is, however, for others to research and create a fuller picture.

How does the OECD report urge more evaluation? The report proposes more evaluation overall, which has an effect the entire educational system. The macro-level is concerned with the central government making use of the evaluation practices in order to gain an understanding of what the schools are doing, as well as using the results of evaluation to make new regulations and laws the schools and local authorities must follow. In addition to this, the examiners disseminate a need for Norwegian education to move away from traditional values and shift its focus to educational outcomes which they argue will ensure more knowledge to pupils. This makes the set educational goals more visible and are easier to assess which in turn establishes a data base which the Norwegian government can use to gain information on good practices which ensures the desired educational outcome.

On the meso-level, the examiners urge the schools and teachers to conduct more selfevaluation and self-criticism in order to continuously develop good practices in order to reach goals. The self-evaluation is connected to the practice of decentralisation which had already taken hold in Norwegian policy. When the central government decentralises the power, the local authorities experience increased accountability to achieve the educational goals, and self-criticism and self-evaluation emerge as the solution to this problem.

On the micro-level, the examiners bring forth the idea of a greater involvement of outside actors into the life of the school. Testing followed by feedback is a way to involve parents into their children's lives. In making the education visible by including outside actors, the OECD clearly display its economic background, as they call both businesses and parents 'clients'.

On which assumptions and resources is the report based:

The different themes of evaluation throughout the report, is based on the assumption that more evaluation valuable. Especially, to ensure that the central government's role retains its monitoring role. The assumptions of value are also linked to propositional assumptions and vice versa. More evaluation is proposed by constructing a common understanding of the positive effects of more evaluation on every level. This suggests that in the construction of this common ground, the examiners are creating a kairotic moment on which the Norwegian government should act in order to achieve the goals which the OECD proposes. The assumptive propositions create a hegemonic struggle, as the OECD tries to persuade the government to follow their advice without them having to do any of the work in restructuring the education to allow for more evaluation. On the other hand, the examiners argue that the society becoming ever more decentralised creates the need for more evaluation. Thus, there is a dualistic view on how the societal changes affected education, and what the solutions to this challenge was.

How does the text build on pre-existing ideas of evaluation and how are new evaluation practices legitimated:

The examiners make use of all the discursive techniques discussed in order to legitimate their claim. The assumptions, transitivity, and modality construct a voice within the text, which makes visible the hegemonic aspects and ideological goals. The interdiscursive economic aspects are visible through the focus on the cost-effectiveness of education. This relates to their putting weight on the outcomes of education, for which evaluation and assessment is important to gain insight into where money is less effective. This goes against the Norwegian educational tradition of prioritising the inputs of education.

The pre-existing ideas of evaluation are more difficult to pinpoint as the intertextuality of the text is somewhat hidden. However, one can speculate upon this question by looking towards their ideology. As several researchers have connected the OECD to neo-liberalism, practices of evaluating which might work well in businesses in the private sector are reworked to be adaptable to public education.

Finally, I would like to conclude with some critical remarks considering my research problem, *How does the OECD's 1988 report urge more evaluation, and to what end?* As I have already discussed about the discursive means used in promotion of evaluation above, as well as in chapters 5.1 and 5.2, I will now focus especially upon the later part of the research problem that is: to what end. One interesting notion of the hegemony of evaluation discourse in the OECD report is that it presents evaluation as an instrument of self-criticism in order to make visible and improve the development of education in all levels. The state must become self-critical meaning that it should monitor its

performance as a state in relation to other countries. However, also local actors and schools must become self-critical in order for them to monitor their outcomes in relation to inputs, and also make outcomes visible for the state, as well as for the parents who are presented as clients. Finally, teachers must also become self-critical and start testing their own assessment skills, for example with help of the standardized tests. Whereas the self-criticism as ethos seems to form a base for system reform, there followed in Norway in the 1990s ethos of self-criticism, which also suggests a line that should not be crossed: one should not take the evaluation beyond the point when it starts to distract students or pedagogical purposes of school education.

One could also ask if this kind of ethos of self-criticism is still present today, or if it has been replaced by new ethos. In his research, Simola (2009) uses the concept 'ethos of excellency' to describe a culture which values performance and competition, where efficiency and excellence are the valued aspects. If we look at the changes in Norwegian evaluation ethos after the first PISA-results were published in 2001, one could argue that there has been a shift from the critical understanding of evaluation towards the idea that Norwegians schools must be the best in the world, especially in the terms of learning outcomes (Clemet, 2014). Moreover, it has also been argued that the extensive testing and competition between schools through this level of excellence is achieved both nationally and locally (Clemet, 2015). Maybe the Norwegian education policy has moved at least partially from the ethos of self-criticism towards the ethos of excellence?

8. References

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Figures

• Figure 1: Figure 1. Research design inspired by Fairclough's three-dimensional model and rhetorical analysis. (Fairclough, 1992b, p. 73).

