

Kårhus, S. (2010). Physical education teacher education on the education market: who's defining what physical education teachers need to know? *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 15, 227-241.

Dette er siste tekst-versjon av artikkelen, og den kan inneholde ubetydelige forskjeller fra forlagets pdf-versjon. Forlagets pdf-versjon finner du på www.informaworld.com: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17408980903150139>

This is the final text version of the article, and it may contain insignificant differences from the journal's pdf version. The original publication is available at www.informaworld.com: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17408980903150139>

Svein Kårhus

Physical education teacher education in the education market – who’s defining what physical education teachers need to know?

Abstract

Background: A major consequence of the neo-liberal ideology underpinning recent reforms in higher education in the Western world has been the significant increase in the competitiveness of institutions to recruit students in the marketplace of education and to keep them. Accordingly bachelor degrees relating to physical education teacher education (PETE) at Norwegian university colleges are being adapted and developed in order to appeal to today’s market – conscious, educational consumers interested not only in PETE , but also in a physically active lifestyle, sports and outdoor pursuits.

Purpose: This study problematises how the awareness and logic of the marketplace act in the social construction of PETE curricula and content. The paper asks to what degree programs within Norwegian PETE are more a reflection of surviving in the education marketplace than of meeting the needs of physical education teachers in the knowledge society? Applying Bernstein’s (1996) theoretical framework and terms, I intend to analyze how a regulated market in the national context of higher education forms the conditions for production, reproduction and transformation of PETE knowledge.

Participants and setting: Four Norwegian university colleges in the field of physical activity (sport sciences, outdoor pursuits and PETE) comprise the ‘purposeful sample’.

Research design: The qualitative study applies Bernstein’s conceptual framework for analyses of conditions for production, reproduction and transformation of knowledge to explore how some forms of knowledge become more valued than others, and asks who and what, are defining what is seen as important content knowledge in PETE?

Data collection: Data were collected via higher education policy documents, PETE curricula, the university colleges' information texts on their websites, institutional education policy texts and program guides.

Data analysis: By using a content analysis approach, discourses embedded in the texts were analyzed. In the discourse analysis what is said, not said and the discourses' 'surrounding texts' in an education market, regulated by the State, have been related to Bernstein's concepts of regulative and instructional discourse.

Findings: The analysis of the texts unveils how content knowledge in PETE degrees is produced and reproduced among competing interests in the field of sport sciences and physical activity. Data in this paper strongly indicate that recruitment and management discourses hold a strong position within the instructional discourse framing professional programs and courses in a variety of ways. The analyzed texts provide examples of how meanings and values in the education market, as raw materials within regulative discourse, underpin the university colleges' instructional discourse. There is remarkably little evidence of discourses about essential knowledge for quality **physical education (PE)** teaching and learning, or PE teacher professionalism.

Conclusion: Due to the increased competition for institutions to recruit and retain students, this paper problematises how the logic of the education market contributes to the social construction of PETE curricula and content knowledge. Within the context of deregulated academic autonomy in the Norwegian higher education system, the content in PETE seems legitimated by the local institutions' strategic moves in the market to recruit students and secure their institutions' economic growth.

Summary

The paper addresses structures and agencies in the social construction of programs and curricula, framed within Norwegian physical education teacher education (PETE). Against the backcloth of a significant growth in the number of physical activity courses on offer, which can form part of sport science degrees within the case of Norwegian higher education, it deals with how actual market dynamics work in relation to PETE. Applying Bernstein's (1990, 1996) conceptual framework, the paper explores the internal rules that regulate forms of pedagogic communication that the pedagogic device makes

possible in educational settings within the field of physical activity influenced by the trends and interests in the market. **Through** discourse analysis of educational texts and websites at a purposeful sample of four university colleges, the paper aims to illuminate how the market has been given significant influence within the development of programs of study, and notions of relevant PETE content knowledge rather than professional, critical analytical reflection about what constitutes quality PE **teaching and learning** in schools.

Keywords

Physical education teacher education, education market dynamics, content knowledge, pedagogical device, pedagogic discourse

Introduction

This paper aims to illuminate the ways in which physical education teacher education (PETE) is currently being constructed from a critical perspective which sees teacher education content knowledge as a site of struggle. In particular it will address the way in which PETE content knowledge reflects increasing marketization of higher education. Recent developments within higher education in Norway, similar to many other countries in the western world after the mid -1980's, can best be characterized as having been regulated by neo-liberalist policy (Morley, 2003; Ball, 2006; Marginson, 2007). A major consequence of this ideological change underpinning policy has been the significant increase in the competitiveness of institutions to both recruit, and thereafter to keep, students in the marketplace of education (Dodds, 2006). In the Norwegian education market regulated by the State, students have become 'customers', and the institutions produce and articulate what Ball (2006, 121) refers to as 'economy of students' worth'.

Within the rapidly growing field of sport sciences and physical activity in the higher education system, bachelor degrees at university colleges now seem to provide opportunities for students to choose packages of ‘thrills’ and lifetime experiences, in order to appeal to today’s market conscious, educational consumer interested in a physically active lifestyle, sports and outdoor pursuits. I question to what degree programs within Norwegian PETE is more a reflection of surviving in the education marketplace, than of meeting the professional needs of future physical education teachers in the comprehensive school system?

Applying Bernstein’s (1996) theoretical framework and terms, I intend to analyze how a regulated market in the national context of higher education forms the condition for production, reproduction and transmission of PETE knowledge, and ask what ‘pedagogic discourse’ forms the ‘pedagogic device’ of today’s PETE in Norway? The concept ‘pedagogic device’ is a mechanism for production, reproduction and thus transmission of knowledge (Sadovnik, 1995), and following Bernstein (1996, 52) ‘acts as a symbolic regulator of consciousness’ and is ‘a crucial arena of struggle and control’ (Bernstein, 1990, 182). In this paper I explore the internal rules that regulate forms of pedagogic communication that the pedagogic device makes possible in educational settings within the field of physical activity, influenced by the trends and interests in the market. By analyzing the internal rules, I ask what power relations distribute both the thinkable and the unthinkable organizational structures and modules of studies in PETE within the current Norwegian education context? I have asked two main questions when deconstructing education texts in pursuit of how ‘particular moral and epistemological significances’ (MacLure, 2003, 80) are invested in the texts, therein firstly, ‘in what ways do the university colleges’ websites communicate professional issues of content knowledge within PETE curricula?’, and secondly, ‘in what ways do the university colleges’ texts about their programs of study reflect strategic moves in the marketplace to recruit and keep students?’

PETE in the current Norwegian higher education system

In the 2003 'Reform of quality' (UFD, 2000-2001) in higher education, regional distributions of governmental grants and redistribution of institutional autonomy were crucial aspects of the policy to reorganize and stimulate 'knowledge production'. Like elsewhere in the Western world, the growth within higher education means more than to keep notions of the traditional universities' privileges in the production of knowledge alive (Morley, 2003; Luke 2006). In the Norwegian reform, the system of academic degrees was changed and the university colleges were upgraded to authorize bachelor degree institutions (KD, 2005). **Through** the redistribution of academic autonomy and degrees, the sector of university colleges were directly stimulated to develop new fields of knowledge and studies (Kyvik, 2002). In the wake of these significant ideological and structural changes, the university colleges have restructured their programs of study and developed a wide range of bachelor degrees.

With regard to PETE, this restructuring policy enabled many of the former teacher education colleges and regional colleges to offer their students the traditional university teacher education model: A bachelor degree of science (180 credits, according to the European Course Credit Transfer System, here abbreviated ECTS) combined with a following year (60 ECTS) of 'Practical and didactic education' in the school subjects (equivalent to the Post-graduate certificate in education, PGCE) (UFD, 2001-2002). Mainly due to the flexibility of this 3 + 1 year model in serving combinations of disciplinary and professional interests, it has been the teacher education model with the most significant growth (KD, 2007).

Compared to the system of academic degrees in many other countries, a distinguishing feature of the Norwegian system is that students are not required to complete a degree at one institution. On the contrary, in line with policy concerning the distribution of the population and the development of the districts, the system encourages students to combine ECTS units/modules at different universities and university colleges. Consequently, the policy of higher education stimulates, and legitimates, constructions of PETE degrees based on a variety of curricula framed within bachelor degrees in 'sport sciences' (a total of 180 ECTS). The range of different content knowledge within so-

called PETE-related courses, can partially be identified via the plethora of names different institutions employ, such as 'Sport and PE', 'PE and sport studies', 'Outdoor pursuits and sport studies'; 'Outdoors and nature guiding', 'Nature and outdoor studies', 'Sport, physical activity and health', 'Public health with a special emphasize on physical activity', 'Coaching', 'Sport with a special focus on coaching', and 'Sport and event management'.

In the Norwegian education system, general teacher education and PETE framed within the PGCE (60 ECTS), are guided by a national curriculum (UFD, 2003) similar to teaching in the school systems in general. Bachelor programs in Sport Sciences, like academic degrees in general, are on the other hand not subject to this type of central regulation, but are approved by the institutions' own governing bodies. Through combinations of modules and ECTS, from one or several institutions, in different ways the programs of study within the bachelor degrees in the field of physical activity, by the local university colleges are approved to form part (in terms of credits/ECTS) of the 3 + 1 teacher education model. Via this model, the PETE graduates become specialist PE teachers qualified to teach pupils age 10 to 19.

Compared to teacher education at the universities (within which two school subjects traditionally form part of the degree), the majority of students taking a bachelor degree in sport sciences, or an equivalent, will have no other school subject than PE in the 3 + 1 teacher education degree. Within the constructions of these PETE degrees, in many cases the professional focus upon PE and teaching are primarily introduced in the curricula in the final post-graduate year (PGCE). Data and analysis in this paper illuminate how curricula and content in the bachelor degrees in sport sciences, and consequently the degrees that represent the basic curricula and content knowledge in the 3 + 1 model PETE degree, are strongly influenced by marketization.

Current Norwegian PETE in an international context of higher education physical activity

Within the field of PE and PETE, naming and framing the fields of knowledge have been among the basic contested issues that have been put on the agenda of conference papers and journal articles for decades (Kirk, 1986; Newell, 1990; Siedentop, 1990, 2002; Fernandez - Balboa, 1997; Kirk et al, 1997; Macdonald et al, 1999; Kirk and Macdonald, 2001; Wright, 2002). Newell (1990, 248) reminds us that ‘knowledge categorization varies as much by the dimension used to define the term, as it does by the interpretations of the definer’, and Tinning (1991) has illuminated that within teacher education, the term pedagogy means different things to different people.

Generally speaking, different professional positions and meanings related to the pedagogical and interdisciplinary content knowledge embedded in PETE, whether it is named and framed as a professional education area within ‘sport sciences’, ‘kinesiology’ or just ‘PETE’, and organized in different ways around the world, includes a range of disparate disciplines. There are disciplines with competing epistemologies, methods of inquiry and principles of description. A key issue of any educational program is the nature of the knowledge that forms the substance of teaching and learning. In teacher education, Kirk (1986, 163) has drawn attention to how ‘this issue lies at the heart of the perennial “problem” of theory and practice’, and how both competing epistemologies and disjunction between different kinds of knowledge might occur within discipline-based teacher education. Related to the multilayered professional discourses of sport, outdoor pursuits and PE, analyzing the emergence of PETE professional knowledge, Fernandez – Balboa (1997, 162) reminds us that ‘the knowledge and skills considered appropriate for today’s physical education teachers are the result of a historical process serving many ideologies and interests’. In relation to these processes of recontextualization embedded in the fields of power relations (Bernstein, 1996) within PETE, Kirk and Macdonald (2001, 41) also remind us that the processes in the ‘social construction of PETE and its knowledge base are more than word games’.

According to Ball (2006) and Apple (2003, 2006), education reforms influenced by the neo-liberal education ideology with it’s variety of deregulation and autonomy, reflect educational and social visions underpinned by individualistic concepts of democracy and

education. Contextualized by discourses of ‘liberal individualism’ (Evans and Davies, 2008, 202), underpinning areas within education as a market activity, Morley (2003) illuminates how the greater emphasis on recognition of the students in higher education as customers and consumers, significantly influences upon knowledge production and notions of quality. In this social and educational context, the reform of the higher education system and the consequent challenges that the institutions meet in the marketplace, in Bernstein’s terms, has changed the structural principals of pedagogical communication and created new contexts for ‘relays’ of recontextualization (Tyler, 1995). In the discourses of the current reform focused upon in this paper, by relays of recontextualization, student consumers’ individual choices influence discourses of knowledge and skills relevant to PETE.

PETE, neo-liberalism and the education market

Like many other countries in the 1990’s, Norway introduced a change in the education rhetoric and a speeding up of restructuring at all levels of the education system. Within this restructuring, Aasen (2003, 129) claims that ‘one of the most dramatic changes in the 1990’s was the shift from a highly centralized education system to a decentralized and deregulated system. Radical steps toward local freedom were taken, with the market as a model.’ In Norway, the influence of neo-liberal ideology in the public sector has created ‘quasi-markets’ (Whitty, 2002; Ball, 2006) that replace monopolistic state providers with competitive independent ones. Consequently, the introduction of a State regulated education market, or a quasi-market system framed within discourses of the Welfare state (Lundahl, 2007), weakened State governance in higher education while emphasizing responsibility at local level. Related to general principles in the neo-liberal model of policy implementation (Selwyn & Brown, 2007), in the Norwegian context the State regulated market acts merely as a facilitator and regulator to ensure that the higher education markets flourish in all regions of the country to meet local needs and interests.

In neo-liberal education policy reforms, Ball (2006) has critically explored how education markets develop within specific spatial, social and historical circumstances. However, Ball claims that despite the literature on social and education markets, key components of

the dynamics of the national markets in the public sector institutions like universities and colleges are relatively poorly understood and unexamined. In higher education programs of study in the field of physical activity and PETE, the focus upon the students' choices within regions and localities has increased markedly in recent years. Within this policy context, Ball (2006, 120) proposes that 'to understand the workings and effects of these education markets we must look to local studies of actual market dynamics'. This paper deals with how actual market dynamics works in relation to PETE in Norwegian higher education.

Analytical framework

To illuminate the contextual construction of PETE curricula and content knowledge, under the effects of market dynamics, Bernstein's (1990, 1996) theoretical framework provides a useful lens for my analysis of how knowledge is constructed and communicated within the current discourses of higher education policy. Drawing upon research on the social construction and transmission of knowledge, and ways of knowing in the educational contexts informed by Bernstein's work (Apple, 1995, 2003; Sadovnik, 1995; Kirk *et al.*, 1997; Macdonald *et al.*, 1999; Kirk and Macdonald, 2001), I will outline the key concepts in my analysis within PETE in the current context of higher education policy in Norway.

According to Bernstein (1996, 46) 'pedagogic discourse selects and creates specialized pedagogic subjects through its contexts and content' and '...embeds rules which create skills of one kind or another... and rules regulating their relationship to each other and rules which create social order'. The term 'pedagogic discourse' is a principle for transmission, delocating and relocating knowledge, values and other ways of knowing between sites and educational settings. By the three interrelated and hierarchically related rules, the so-called distributive rules, recontextualizing rules and evaluative rules, the 'pedagogic device' provides pedagogic discourse with analytical power in form of metaphorically being 'the intrinsic grammar of pedagogic discourse' (Bernstein, 1996,

42). Bernstein proposes that pedagogic discourse, in terms of these rules in the pedagogic device, are produced and reproduced across three fields of action within which specific agents and agencies, challenged by contesting forces operates: the distributive rules in a primary field of the production of discourse, the evaluation rules in a secondary field of the reproduction of the discourse, and the recontextualizing rules in the recontextualizing field.

In the research project within which this paper forms a part, Bernstein's conceptual framework provides a structure and an analytical tool to position agents, agencies in institutional processes and the institutions' strategic moves in the market place as significant changes across the primary, secondary and recontextualizing field directly and indirectly, relate to the national reform of higher education. Using Bernstein's terminology, we can say that in the primary field different forms of knowledge are created by distributive rules which regulate power relations between political and social agencies. By power relations underpinning the distributive rules in the primary field the relation between the 'thinkable' and the 'unthinkable' in terms of different forms of knowledge and consciousness are challenged and distributed. In Bernstein's conceptual framework, the ideological and structural changes in the recent reform of higher education changed the rules of access and power control to define and produce academic and professional knowledge within the field of Sport Sciences and PETE. Thus, the primary field is significant in order to understand how the reform and education markets, regulated by the State, challenge and change power relations in the production of new fields of knowledge within the contexts of local university colleges. Kirk and Macdonald (1999, 445) illuminate how the primary, secondary and recontextualizing fields of knowledge production, reproduction and recontextualization are interrelated by locating institutions in higher education, traditionally the universities, 'within each of the three fields but performing different practices in each'. In the Norwegian higher education context of restructured academic autonomy, universities *and* university colleges are located in the primary field. When the same institutions engage in the practice of knowledge transmission through teaching, they can be located in the secondary field of reproduction. Finally, when universities and university colleges develop programs of

study and construct curricula, they can be located in the recontextualizing field. Within departments of sports, physical education and outdoor pursuits in universities and university colleges, the same people often carry out all three sets of practice as members of the academic staff and members of national professional committees, councils and boards. Following Bernstein (1996, 147), these three different sets of practices in higher education represent ideological transformations of discourses and knowledge between sites illuminating that ‘pedagogic discourse is a recontextualizing principle’, and that this principle ‘creates recontextualizing fields and recontextualizing functions’. Within this framework, the social construction of curricula and content knowledge in PETE at the local university college, are embedded in the creation of recontextualizing fields and functions.

The 3 + 1 PETE model (within which the former is fully steered and approved by the local institution), in Bernstein’s terms (1990, 1996), provides discursive practices that generate meanings, values and knowledge. Consequently, the curricula within the 3 + 1 year model, defined as PETE degree, are subject to ideological transformations.

Applying Bernstein’s conceptual framework, Kirk and Macdonald (2001, 444) emphasize that the meanings, values and knowledge generated within discourses in the primary field, are the raw material from which educational programs in the physical activity field are created. When these raw materials are used to construct educational programs, Bernstein refers to them as regulative discourse. Once again in Bernstein’s (1996) terms, the pedagogic discourse involves the construction of instructional discourse concerned primarily with making sense of transmission and acquisition of particular knowledge and skills in the secondary field of knowledge reproduction. The secondary field is populated by university college leaders, teachers, administrators and students.

In my analysis, the recent bachelor degrees which have been locally created and approved to be PETE relevant curricula and content, form the instructional discourse which is embedded in the regulative discourse. The regulative discourse is ‘the moral discourse which creates order, relations and identity’ (Bernstein, 1996, 46) and the dominant discourse in this analytical framework. In contrast to instructional discourse, regulative

discourse is formed by an array of discursive practices that are not necessarily specific to subjects or programs of study within the academic or vocational fields of sport, physical education or outdoor pursuits. In the current situation, in which market dynamics and institutions' academic autonomy underpin the PETE institutions' policy and managerial priorities, the ideology and managerial logic of the market infuse into the raw material in regulative discourse that 'create order, relations and identity', which in different ways will act upon administrative, academic and professional decisions. Since the instructional discourse is embedded in regulative discourse, curricula, syllabi, and pedagogies (in terms of teaching and pedagogical practice within the institutional policy of educational programs), are embedded in regulative discourse. Consequently, instructional discourse is embedded in the current values and material incentives in the education policy of higher education, underpinned by neo-liberalist discourses to which the Norwegian university colleges in the field of sport sciences and PETE are responding.

In their responses to the 2003 'Reform of quality' (UFD, 2000-2001; UFD 2001-2002), most of the university colleges have created 'menus' of eligible courses and programs (a variety of 30 ECTS, 60 ECTS with additional combinations of 30 or 60 ECTS) in the field of physical activity. At the local university college, students as 'consumers' are in general welcome to choose from the 'menu' of ECTS-programs in sports, physical education, and outdoor pursuits, and in terms of the options, put together a bachelor's degree of 180 ECTS certificated by the local university college. The most common, and the most flexible, of bachelor degree models at the university colleges, is 'The bachelor degree of the candidates' own choosing' (HINT, 2007). A regional university college in its program guide informs the reader: 'In a bachelor degree of the candidates own choosing, you put together the programs (subjects) you choose to study by following the guidelines laid down by the university college' (HINT, 2007, 8). These configurations in the local education policy form part of the raw material used to construct educational programs by 'regulative discourse' (Bernstein, 1996, 48). This paper questions to what degree local guidelines are underpinned by PETE professional configurations about content knowledge and/or market configurations to recruit and keep students.

Data collection and analysis

In this paper I analyze information provided by four Norwegian PETE university colleges on their web sites and in their program guides. In addition, I draw upon an analysis of national and local teacher education curricula, teacher education and higher education policy and reform documents. Selecting information-rich cases by purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990, 169), four university colleges were chosen as appropriate cases ‘whose study will illuminate the question under study’. During the last decade they all have restructured and expanded their programs in the physical activity field and PETE.

I have conducted a content analysis, critically analyzing discourses embedded in education policy texts and educational texts (Fairclough, 1995; Baker and Galasinsky, 2001; MacLure, 2003) in order to conceptualize how notions of PETE curricula and content knowledge are produced, and reproduced, by the pedagogic device across fields within which specific agents, agencies and contesting forces operates. According to MacLure (2003, 80) ‘texts assemble and deploy the objects and phenomena to which they seem to refer, so as to invest them with particular moral and epistemological significances’.

By discourse I refer to regularities in what is said, written and done based on shared beliefs and values ranging across tasks accomplished, problems addressed, values articulated, alternatives that they overlook, marginalise or exclude (Cherryholmes, 1988, 18). To understand a text, Cherryholmes (p. 8) suggests ‘one moves from what is written to what is not written and back again. From what is present to what is absent, from statements to their historical setting’. Related to discourse analysis of policy and policy texts, and their ‘historical settings’, Penney and Evans (1999, 25) stress the significance of the discourses’ ‘surrounding texts’, and Ball (2007) reminds us that discourses are rooted within material contexts and networks of social interaction that generate subject positions, social relations and opportunities within policy. According to Fairclough (1995), critical discourses analysis aims to systematically explore relations between texts and discursive events related to wider social, cultural structures and processes. In relation to analysis of discourses within the current constructions of PETE and their ‘surrounding

texts', drawing upon Morley (2003) and Ball (2006, 2007), I have located university colleges as knowledge producers and agencies in the social configuring, and reconfiguring, of knowledge production and consumption within the Norwegian reform framed by neo-liberalism, knowledge-economy and a State regulated education market.

Presentation and analysis of data

In what follows I have organized the presentation into two main themes formulated in my own words. The themes reflect the institutions' ambitions to provide different ways to attain a PETE degree primarily to meet the students' preferences as individual consumers. The first theme is formulated: 'Welcome to our self-service cafeteria to choose among our ECTS that suit your own needs', and the second: 'Would you like to combine adventurous programs in exotic destinations and your degree?' Following Bernstein (1996), the themes illuminate how instructional discourse in PETE embedded in regulative discourse is influenced by current values and incentives in the current education policy, and how pedagogic discourse steered by numbers of ECTS, rather than content knowledge in terms of epistemology challenge mediations of 'unthinkable' and 'thinkable' discourses of professional PETE. Furthermore, my wording illustrates what Fairclough (1995:157) refers to as 'the promotional discourse' embedded in the marketization of the discursive practices of higher education institutions in times when they increasingly operate 'as if they were ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to consumers' (p. 142). In the presentation of data, the themes exemplify the promotional discourse by emphasizing the personalization of the institutions (as *we/our* cafeteria/*our* ECTS) and individualized direct address to the young customer (would *you* like /suit *your* own needs).

A key point in both themes, is the absence of any epistemological or critical delineation of frontiers between what is significant professional knowledge and experience in the construction of curricula in the specialist education of teachers aimed to teach PE in the mixed social contexts of schooling. Accordingly, these themes illuminate how the recontextualizing rules work in the construction of PETE programs as configurations of

interests and strategic moves in the market through forms of instructional discourse embedded in regulative discourse.

‘Welcome to our self-service cafeteria to choose among our ECTS to suit your own needs’

According to the web sites, program details and curricula, the 180 ECTS bachelor degrees offered by the four Norwegian university colleges in this study are promoted to qualify students for different professional careers in both the public and the private fields of physical activity. The following information presented on one of the university college’s web sites, seems to be typical in my analyses:

A Bachelor Program in Sport Science and Outdoor Pursuits aims to educate work-oriented, reflective professionals qualified to impart and organize outdoor pursuits, sports, physical education and other kinds of physical activity within the school system, voluntary organizations, the private market and for the arena of leisure (www.hifm.no.php?ID=1743).

One of the university colleges, ‘HSF’, on their website emphasizes that:

The mission of the college is to be an open and flexible regionally based university college, ... HSF is a medium sized, modern institution of higher education in Norway. It is dedicated to its students and the development of the Sogn and Fjordane region (www.hisf.no/en/layout/set/print/internasjonalisering).

Within the context of the recent education reform, this citation communicates an openness towards innovations within programs of study aimed to satisfy students who want to study at that regionally located college university and, by doing so, strengthen the region. This discourse of openness and flexibility in relation to student choices, and what counts as professional qualifications in their bachelor programs, are in fact clearly communicated by all the university colleges in the study.

On their web sites, the university colleges make explicit to which employment/career opportunities their programs intend to serve, as well as their relevance for further

education opportunities. The following information from one of the university colleges speaks for all institutions in my data material:

It is possible to include the whole program, or parts of it, in the general teacher education, pre-school teacher education, practical and didactical education, or as further education for different professions. The bachelor program in outdoor pursuits and sport studies qualifies students to work as teachers in all kind of schools, as child care pedagogues, as nature and environment protection officers, as professionals within traveling and tourism, rehabilitation/preventive health care and other occupations in voluntary organizations and in the private sector (www.hifm.no.php?ID=1743).

In short, the message embedded in the text is that ECTS modules within the field of sport sciences and physical activity fit all professional directions and purposes.

One of the university colleges on their web page informs the reader that a 30 ECTS program entitled 'Physical education', constructed to fit into a bachelor degree named 'Bachelor of sport and outdoor pursuits', 'provides you opportunities to specialize in a chosen activity field within physical education, sport and outdoor pursuits' (www.hint.no/studier/studie/index.php). The web page informs the reader that the specialization includes 'physiology' and 'technical and tactical elements' which comprise two-thirds of the curriculum in the program. In other words, the text promoting the 30 ECTS program entitled 'Physical education', framed as a module within the local bachelor degree, does not relate to the program 'Physical education' as a school subject PE or to the teaching of pupils in the school system. However, the university college's program guide informs that this program, which is oriented toward practical activity (including hiking and excursions presented as specific examples/possibilities):

'.....dependant upon the students own choosing, the program 'Physical education' can form part of the bachelor in physical education, or form part of the general teacher education.....Adding a bachelor supplied by practical and didactical education you can be appointed as teacher in the school system' (HINT, 2007, 29, italics not in original).

This seems to reflect that demands and guidelines in teacher education and PE, within this program which form part of a bachelor degree and PETE degree, are of secondary importance. In effect the web site is communicating that it does not really matter which combination of courses the students choose in fulfilling the requirements of a bachelor degree in sport science, because the PGCE in PE will be able to provide the necessary ‘quick fix’ remedy of pedagogical theory and didactics required for teaching in schools.

Located in an area in which cross - country skiing holds a strong national (and international) position, one university college in the sample provides an example of ‘tailor made’ 60 ECTS program within a bachelor degree. The term ‘tailor made’ is used to emphasize how the institution meets the interests of a certain, exclusive group of customers in the physical activity market, students with ambitions to be advanced skiers. The program guide (HINT, 2007, 28) informs the reader that ‘you will get a year of study with a lot of physical activity and simultaneously get a good coach education. We will organize the program to help you to combine it with your own career as athlete’. Depending upon the students’ needs, the 60 ECTS program are also offered as a two-year of study to provide a better combination of courses for athletes enjoying a lifestyle of intensive training and competitions. Further, promoting this study for students who specialize exclusively in cross country skiing or biathlon, the text informs the reader that:

‘This program forms a solid foundation for work with sport and physical education in the school, and to work within the voluntary organized sport... the program of study in sport is approved to form part of the teacher education, or a bachelor degree in physical education at the university college

(www.hint.no/studier/studie/index.php).

This text, within the secondary field of reconstruction, provides no professional delineation of frontiers between significant knowledge and practice in PETE on the one hand, and kinds of relevant knowledge and practice of importance to succeed in international competitions in skiing on the other. It seems that institutions are willing to

go to great lengths to adapt their policy of approval of their courses to meet the wishes of their student customers.

Summarizing, the data presented illuminate how educational discourses that exploit sport and outdoor pursuits as a commodity, after Bernstein (1996), are embedded in the ‘raw materials’ from which educational programs (‘instructional discourse’) in the fields of physical activity are created in the primary field, and by recontextualization, reproduced in the secondary field. These data illuminate how the policy aimed to meet the student customers’ individual interests and choices at the local university college, by liberal and ‘flexible’ principles of approval of ECTS programs within a bachelor degree, strongly influence local instructional discourse and transmission of knowledge within PETE.

Would you like to combine adventurous programs in exotic destinations with your degree?

Moving on to the next theme I have identified in the data, it builds upon the self-service cafeteria discourse but extends it to include exotic elements on the ‘menu’. In partnerships with commercial Norwegian enterprises, university colleges in my purposeful sample provide studies abroad. The two enterprises, named ‘StudyAway’ and ‘Gateway College’, offer exciting courses and programs to students who want to combine ECTS modules with exotic experiences at ‘non-traditional sites of study’. In general, in the autumn or spring semester they organize 30 ECTS programs of study which the collaborating regional university colleges have approved to form part of their bachelor degree in sport sciences, (or an equivalent bachelor degree in the field of physical activity). Gateway College informs the readers:

The student will experience exotic cultures and adventurous places. The unique thing is the possibility to combine the adventurous with a serious program of study and a normal progression of study’ (www.gatewaycollege.no).

In my purposeful sample three out of the four Sport and PE university colleges collaborate with these private companies in the education market. The texts available on the web sites, confirm that students and staff at university colleges, in my sample, seem

to be both active and attractive partners in these partnerships in the market. In an analysis of how regulative discourse and instructional discourses work in the university colleges relating to dynamics in the higher education market, these partnerships between university colleges and commercial college enterprises within the field of physical activity are significant. ECTS modules produced and reproduced by market dynamics and partnerships, illuminate how the regulative discourse and instructional discourse in local contexts within the educational policy structures, provide space for different local definitions and criteria for approval of curricula and content in the PETE degrees.

Related to Bernstein's analytical framework, in the following I present texts that illuminate how the university colleges' instructional discourse is embedded in the primary field by raw material and distributive rules, and within which the partnership concept discourses in an education market form a part. The degree program guide at one of the university colleges asks:

Would you like to learn more about sport and outdoor pursuits? What about combining such an education with exotic adventures in a tropical climate? Indeed, sport and outdoor life in the Dominican Republic provide this captivating combination of active learning and rough experiences!

www.hifm.no.php?ID=1743).

The web site provides information about a 30 ECTS program named 'Sport and outdoor pursuits, Cabarete', containing 15 ECTS of 'Theoretical topics and 15 ECTS of 'Practical topics'. Pedagogy or topics related to pedagogical questions, are not among issues presented in the syllabi. However, the web site informs the reader that this captivating program fits into the 'Outdoor pursuits and sport subjects' bachelor program. Furthermore, the university college's 'Program details and curriculum' informs the reader that this 30 ECTS program is approved to be part of the (60 ECTS) one-year program 'Physical education and sport'. On their web site, the partner StudyAway informs the reader about the program:

Interesting subjects, sound pedagogical arrangements and exciting places of study are significant in the policy and management of StudyAway.....Besides this we

think it is important that our students experience a daily life quite out of the ordinary while studying with us (www.studyaway.no/v2/index.php?SiteId=1&PageId=93).

Following Bernstein (1996), these data illuminate how pedagogic discourse, by the rules of pedagogic device, work as a principle for the creation and transmissions, delocating and relocating knowledge, and ways of knowing through their context and content. On their own web site, 'StudyAway' informs the reader that the program 'Sport and outdoor pursuits, Cabarete' (by 'relocation of knowledge'), serves PETE professional purposes: 'If you seek a career in the school system, this course will suit you' (www.studyaway.no). Confirming that this tropically located 30 ECTS program primarily forms part of the institution's strategy to keep the students at the college, the paragraph 'Course entrance requirements' in the program details, inform the reader that 'Students who want to continue programs at 'HIFM' university college will be given priority' (www.hifm.no.php?ID=1743).

Framed within the local strategies to recruit students, in 2005 this university college and StudyAway launched another 30 ECTS program named 'Adventure tourism in the French Alps'. According to the university college's web site, the location in the French Alps is the second largest alpine resort in the world well-known for its off-piste facilities. It was presented as a program that integrated outdoor pursuit programs and programs in tourism. The regional university college approved this 30 ECTS program in 'outdoor pursuits' to form part of the student customer's construction of their 'Bachelor degree of the candidates own choosing' in the field of sport sciences and physical activity. Consequently, since this bachelor degree qualifies for the local PGCE in PE, 'Adventure tourism in the French Alps' is approved to form part of the curriculum content in the local PETE degree. Promoting possibilities framed by such facilities of study, the program coordinator at the university college on their web site admits 'We are excited about how this will be received in the marketplace' (www.hifm.no.php?ID=1153).

The main point in this paper is neither to condemn institutional excitement nor their creativity, and nor to blame the student consumers preferences in the self-service cafeteria. My intention is to draw attention to how the university colleges, in their texts primarily focus upon responses to their ‘product’ in the market. Again, this particular ECTS program exemplifies how institutions create ECTS packages to form part of the strategy to recruit, and then keep the students, while the manifest framing of content knowledge, qualifications and notions of professional relevance related to PE and PETE are absent. In a State regulated market informed by the discourses of liberal individualism and individual choices to promote learning and quality, the institutions’ strategic moves in the market underpinning the education texts analyzed in this paper, produce and reproduce notions of professional knowledge by interrelated rules in the pedagogic device.

Two university colleges in sport and PETE in my analysis present programs of study in collaboration with the other education enterprise, Gateway College. On its web site, by a link to the university colleges’ web site, Gateway College informs the reader that the regional university college, their partner:

...is responsible for the curriculum, evaluation and final examinations ...
Including giving final grade transcripts. All study programs are partly taught in Norwegian, partly assisted by local employees. Each study location is directed by a Norwegian Gateway College director’ (www.gatewaycollege.no/statisk-_informasjon/information_in_english)

In partnership with a regional university college, Gateway College in 2007 informed the reader about yet another education resort: in their terms a dreamy village and a traditional spa and well-being resort, a paradise for people fond of fantastic ski slopes, powder snow, high speed and excitement. Presenting this exciting context of the (regional) higher education program, the college further informs the student customers:

‘Now you can realize your dream to go skiing and snowboarding an entire season in the Alps, and on the top of it all, combine this with a study that gives you credit points managed by Gateway College and the University College of Sogn og

Fjordane.....Most of the teaching will take place out in the down - hill skiing facilities, but Engelberg presents super off-piste and mountaineering facilities' (gatewaycollege.no/forside/engelberg).

Indeed, the university college's own web site informs that Høgskulen i Sogn og Fjordane will help you realize your wish to study abroad, and combine this with skiing and snowboarding in the Alps (www.hisf.no/internasjonalisering). The 'ski experience' at Engelberg is seemingly equivalent to a 30 ECTS course in outdoor pursuits. It can therefore easily form part of a 3-year bachelor degree, and accordingly can form part a 3 + 1 PE teacher education program. We might ask what is the relevance of downhill skiing for today's school PE, but this is clearly a question which the course providers do not raise.

Summarizing, the promotion of exotic sports and outdoor pursuits, and adventurous off-piste skiing, framed as relevant curriculum and content knowledge within the institutions bachelor programs to form part of PETE - if that is what the 'clients' in the marketplace prefer, directly reflects the institutional recruitment strategy. In this way, shopping for ECTS units available in the local 'outlet' (Morley, 2003), in flexible ways are accepted as disciplinary and/or 'vocational' elements in PETE programs of study. Programs in the field of physical activity illuminated by data in this paper, strongly indicate that recruitment and management discourses hold a strong position within the instructional discourse by framing professional programs and courses in a variety of ways. The texts analyzed provide examples of how official agents' discursive practices generate meanings and education values, and thus, exemplify what Bernstein (1990, 1996) refers to as 'raw materials' constructed into educational programs in terms of regulative discourse. Consequently, meanings and values as responses to marketization as raw materials within regulative discourse, underpin the university colleges' instructional discourse. Drawing upon Bernstein's conceptual framework, the analysis of the texts unveils how local curricula and content knowledge in PETE degrees is produced and reproduced among competing interests within higher education, dependent upon the local

optional character of bachelor degrees and the customers' choices in the market. Within these configurations of neo-liberalist education markets, instructional discourse reproduces notions of PETE content knowledge contextualized by adventurous experiences in educational landscapes with 'dreamy villages' and 'well known off-piste facilities'.

Concluding comments

With current, local constructions of Norwegian PETE degrees as a case, this paper illuminates how neo-liberal education policy provides structures and discourses within which the market significantly influences the pedagogic device (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). The analysis of data illuminate how fundamental ideological, structural and discursive changes in the national policy of higher education produce and reproduce curricula and content knowledge in the deregulated, local construction of PETE degrees.

In this paper, the analyses of educational texts from the institutional websites and program guides contextualize PETE degrees within a liberal mixture of institutional management, and flexible local systems of approvals, primarily based on managerial needs to meet the student consumers' individual interests. Consequently, ambitions to meet the students' choices work like a pedagogic device in the selection and transformation of content knowledge in education of PE teachers. In relation to the question in the title of this paper, my analysis illuminates the way student consumers by their individual interests and choices, to a large degree define the curricula and content in the 3+1 model PETE degrees.

Furthermore, the funding system and deregulated institutional, academic autonomy in the 2003 higher education reform in Norway, and its consequences in terms of competition between institutions to recruit students, and thereafter keep them, locally infuse the regulative discourse within which the institutional instructional discourse is embedded. Epistemological perspectives related to pedagogy, specific PETE content knowledge, or challenges in the teaching of compulsory PE in a comprehensive school system, in

general seem to be of secondary importance, or mainly absent, in the institutions' bachelor degree instructional discourse fundamental in their PETE degrees.

The study illuminates how the current neo-liberalist influence in the policy of higher education, and systems open to liberal individualism, challenge notions of professional qualifications in relation to PE and PETE that for decades have underpinned the development of degree programs in sports science and PETE. As a teacher educator I experience that my professional judgement is being silently and systematically undermined by the market forces described above. Further research will be required to illuminate what impact of liberal individualism in the marketization of PETE has in the future professional communities of PE teachers, and in the school PE. At present, with the Norwegian education state-regulated market as a case, framed within the global system of degrees and ECTS, it seems pertinent to ask if the PETE profession really want the consumers' individual choices and the logic of the marketplace to define the professional teacher education curricula and content, or whether alternative perspectives are still worth fighting for?

References

- Apple, M.W. (1995) Education, Culture and Class Power: Basil Bernstein and the Neo-Marxist Sociology of Education. In *Knowledge & Pedagogy. The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*, ed. A.R. Sadovnik 59-82. (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation).
- Apple, M.W. (2000) *Official Knowledge. Democratic Education in a Conservative Age. Second Edition*. (London: Routledge).
- Apple, M.W., ed, (2003) *The State and the Politics of Knowledge*. (New York: Routledge Falmer).
- Apple, M.W. (2004) *Ideology and Curriculum. Third edition*. (London: RoutledgeFalmer).
- Apple, M.W. (2006) *Educating the 'Right' Way*. (New York, Routledge).
- Baker, C. and Galasinski, D. (2001) *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*. (London, Sage Publications).

- Ball, S.J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. (London, Routledge).
- Ball, S.J. (2006) *Education Policy and Social Class. The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*. (London, Routledge).
- Bernstein, B. (1990) *The structuring of pedagogic discourse: Class, codes and control, Vol 4*. (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul).
- Bernstein, B. (1996) *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity. Theory, Research, Critique*. (London, Taylor & Francis).
- Cherryholmes, C. (1988) *Power and Criticism. Poststructural Investigations in Education*. (New York, Teachers College Press).
- Dodds, P. (2006) Physical education teacher education (PE/TE) policy. In *The Handbook of Physical Education*, ed. D. Kirk, D. Macdonald and M. O'Sullivan, 540 -561. (London, Sage Publications).
- Evans, J and Davies, B. (2008) The poverty of theory: class configurations in the discourse of Physical Education and Health (PEH), *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, Vol.13, No.2, 199-213
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. (Harlow, Longman/Pearson Educational).
- Fernandez-Balboa, J.-M. (1997) Knowledge Base in Physical Education Teacher Education: A Proposal for a New Era, *Quest*, Vol.49, No.2, 161- 181
- HINT (2007): *Studietilbud 2007.Samordna opptak*. (Levanger, Høgskolen i Nord-Trøndelag).
- <http://studieaway.no> (pageId=86, 14.09.2007): *Idrett og friluftsliv*
- KD (2005) *Lov om universiteter og høyskoler av 1.april 2005 nr.15*. (Oslo, Statens forvaltningstjenste)
- KD (2007): Portal fra Kunnskapsdepartementet (18.09.2007), <http://utdanning.no/utdanninger/&q=idrettsutdanning&type>

- Kirk, D. (1986) Beyond the Limits of Theoretical Discourse in Teacher Education: Towards a Critical Pedagogy, *Teaching & Teacher Education*, Vol.2; No.2, 155-167.
- Kirk, D., Macdonald, D. and Tinning, R. (1997) The social construction of pedagogic discourse in physical education teacher education in Australia. *The Curriculum Journal* Vol.8, No.2, 271-298.
- Kirk, D. and Macdonald, D. (2001) The Social Construction of PETE in Higher Education: Toward a Research Agenda, *Quest* Vol.53, 440-456
- Kyvik, S. (2002) *Fra yrkesskole til universitet? Endringsprosesser i høgskolesektoren.* (Bergen, Fagbokforlaget).
- Lingard, B and Ozga, J. (eds.) (2007) *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Education Policy and Politics.* (London, Routledge).
- Lundahl, L. (2007) Swedish, European, global: the transformation of Swedish welfare state, in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Education Policy and Politics*, ed. B. Lingard, and J. Ozga, 117-130. (London, Routledge).
- Macdonald, D. (1993) Knowledge, Gender and Power in Physical Education Teacher Education. *Australian Journal of Education.* Vol.37, No. 3, 259-278
- Macdonald, D., Kirk, D. and Braiuka, S. (1999) The social construction of the physical activity field at the school/university interface. *European Physical Education Review*, Vol.5, 98-118.
- MacLure, M. (2003) *Discourse in Educational and Social Researc.*, (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Marginson, S. (2007) national and global competition in higher education, in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Education Policy and Politics*, ed. B.Lingard and J. Ozga, 131-153. (London, Routledge).
- Morley, L. (2003) *Quality and Power in Higher Education.* (Maidenhead, Open University Press).
- Newell, K.M. (1990) Physical Activity, Knowledge Types, and Degree Programs, *Quest*, Vol.42, No. 3, 243-268.

- Patton, M.Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. (Newbury Park, Sage Publications).
- Penney, D. and Evans, J. (1999) *Politics, Policy and Practice in Physical Education*. (London, E & FN Spon).
- Sadovnik, A.R., ed. (1995) *Knowledge and Pedagogy. The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*. (Norwood, Ablex Publishing Corporation).
- Selwyn, N. and Brown, P. (2007) Education, nation states and the globalization of information networks, in *The RoutledgeFalmer Reader in Education Policy and Politics*, ed. Lingard, B. and Ozga, J., 154-177. (London, Routledge).
- Siedentop, D. (1990) Commentary: The World According to Newell. *Quest*, Vol.42, No. 3, 315 – 322.
- Siedentop, D. (2002) Content Knowledge for Physical Education, *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, Vol.21, 368-377.
- Tinning, R (1991) Teacher Education Pedagogy: Dominant Discourses and the process of Problem-setting, *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, Vol.11, 1-20.
- Tyler, W. (1995) Decoding School-Reform: Bernstein's Market-Oriented Pedagogy and Postmodern Power, in *Knowledge and Pedagogy. The Sociology of Basil Bernstein*, ed. Sadovnik, A.R., 237-258, (Norwood, New Jersey, Ablex Publishing Corporation)
- UFD (2001-2002) *Stortingsmelding Nr 16 Kvalitetsreformen Om ny lærerutdanning. Mangfold-krevende-relevant*. (Oslo, Statens forvaltningstjeneste).
- UFD (2000-2001) *Stortingsmelding Nr 27 Gjør din plikt – krev din rett. Kvalitetsreformen av høyere utdanning*. (Oslo, Statens forvaltningstjeneste).
- UFD (2003) *Rammeplan for praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning*. (Oslo, Utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet).
- Whitty, G. (2002) *Making Sense of Education Policy. Studies in the Sociology of Education*. (London, Paul Chapman).
- Wright, J. (2002) Physical Education teacher education; sites of progress or resistance, in *Gender and Physical Education. Contemporary Issues and Future Directions*, ed. D. Penney, 190-208. (London, Routledge).

www.gatewaycollege.no/statisk_information/information_in_english (10.09.2007):

Gateway College

www.gatewaycollege.no/forside/engelberg/idrett-2 (10.09.2007): *Idrett grunnstudium - teoretisk semester*

www.hifm.no (ID=1743, 26.07.2007): *Bachelor i friluftsliv og idrettsfag, Studieplan uten emnebeskrivelse, Høgskolen i Finnmark*

www.hifm.no (ID=1746, 26.07.2007): *Idrett og friluftsliv, Cabarete, Studiekatalog 2007, Høgskolen i Finnmark*

www.hifm.no (ID=1153, 26. 07. 2007) *Verdens nordligste høgskole – med studium i tropisk friluftsliv.*

www.hint.no/studier (07.08.2007) *Studieplan for årsstudium i idrett, Levanger og Meråker*

www.hisf.no (07.08 2007): *Studieplan i 'Idrett og friluftsliv'*

www.hisf.no/internasjonalisering (07.08.2007) : *Internationalisation/HSF-eZ publish*

www.hit.no (ID 9356, 07.08.2007): *BA Nature & Outdoor Studies, bachelor, Høgskolen i Telemark*

www.hit.no (ID 9312, 07.08.2007): *Further Outdoor studies, fordypning. Høgskolen i Telemark.*

Aasen, P.(2003) What Happened to Social-Democratic Progressivism in Scandinavia? Restructuring Education in Sweden and Norway in the 1990s, in *The State and the Politics of Knowledge*, ed. M. Apple, 109-149. (New York, Routledge Falmer).