Diversity United. The Scandinavian Tradition of Lesson Planning

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Abstract: Scandinavian "Didaktik(k)" and lesson planning have some common roots, convictions, and traditions. The roots are the basis for didactical possibilities and the grounds on which *Didaktik* is understood. The Scandinavian understanding of education is characterized by local autonomy, living dialogue in the interplay between teachers and students and among students, as well as emphasis placed on a student's activity in the classroom. The traditional lesson planning models show the tradition of emphasizing general didactics. The current wave of accountability measures puts Scandinavian local autonomy at risk because it measures outcomes by parameters, and these do not reflect the embedded variety of situated outcomes. A Scandinavian solution presented at the end of the article suggests how to make the tests only *one* of several different measures of school performance connected to the individual local school.

Introduction

There is no shared "Scandinavian" *Didaktik(k)*. Seen from the inside, there are many different ways and means of lesson planning. But seen from the outside, some common roots, tools, and risks become visible. This paper outlines four common roots in Scandinavian *Didaktik*, defined as Pietism, Philanthropism, "Grundtvigianism," and Reform Pedagogy. Based on these roots, Scandinavian *Didaktik* shares some common convictions about students and diversity, about teaching as a profession, and about content as common but different. These roots and convictions have an impact on the understanding of *Didaktik* as lesson planning, and here we find two common approaches: "the time-line" lesson plans and a structural model of relations between circumstances to consider when planning a lesson. All the Scandinavian countries have their own Lehrplan, called *Iaereplan*, referred to here as the national curriculum. Despite all new notions about teaching, discussion on input and output, and PISA test results, all widely used models are still based on the common notion of instruction as a locally situated, teacher-guided

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enactment of the 'living interplay' *(Grundtvig)* between teachers, learners, and content. The one common risk is the current wave of accountability measures, which puts this local autonomy at risk (cf. Hopmann, 2008). Here, it will be argued that a possible turn in these changing times is that the local autonomy will be reconstructed as a possibility for adjusted teaching.

The Claimed Shift from Teaching to Learning

To address this assumed shift from a Scandinavian point of view, it is important to start with the concept of Didaktik in relation to the curriculum tradition. This relation is important since the concept often is misunderstood. "The most obvious translation of Didaktik, didactics, is generally avoided in Anglo-Saxon educational contexts, and refers to practical and methodological problems of mediation and does not aim at being an independent discipline, let alone a scientific or research program" (Gundem & Hopmann 2002). The two traditions differ because one is described as a Didaktik-centered teacher education in Continental Europe and the other as method-centered teacher education as practiced in the United States and in many Anglo-Saxon countries (Gundem & Hopmann, 2002). Here we choose the spelling Didaktik to make it clear that we define Didaktik according to the German traditional understanding of Allgemeine Didaktik, general Didaktik. This understanding is connected to Wolfgang Klafki and his understanding of Didaktik, with a focus on the relation between "Inhalt" (matter) and "Gehalt" (meaning): The teacher makes plans for the teaching situation and tries to make the content meaningful for the students. The subject matter should be clear to the student; the student will learn something new that hopefully also will be of significance for the student as a human being in terms of Bildung (Klafki, 2002). Others developed this understanding further as a distinction between matter and meaning and argued for an understanding of teaching as uncertain (Hopmann, 2007). We cannot predict the outcome, even if we teach one student at a time. We can only try to make the content significant to the student.

Today, this understanding is challenged by the so-called shift from teaching to learning and by the consequences of accountability and the impact of the PISA tests on our understanding of teaching (Hopmann, 2007a). The emphasis placed on the child, school, and state does not address

the teaching, which is, so to speak, left behind. This focus may render marginalized groups of students, such as those in need of special education and minority students, invisible (Hopmann, 2007a). Moreover, even if one does not obtain high scores on tests, the teaching situation and the content might be of significance to the pupil. By making teaching invisible through a fixed focus on learning outcomes, we will only (re-)produce social inequality (Hopmann, 2007a).

In Germany, this challenge is discussed according to teacher education and the relation between subject matter didactics and general Didaktik (Allgemeine Didaktik) (Meyer, Prenzel & Hellekamps, 2008). The starting point for the discussion is the problem of General Didaktik not being prepared for the PISA shock and the demands for outcome results. Because there is little empirical research on the matter, Didaktik is understood as a research field, and teaching in schools is referred to as being exposed to great pressures (Meyer et al., 2008). It is also found to be problematic that subject matter didactic attracts all the attention in today's school without any clear boundaries to general Didaktik. The question asked is how subject matter didactics can be capable of addressing the questions of teaching and learning, development, upbringing, and Bildung. A call is made to address the importance of the role of Didaktik in school. This perspective shows the importance of Didaktik in school to fulfill its intention to cultivate (i.e., Bildung and Autonomie) future generations. These perspectives are of great importance in the Scandinavian countries because of their understanding of the function of schools as sites of both cultivation and qualification. This will become clearer in the following when focusing on the common roots of education in Scandinavia.

Four Common Roots

As mentioned initially, we pinpoint four common roots in Scandinavian *Didaktik*: Pietism, Philanthropism, *Grundtvigianism*, and Reform pedagogy. These roots form the foundation for the didactical possibilities and grounds on which *Didaktik* is understood in most cases. We will illustrate this understanding shortly by presenting a few characteristic examples from the different Scandinavian countries—knowing well that for this story to unfold properly, much more space would be required than is possible here.

Pietism

The pietistic invention of instruction as "*praxis pietatis*" in its own right may be regarded not only as a cognitive but also as a cultural enactment that may be understood as a formerly religious understanding. This understanding, developed not least by the founder of the first teacher seminary at Halle, August Hermann Francke, was transferred to Scandinavia through multiple channels by many of the emerging teacher seminaries, as well as by the teacher education provided by local parishes. It is reflected in concepts like "Teaching the class as a whole," the "class teacher," and the importance of school climate and culture, all aiming at creating instruction as a collective Christian experience. If not in spirit, but in emphasis, the renewal *of Didaktik* in Norway and Denmark in the 1960s continued this approach. The function of schools is, for example, according to the most popular Didaktik introduction of its time, Harbo (1967), to teach and to learn, thereby obtaining experiences to develop knowledge, skills, and an appropriate attitude (1967). Harbo understands the school's role as a teaching one but also sees the school as an institution for *Bildung*. The idea was, and still is, to teach all types of students together at the same time. The compulsory school is built on this understanding with respect to success both according to a student's social development and to the democratic structure of the society one wants to maintain (Harbo, 1967). Social fostering is connected to the importance of a unified classroom where children from different social backgrounds should learn to be together and cooperate together. In 1976, this was a significant issue for the Nordic Council of Ministers, which described the Nordic school as a unified school where all children are equally taught in the same classrooms during their years at school (Ministerrådet, 1976). The idea was to give all students an equally high-quality education, irrespective of their economic situation, social background, or where they lived in the country.

Philanthropism

The philanthropic understanding of education may be regarded as a public responsibility, and the single school as an institution that should provide access to society. This is typical for Scandinavia but especially for Norway since education became "a construction project" in building the state (Midtsundsstad, 2010). Norway had previously been subordinated to other

countries, but when an independent Norway was to be built, it was significant that different groups of the population had equal opportunities for taking part in the construction of the Norwegian Norway. The local school became very important in this process (Kristvik, 1954; Tonnesen, 2004). The state became the center of society, and equality became a democratic principle. The school was turned into a public concern, and no private schools are allowed in the country even today unless they represent an educational alternative to the Norwegian public school (e.g., an alternative pedagogical approach such as Montessori or schools established by religious organizations).

In Scandinavia, the common notion of instruction as locally situated was formally regulated by the curriculum and encouraged teachers to use the school's local geographical and cultural environment in the teaching situation. The purpose was to make the content relevant for the students and to prepare them to become members of their local society. In Norway, this lasted until 1980 and ended formally when the curriculum demanded equal content in every school to ensure equal education for all (Gundem, 2003). In Denmark even today the curriculum is only a guideline, and it is left for the teachers to decide the emphasis on different tasks and content so as to adjust it to the local school. There is no formally regulated curriculum as in Norway and Sweden.

Grundtvigianism

The Grundvigian understanding of education can be regarded as a "living interplay" between teachers and students based on the "living word." This is typical for Scandinavia but especially for Denmark, since their educational understanding developed historically as "a battle of resistance" against the national level (Midtsundsstad, 2010). This resistance was directed by parents and teachers against the state's steering and control over their children's upbringing. They did not want the religious upbringing conducted by the state and they did not want "the book school," "the black school" to be their children's everyday at school (Jensen, 2006). Furthermore, the pietistic communities of Western Denmark insisted on the right of the community to choose both the place of worship and the place of teaching. Grundtvigianism adopted this notion in a broader concept of education as education of the people by the people. In Denmark, it thus became important for parents to be able to choose, or even start, their own school for their children. This was,

and still is, a way for parents to choose the school they feel has the appropriate values for the upbringing of their children. The "battle of resistance" made it possible for private schools to be established as a part of the public school system in Denmark. The people became the center of society, and diversity and the possibility to choose differently became an important democratic principle. Nowadays, this is challenged by new standards and national tests. The Danish teachers are once again speaking about "the black school," as Grundtvig called it, because of the government's emphasis on output control (Midtsundstad, 2010).

Reform pedagogy

The understanding of education in the notion of reform pedagogy can be regarded as the unbroken popularity of all kinds of child-centered and open instruction formats, such as the project method. This pedagogy was an answer to "old school" criticism where the teacher and the subjects, instruction, and learning by memory were core issues (Gundem, 2003). Ellen Key was a Swedish ambassador of this idea who argued that the child ought to be at the center of the school's understanding.

One strongly emphasized the organization of the school as an activity school where a student's own activity, individual and in groups, should be dominant. It was also very important to choose useful content and to be aware of life outside the school. American progressivism and John Dewey played an important role as part of this movement. In the Scandinavian school system, this was an important approach to teaching from 1939 onwards, and still today features an understanding of good teaching where the active student is the important part. The students should have a curious, inquisitive, and problem-solving behavior (Gundem, 2003). Other approaches, from monitorial instruction, Herbartianism and Hegelianism to the 20th century's pragmatism and educational psychology, only have had a regionally limited impact. In Norway, until 2006, the curriculum instructed teachers how to let children do their own work with the content suggested. In Denmark and Sweden, too, the emphasis placed on a student's activity is also a common foundation for understanding Didaktik.

To summarize the point of common roots, the Scandinavian understanding of teaching has its background in the understanding of all students sharing learning in one classroom. This is considered important in order to prepare

young people for a society where we will all be together and work together. Education is considered an area of great importance for the national state and for developing society and especially the local community. The changes from content established in the curriculum to the emphasis on standard competencies and tests challenge this Scandinavian understanding of education as important for the student and society. The "living word" (Grundtvig) and interplay between teacher and students and among students, as well as the emphasis placed on student activity, are challenged by this new understanding of education and the well-known concept of "teaching for tests." Although they are challenged, these roots still form and inform didactical possibilities. They represent the grounds on which Didaktik is understood, but also those on which the new challenges are understood. We will return to this issue in the following sections.

Three Common Notions

Based on these roots, Scandinavian *Didaktik* shares some common convictions about *students as being diverse but equal*, about *teachers as members of a profession but with no shared professionalism*, and a conviction about *content as common but nevertheless different*.

Students: diverse, but equal

There is a common basic belief that all students should have equal access to education, including the idea of an inclusive (comprehensive) school welcoming all students irrespective of their special needs, diverse backgrounds, and abilities. Differentiation has always been an issue in the Scandinavian countries. In 1976, the Nordic Council of Ministers compared the Scandinavian countries and argued that the question of differentiation had been of great importance because it is found in the intersection between the main educational goals: a student's self-realization, social nurturing, and equal possibilities for education in school and for further possibilities for education (Ministerrådet, 1976). None of these three goals will be possible to realize without affecting the others. The question about differentiation is regarded as an approach for finding the right balance between the three main goals. Today, we can see traces of this approach in the Norwegian understanding of education, where all possibility has been removed for young people to choose

different elective subjects such as music, sports, literature, and so on. Every single student in Norway must instead choose a second language in order to ensure that all students have the same possibilities to pursue higher education. In Denmark and Sweden, one may, however, choose between more elective subjects than in Norway, but all three countries wish to facilitate higher education for all. This is a challenge for the Scandinavian understanding of school and has been named "the single-track solution" (Werler, 2006). When each student is forced to develop in the same way, problems occur, since students have different abilities, such as being more practically than theoretically oriented. This challenge is solved in two different ways: firstly, by making teachers adjust their teaching to the single student, and secondly, by offering special education to an expanding group of students. Adjusted teaching is an understanding of teaching as both instruction and a student's activity in class (Bachmann & Haug, 2000). The teacher is expected to adjust the instruction to the single student and his or her level of understanding, to give homework that is adjusted to the student, and to have different approaches to student activity, which challenges the students' different learning abilities—while maintaining the class as a whole and shared teaching and learning as the main activity.

Teachers: Profession, but no shared professionalism

Since the early 19th century, the shared seminary education and early forms of association contributed to a common understanding of teachers belonging to one profession sharing one common task, which also resulted in an early start to unionizing the profession from the mid-19th century onwards. In Scandinavia there is thus a strong sense among teachers of belonging to a united profession based on shared values and ethics, but however not one sharing a common understanding of what signifies good instruction or teaching. The understanding of the teacher's function varies between a wide cultivating and moral understanding of the teacher's function and a narrow instrumentalist point of view focusing on the teaching of knowledge (Klette, 2002).

Historically, this variance has its roots in the above-mentioned understanding of teaching as locally situated and the teacher as the one who has to make the didactical choices needed for local adaption. This differentiation unfolds in somewhat different national patterns: In Sweden, goal steering,

combined with an open curriculum and criteria for grades, regulates the professional teacher. The teacher's task is to develop methods for teaching and choosing the content. In Norway, the government formulates what and how the teacher should teach. The teacher's task is to interpret the curriculum and to evaluate the students' work by grades (Klette, 2002). In Denmark, the individual school and its teachers develop their own curriculum based on national guidelines. The teachers understand their professionalism in terms of the local school (Klette, 2002). Common to all three countries with these different understandings of the teacher's professionalism is that they now are challenged by evaluating systems and the focus of standards and tests.

In Denmark, the typical teacher has all-around competencies. The teacher is seen as an expert in teaching, but not in subjects. Expectations, however, are now turning toward a specialization in subjects (Rasmussen, 2006). In Norway, we find the all-round teacher who teaches every subject at every school level from first to 10th grade (Skagen, 2006). Nowadays, teachers' knowledge is criticized for being both too broad and too thin (Skagen, 2006). In Sweden, the teacher is connected closely to the school level and is regarded as both a specialist and a generalist (Askling, 2006). Critics focus on teacher education as being too simple and as an uncertain preparation for the profession (Askling, 2006). All three countries discuss their teacher educations in the light of PISA-results and see their school systems to be at risk. Their concern is that the school is out of step with its times and not effective enough (Hopmann, 2006). The "classroom teacher" with all-round competencies will have to become an expert in different subjects.

Content: Common, but different

As with teaching, content is also a matter of local variation. A basic belief is that requirements have to be transformed and adapted to local needs and traditions. Historically, the most important frame of reference for defining school or instructional quality was the single school with its specific setting and capacities in relation to the local community. This becomes clear in Norway, where we even have different models of how to design instruction connected to different regions in Norway, such as the Hamar model (Engen, 1989) and the Trondheim model (Lillemyr & Sobstad, 1993). The first one

takes its starting point in the local culture and compares it with the central culture. Content should be adjusted to the local culture in order to be meaningful for the students, and in this way prepare them to become members of the national community (Kristvik, 1954).

In Denmark, the local school adjusts its content with regard to what is considered important for learning to become a Danish adult (Norgaard, 1989). Only recently has this been challenged by more "nationalized" standards, and reactions have been articulated in the form of questions like: What content do we need to provide for our next generation's cultivation (Bildung)? Unfortunately, the answer is addressed by those who wish to connect content to nation and identity both in Denmark and in Norway (e.g., by assuming that there exists a national canon of literature; Arneberg & Briseid, 2008). In Sweden, a school's content is explained as the quality of knowledge. The students should be capable "to follow, understand and participate in scientific discussions." In Norway, content is regarded as subject themes the students should "get to know and be familiar with"—whatever that means in local terms (Klette, 2002b). How teachers teach one and the same content outlined in the national guidelines may differ greatly.

To summarize the point of common notions, we may recognize a common shift in how to understand diversity, the teacher's role, and the content. The common notion about the whole classroom with no structural differentiation can only be kept alive by moving toward a concept of adapted teaching, i.e., differentiation by classroom and task management. Diversity has to be solved in this way according to the pressure put on learning results. The content should not only reflect the nation and the common identity but also have to be adapted to the student's different abilities and prerequisites. This development is understandable as a consequence of the focus on test results established by policymakers, but the only thing we know for sure is that it increases the pressure on the teachers. The most important point in this development is to recognize how the Scandinavian countries turn to common convictions about the understanding of Didaktik and the possibilities under this pressure. This becomes clear when looking at content and how it changes from being adapted to the local school and then adjusted to the single student. There is now the will to give up the common notion of school as a place where all teaching is local by nature,

including the idea that national guidelines for all and a place of shared experience across social, cognitive, or other heterogeneity. Now, we will see how content also may be adjusted in this sense to models of how to design instruction.

Lesson Planning

In recent years, these have often been framed by the rapidly growing research on teaching and learning and the curriculum modeling based on it. However, based on our cooperation in the network Nordic Didaktik (NORDID), it seems that rather straightforward models of lesson planning still prevail in teacher education. This is more obvious in Denmark and Norway than in Sweden.

In our network consisting of the University of Göteborg in Sweden, the University of Alborg in Denmark, and the University of Agder in Norway, we found that these models, and especially the "Relation model," are used in almost all teacher education today. There are still two common approaches to Didaktik lesson planning. For some unknown reasons, the Norwegian sources are the most influential works on lesson planning used in the Scandinavian countries. Especially three works should be mentioned here: Hiim & Hippe (2009), Praksisveilednig i yrkesutdanningen (Mentorship in educational training); Gunn Imsen's (2006), Laerarens verden (The world of the teacher); and Bjorg Brandzaeg Gudem's (2003) seminal Skolens oppgave og innhold (The school's task and content), which has been reprinted and re-edited several times. These books are still in use in our teacher education programs and contain different models for lesson planning.

Rather typical in teacher education are 'time-line' lesson plans based on the traditional what/how/why triad (as already unfolded by Harbo, 1967). These are similar to those often used in German-speaking countries. The planning categories may be filled with different background theories such as competency mapping, Klafki's didactical analysis as educational preparation (Klafki, 2002; see e.g., Gundem, 2003, 288; Imsen, 2006, 363), or Bloom's taxonomy, which focuses on the levels of knowledge, understanding, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (see e.g., Imsen, 2006, 208; Gundem, 2003). The Scandinavian countries have two common approaches to this issue. The first is an example of a lesson plan based on the timeline model.

Timeline

LESSON PLAN: Name:		Date: Topic/task: Aim for the lesson:		
AIMS: Knowledge: Ability: Attitude:				
Time	**WHAT** **Activities/content**	**HOW** **(organization/** **methods)**	**WHY** **(aims/goals)**	**REMARKS** **(tools/rules)**
09:00–09:05	Welcome, Outline	Short outline of the …	Motivation	PowerPoint

The question of what is connected to time, activity, and content is based on the focus in the classroom. The focus is placed on the context and not only on students' learning activity or the subject matter. The content listed in the curriculum is adjusted to what the teacher and the students should have accomplished in the last lesson on the same subject and according to what should be known by the students. That is the teacher's point of departure for teaching in class. How to teach according to Organization and methods is decided according to the character of the content. It is perhaps necessary to read out loud in class to learn how to pronounce the words in a foreign language or to discuss a social sciences text in class. If the content is new and unknown to the students, the teacher will perhaps choose to teach by instruction. If it is already known, the teacher would perhaps like to initiate student activity tasks, individually or in groups. The how is motivated by the why, the goals and aims for the chosen content (what) involved. Recent classroom research shows, however, that the most commonly used method is teacher instruction, or what researchers in Norway have termed "teacher's desk teaching" (Klette, 2004; Imsen, 2004). A typical sequentially structured lesson may consist of the teacher giving instruction and the students asking questions and trying to understand by dialogue in the classroom, whereas in the rest of the lesson the students would work with tasks in order to understand the content better (see Figure above).

Nowadays, these timelines are often modified according to different Didaktik approaches and/or curriculum requirements. This may lead to

more focus on input, activities, and outcomes instead of the more general reasoning inherent in former timelines. But the same could have been put into the former.

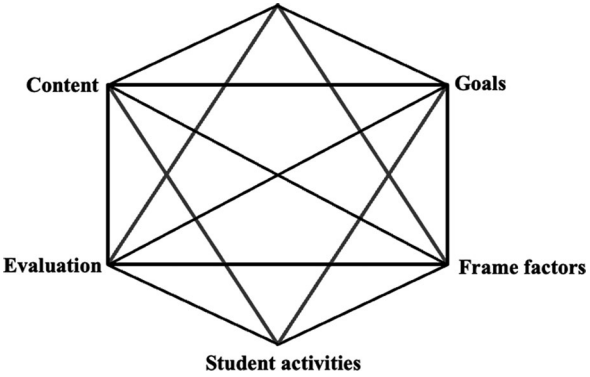
Lesson Planning					
Teacher/Teacher Student	Class		Subject	Date	
Topic	**Students' Qualifications**		**Frame Factors**		
Aim According to the Curriculum Guidelines			Abilities/Competencies		
TIME	Content/ task	What should the students do?	What should the teacher do?	Experience/ climate	Reasons/ aims

One may wonder if the shift to standards and tests first and foremost requires the use of a new semantic, although it does not substantially change the Didaktik understanding regarding common roots and commitments. This may be illustrated by the fact that these timeline models are often followed by a plan for student activity. This is an interesting aspect according to the "no differentiated approach" (united approach) in Scandinavia. Students are allowed to choose how to differentiate themselves by selecting the level of effort. The teacher may make plans for student activity by using a student-differentiated activity program, which may look like this:

Student Activity Plan		
Have To Be Done	**Should Be Done**	**Extra**
Math: tasks page 34, 35, 36	Math page 37, 38, and 39	The extra book on page 78, 79, and 80
Norwegian: Read the pages 25, 26, and 27		

For different subjects, the students get different tasks and should work with these quietly at their desks or, when they are allowed to be together with other students, helping each other. What they do not finish in the *have to be done* part, they often have to take home as homework.

Relation model (relasjonsdidaktikk)



Bjørndal, B., & Lieberg, S. (1978). Nye veier i didaktikken?: en innføring i didaktiske emner og begreper. Oslo: Aschehoug

The model describes the relation between goal and content and between goal and student activities and frame factor, as well as the prerequisites of the teacher and the students involved in the teaching situation. In this model the different levels of goals are emphasized because the model is often combined with other planning tools as curriculum guidelines. One part of the lesson planning is about choosing a goal that is connected to the main goal of the subject as formulated in the curriculum guidelines. The model is formed as a diamond, and typically a plan will discuss each comer, and all, or most, of the interrelations indicated.

Teaching Relation Model					
Prerequisites	**Goals**	**Content**	**Student activities**	**Frame factors**	**Evaluation**
What prerequisites regarding the student, yourself and others do you have to take into consideration?	What is your goal as process and as result?	What content, instructional media, equipment will you use?	What will students and teachers do, when an in which order?	What physical frames will stimulate or limit the process?	What do you want to evaluate? The relation between the goal, content, and activity?

The content is chosen from the curriculum as the content the students will learn, or nowadays, the competencies the students will achieve. The content is chosen with regard to what the student has been taught earlier and what the next topic for the instruction is. This is connected to the aims of the process and what the result should be. The chosen student activity has to be connected to the goals, the content, and the prerequisites of the students and the teacher. One also considers what frames exist, i.e., what room and what equipment are available at the time. Scandinavian teacher students practice this kind of lesson planning in order to be aware of different considerations to take into account when teaching. They often do their lesson planning by the model below and are strongly encouraged to be aware of the relations between the different factors.

The evaluation is likewise a matter of how the relations worked out according to the choices made in the lesson planning. The teacher evaluates his or her teaching depending on the physical classroom with its frame factors, the students involved and their prerequisites, i.e., whether the goal was appropriate and how the students' activities fulfilled the aims and goals. One may recognize common roots and common commitments in the emphasis put on the here-and-now situation and not on the learning outcome. How lesson planning is understood points again to an understanding of education that emphasizes general Didaktik und Bildung. This may be seen as the perception of students as alike but different. They should consider the content and make their own opinions. Teachers are concerned with the student's personal development and their learning achievements based on content, which has been a national issue for many years in Scandinavia. The curriculum has been an important document to state what should be the content in school (Karseth & Sivesind, 2009). Now standards and tests are the language used, and we cannot yet see what the consequences for lesson planning will be.

One Common Risk

All widely used models are still based on the common notion of instruction as being locally situated, teacher-guided enactment of a "living interplay" between teachers, learners, and content. The current wave of accountability measures puts this local autonomy at risk because it measures the outcomes

by parameters that do not reflect the embedded variety of situated outcomes. This may lead to a curricular shrinking according to what is crucial for meeting test criteria. It is a risk because it often leads to pressure to use specific pedagogies that are said to be "best practice" in relation to the goals of assessment. However, there is also good reason to believe that the impact of the accountability measures may be somewhat limited by shared professional ethical codes and traditions. In this case, teachers may often pay lip service to the new requirements but may continue to enact teaching and learning based on traditional didactical reasoning and lesson planning. They may make symbolic use of the categories and concepts of accountability, such as language competency, but try to reconstruct the old formats by addressing them as needs for "adapted teaching."

This may be a challenge for teachers in Scandinavia. If "adapted teaching" becomes the solution to the problem created by the two considerations, no differentiation and better learning outcomes, the pressure on teachers will increase, not necessarily because of what we understand as teaching for testing, but due to the need to focus even more on the individual student and adapted teaching. In Denmark this has led to a large amount of paperwork for the teacher organizing and documenting what is done for the single student's learning and what will be done next to improve results. Adapted teaching with its focus on the individual student is not possible when one teacher has to teach a classroom of 30 students. The only thing the teacher can do to meet these expectations is to use more and more of the lesson time for student activity. It is an empirical question whether this will improve or reduce the outcome results.

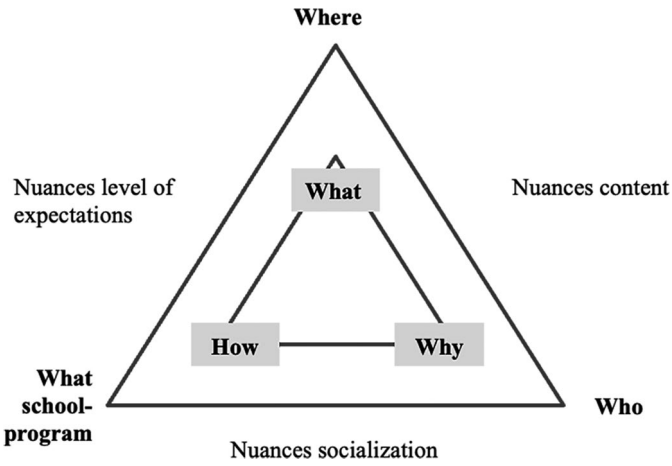
New Research and a Scandinavian Suggestion

The most recent research on this topic in Scandinavia focuses on the consequences of accountability (Hopmann, Elstad & Langfeldt, 2008) and how this new understanding of education influences the schools' conditions and possibilities (Karseth & Sivesind, 2009). Regarding lesson planning Midtsundstad (2010) elaborates on how to make tests and focus on outcome results as the only one of several different measures of a school performance (Midtundstad, 2010). The first thing to establish to make this possible is to connect the education program to the individual school. The school may be

understood as an organization that makes its own decisions and forms its own program dependent on several conditions such as economics, control and evaluating systems, curriculum, and expectations from the government, as well as the local community. Schools choose their program based on their conditions and develop their own goals and values as a program for schooling. This program is decisive for the student expectations they can meet. Different schools will develop more or less articulated and equal expectations for their members. This reflects the opportunities the individual school may give their students in order for them to be cultivated and qualified. Qualification can be related to the teaching in school as a relationship between subject matter and meaning. The teacher intends that the chosen content might be significant for the student, but the result is unknown. The question of analysis: With what content and how should the school qualify? The schools' program becomes the basis for the teacher's decision-making according to lesson planning.

Cultivation related to the single school as an organization is seen as a relationship between upbringing and socialization. The school can have an intention that the chosen upbringing might lead to significant socialization for the students, but the result is unknown.

The question of analysis: For what and why should the school be cultivating? But for the Scandinavian understanding of education as based on the situated and local environment, it also is a matter of: With whom and where should the school cultivate and qualify? From a Scandinavian point of view, diversity may be understood as connected to the local school, where it is located geographically and culturally, but also factors such as the school building, the classroom, the level, and the different kinds of schools. The students, teachers, and parents are to be understood as a school's members who recognize the school's expectations, values and rules. The school's programme becomes, in this understanding, decisive for how to be a member and for the content that may be relevant for the students' academic achievements. Equal expectations and different members help the teaching as a communication situation to nuance the content and help the teacher in terms of the claim of adapted teaching. This also affords better or worse possibilities for the school's teaching, making it possible to explain the program further as a new model for lesson planning.



In this model, the teacher may start the lesson planning by considering the school's program as decisive for *how* it is possible to teach the members according to the school's expectations. *Where* the school is located has to be taken into consideration in order to be able to choose relevant content (*what*) so as to make it significant for the school members. The reason why specific content is chosen is specified by who the members are, where the school is located, and what the expectations and conditions are. Adaptive teaching is connected to the individual school and its members instead of to the single student (Midtsundstad, 2010).

However, this understanding of the individual school with equal expectations and a diverse group of members also gives possibilities for empirical research on how the content is nuanced in the teaching communication according to the members, where the school is located, and what program has been chosen. Empirical research can also address questions on how the level of expectations is nuanced and which possibilities the students have to orient themselves socially. How these aspects differ according to different schools and different learning outcome results may very well be a suggestion from Scandinavia of importance for Europe because the learning outcome will only be one of several different variables for understanding and measuring how schools perform. This will hopefully marginalize the effect of the OECD's test regimes and perhaps be a starting point for another and more nuanced understanding of what tests can tell and what education is all about.

Diversity United—a Common Challenge

To conclude, we will point to the importance of the connection between countries' understanding of education and how education policies are met (Hopmann, Brinek & Petzl, 2007b). The common roots and the common convictions in Scandinavia have to be taken into consideration if one wants to understand the challenges and possibilities facing education in the wave of accountability. Diversity united as a Scandinavian understanding of education with local autonomy shows the development from the local school and teaching adapted to the local community to education adapted to the individual student. Now, the development may be to adapt teaching to the school's members in the local community and make school performance a matter of cultivation and qualification. There is no simple and universal solution for dealing with the shift from teaching to learning. Nevertheless, a common challenge is to keep focus on teaching in school as a matter of education for the individual student and for the future society.

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