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Patriotism, Nationalism, Citizenship and Beyond

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Tilman Grammes

Nationalism, Patriotism, Citizenship and beyond – Editorial

“If you stepped into a school at a moment of patriotic expression, how could you tell whether you were in totalitarian nation or a democratic one? Both the totalitarian nation and the democratic one might have students sing a national anthem. You might hear a hip-hip-hooray kind of cheer for our land emanating from the assembly hall of either school. Flags and symbols of national pride might be front and center in each school. And the students of each school might observe a moment of silence for members of their country’s armed forces who had been killed in combat.” (Westheimer 2009, 317)

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1. Globalization and Cosmopolitanism

Historically, nationalism, patriotism and citizenship have been ambivalent educational concepts. In the age of enlightenment, the programmatic essays were entitled *civics* („Staatserziehung“) or *patriotic education* („Nationalerziehung“) and fostered public education of adolescents within an educational system which was no longer held by the church but by the state. Civic education was aimed at the virtuous citizen who is well aware of public interest and welfare („Gemeinwohl“). In the 19th and especially in the 20th century, this originally “positive” concept of emancipation served to legitimate colonialism and war against neighbours. With regard to Germany in particular, the concept of a superior race led to the singular Holocaust genocide.

In present age of globalization, a new concept of citizenship is promoted which is called *cosmopolitanism* (Beck 2006; Appiah 2006; Steffens, Widmaier 2009). Currently, there is a strong shift in rewriting history from a global perspective as world history, leaving the Eurocentric colonial perspective behind (prominent examples and bestsellers are Darwin 2007; Ansaray 2009). This narrative starts to influence school textbooks.¹ Citizenship educators have to learn that there is not only the cosmopolitanism

“from the privileged for the privileged” for those who – like many academics - cross borders frequently (Phoenix 2010), perfectly acting the imperatives of the “flexible man” (Richard Sennett). But that there is a *grass root cosmopolitanism* on a micro-level, which is for example done by children in order to help their parents to translate and negotiate a bureaucratic document for the local government in immigrant affairs (Phoenix 2010; Sandström et al. 2010). This micro-level neighbourhood is creating participatory “citizenship communities”.

The new challenge by *cosmopolitanism* leads to a rethinking of the role models of the ideal citizen which are “propagated” by citizenship educators. There is the idea of “Verfassungspatriotismus” (Behrmann, Schiele 1993), or new concepts of “flexible citizenship” (Mitchell, Parker 2008) and the metaphor of “multi-sectional identities” (Phoenix 2010). Others pull back to a renaissance of character education (compare the homepage “patriotism for all” http://members.cox.net/patriotismforall/character_ed_links.html or the work of Nel Noddings). Kahne/Westheimer (2004) differentiates the following citizen models (table 1):

1 Of course the cosmopolitan movement has strong roots in the philosophical tradition, too, if we think of Immanuel Kant (Nussbaum 1996) or the almost forgotten pioneer of education for international understanding and peace, Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (1869-1966).



Table 1: What Kind of Citizen?

| | Personally Responsible Citizen | Participatory Citizen | Justice Oriented Citizen |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|
| Description | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acts responsibly in his/her community • Works and pays taxes • Obeys laws • Recycles, gives blood • Volunteers to lend a hand in times of crisis | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active member of community organizations and/or improvement efforts • Organizes community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment • Knows how government agencies work • Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critically assesses social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes • Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice • Knows about social movements and how to effect systemic change |
| Sample Action | Contributes food to a food drive | Helps to organize a food drive | Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes |
| Core Assumptions | To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community | To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures | To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time |

Kahne, Joseph; Westheimer, Joel. 2004. What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy. In: *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 27.

2. Main articles

Considering the basic concepts in a field, which encompasses an abundance of topics and issues, is a good advice (Feyfant 2010; Frazer 2007; Davies et al. 2005; Biesta 2009). *Laurance Splitter* (Hong Kong) is asking fundamental questions, what he calls the “citizenship industry”. The paper focuses on the problems linked to the term *citizenship education*, and the problems it rises in relation to the more philosophical items “person being in the world”, and the sociological items of “identities”, or the difficult to relate “well-being”. There is some concern that in the end the paper can be read as an argumentation to replace citizenship education by moral, identity, or critical education, although there are remarks, that democracy should be perfectly embedded in civics. A number of questions occur: Is there a risk of abusing citizenship education easily for nationalism and collectivism, and is it therefore overwhelming? Should citizenship education be a separate subject? How is the relation defined between pedagogical aims and aims of a subject like citizenship education? Does citizenship education have the wrong aims? How are the relations defined between the aims of different subjects? The paper enriches the discussion in social science education to the relations of other pedagogical aims and identifies their interre-

lated problems. When an earlier version of this challenging paper was presented at the conference „Education and Citizenship in a Globalising World“ convened jointly by the Institute of Education, University of London, and Beijing Normal University in November 2010 a heated discussion emerged. JSSE is looking forward to further discussion!

Education and Citizenship in a Globalising World

Institute of Education, University of London, and Beijing Normal University

London, November 2010

The results of this conference are fully documented online at the moment and give one of the best overviews of the state of the art worldwide.

For videos of the plenary sessions with keynote speakers as Lord Bikhu Parekh, Tan Chuanbao, Li Ping, Ann Phoenix, Audrey Osler, Krishna Kumar, Geoff Whitty and Hugh Starkey see <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/37498.html>.

Papers that were presented in the four strands may be downloaded under <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/about/37499.html>.

The fourth strand focussed on Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Education. The focus of this strand



was examination of issues around unity and diversity. This included global interconnectedness and solidarity, textbooks and national narratives and the impact of patriotism. Also under discussion was citizenship and history education and the role of education in developing cosmopolitan citizenship.

Takahiro Kondo (Nagoya) and *Xiaoyan Wu* (Japan Society for Promotion of Science) investigate “patriotism” as a goal of school education in China and Japan. The article presents a cogently argued analysis of the distinctive understandings of patriotism in the Japanese and Chinese educational contexts. In general, knowledge about citizenship education in Japan and China for foreign readers suffers from the language gap. Information on the Chinese situation has been rare according to the information policy of the Chinese government on the one hand and the paradigmatic differences in epistemologies on the other. There has been a pioneering issue of *Journal of Moral Education* through years of strenuous cooperation of Chinese and British educational scientists (2004, 1); JSSE has been monitoring the Chinese case as well (Oud 2006). Recent contributions show moral education woven with political education and indoctrination (Xu 2010; Lau 2010; Lau 2011). Professor Chuanbao Tan, Founder Director of the Centre for Citizenship and Moral Education at Beijing Normal University, argued that in spite of official sanction from President Hu Jintao for citizenship education, „in mainland China, the concept of citizenship education is still under suspicion today“. (quoted from an interview <http://www.ioe.ac.uk/newsEvents/47380.html>) He continued: „Of course, there are a host of reasons for doubt and suspicion, but one important reason is that some people lack the basic knowledge of the concepts of citizen and citizenship. Some people often suspect that the universality of the connotation of citizen will bring the catastrophe of Westernization for Chinese society and its education ... Others often worry that spurning the development of civil society and citizenship education will delay the Chinese social and political progress under the cover of specificity of the connotation of this concept.“ (ibid., Chuanbao 2010)

The Japanese situation seems easier to access for the European western reader (Suzuki 2009; Hawkins, Buckendorf 2010; Arai 2010; Nishino 2010). JSSE is very proud to have Takahiro Kondo among its board members from now on and will be continuously monitoring the Asian-Pacific region (Grossmann et al. 2008; Leung, Osler 2011).

Albena Hranova (Sofia) takes a look at history education and civic education in Bulgaria. The paper identifies traditions of Bulgarian History and Social Science Teaching, which are traced in a rather large set of textbooks spanning a long period of time (1878

- 1944 - 1989), and which are considered to have informed recent concepts of history and social science teaching. In doing so, the paper contributes to what can be coined as the historical consciousness of the discipline of history didactics itself. It throws some interesting light on both the traditional conception of Bulgaria as a national state in boundaries never realised and the role of this ideal in teaching, as well as on the role of imported disciplines (civics) and concepts (e.g. citizen) and their usage within this frame. There are similar processes of re-definition of terms and concepts within the Western countries of origin (e.g. “Bürger” in German) as well as of the similar roles which nationalist ideals as opposed to the real state played in other countries (again Germany in the inter-war period can be taken as an example). JSSE hopes for further research from post-socialist countries how they deal with their civic education heritage mirrored in micro ethnographies from classrooms, and how teachers and students are constructing the knowledge from the past.

The contribution of Kondo/Wu as well as the one of Hranova relay on textbooks as the classical objects of didactics research. Textbooks are perceived as national instruments perpetuating and sometimes changing cultures and ideologies. I would like to take the opportunity to point at a new released international journal on textbook research: *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* (JEMMS). It is issued by the well known Georg-Eckert-Institut for international textbook research in Braunschweig/Germany (www.gei.de). In the second volume, Repoussi, Tutiaux-Guillon (2010) give a very instructive overview on the state-of-the-art of research in three fields: production and distribution of textbooks, the contents of the textbook, and – last but not least – the use of textbooks as the most recent trend where research is only in its first stages.

Research instruments for textbook research

Edumeres database (<http://www.edumeres.net/>) at GEI in Braunschweig/Germany

Emmanuelle database by Alain Choppin at Institut National de recherche pédagogique INRP (<http://www.inrp.fr/emma/web/>).

There are many regions around the world where working on textbook history and the edition of joint and more multi-perspective textbooks might be a strong contribution to peace education of the future generation of citizens. This applies for example to the Israel-Palestinian region and to many African neighbouring countries (Waghid 2009). Within Europe, we have to consider the Irish conflict (Wylie 2004), Russia and Finland (Piattoeva 2009), or an older example, the peace building process between Germany and its neighbours (<http://www.gei.de/de/wissenschaft/arbeitsbe>



reich-europa.html: Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission, Deutsch-Tschechische Schulbuchkommission ...). A number of the issues discussed - understandings of patriotism, the difficulties of assessing citizenship etc - have been dealt with extensively in literature in Europe, North America and other regions.

Edumigrom

www.edumigrom.eu

Ethnic and Social Differences in Education in a Comparative Perspective –

EDUMIGROM publishes its comparative survey study by Julia Szalai, Vera Messing and Maria Nemenyi.

Eight target countries of the EDUMIGROM research completed survey reports, based on country datasets. A comparative dataset was produced and based on this the comparative study was prepared. The comparative endeavour found that the notion of “compulsory education for all” is more an ideal than a reality. Sizeable groups of children seem not to receive even primary education; other groups formally complete compulsory schooling but do not get hold of basic competences enabling them to continue education or step into the labour market. The survey demonstrates the wide range of mechanisms that lead to sorting and separating children of various ethnic and social background between or within schools, but these, in most cases work to the detriment of minority groups. Ethnic separation in education is just partially a by-product of the given residential conditions: spontaneous processes of “white flight”, local educational policies aiming at raising efficiency through inter- and intra-school streaming, and minority ethnic parents’ attempts at protecting children from discrimination and “othering” also contribute to the process. Segregation then becomes a key component of producing and reproducing inequalities of educational and labour market opportunities.

<http://www.edumigrom.eu/news/2010-12-30/new-publication-edumigrom-publishes-a-new-comparative-paper>

Community Studies on ethnic difference in education have been published for France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Sweden and England. The studies focused on how the school and the wider social environment influenced school performance, the formation of identity and future aspirations of adolescent youth in a multiethnic environment.

<http://www.edumigrom.eu/news/2010-12-22/new-publications-community-studies-published-for-france-germany-hungary-romania-swed>

Mehmet Acikalin (Istanbul University) reports on the current status of social studies (*sosyal bilgiler*) education in Turkey. Turkey has always been a case of special interest in comparative education accord-

ing to the topic of patriotism and nationalism. Does the “modernization dictatorship” (or authoritarian regime) by the founder of the modern Turkish republic, Kemal Atatürk, represent a rare example of a “positive” educational policy leading to democratization? JSSE has reported regularly on this subject (Cayir, Gurkaynak 2008). According to the curriculum, the purpose of social studies is to prepare those Turkish citizens who support Ataturk’s principles and revolutions, understand the Turkish history and culture, grasps democratic values, respect human rights, care about environment, know about his/her rights and responsibilities as a citizen, and think critically and creatively in order to take informed decisions.²

3. Case archive

In 2010-3 issue, JSSE started a case archive with an example of a lesson from the western part of Germany in the 1960s. Part two of the case archive continues with an example from the former eastern part of Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1949-1989 - a nation, which does not exist any longer. The subject is “Staatsbürgerkunde” (civics and politics) and the lesson is settled in the middle of the 1980s. Within socialist cosmopolitanism (“Kommunistische Internationale”), national identity plays always a vital role. The curriculum requires: “Dem Unterricht in den Klassen 9 und 10 liegt die weltanschauliche Erkenntnis des Marxismus-Leninismus zugrunde, daß sich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus gesetzmäßig vollzieht, daß gesellschaftliche Gesetze objektive Handlungserfordernisse zum Ausdruck bringen und daß der historische Untergang des Kapitalismus und die Errichtung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus mit geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit im revolutionären Kampf der Arbeiterklasse vollzogen werden.”³ (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, 10.)

Studies in history of education have labelled the GDR as a classical form of “*Erziehungsstaat*” (Benner 1998), a sort of “participatory dictatorship” (Fulbrook 2005, 2009), where a high quality of citizenship participation fostered the illusion of a socialistic character

2 According to the vivid discussion placing the nation globally as a translator between the Arabian and the European world, the colleagues founded a new online journal – JSSER Journal of Social Science Education Research. JSSE is looking forward to intense discussion with colleagues from JSSER.

3 Translation: Instruction in classes 9 and 10 is based on the philosophical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, that the development of society towards socialism and communism is going on as a process according to the rules and laws of the nature of society, that social rules express objective social needs for action and that the historical decline of capitalism and the construction of socialism and communism are fully covered with historical necessity in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.] (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, 10.)



(*sozialistische Persönlichkeit*) in a socialistic democracy. The content of the reported lesson is situated in the Cold War (1945-1991) between the Communist World and the Western World in its final period. The lesson uses the well known fable *The fox and the Grapes* (*Der Fuchs und die Trauben*) to recall national and patriotic emotions. Core questions of educational philosophy can be studied such as manipulation and indoctrination (Schluss 2007; Snook 1972/2010). The commentary (Tilman Grammes, Hamburg) provides context information to the case, an interpretation from "within" the GDR and Marxist-Leninist epistemology as well as an external interpretation from outside the Marxist-Leninist paradigm. In addition, questions for discussion with students are provided. The case does not show an example of direct manipulation. From an internal perspective it reveals that even closed epistemologies need an "open" learning environment to be credible and plausible. Paradoxically, even knowledge that is considered as secure (closed) has to be presented openly - as long as the learner is seen as the subject of an enlightenment process. Do we have a case of non-intended manipulation - the educator believes what he/she teaches? Do the students believe what they are taught? The topic of *Staatsbürgerkunde* will be continued in one of the next issues of JSSE with an enhanced report on the state-of-the-art.

4. Review and Congress Report

Law and Ethics Professor *Martha Nussbaum* contributed to the question of patriotism by her essay "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism", which originally appeared in the Boston Review. Nussbaum argues that it is better to prepare children to be cosmopolitans - citizens of the world - rather than patriots of a nation. 15 other professors responded to Nussbaum in the volume "For

Love of Country" (2010), some challenging Nussbaum on the basis that there is no larger world government to become citizens of, belittling her suggestion that people can have many allegiances and criticizing her for putting forth an abstract, rather than a specific, sense of humanity. Nussbaum's recent essay "Not for Profit" is again a manifesto to be discussed. It is introduced by *Ruud Veldhuis* (Amsterdam).

This issue of JSSE is a truly international one with topics from "Old Europe" as well as from Asia. The report by *Tilman Grammes* (Hamburg) is from the 90th annual congress of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) and adds a third continent and political culture. The function of the report is to enable the Non-American researcher to have a quick access to the American state-of-the-art in the field of civics, law-related and economics education. There has always been a rich tradition of educational exchange among the continents. The NCSS annual congress was upset by a discussion on Social Studies Standards in Texas where key terms like "exceptionalism" focus on the positive attributes of American life - but also clearly displays an image of superiority and nationalism (Blanchette 2010). Some even started to speak of a "poisonous atmosphere" after midterm elections and the Tea Party Movement - an uncomfortable situation, where NCSS is labelled as a typical „liberal East Coast organization" involved in the curriculum struggle.

What it means to be patriotic or cosmopolitan is a matter of considerable debate. Thus, finally two helpful distinctions could be given in this trickled discourse field:

The first one is given by Westheimer (2009) who differentiates nationalistic and democratic patriotism (table 2):



Table 2: The Politics of Patriotism

| | Authoritarian Patriotism | Democratic Patriotism |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Ideology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief that one’s country is inherently superior to others. • Primary allegiance to land, birthright, legal citizenship, and government’s cause. • Non-questioning loyalty. • Follow leaders reflexively, support them unconditionally. • Blind to shortcomings and social discord within nation. • Conformist; dissent seen as dangerous and destabilizing. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief that one’s country’s ideals are worthy of admiration and respect. • Primary allegiance to principles that underlie democracy. • Questioning, critical, deliberative loyalty. • Care for the people of society based on particular principles (e.g., liberty, justice). • Outspoken in condemnation of shortcomings, especially within nation. • Respectful of, even encouraging of, dissent. |
| Slogans | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My country, right or wrong. • America: love it or leave it. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissent is patriotic. • You have the right to NOT remain silent. |
| Historical Example | McCarthy Era House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) proceedings, which reinforced the idea that dissenting views are anti-American and unpatriotic. | The fiercely patriotic testimony of Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger, and others before HUAC admonishing the committee for straying from American principles of democracy and justice. |
| Contemporary Example | Equating opposition to the war in Iraq with “hatred” of America or support for terrorism. | Reinforcing American principles of equality, justice, tolerance, and civil liberties, especially during national times of crisis. |

Westheimer, Joel. 2009. Should Social Studies Be Patriotic? In: *Social Education* 73, 7, 318.

The second one is given by Aviv Cohen (2010, 25) in the *Canadian Journal of Social Studies* (table 3). Using the method of ideal types he differentiates four conceptions of civic education:



Table 3: Conceptions of Civic Education – A Comparison

| | Liberal Civic Education | Diversity Civic Education | Critical Civic Education | Republican Civic Education |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| Nature of Man | Individual | Affiliated to a social group | Individual that is juxtaposed to other individuals and groups | Affiliated to the nation/state |
| Nature of Society | A gathering of individuals | A gathering of social groups | A reality in which power structures maintain oppression | The nation as a whole that is worth more than the sum of its parts |
| Perception of Knowledge | Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the individual act in the public sphere | Emphasizes knowledge that is aimed at helping the social groups act in the public sphere | A tool in the hands of the oppressors that can be utilized in order to question reality | Emphasizes knowledge regarding the larger social entity |
| Perception of Attitudes | Emphasizes the individualistic values | Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the social group | Can be manipulated in order to maintain social reality | Emphasizes values which connect the individual to the larger social entity |
| Role of Education | Develop individual skills | Develop skills in order to enhance the reality of the social group and its place in society | Develop critical abilities | Promote a feeling of belonging to the larger social entity |
| Normative Goals of Civic Education | The student will develop the skills essential for acting as a participating citizen | The student will understand the ways in which the different social groups that compose society may receive recognition and take part in national field | The student will develop individual analytical skills needed in order to better understand the unjust reality of society | The student should possess an authentic feeling of belonging to the state |

Cohen, Aviv. 2010. A Theoretical Model of four Conceptions of Civic Education. In: *Canadian Journal of Social Studies* 44, 1, 25.

Perhaps such distinctions can clarify this field, which is often affected by heated debates.

JSSE and its authors thank again all peer reviewers for their helpful comments. Julia Sammoray as translator, Matthias Busch as editorial assistant, and Florian Rudt responsible for the layout proved their constancy and took care of various viruses in the air, and on the PCs.



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Laurance J. Splitter

Questioning the “Citizenship Industry”¹

I argue that *citizenship* and related concepts should be treated warily by educators and researchers. Citizenship cannot define who *I am*, nor can it plausibly ground moral or values education. For both these tasks, the relational concept of *being a person in the world* does a better, and simpler, job. I suggest that classrooms which take the concept of personhood seriously should function as *inquiring communities*, in which such issues as the meaning and importance of our affiliations and associations may be critically examined. There may be good reasons for the recent expansion of what I term “the citizenship industry” in educational research, but they should not be taken for granted, particularly given that the concept of *citizenship* is often used by governments around the world to support strongly nationalistic policies which are inimical to genuine inquiry and autonomy.

Keywords:

Citizenship, Identity, Moral Education, Personhood, Relationships, Community of Inquiry, Values.

At least one reliable source has reported that studies on Civics and/or Citizenship Education have *tripled* in number since 2001.² However, I am not convinced that such increased attention is warranted. Indeed, in this paper, I want to call into question the viability of the concept of *citizenship education*, particularly in the context of two areas which are of considerable contemporary interest: identity formation – both individual and socio-political – and moral education. I suggest that issues of identity and morality are better understood within a framework of ordinary *personhood* and, moreover, that working within this framework places the onus on those who would argue for citizenship (as with religious) education – whether of the nationalistic, tribal or global variety – to demonstrate that their goals are both educationally worthwhile and consistent with the development of young people *as persons* in what I am calling the “ordinary” sense, to be outlined below.

1. Citizenship is central to our sense of identity: who we are (who I am) (??)

The singular and plural versions of the questions of identity noted in this heading are not mere grammatical variants; and while references to citizenship *may* conceivably provide answers to “Who are we?”, they do *not* suffice for the singular version: “Who am I?” In this respect, the concept of citizenship – and more

specific instances such as *Chinese, American, British, citizen* etc. – are akin to other such parochial concepts as *religion, ethnicity, language, community* – along with their respective instances. The point here is basically a semantic one: the verb “to be” (in English) is radically ambiguous. In saying that I *am* (an) Australian citizen, I am *predicating* the property of being Australian of myself. At best, this is a case of *identification* not strict identity, because (i) this property is only one among many that apply to me, and (ii) the same property applies to others as well (viz. all Australian citizens; however this is defined). By contrast, if I declare that I am Laurance Splitter (in a situation where someone is either asking for me in a crowded room, or seeking to know my name), then I am, indeed, declaring myself to be *identical to/with* that person (in the same sense that 2+3 is identical with 5).

The distinction in question is conceptual. If an individual P identifies himself as a member of a class or group G, then P and G are two conceptually distinct entities here, each with its own identity conditions or criteria. We need, then, to specify such conditions for both P and G. Notice that the identity conditions for individual persons must allow for several possibilities, including: my identification with others who are also persons (i.e. belonging to the same class or kind), my distinctness from non persons, *and my distinctness from others who are also persons*. By contrast, identity conditions for G are given more simply by such statements as the following: “For x to be a member of G requires that x...”. For example, “For a person x to be an Australian citizen, x must either have been born in Australia or been naturalized”; “To be a Jew is (in strict orthodox terms) to be born of a Jewish mother or to have been converted according to Jewish law”; etc.

It is appropriate for me to identify with other Australian citizens, other Jews, etc., provided that (i) I do not see these affiliations as defining or prescribing the *very person* that I am; (ii) one kind of affiliation or self-identification does not exclude others; (iii) there will be other individuals, some of whom will also identify with these groups, while others will not; and (iv) I – or relevant others – see some point or purpose in so identifying.

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2 The search engine: *Education Research Complete* reports that in the period 2001-2010, the number of journal articles with titles containing “citizenship” was 1194, up from 234 a decade earlier. The corresponding figures for the term “civic” were 813 and 166. The search engine *ERIC* reports somewhat more modest figures, but also shows a sharp increase.



Citizenship is a "collectivist" concept. It is one manifestation of our propensity to gather together, or associate, with others. Collectivism, in its most extreme forms (which Nel Noddings calls 'the dark side of community', 2002, 66) imposes a rigid classification, so that an individual's own sense of identity is consumed – completely defined – by the group. In danger of being lost here is not only the individual's sense of himself *as* an individual (an accusation historically leveled against Communist and other strongly socialist forms of government), but his sense of himself as a member of various other groups at the same time. Our freedom in a democratic society is marked by, among other things, our freedom of association. I may see myself as a Jew, but also as a university academic, a singer, an Australian citizen, an eldest son, etc. Even if some of our group memberships are compulsory or involuntary, others are not. To insist that one such association is overriding or exclusive, is to commit what Amartya Sen calls the "Fallacy of Singular Affiliation" which can be seen as lying at the heart of much of the intolerance and discord to which we bear witness around the world today (Sen 2006, 20 ff.).

The Fallacy of Singular Affiliation afflicts especially the "large" groupings of nationality (citizenship), culture, race, religion, etc. This is because their "largeness" consists, not merely in their size, but in the extent of their claims on our allegiances and life-stories. Where a "small" collective like a book club is (usually) just that – a group of individuals with a common (literary) purpose – membership of a particular nationality, religion or culture carries with it, and is sustained by, a considerable amount of "baggage", some of it morally innocuous, but some not. To be a member of that nation, religion or culture is, necessarily, to share the load of that baggage which – as recent instances have underscored – can impose contentious, even dangerous, impositions on its members.³

Given the types of issues and problems with which the social sciences are concerned – including equality, culture, exclusion, discrimination, etc. – it is not surprising that the literature has focused on groups or collectives, rather than individuals. In so doing, however, some writers have equivocated on the concept of identity, claiming to be addressing the issue of individual ("token") identity, but actually sliding back to the level of collective ("type") identity. Isin and Wood take up the challenge of reconciling the concepts of citizenship and identity, stating (correctly)

3 "In some ways, terrorism is an outgrowth of collectivism taken to its extreme. For collectivist-oriented individuals, the group (e.g., family, nation, religion) takes precedence over the individual,... The terrorist becomes fused with the group he represents, so much so that he is willing to sacrifice his own life to advance the group's agenda and purposes." Schwartz 2005, 304.

that "while citizenship has been associated with the universal, identity is associated with the particular." (Isin, Wood 1999, 14). Later, they assert that:

'Identity' is a concept that presupposes a dialogical recognition of the other; it is a relational concept. But it is also a concept that presupposes identification in the sense that individuals recognize attributes or properties in each other that are construed as identical or at least similar. These properties, then, are used as an index of individual position and disposition. Identity is therefore a concept not so much of uniqueness or distinction as of resemblance and repetition (1999, 19).

However, in shifting the focus from distinctness to resemblance, they thereby move irrevocably in the direction of the universal, away from the particular – despite their claims to the contrary. As I have already emphasized, the criteria grounding judgments relating to identity necessarily include both resemblance *and* distinctness. As long as we restrict considerations of identity to what binds individuals together (and, thereby, to what makes them different from other individuals who are not part of the group) we are referring to the identity of the group, not to that of its actual members.

For another example, consider the following comments from Stuart Hall, who traces the concept of identity from the "individualist" subject of the Enlightenment; through the "sociological" subject, where "identity is formed in the 'interaction' between self and society", to:

...the post-modern subject, conceptualized as having no fixed, essential or permanent identity. Identity becomes a 'moveable feast': formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us...the subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self' (Hall 1992, 277).

Notwithstanding Hall's plausible analysis of these three conceptions of identity he, too, equivocates on the identity question, as evidenced by his acknowledgment that the fragmentation, displacement and pluralization characteristic of post-modernist thinking, threatens to destroy the individual subject and its identity. I concede that the project of aligning myself with various groups and collectives has become muddled by the reality that *their* identities are no longer fixed or determinate; but this no more destroys my own identity than the empirical fact that each of us changes over time, in ways that may make the actual task of re-identification extremely difficult; witness the familiar example of asking one's friends to "find me" in an old school photograph. Changes notwithstanding, it is still *me*, then and now. Indeed, the very concept of qualitative change makes sense



only on the assumption that the entity which changes remains numerically identical.

Elsewhere Hall expresses a preference for the concept of *identification* over *identity*:

In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. (Hall 1996, 2).⁴

Once again, however, in so far as identification is a relation of alignment rather than distinction – we identify *with* something or someone – it cannot capture the full conditions of identity that apply to individual persons.

I am claiming that collectivist concepts – including *citizenship* – whose extensions are grouped together by virtue of shared properties, do not generate adequate identity criteria for their (individual) members (i.e. persons). In certain contexts, it may well be of some importance that I am an official, an adult, a male, a considerate person, an Australian citizen, etc. Still, in *almost* all such cases, I could (both conceptually and empirically) and often do, survive the loss of the kind in question. It is still I who matured from infancy to adulthood, is transformed from a bully to a nurturer, who gives up citizenship of one country to become a citizen of another (or takes up *dual* citizenship), etc.

Notice the qualification "almost" here. In contrast to the classifications just listed, there are some properties which, necessarily, belong to me, in the sense that I could not exist without them. And among these, there is one which determines the *conditions* of my identity. It is not particularly controversial to suggest that my belonging to the class of human persons – or, more straightforwardly, my *being a person* – is what determines these conditions.

Western philosophy has generated a plethora of theories tying the property of being a person with appropriate criteria of identity. Such criteria ground our everyday judgments – "She is the same person as...", "He is a different person...", "That person no longer exists (because he has died)", "Aliens and higher primates

could be regarded as persons (albeit not *human persons*)" – as we track individuals through space and time. To claim that being a person is associated with specific identity criteria is tantamount to declaring that *person* is the appropriate kind or concept for objects which fall under it (i.e. individual persons). This means, *inter alia*, that the very existence of a person depends on the applicability of these criteria. So, on the one hand, if the criteria fail, then the person ceases to be a person and, *thereby*, ceases to be, *period*. On the other hand, as long as the criteria succeed in identifying and re-identifying a specific person (through space and time), then that person retains his identity *in the face of all other changes* (recall the school photo example).⁵

2. Citizenship is central to who we (collectively) are in a socio-political sense

This assertion, interpreted empirically, is hard to deny (subject to who the "we" are). Governments of many different persuasions clearly have a stake here (for purposes of collecting revenue through taxation, if nothing else), but if we broaden our perspective to include education (remembering that, by and large, governments also determine the shape of educational policy and practice), we face the familiar issue of how to evaluate the appropriateness of government and social determinations in regard to children and others whose voices carry little, if any, weight. Moreover, we see, once again, the shift from defining (the identity of) a collective, such as a nation or a people, to identifying essential characteristics of the individual members of that collective. Accordingly, the question to consider here is: "How important is an individual's citizenship (status) to her/his well-being, as judged either by that person or by others?"

The main difficulty with this question is that it is not merely empirical – and, therefore, highly contextual – but psychological and, hence, largely subjective. Where one person may judge that his citizenship plays a vital role in his life, another may simply deny this (by focusing on a broader, more cosmopolitan ideal, or on other affiliations and associations which matter more to him). Thus far, then, there is little to justify giving a central place to this concept within an educational framework. Further, even those for whom citizenship genuinely matters need to concede certain difficulties. After all, such concepts as *citizenship*, *religion*, *culture*, and *ethnicity* serve to divide as much as to unite – if only in political and legal terms (but usually in moral and affective terms as well; citizens are exhorted to

4 Hall goes on to posit identification as an ongoing "construction, a process never completed". I prefer to characterize this project in terms of a shifting or evolving set of identifications and differences but – for reasons which I have tried to make clear – my actual continuing identity is not in question. Hall, in a review of Postmodernist perspectives on persons – specifically, on the challenge of bridging our social and psychological conceptions of the self – remarks on the influence of Paul Hirst's critique, which is essentially a charge of *question-begging* (Hall 1996, 7): the construction of the self within and through discourse assumes that the self is already constituted as subject. My argument, based primarily on semantic considerations, is along similar lines.

5 See also Hall 1996, where he reiterates his rejection of any kind of *essentialist* conception of identity. The view that I am defending could be described as essentialist in the sense that *being a human person* is the essential property that allows us to track individual persons through space and time.



feel a sense of pride and loyalty to their particular nation or state, which often, albeit not inevitably, leads to feelings of superiority over, and disdain for, others who are members of different nations). It is hard to see the merit of attempting to identify in terms of a divisive classification, particularly when it comes to seeing ourselves as *moral agents*. I shall return to this point.⁶ In response, some writers have distinguished between various forms of nationalism and patriotism (for example, Kennedy 2009, 7), but the fact remains that in socio-political terms, nation-states and their leaders have proven both willing and able to exploit the natural inclination to "belong" for their own self-centred interests.

3. Citizenship education is the proper home for teaching values (including moral, political and social values)

It is this claim, perhaps about all others, that is used to justify citizenship and civics education, in their various forms in the curriculum. One way of refuting it is to come up with a superior framework for teaching values, one which does not rely on – or, at least, subsumes – conceptions of citizenship. I have hinted that such a framework can adequately be provided by the concept of *person*. I shall now elaborate on this position.

The major political movements over the past four hundred years (since the Enlightenment and the rise of Modernism) – ranging from extreme liberalism or individualism to extreme communitarianism or collectivism – are associated with corresponding views about how both individual persons and nation-states relate to, and function in, the broader socio-political framework. Locating the individual person somewhere along this range does not, I suggest, capture what is most important about personhood. An alternative model identifies *personhood* as an irreducibly *relational* construct. In this model, the idea that each of us exists in, and through, our relations with other persons, is at the very heart of our understanding of what being a person means. This idea has been articulated by writers and theorists in several disciplines and coming from several distinct perspectives. It is a recurring theme in the pragmatists C. S. Peirce, G. H. Mead and, of course, John Dewey; no less so in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, Charles Taylor, Jürgen Habermas and Hans-Georg Gadamer; and again, in the theoretical and applied research of Lev Vygotsky and Jerome Bruner (where the

skills and tools of thought are seen in terms of internalized social and linguistic behavior). Among contemporary philosophers, Taylor is a prominent proponent of the view that human life has a fundamentally dialogical – hence, relational – character in virtue of the status of human persons as, essentially, *reason-making* creatures (Taylor 1991, 33). In Taylor (who duly acknowledges the work of Bakhtin on our "inner dialogicality", Taylor 1991, 127), we find a line of thought which offers a genuine alternative to the familiar dichotomy of the subjective or monological view of the self *versus* some kind of externalized or objectified conception).⁷

Interpersonal relationships may be identified at all points on the spectrum from individual to universal. From the intimate perspective of Buber's "I-Thou", to the broadest conception of global citizenship, the key construct remains the idea of persons in relationship with one another.⁸ Constructing appropriate identity criteria for personhood may be seen as part of the broader project of "finding/conceptualizing oneself" which, when viewed relationally, involves the ongoing task of positioning myself as *one among others*.⁹

It may be that the post-modernist metaphors of fragmentation and incompleteness apply to such entities as cultures, nations, ethnicities, and so on. But I interpret this as a challenge to those who maintain that these collectivist notions remain viable, in both semantic and practical terms. On the point of viability, I remain open-minded. My concern is with the individuals who are thus collected and classified; *their* viability is guaranteed by the simple fact of their persistence through space and time, according to whichever criteria of identity are judged to be adequate to the task.

In the following sections of the paper, I point out some implications of this conceptualization of personhood for moral and citizenship education. Regarding the relational concept of a person as the appropriate locus for ethical behavior relieves the concept of *citizenship* of a prescriptive burden for which it is ill-suited.

6 Martha Nussbaum (1996, 5) notes that "at bottom, nationalism and ethnocentric particularism are not alien to one another – but akin". Nussbaum 1996: 5. One writer who appreciates the distinction between citizenship – as it applies to persons – and national identity is Jürgen Habermas who points out that freedom in the name of national independence is quite different from the freedom enjoyed (or not) by citizens within a nation: "Citizenship was never conceptually tied to national identity." (Habermas 1994, 23).

7 Where Cheng *et al* view the relational construction of personhood as challenging the notion of personal identity, I see them as entirely consistent. Cheng *et al* 2006, 4.

8 Buber 1971.

9 The relational conception I am defending places the *person* at the center of the "Who am I?" debate, thereby distinguishing it from the universalist view called "Cosmopolitanism", as espoused by Nussbaum and others (Nussbaum *et al* 1996). As sympathetic critics have pointed out, Nussbaum's case against nationalism and patriotism can be restated without recourse to any such universalist commitments. For example, Putnam, replying to Nussbaum, says: "That someone is a fellow being [person], a fellow passenger to the grave, has moral weight for me; 'citizen of the world does not.'" (Nussbaum *et al* 1996, 95). I agree also with Gutman, who points out that such phrases as "the community of human beings in the entire world" and "citizens of the world" reflect "another parochial form of nationalism, albeit on a global scale." (Nussbaum *et al* 1996, 70). I view the more contemporary term "global citizenship" in the same light.



4. Persons, citizens and morality

It seems reasonable to take, as a starting point, the idea that morality comes into play because we persons are both *social* and *reflective* creatures: continually interacting with one another, and with the capacity – hence, the obligation – to think about our behavior in *prescriptive*, as well as descriptive, terms. Further, assuming a relational conception of personhood necessitates the construction of an ethical framework whose most basic prescriptions apply to all, and only, persons in the context of their relationships with one another.

In so far as it is persons who are obliged to act morally, it is also persons whose interests and concerns ought to be taken most seriously in ethical judgment and decision making. This by no means excludes our moral obligations to non persons but it does imply a "pecking" order. Killing a child is universally, and appropriately, regarded as being more serious than killing a rabbit. Further – and this point is especially pertinent – it implies that persons – *qua* those individuals like you and me, who live (and die) according to the usual patterns of nature and circumstance – are more important, ethically speaking, than any and all collectives with which they may be associated. I am not proposing that when faced with a choice between killing one person and killing an entire group, we should opt for the latter, but this is because such a group is constituted simply of individuals who are each persons in their own right. My target here is the "large" group or collective, considered in more abstract or institutional terms. Consider the following examples:

"Gay marriage would destroy the sanctity of the Family"

"The State is more important than the individuals in it"

"Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country!"

"That's not the way we do things in this family/culture/society".

In each of these examples, the rights and well-being of one or more actual persons are subjugated to those of the broader collective, where the latter is construed as having moral value *above and beyond* any properties of its actual members (the whole is greater than the sum of its parts). In critiquing such instances, my point is not to resurrect some version of crude Individualism over an equally crude Collectivism; rather, it is to question the propriety of elevating the collective, as an entity in its own right, over those individuals

who, at any given time, are members of it.¹⁰ It also calls attention to the power of collectives to impose their own "baggage" on their members, in so far as they view themselves as being greater than the sums of their constituent parts.

I maintain that *citizenship* has little, if anything, to contribute to conceptions of morality and moral education that is not already covered by reference to persons who, after all, are the key players in moral transactions.

I do not question the right of a state, nation, society or religion to articulate and implement the kind of education – including moral education – that it deems appropriate (although I have strong views about what form this should take if it is worthy of being called "education"). After all, most governments take their commitment to education seriously.¹¹ However, from the premise that moral education is provided by the state, it does not follow that the state is justified in inserting itself as a specific beneficiary or even a stake-holder when it comes to the moral commitments of its citizens. This would be akin to a teacher of ethics insisting that her students hold her in special regard, morally speaking, simply because of her role as teacher.

One commentator who has taken a more nuanced stance on the relationship between citizenship and morality is J. Mark Halstead. He has proposed several models of what citizenship education might look like, within a broadly Liberal moral and political framework, but rejects the thesis – which, he sees as gaining ground in the UK – that citizenship education, properly construed, would make moral education redundant (Halstead, Pike 2006; Halstead 2006; I refer to this henceforth as the "redundancy thesis"). I agree with his conclusion here, but would go further and suggest that moral education, when properly conceived and implemented, challenges the idea that citizenship education "adds value" to this conception.

Halstead proposes three models of citizenship education, whose key aims may be summarized as follows: (1) to produce informed citizens (Halstead, Pike 2006, 34), specifically citizens (i.e. adult persons who

¹⁰ I leave aside the question of whether these claims actually make sense! The third example, famously proclaimed by John F. Kennedy in January, 1961, reflects a noble sentiment which might better be expressed as "Ask not what your country can do for you *personally*; ask what *we can do together*". I endorse the value of "the common good", as long as this term refers to the goods held in common by individuals, rather than the goods allegedly held by some collective which exists in abstraction from individuals.

¹¹ This commitment is somewhat blurred with the growth of private and home schooling. Such non-public institutions often impose or reflect moral viewpoints that are at odds with those advocated by the state. See Sen 2006, 117. But then, they are also representative of those "large groupings" toward which I have expressed concern earlier in the paper.



are part of the nation in question) who are knowledgeable *about* citizenship (Halstead 2006, 203); (2) to socialize students into the dominant values of the society, with an emphasis on obedience, commitment, patriotism and authority; this is also called "Education for *good* citizenship" (2006, 204, emphasis added); (3) "to prepare children for active participation in the political, civil and social life of the community"; also called "Education for *active* citizenship" (2006, 206, emphasis added). Halstead claims, first, that while (1) is basically descriptive, (2) and (3) are clearly prescriptive; and secondly, that while (3) has a strong critical component – reflecting the value of autonomy in Liberal society – (2) deliberately presents values and issues as uncontroversial because it values conformity and passivity over autonomy.¹²

In the context of the question which forms the title of his 2006 paper ("Does citizenship education make moral education redundant?"), Halstead favours (3) over the other two models – which is to be expected given his preference for a liberal democratic value scheme (Halstead, Pike 2006, Ch. 2). I endorse his preference, not because of anything specific to citizenship education, but because *every* subject should be taught in a critical and reflective spirit, encouraging students to question what is presented to them. It is a cliché that nothing in education (or schooling) is value-free. Every subject that is taught – or not taught – carries prescriptive baggage which is more often implicit than explicit. The muddled idea of "moral neutrality", while pretending to offer protection to vulnerable youngsters, actually threatens to impose on them – if only by default – the moral agenda of the dominant *status quo* and other interest groups. Accordingly, one key goal of moral education must be to provide students with the wherewithal to "sniff out" and reflectively critique such agendas whenever and wherever they occur. In so far as citizenship education does embrace or reflect certain values these, too, along with other aspects of civic "knowledge", should be open to question.

In rejecting the redundancy thesis, Halstead maintains that citizenship education is, and should be treated as, a separate domain from moral education. He holds that a proper conceptual framework for citizenship will include values that are not moral values but, rather, political, civic, economic and legal values. In particular, given his commitment to a liberal socio-economic framework, he proposes three core liberal values, viz. *freedom, equality and rationality*, where the third-

mentioned acts as a normative safeguard between the first two, which are often in conflict (Halstead, Pike 2006, 28). What are we to make of these claims?

Much depends here on an appropriate understanding of *values*, for they will be key substantive components in citizenship education, over and above civic knowledge (which is intended to be largely factual in nature). Halstead offers the following characterisation:

Values are principles and fundamental convictions which act as justifications for activity in the public domain and as general guides to private behavior; they are enduring beliefs about what is worthwhile, ideals for which people strive and broad standards by which particular practices are judged to be good, right, desirable or worthy of respect. (Halstead, Pike 2006, 24).

There is much to like about this definition, particularly its focus on values as ideals and standards (criteria) for making good judgments.¹³ Still, whether or not we classify *freedom and equality*, (along with other values such as *democracy, pluralism, etc.,...*), as underpinning citizenship, they are, surely, *moral* values. From Halstead's discussion of these values, it is clear that they can be justified in terms of their contribution to *personal and interpersonal well-being*. Democracy, for example, "is seen by liberals as the most rational safeguard against tyranny and the best way of guaranteeing the equal right of citizens to determine for themselves what is in their own best interests." (Halstead, Pike 2006, 29). I grant that the concept of democracy might best be accommodated in a course on civics, or politics, etc.; my point is that as a value, it is justified, ultimately, in *moral* terms.

Why, then, do Halstead and other writers on citizenship education persist in the view that there are values which are tied to citizenship (perhaps via politics or the law) rather than morality? The answer, I suggest, lies in the so-called distinction between *private* and *public* values, the idea being that whereas the former belong to the sphere of (personal) morality – and are, thereby, subjective and contestable – the latter are the common (shared) threads that hold a citizenry together – and, accordingly, must be relatively objective and uncontroversial (Halstead, Pike 2006, 37; Halstead 2006, 207; also McLaughlin 1992). However, even noting Halstead's own reservations about the private/public distinction, I maintain that on a relational view of personhood, this dualism, like many others, does not stand up to scrutiny.¹⁴

12 McLaughlin 1992 sees (1), (2) and (3) in terms of a continuum, ranging from "minimal" to "maximal" conceptions of citizenship. He criticizes British Government policy of the day – and, one can imagine, of today as well – for working with and promoting a muddled conception of citizenship, one whose educational implications in terms of such components as morality and critical thinking are quite unclear.

13 Not all values "act as justifications for activity", but we can agree that ethical ones do.

14 I agree with Kiwan who questions the link between citizenship and values on the grounds that "Human rights are rights of an individual, underpinned by common values for *all* human beings [read: human persons], rather than rights inherently based on or derived from being a member of a political community or nation-state." Kiwan 2008, 55.



I am sympathetic to Halstead's project of locating values between the extremes of subjectivism and objectivism (Halstead, Pike 2006, 25). But I would go further and assert that values, like concepts generally, occupy the middle ground which prevents these extremes from gaining purchase in the first place. To take as given the distinction between subjectivist (purely private) and objectivist (public) domains (as in both the Cartesian and classical Empiricist traditions) is to court semantic and epistemological disaster. On the one hand, the private realm of the subjective must necessarily be separate for each individual thinker; indeed, it could, at best, be known only in the first person, thereby rendering shared communication and interpretation intrinsically impossible. In short, if we begin with "private" knowledge, we will never move beyond it.¹⁵ On the other hand, the idea that values are *given* objectively, i.e. as objects independently of our own perceptions and conceptions, leads to the exclusion of any individual interpretation or construction, and to wondering how it is possible for values to be internalized, on the one hand, or challenged, on the other. Elsewhere, I have argued that the key concepts of *inquiry* and *judgment* are also to be located between these same extremes, and for the same reason, viz. to remind us that the subjective and objective realms of experience are conceptually interwoven (Splitter 2010). It is in this context that I question the viability of the private-public distinction.

Somewhat ironically, there is a growing body of evidence suggesting that in China – and, perhaps, Confucian-based societies generally – the private-public discussion is also downplayed, no more so than in the context of moral and civics education. If the State – a "large" group if ever there were one! – is *the* crucial determinant of identity (a claim which I have rejected), then in a very real sense, *all* is public and, following the same line of reasoning as revealed above, uncontroversial. While official government policy is not easily accessible (state secrecy being a by-product of non-democratic systems), it becomes clear listening to educators from Mainland China that the notion of a private morality – like that of a private citizen – is a non-starter. So far so good, one might think, except for the rider that since key moral values and principles are uncontroversial, they can be both taught and mandated as such.

15 Many philosophers have been critical of both classical dualism and empiricism. See, for example, Wittgenstein's argument against the idea of a "private language", Wittgenstein 1968, §§243ff. My thinking here follows P. F. Strawson, in his celebrated account of the concept of *person* as *primitive* with respect to, and preempting any conceptual gap between, mind and body. Strawson 1959, Ch. 3. I note also that Donald Davidson pursued a line of reasoning about agency and truth that culminated in his rejection of subjectivity as an ontological category. See Davidson 1982, 1991, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001.

The idea that being a person should be understood relationally, i.e. in terms of how individual persons relate to one another, implies that the various properties associated with personhood are also understood as applying equally to myself and to other persons. As noted above, the possibility of moral judgment depends upon this relationship and, hence, on all interpersonal relationships.¹⁶ Such a relational conception leaves no room for either the "private morality/public citizenship" mentality of (some) Western thinkers, or the "all is public and predetermined" stereotype of the Chinese system.

Allow me to reflect briefly on the British experience, in response to perceptions of a decline in moral standards and political awareness on the part of young people and, more specifically, to the tragic events on the London Underground, in July 2005.¹⁷ Whereas the events on the East coast of the USA on September 11, 2001, led – politically, at least – to the development of an "Us (Americans)-and-Them (anyone who disagrees with us)" mentality, those in Britain exacerbated a more introspective response that was already under-way; namely, to seek to unite what had become a pluralistic or multi-cultural society around a core set of values that captured or represented the idea of "Britishness" (Kiwan 2008; Taylor 2006). But this idea is confused at best and dangerous at worst. It could succeed only at the cost of perpetuating a toxic "us-and-them" mentality; even *within* British society, emphasis on some core set of shared values would result in either a largely innocuous set of findings ("Britons value peace and fairness", etc.) or a growing sense of exclusion on the part of those British citizens who happened not to share those values.

16 Habermas may plausibly be interpreted along similar lines. In focusing attention on the role of citizens (of whatever nation) as contributing to an "intersubjectively shared praxis", he looked forward to a "European Community" which respects democratic and other citizen-related rights, unencumbered by historical national boundaries. His idea of "deliberative democracy" is akin to that of the "community of inquiry", in so far as the latter can be imagined at a broad social level. Habermas 1994, 24 ff.

17 See Kiwan 2008 for a comprehensive review of citizenship education in the UK, where this topic has been much debated over the past twenty years. The tensions wrought by cultural and other large-scale divisions are often exacerbated by the tabloid media. Headlines like "Are they British or Muslim?" referring to the young men behind the London subway bombings, assume that a person cannot be both or, at least, that even if he is both, one must take priority over the other. This is an example of Sen's Fallacy of Singular Affiliation. Further, I suggest that while such questions appear to reflect a concern for *individual* identity, they actually are grounded in a concern for *the identity of the collective(s)* in question. The real issue behind the "British or Muslim" question above is not the interests or identities of British citizens or Muslims; rather, it is the interests and identity of *Britain* or *Islam* as national and religious institutions, respectively.



We do not need the heavy and potentially divisive language of patriotism, nationalism and citizenship, to identify and urge the appropriate moral point. The tragedy of July 2005 was *not* that a group of British Muslims wrought havoc in Britain and on the lives of other British citizens, but that *a group of human persons murdered another group of human persons*. In the same vein, the appropriate educational and moral response should focus on how it is possible for people to behave in this way toward other people (and, in turn, how to prevent such behavior), rather than on the implications of being confused about one's own "identity", in nationalistic and religious/ethnic terms.

5. Values and citizenship in the classroom

In rejecting the private/public distinction, we might focus more directly on the merits of a values framework which is grounded on inter-personal relationships, both of the intimate and more global varieties. On this point, I have argued that a form of *Constructivism*, suitably interpreted, has much to offer (Splitter 2009). Values, like concepts, and unlike biases, prejudices and other belief-forms, are constructed according to the norms and standards of *collaborative inquiry*. Referring back to the definition offered by Halstead and Pike, the key theme of (moral) values being beliefs and ideals about what *is judged* to be good, right, and desirable, begs the question of *who* is doing the judging and whether or not they are skilled in judgment-formation. In their chapter entitled "How children learn values", the authors emphasize the role of "critical reflection and discussion" in values formation and application (Halstead, Pike 2006, 148), albeit as one strategy among others. The transformation of classrooms into collaborative thinking environments is an invitation to young people to take an active role in their own values education.¹⁸

Adopting terminology based on the work of Dewey, Mead, Vygostky, Lipman and others, such collaborative thinking environments may be called *communities of inquiry* ("CoI").¹⁹ Participating in a CoI allows students, individually and collaboratively, to develop their own ideas and perspectives based on appropriately rigorous modes of thinking *and* against the

background of a thorough understanding and appreciation of those ideas and perspectives that, having stood the test of time, may be represented as society's best view of things to date. In a CoI, learning is transformed into thinking (or, better, inquiry), and knowledge into understanding and good judgment. Students are encouraged to work out for what they stand, to what they are committed, and what *they* judge to be worthwhile, but always in a fallibilistic spirit ("This is what I believe/value – and I can tell you why – but I might be wrong."). They learn to work with the tension that comes with disagreement, precisely because they do not see their beliefs and values as bound up with their own identities.

I concede that among the things for which many ordinary persons stand, to which they are committed, and which they judge to be worthwhile, their affiliations with, and memberships of, associations of one sort or another – whether voluntary or not – are bound to be prominent. My nation, my religion, my language, my culture (*qua* "large group" affiliations) may well feature here, along with a range of other ("small group") connections such as (to) my family, my friends, my class or school; as well as my values, core beliefs and convictions. Granted, these affiliations and connections are elaborations on the kind of person I am, but – remembering the person in the school photo – *they presuppose, rather than constitute, my continuing identity*. The relevant distinction here is between self-determination – concerning the *kind* of person I am or want to be – and (numerical) identity – concerning the very person that I am. Awareness of this distinction is, itself, a form of empowerment, even for young children: specific pathologies (such as schizophrenia) aside, the underlying thread of my own existence in space and time can be seen as inviolable.

This process of elaboration includes but is not restricted to the moral domain, although that domain is central to it. To regard myself as a member of an inquiring community is to see myself as *one among others* which, in turn, has three key components which are both cognitive and affective: understanding and appreciating my own self-worth and place in the community; understanding and appreciating that others are striving for the very same kind of self-appreciation; and understanding and appreciating that self-appreciation and appreciation for others are interdependent and mutually reinforcing (hence, the "Golden Rule", versions of which are found in just about every moral code and tradition known to humanity).

The CoI is an interactive environment whose entire rationale is the well-being of its members (in intellectual, moral, and affective terms). This means, first, that issues of concern – including those affiliations and connections referred to in the previous paragraph – should be treated as open to collaborative inquiry and decision-making; and secondly, that

18 I reject what I call the "heirloom" view of values, according to which values are precious, fragile objects handed down from generation to generation, with a stern admonition not to examine them too carefully lest they fall apart. Such an ossified, inert conception of values is both popular in the public mind and worthless in educational terms.

19 The community of inquiry is one type of *community of practice* (Wenger 1998), but as a normative or prescriptive construct, it guarantees that the practice in question is worthwhile and not destructive or toxic. The CoI has been most fully developed in the literature and practice of *Philosophy for Children*. See Lipman et al 1980, Splitter, Sharp 1995, Lipman 2003, Splitter 2007, 2009, 2010. For an insightful historical discussion of this concept, see Seixas 1993.



the community itself has no agenda over and above that of the well-being its members. As a network of interpersonal relationships, it is the very paradigm of a "small" group or, as I like to put it, *no larger than the sum of its parts* (Splitter 2007, 2009, 2010). There is no inherent value or worth in the CoI, as a collective, beyond that of its members. It serves as a vital means to an end, and that end is the personal development of those members.

The contrast with our respective national, religious, and cultural affiliations is stark, for these groups are seen as worth preserving *in their own right* – as being, in other words, greater than the sums of their parts – hence the potential for tension and conflict as each of them vies for our allegiance. It is this sense of allegiance to something larger than any and all of us that threatens the possibility of seeing oneself simply as one among others. Conversely, the CoI acts as a safeguard against manipulation and indoctrination – which is why it is an appropriate environment for moral education – precisely because it is regulated by the normative ideal of thinking critically and carefully about matters of importance.²⁰

Arguments for and against including specific subjects in the school curriculum may now proceed on the assumption that whatever is taught will be viewed, by students and teachers alike, as *forms of inquiry*, to be judged and assessed, ultimately, by criteria deemed to be appropriate in that context. I see no reason why various forms of civics, citizenship, and cosmopolitan education could not be included here as legitimate areas of inquiry, alongside language, literature, mathematics, etc. But the members of a community of inquiry must be vigilant to ensure that none of these disciplines threatens their own (personal) identity, although they may well af-

fect and shape their judgments of what they regard as important. It is hard to see how knowledge – including knowledge about one's country, political system, etc. – genuinely sought and gained, could pose such a threat, but where citizenship education extends to instilling such affective responses as patriotism and nationalism, teachers and students reserve the right to challenge or reject such responses, just as they do in response to an insistence on a particular religious or tribal affiliation.

In terms of actual school and classroom practice, there are several important implications. First, if citizenship is to remain a viable construct in educational terms, students from an early age should be encouraged to regard themselves as citizens *here and now*, and not merely as "future citizens in training". Secondly, this intrinsic sense of citizenship by no means rules out the idea that schooling should (help) prepare them to be well-informed, more active and critically reflective citizens of society-at-large. Indeed, to borrow a phrase from Leung and Yuen, the school and classroom might be seen as *crucibles for democracy* (Leung, Yuen 2009), in which genuine deliberation on real issues leads to decision-making and action. Thirdly, however, in a classroom CoI, to be, or to become, a citizen is to be, or to become, a person, in the sense defended in this paper; that is, an individual who is working out their path in life by engaging, critically and empathetically, with others who are doing likewise. It is *not* about instilling a misguided sense of loyalty or commitment to the classroom or school as an entity in its own right. Finally, those in charge of running schools and classrooms must think carefully about the full extent of any commitment to transform them into inquiring communities. It is dishonest to the point of hypocrisy for those in power to "allow" young people to think for themselves and form their own judgments in some areas but not others. Non-negotiability is corrosive to inquiry, whether the context be the formal school curriculum or beyond it. Students cannot engage in critical reflection under the constraint that some, at least, of what they choose to think about – for example, so-called key public values – is not really open to question and must, ultimately, be accepted as the price of belonging to one's society. As C.S Peirce and others committed to the ideals of collaborative inquiry stressed, *the path to genuine inquiry should not be blocked*. Pre-empted conclusions or, worse, "taboo" topics, block the process of inquiry and should be avoided.²¹

20 This normative ideal is crucial. Without it, pluralistic and multi-cultural societies face irresolvable difficulties in accommodating moral and cultural traditions which are simply incompatible – either with one another or with the prevailing state or government framework. Teaching children to think for themselves will amount to little if it is not part of the culture of every educational institution. A similar point is made, in no uncertain terms, by Sen, in his critique of governments and societies that encourage the formation of narrowly-sectarian school communities in the name of cultural pluralism (2006, 117). Sen is critical of the agendas of such communities, which are likely to be inimical to open, structured inquiry and the skills and dispositions associated with it. Although he does not refer specifically to classroom dynamics, he emphasizes the importance of teaching children how to reason and make good choices, decisions and judgments. The better option is right before our eyes – at least for those living in large urban centers: it is the institution of *public schooling* which, inevitably, brings together just the kinds of diversity that are needed for genuine inquiry. With a multitude of nations, cultures, religions and other categories right there in the classroom, teachers have a wonderful opportunity to apply the principle that we find out who we truly are through being one among others.

21 Leung and Yuen 2009 cite a study in which students at a Hong Kong secondary school were encouraged to negotiate many issues, including their own style of school uniform, within a context in which such actions as "Changing natural colour of the hair" were simply ruled as unacceptable!



6. Concluding comment

To see ourselves as persons in the world is to see ourselves in an ever-changing network of inter-personal relationships. It has become increasingly important to expand this network beyond local and national boundaries, to embrace a more cosmopolitan ideal. Whatever perspective we opt for, we all must learn strategies for dealing with the tensions that inevitably arise. As reflective persons, our informed choices in this regard must be taken seriously by our governments as well as by our teachers. For reasons which I have attempted to articulate, I am not convinced that notions of citizenship have much place in these networks and perspectives; we may hope, at least, that they are not taken for granted.

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Takahiro Kondo and Xiaoyan Wu

A comparative study of “patriotism” as a goal of school education in China and Japan

Vergleichende Analyse des „Patriotismus“ als Erziehungsziel in China und Japan

In the eyes of much of the Japanese public, “patriotism education” in China is synonymous with anti-Japanese education, and a source of friction. Much of that friction, however, can be attributed to the differing roles and functions of “patriotism” in the two countries as well as the variant connotations of the very word for “patriotism”.

In China, the communist party avails itself of the strong levels of patriotism among the people in order to advance modernization of the country. Patriotism education is not designed to serve as anti-Japanese education. In Japan, however, given the country’s past role as an aggressor nation, that word has had consistently negative connotations. Debates over its own patriotism have continued and there are accordingly inexorable apprehensions over patriotism education in China.

To address the recurrent frictions between these two countries, both must overcome their ignorance about the differences that Chinese and Japanese societies manifest.

Unter der „patriotischen Erziehung“ in China versteht man in Japan generell eine anti-japanische Erziehung. Der bilaterale Streit um diese chinesische Bildungspolitik liegt aber in der unterschiedlichen Stellung begründet, welche der Begriff „Patriotismus“ in der Gesellschaft der beiden Nationen einnimmt.

In der Annahme, dass es einen ausgeprägten Patriotismus im Volk gibt, hat sich die Kommunistische Partei die patriotische Erziehung zunutze gemacht, um den Staat zu modernisieren. Die anti-japanische Erziehung war dabei zumindest nicht beabsichtigt. Andererseits bekam der Patriotismus in Japan, durch die eigene Erfahrung des Invasionskriegs, eine negative Konnotation. Dort ist die Debatte um den heimischen Patriotismus noch nicht abgeschlossen, und auch die chinesische Bildungspolitik wird sehr kritisch angesehen.

Um die wiederholten Konflikte zwischen den beiden Ländern zu lösen, muss man bei der Überwindung des gegenseitigen Unwissens und der Gleichgültigkeit bezüglich der Unterschiede ihrer Gesellschaften anfangen.

Keywords:

civic education, socialism, nationalism, transformation of patriotism, Chinese-Japanese relations

Japanese education in China to achieve a measure of success.

There has been, however, a lack of critical inquiry into the issues of whether patriotism education in China is truly anti-Japanese, and why Japanese have interpreted it as such. Whenever Japan, for example, expresses through various channels its wish that China refrain from engaging in anti-Japanese education, Chinese interpret that as gratuitous interference in China’s domestic affairs. Upon eliciting a response to the effect that, “There is no anti-Japanese education going on in the first place,” the Japanese almost without exception perceive in that response insincerity on the part of the Chinese. This paper seeks to address these issues by clarifying the different functions the word “patriotism” serves in both Chinese and Japanese political contexts.

Before we examine the differences in how patriotism is understood, it might be useful, particularly to Western readers, to revisit how the ideas of constitutional patriotism were received in both countries. In sum, in both countries, its advocates are only to be found in intellectual circles. To some degree or another, the same trend can be found in Europe (Edye 2003). Nevertheless, there is a difference in the way in which constitutional patriotism was received in China and Japan.

1. Sino-Japanese tensions over the issue of patriotism

In the eyes of much of the Japanese public, “patriotism education” in China is synonymous with “anti-Japanese education.” This view quickly became even more prevalent after the pelting and attacks of the Japanese consulate and Japanese-owned businesses by young demonstrators in Shanghai in April of 2005. The notion that it has served to fuel anti-Japanese sentiment among the Chinese public has been advanced not only by right-leaning Japanese media outlets, as may be expected, but even by prominent Japanese researchers of Modern China (Yabuki 2004; Amako 2004). There have also been, of course, voices in Japan calling for an understanding of the stances taken by the Chinese people and the Chinese government. When one considers the wars of aggression that have been waged against China in the past, and the litany of words and actions even in the post-war era by right-of-center Japanese politicians intended to glorify that aggression, it would hardly be surprising for anti-



In China, constitutional patriotism began to gain attention when Jürgen Habermas travelled in April 2001 to Beijing and Shanghai to give a series of eight lectures. As we shall see below, policies were being pursued at the time that sought to place nationalism at the foundations of patriotism, and constitutional patriotism captured the theoretical interests of some scholars and students as an alternative to those policies.

In Japan, on the other hand, constitutional patriotism was introduced with a speech by President Richard von Weizsäcker to the Bundestag commemorating the 40th anniversary of the end of the war. It continued to receive attention in Japan as a position articulated by Habermas during the Historikerstreit. More specifically, it was embraced by some – mainly on the left – as a formula for addressing the pressing "history issue" that Japan faced. It took root as a political concept that was critical of post-war Japanese society. The notion of allegiance to the constitution made constitutional patriotism particularly attractive to the left, which holds as an ideal strict adherence to the current Japanese constitution and its renunciation of war. At the same time, however, there was also a strong aversion to the word "patriotism". Those who argued for the deconstruction of the nation-state in particular viewed constitutional patriotism as a tactic to extend the life of that very nation-state, and therefore distanced themselves from it.

The above demonstrates the difference in context in which "patriotism" is viewed in the two countries: namely, in China it is an entirely ordinary member of the lexicon, whereas in Japan it is a concept that must be broached with a great deal of sensitivity. The failure by people of both countries to understand this difference is a significant source of friction.

It is safe to conclude that one of the biggest reasons for the misunderstanding involves the Chinese characters that have been used in Japan since the fifth century. Pertinent here is the fact that Japan and China share the same two-character compound that approximates the English "patriotism" (pronounced *aiguo* in Chinese and *aikoku* in Japanese).

While the compound *aiguo* is first attested in *Zhan Guo Ce*, a work of history written in China in the first century BCE, it only gained popular currency in the latter half of the 19th century, and in Japan. Over the course of Japan's modernization, Japanese thinkers had learned the word "patriotism" from Europeans. In translating the word into Japanese, they chose the word *aikoku*, which has a Chinese-sounding quality to it, and words of Chinese origin have a canonical air of authority to most Japanese ears. The word was eventually "reintroduced" into the Chinese language by Chinese intellectuals that had studied in Japan.

Early in the 20th century, however, *aiguo* and *aikoku* began to take on separate connotations. Socialists and pacifists in Japan began to interpret *aikoku* as

causes of war or as tools of imperialism. A Japanese work published in 1931 called the *Proletariat's Dictionary* defines patriotism as:

A fanatical belief in and love of the current state as supreme. To this, Marxists respond, "The state exists as a historical form. The state is an organ of one class's repression of other classes. Patriotism is an ideology that seeks to protect the interests of capitalists and landowners by exploiting and enslaving laborers and farmers." (Kyoseikaku Henshubu 1931, 1)

As is described below, in the early years of post-war Japan there were socialist figures who held up the ideal of *aikoku*, but any such stance among the political left in present-day Japan would indeed be an anomaly.

Among Chinese socialists, on the other hand, *aiguo* came to form the core of their own political slogans. For example, writing in 1938, Mao Zedong rhetorically answers the question of whether a Communist Party member, who is by nature an internationalist, can also be a patriot, by unambiguously stating, "We hold that he not only can be but must be" (Mao 1970, 242-243). Mao held that no fundamental contradiction existed between the internationalism and patriotism as espoused by the Communist Party.

Such differences in attitudes on *aikoku/aiguo* among socialists in China and Japan clearly stem from the relations between the two countries from the latter half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th. Socialists in the aggressor nation argued that patriotism was a deceit to mobilize the citizenry to engage in war. In contrast, the socialists on the other side – those in the nation with no recourse but resistance – made it their *raison d'être*.

Previous studies on Sino-Japanese friction have not taken sufficient note of these differences in the histories of the two countries in the first half of the 20th century. Furthermore, little study has been done on the differing connotations of "patriotism" in the two countries. Section 2 below describes the evolving policies on and realities of patriotism education in China, and Section 3 explores the same issues in Japan.

2. Patriotic education in China: policies and realities

2.1. The transformation of patriotism

The nature of patriotism as an educational goal in schools in China has undergone major transformations over the course of the economic reforms that began in 1978 and gained momentum in the 1990s. Specifically, the principle underpinning patriotism has changed from socialism to nationalism.

Let us first examine that change as reflected in the curricula of academic subjects pertaining to politics. China's school system has courses in political subjects for pupils and students at every stage of their education, from primary school through university. The



government has attached a great deal of importance to political subjects, as is evident from the way in which the educational content of these courses has often been dictated directly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC), which is the top tier of the leadership, and by the CCCPC's Propaganda Department. These are subjects that deal

with political philosophy, human values, social morals, and other components of the basic norms that shape how people live and how society functions. The transformations mentioned above become more apparent when one looks at how the educational content required of political courses by the government's curriculum guidelines has changed.

Table 1: Changes to the educational content of political subjects in junior and senior secondary schools

| | Main educational content | 1980s | 1990s | 2000s |
|----|---|-------|-------|-------|
| 1 | Moral education, encompassing patriotism, fraternity, honesty, etc. | x | x | x |
| 2 | Cultivating communist morality | x | | |
| 3 | Marxist theory of historical development | x | x | |
| 4 | Basic tenets of Marxist economics | x | | |
| 5 | Basic tenets of Marxist political science | x | | |
| 6 | Basic tenets of dialectical materialism | x | x | x |
| 7 | China's economic system, political system, and foreign policy | x | x | x |
| 8 | Knowledge of taxation, finance, and other aspects of economics; awareness of market economies | | x | x |
| 9 | Instilling respect for the law; tenets of democracy | | x | x |
| 10 | Mental, physical, and personal development; adolescent education | | x | x |
| 11 | Inheriting traditional cultures; cultivating a sense of national identity | | | x |
| 12 | Education of the people-as-sovereign and social participation regarding rights and civic values | | | x |
| 13 | The state of globalization; cultivating international perspectives | | | x |

(Compiled by Wu based on curriculum guidelines for political subjects issued in 1982, 1996-97, and 2003)

Table 1 above shows that in the early 1980s, soon after China embarked on its policy of reform, Marxist-related content still overwhelmingly dominated lessons and students were still receiving communist-oriented educations. In the 1990s, however, content related to market economies had increased. And since 2000, China's response to globalization has become a major concern.

Although patriotism has consistently been an education goal in this period spanning over three decades, during that time the object of that patriotism has shifted from a socialist state to a national collective. Put differently, students in the 1980s were expected to have a grounding in Marxist education and serve the ideals of socialism, but in the 1990s they were expected to contribute to the modernization of the country by using their knowledge of market economies. Furthermore, in the 21st century, a more international perspective and a sense of national identity have come to be expected of students. In this progression, the objectives of political science education, together with those of the Communist Party itself, have successfully transformed.

A similar, profound transformation can be seen in history education as well. This is epitomized in the way in which the Second Sino-Japanese War is written about. In history textbooks from the early 1980s, the clash between the Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) form the core of descriptions of the conflict, with accounts of the achievements of the former and criticisms leveled at the governance of the latter taking up considerable space. The significance of the victory over the latter is portrayed in terms of the defeat of imperialism, and even the numbers of enemy troops vanquished are proudly touted.

In contrast, in textbooks used in the 1990s, there is more mention of cooperation from the Chinese National Party in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time, acts of violence committed by the Japanese army and the devastation wrought upon the Chinese people came to be written about in more detail. In other words, the focus shifted from the losses inflicted upon enemy forces to the losses suffered by the people of China. Furthermore, the significance of outcome is framed less in terms of a victory over



imperialism and more as a victory for the "Chinese nation".

Perhaps it is inevitable that this kind of history education, i.e. that practiced in the 1990s, is seen by many Japanese people as anti-Japanese. However, the educational reforms mentioned above were not necessarily intended from the start to target Japan. Rather, they are the product of larger changes in international and domestic circumstances.

As the Cold War came to an end and the economy was increasingly marketized since the 1990s, the amount of discourse on socialism fell off sharply, and people began to focus on economic development, or to borrow Deng Xiaoping's analogy, as long as it catches mice, it does not matter whether the cat is black or white. A host of socioeconomic problems were to follow as a consequence, such as massive unemployment resulting from reforms of state-owned companies, large influxes of migrant workers into urban areas with the relaxation of restrictions on migration, and widening gaps between the rich and the poor. In dealing with these problems, nationalism was embraced as an alternative to socialism as a basis for social integration.

One of the interesting aspects of this process of transition is the rise in popular levels of interest in traditional culture. Beginning at the end of the 1980s, people began to reappraise traditional Chinese culture, which had been decried as feudalistic during the socialist era, and statements calling for its rehabilitation began to appear frequently in policy documents. This shift in the government's stance sparked renewed interest in traditional culture that had been present among certain sections of the public and the print media. By the latter half of the 1990s that interest had given rise to what came to be called the "Chinese classics (*guo xue*) boom". It is possible to discern in these phenomena an attempt to use distinctly Chinese values to react to western ideological, philosophical and socioeconomic influences, such as those embodied by the socialism of its past and the globalized economy of the contemporary era.

The reform and "open-door" policies meant more than a mere shift in political education. It required that changes take place in the Communist Party of China at a more fundamental level. Such change is clearly evident in the "three represents", which was championed by Jiang Zemin in 2000 and went on to become the guiding philosophy of the party. The basic idea of this philosophy is that the Communist Party should devote itself to the development of China's economy and culture, and that "the Party must emphasize working for the interests of the people more than ever before." What is most important is that what is being called for here is not the representation of the interests of the proletariat. In fact, when the Constitution of the Communist Party was amended

at the 16th National Congress of the CPC in 2002, language was added to the sentence "the Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class" from the Party's Statutes so that the Constitution read "vanguard both of the Chinese working class and of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation". Qualifications for Party membership likewise became more inclusive. Specifically, the stated qualifications of "Any Chinese worker, poor peasant, lower-middle peasant, revolutionary armyman or any other revolutionary element who has reached the age of eighteen" was changed to read "Any Chinese worker, farmer, member of the armed forces, intellectual or any advanced element of other social strata who has reached the age of eighteen", a revision that opened membership to many more sections of society, including the new bourgeoisie (Zhang 2008). In doing so, the Communist Party of China managed to transform itself from essentially a party of the proletariat to a party of the Chinese people.

There is little doubt that this transformation of the Party itself played a part in the changes to the curriculum guidelines described above. For example, in its 1983 Ideas on Strengthening Education to Promote Patriotism, the Propaganda Department stated:

We must, through patriotism education, cultivate among the public and young people an awareness of themselves as patriots. Further, by building upon that foundation, it is important that we deepen the level of ideological and political education, and develop patriots into communists. (He 1998, 2108)

In contrast, in 1994 the CCCPC included in the Outlines of Patriotic Educational Environment the following:

The purpose of patriotism education is to strengthen a sense of national identity and power of unity of people, instill a sense of self-respect and pride as a people...direct the patriotic sentiments of the people to contributions toward the unification, prospering, and strengthening of the homeland, create socialist citizens with ideals, morals, culture and discipline, and unite for the common ideals of the people. (He 1998, 3680)

Although we see here the qualifier "socialist (citizens)", it is void of any substantial meaning. Following this publication, in 2001 the CCCPC issued the Executive Outlines of Citizen's Moral Construction, and these were followed by the Executive Outlines of Education of National Spirit in Schools issued jointly in 2004 by the Propaganda Department and the Ministry of Education. Common to all of these is the pursuit of a kind of education in patriotism and public morals rooted in a sense of national identity. In characterizing this series of outlines that began to appear in the mid-1990s, it would not be an exaggeration to say that together they form a kind of "holy trinity" in that they



call for the restoration and cultivation of the national spirit of the great Chinese nation at all stages in the education of the public.

2.2. The diversification of patriotism

Of the three outlines noted above, the Outlines of Patriotic Educational Environment led to the designation of Patriotism Education Bases around the country. Playing a particularly central role are the model National Patriotism Education Bases named by the Propaganda Department, of which there were 356 as of 2009. There are also numerous Patriotism Education Bases designated independently by other central agencies, local governments, and private groups. In addition to schools being encouraged by the government to visit the bases, the bases are visited frequently by companies and other groups as part of their educational efforts, and even advertised in the mass media.

Meanwhile, in Japan, the establishment of such bases has been viewed with a great deal of suspicion. In Japanese, the Chinese characters for "base" used here denote a military base, so to Japanese ears, the phrase "Patriotism Education Base" evokes images of a military installation where people receive patriotic education.

In reality, however, most of these Patriotism Education Bases are cultural centers housing historic sites and museums of history and science. People who visit "bases" such as the Great Wall or the Forbidden City ostensibly for the purposes of patriotism education generally have a more tourist-oriented mindset. According to government statistics, only about a third of visitors to Patriotism Education Bases responded that the purpose of their visit was to receive education in patriotism (Liu 2007). In fact, there has even been controversy stirred over smiling tourists taking commemorative photos at Patriotism Education Bases commemorating the war of resistance against Japan while wearing the uniforms of Imperial Japanese soldiers.

Also noteworthy is the growing interest in the economic benefits as tourism to the bases becomes more common. Many hopes are resting on the development of tourism to bases to invigorate local economics, especially in rural areas. The Patriotism Education Base Tourism ("red tourism") Development Plan, promulgated by the General Office of the CCCPC and the General Office of the State Council in December of 2004, set economic and employment targets to be met by 2010: 100 billion yuan in income from tourism, and two million persons directly employed in the tourism industry (Cui 2009).

Exposing more of the citizenry to artifacts of Chinese history is undoubtedly an effective means of achieving the educational goal of cultivating patriotism. However, people do not necessarily take away

the same things from such educational experiences. At the very least, there is little question that not all of those educational opportunities are the sorts of things that many Japanese find disconcerting.

Furthermore, as the fundamental underpinnings of patriotism shift from socialism to nationalism, people's notions of patriotism are becoming more diverse. In 2006 a questionnaire survey was given to one thousand junior and senior high school students in Guangdong Province. The survey revealed that these young adults, who had grown up with patriotism education, have a unique conception of patriotism. For many of them, patriotism has very little to do with political teachings. For example, getting a receipt when eating at a McDonald's is an act of patriotism in their eyes, because it prevents tax evasion at the restaurant and thereby helps ensure that the government receives tax revenues. In addition, learning proper Chinese, being polite and well-mannered while traveling or studying abroad, and protecting the natural environment are all seen as acts of patriotism (Wang 2006).

The government has also had to respond to young people's notion of patriotism. In 2005, Shanghai selected a pop song titled "Snail" that was popular with youngsters as a patriotic song. During the selection process, there were objections to the effect that the song's lyrics, which include the lines, "I'll keep climbing step by step; At the top of the tree I will fly, riding on a leaf; The tears and sweat I've shed will be blown away by the wind; And someday I will have my own sky," do not extol the virtues of serving the state or society and are far removed from patriotism, but eventually it was concluded that the song could be considered patriotic in that the lyrics encourage people to work hard (Yue 2005 <http://gb.cri.cn/3821/2005/03/16/143@482919.htm>).

In relation to Japan, when the anti-Japanese demonstrations erupted in cities throughout China in 2005 as mentioned at the beginning, the Propaganda Department of the CCCPC and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created Sino-Japanese relations propaganda teams that held lectures at universities and called for "rational" displays of patriotism (Zhang 2005). Furthermore, it should be noted that the Communist Party's newspaper ran a special series and collection of interview essays with the theme "How to express the passion of patriotism", criticizing extreme forms of nationalism (Xie 2005). One can see from these developments that the government does not simply promote patriotism, but rather tries to exercise control of it.

The government's aims have, at least to a certain extent, been realized. It is true that similar incidents repeatedly occur whenever there is a new source of friction between Japan and China. Nevertheless, patriotism on the part of young people is, for the most part, directed at working toward the modernization of the country.



This trend is also evident from the results of a survey of attitudes of 1,411 students at ten junior and senior high schools around China conducted by this author (Wu) in 2008 and 2009 (see Table 2).

Table 2: What is a patriotic act? (Valid responses: 1,359; multiple choices allowed)

| Choices | % | Choices | % |
|--|------|--|------|
| A Participating in flag-raising ceremonies | 81.5 | G Agreeing with everything the government says and does | 5.2 |
| B Cherishing history and traditions | 88.2 | H Studying and working diligently | 66.2 |
| C Buying domestically produced products | 16.5 | I Protect the unity of the country even if it means the use of force | 21.3 |
| D Being critical of the government and society | 41.5 | J The people uniting | 82.3 |
| E Creating a free and peaceful society | 61.4 | K Working toward economic and technological development | 79.0 |
| F Following the policies of the government | 49.4 | | |

When asked, "What to you is a patriotic act?", most junior and senior high students chose: the people uniting or showing unity (A and J), valuing traditional culture (B), and working toward the development of the country (K). These results demonstrate that the message of the government mentioned above is being quite accurately conveyed to adolescents. At the same time, the low figures for C and I indicate that these students are not all exclusionist or aggressive in their beliefs.

Another interesting finding was that, when asked in a separate question about the ideals they subscribe to the most, "world peace" (33.9%) and "the development of the Chinese people" (32.2%) far outweighed "the ideals of socialism" (8.5%). Policies designed to effect a shift from the principles of socialism to the principles of nationalism have resonated with young people, and at the same time, it seems they have acquired a certain degree of caution regarding the dangers of exclusionary nationalism.

It goes without saying that the results above represent to a certain degree what students think to be the model answers. In other words, there is no guarantee that they accurately reflect the students' value systems. However, these results nonetheless demonstrate that patriotism education is being conducted with the intent to direct the patriotic sensibilities of the people not toward hostility for Japan, but toward the desire to contribute to the development of the country.

3. The introduction of "patriotism" in Japanese schools

3.1. Patriotism in post-war Japanese society

The nationalistic form that patriotic education has taken in China since the 1980s has been viewed in Japan with apprehension and mistrust. Interestingly enough, however, not long after its establishment in the Chinese educational system, people in Japan be-

gan demanding that patriotism be introduced as an educational objective in Japanese schools.

In June of 2006, various Japanese newspapers reported that the patriotism of pupils was evaluated in the grade reports of primary schools throughout the country. In all, the number of such schools totaled 190 (Asahi Shimbun 2006), which amounted to about 0.8 percent of the nation's primary schools. Right around the same time, amendments to the Basic Act on Education were being debated in the Diet, with the conservative government pushing for the inclusion of patriotism as an educational goal and the opposition parties opposing it, and each with intellectuals paraded to back its side of the argument. Put differently, these primary schools had redesigned their grade reports before the matter was settled by the Japanese Diet. While 0.8 percent may appear to be an almost negligible figure, it can nonetheless be seen as symbolic of the attitudes of many primary school teachers at the time.

However, these developments are relatively recent.

The general perception in the field of education in Japanese, which few would doubt is strongly influenced by left-leaning ideas, is that from the 1950s, under the direction of the American government, the conservative government of Japan has consistently pushed for a stronger sense of patriotism among the populace. The move that is perhaps most symbolic of this effort was the set of demands made by US Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson in 1953 to the future Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda that Japan's self-defense capabilities be strengthened and that patriotic education be instituted. As a result, in 1958, classes in "morals" were introduced for the first time into the Curriculum Guidelines for primary schools. This triggered criticisms that such classes were a restoration of the pre-war "moral science" (*shūshin*) classes taught to instill patriotism. Comments by conservative politicians lamenting a lack of patrio-



tism have continued more or less without interruption since.

While the perception that education has gradually but steadily taken on a right-wing bent since the 1950s is valid to a point, it overlooks two important facts.

First, in the post-war years there were voices on the left that supported patriotism. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that the leadership of the Communist Party followed the Comintern in asserting that they were the true patriots. Their logic was that the Emperor-worshiping conservative factions in Japan, under the direction of American capital, were exploiting the Japanese people and preventing the formation of an independent socioeconomic and cultural entity. Such assertions and views were expressed in educational circles at that time as well. Tokumitsu Yagawa, a scholar of Soviet education and prominent critic of the democratization of education being advanced under American occupation, wrote in a journal for educators, "Japanese schools are producing children with no national self-esteem" (Yagawa 1952, 7). The arguments presented here demonstrate that around 1950 there was a "tug-of-war" between the right and left in Japan regarding patriotism. There were even people on the left who looked to the socialist patriotism of the Communist Party of China for models of education.

The second and more important fact is that after the latter half of the 1950s, this virtual tug-of-war over patriotism gave way to a broader transformation in the political landscape whose lines could be drawn by positions on that issue. More specifically, as time went on, "patriotism" became a term used primarily by the right. Its use came to be avoided by the left.

The Cold War played a major role in this process. Once the conservatives – whose reign over government would last from 1955 to 1993 – gained power, that government attempted to restore the patriotism education programs of the past, as already described. In order to make their opposition to the cultural and educational policies of the right unambiguously clear, the left began to demarcate their vocabulary, preferring to use different words such as "people" (*jimin/minzoku*) and "public" (*minshū*).

One factor that played an important role in this shift in policy on the left side of the political spectrum was the collective experience of the war that had just ended. The term *aikoku* was associated too deeply with memories of the war. It may have been a useful term for the right-wing and conservative factions that sympathize, at least to an extent, with the political and social structures that pushed forward with the war, but for the left wing that opposed those factions, there existed concern over confusion on the part of supporters. By using different terms to convey essentially the same meaning, the forces on the political left were effectively able to convey their peace-oriented message.

Naturally, this does not mean that the left rejected or ignored the notion of patriotism. As one example, the student-led anti-American protests of the 1960s and 1970s were fuelled primarily by the framework of early 20th century communist thought. Although notions of the "people" and the "public" were favored in the discourse of the time, it would not be much of a stretch to deem the protests demonstrations of patriotism.

What is most important to remember is that the existence of this powerful left served as an impediment to patriotism education as administered by the conservative government. Despite the reality that both sides appealed to the patriotism of the people, the messages themselves conflicted. The real result was that neither the right, which actually used the term "patriotism" in its demands for education with a focus on tradition, nor the left, which made a strong show of opposition by teachers and educators, was able to achieve its objectives.

A definitive change to this situation happened around 1990. The left had been losing political momentum since the 1970s. Economic development had largely reduced the problem of poverty, which had been a major source of frustration among laborers, and after the US pulled out of Vietnam, notions of socialistic patriotism were all but relegated to the periphery. Not only the word *aikoku* but the very notion became the exclusive property of right-leaning, conservative factions, and this was happening just as the world order imposed by the Cold War was being dismantled.

The end of the Cold War marked the end of the era of the so-called "55-year regime" in Japan. The political left fell apart. Not only that, but the decades-long dominance by the Liberal Democratic Party was likewise brought to a close. Amidst the ensuing political chaos, the right pushed for patriotism as an educational goal, and achieved a measure of success. One of the more interesting facets of the arguments put forth to stress the importance of patriotism education was the issue of juvenile crime, which at the time was purported to be at record-high levels. According to the proponents of a "national reconstruction" based on traditional values, the fact that patriotism had not been taught in schools, which according to this argument were largely controlled by socialist teachers, was the reason for social ills such as juvenile crime. Though this is clearly at odds with the facts, it still holds sway with certain politicians.

3.2. The problem of assessing patriotism

The patriotism-oriented educational policies advanced under the leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party began with revisions to the official Curriculum Guidelines. The Curriculum Guidelines issued in 1989 dictated thorough "guidance" regarding the national flag and national anthem. It should be noted that at



the time there were no legal provisions in place that declared the flag of the Rising Sun and *Kimi-ga-ya* to be the national flag and anthem, respectively. This led to the passage in 1999 of the so-called "National Flag and Anthem Act".

By the end of the 20th century, the idea that the cultivation of patriotism should be made an educational goal had already become widespread among right-leaning interests. In fact, this was the reason for some schools adopting grade reporting standards that evaluated views on patriotism even before the Basic Act on Education was amended. Once the Curriculum Guidelines reflecting the amendments to the Basic Act on Education were promulgated (2008), such educational policies were given more force. Particularly worthy of note is that during the deliberations of the proposed amendments, a right-leaning group led by Liberal Democratic Party members pressured the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology to make sure that patriotism was taught in schools under the new incarnation of the law. As a consequence, for instance, the directive in the 1989 Curriculum Guidelines was "to instruct students in the national anthem", but in the new Guidelines this became more specific and directed teachers to "give students instructions until they can sing the national anthem". (Monbukagakusho 2008, 69)

That said, these educational policies were met with major problems even before the ruling parties changed in 2009. Even at the schools that had instituted reports that graded "patriotism", there were no clear ideas on how to assess patriotism. One primary school near Tokyo established the objective of "demonstrating an interest in and proactively studying Japanese history and traditions and loving one's country" within the realm of social studies, but ultimately the teachers ended up by giving tests, just as they had always done, and were left with no choice but to evaluate "patriotism" based on the results of usual social study's test (Asahi Shimbun 2006). More than a few schools have implemented assessments of patriotism only to abandon them later due to the difficulties associated with grading.

In addition to problems with grading, many people, including conservative figures, have been critical of the very idea of assessing students based on criteria that involve what students may think privately. Ultimately, contemporary Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi stated in a Diet session that assessments of patriotism are unnecessary (Tokyo Shimbun 2006).

Still, not assessing a subject does not necessarily mean not teaching it. The law clearly requires that patriotism be taught as an educational goal. Given these circumstances, some teachers and researchers in education continue to explore how patriotism can be taught effectively. One interesting idea that has emerged from these efforts is to conduct classes in

such a way that students explore different areas from the standpoint of tourists and find what appeals to them at the different locales (Tani 2008). In this respect one might discern a certain commonality with patriotism education initiatives in China.

4. Commonalities between China and Japan

One very interesting aspect of nationalistic patriotism education policies in China and Japan is that they were instituted roughly at the same time. Moreover, in both countries those policies have lacked focus and are extremely difficult to assess. In this respect, one might conclude that both countries pushed these education policies through despite being able to anticipate from the beginning the difficulties that they posed.

Also, when one looks at the factors defining the same era in these two countries, there is little evidence to be found to support the argument that patriotic or nationalistic education in Japan was a contemporaneous reaction to the patriotism education of China that preceded it. However, it would be difficult to argue that that very contemporaneousness is a mere coincidence. An assessment would be that, as the Cold War's end shook the foundations of leadership in both countries, forms of nationalistic patriotism were fostered in both countries as a means to gain the support of the people.

Nevertheless, the political functions served by the word "patriotism" differ between the two countries. In China, the government uses it effectively to build consensus among broad sections of the population, while in Japan it tends to divide the population. The right in Japan maintains that "nationalism" is significant in that it will effect a spiritual restoration of the nation, though people with whom that message resonates are in the minority while opposition to that point of view is clear and present. The only victories at the turn of the century that the right can claim are as a result of cooperation from the conservative and centrist factions who wish to remain on the ruling side as the remains of the left-right narrative fade.

In addition to the differences mentioned at the beginning stemming from the Japan's role in relatively recent history as an aggressor and China as the victim of that aggression, the different degrees of modernization and different Cold-War political alignments have also played a role.

In the eyes of the majority of the Japanese people – not to mention the right end of the spectrum that already sees China as a threat – excessive focus on patriotism by the Chinese government and people is seen as dangerous. In contrast, people in China that recognize the danger of Chinese patriotism turning into nationalism are in the minority. A more widely-held apprehension is that of the danger of the speech and actions of right-leaning Japanese figures, which



they deem to have the approval of the Japanese public at large.

Lastly, with regard to the initial question, researchers in Japan should not overlook the fact that the sense of patriotism and anti-Japanese sentiment had persisted among the Chinese people for a long time, and that policies taken to curb anti-Japanese sentiment, however insufficient, have been taken.

In effect, patriotism education in China does entail aspects that do not serve Japanese interests. Still,

those policies are designed to maintain the hegemony of the Communist Party of China and to further the modernization of the state. Hence, there is no easy way to change them. In this context it is more important to deepen a mutual understanding of the history of the modernization of the two countries, modern-day society, and the current state of politics therein. Such understanding would make it possible to realize concrete measures to minimize the negative implications of nationalistic education in China

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Albena Hranova

History Education and Civic Education: The Bulgarian Case

This text looks at the developments in the relationship between history education and civic education in the Bulgarian educational tradition in the 1878-1944 period and tends to finally refer to the present state of affairs. It examines the political contexts of the methods and writing of textbooks which have ensured the political longevity of the conservative nationalist model in the worldview of both school subjects. The observations are based upon more than eighty textbooks on history and civic education published since 1878 (of which only those that are typical and representative of the dominant trends in the Bulgarian educational tradition are cited here) as well as upon some works in didactics. The main features in the texture of the conservative model are identified on the basis of a discourse analysis of history and civic education textbooks, and they concern the disciplinary, spatio-temporal, and conceptual homologies found in them.

Keywords:

textbook research, history textbooks, civic education, Bulgaria.

1. The Conservative Model

After five centuries of Ottoman rule (1396-1878), a new Bulgarian State was established after the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War. Its boundaries were drawn by the Peace Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878), according to which the territory of Bulgaria included Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia; the state unity of those three regions was regarded for generations after 1878 as "the Bulgarian national ideal", embodied also in the formulas "Great Bulgaria" and "Bulgaria on three seas". However, the San Stefano map never became a political reality. Just two months later (in June 1878), the Congress of Berlin drastically redrew the map and state identity of "the national ideal" – it divided the territory into a Principality of Bulgaria ("Moesia" or what is now northern Bulgaria) and Eastern Rumelia ("Thrace", part of which is now southern Bulgaria), an autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire, while Macedonia was returned entirely to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the national formula "Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia" was partitioned into its three components. This caused a long-lasting national trauma that would not be healed by the 1885 Unification of the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, followed by the victorious for Bulgaria Serbo-Bulgarian War. This political success did not fully resolve "the national question". The aspirations towards a "Great Bulgaria", which would include Macedonia, became the main imperative in Bulgarian official policy, culminating in three consecutive wars: the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1919), called "wars for national unification" in all textbooks from the period. For Bulgaria, the wars ended in defeat and further losses of state territory; the decisions of the peace treaties concluded after the wars would come to be known as "national catastrophes". After the wars, Bulgarian society fell into a deep national, social and cultural crisis which had numerous political

implications, one of them being the rise of interwar authoritarian regimes and Bulgaria's joining the Axis Powers. This led to the annexation of Macedonia to Bulgaria in 1941, briefly thought of as "fulfillment of the Bulgarian national ideal". Its end came with the defeat of the Axis Powers in the Second World War, the arrival of the Soviet Army, and the beginning of communist rule in Bulgaria on 9 September 1944.

The previous paragraph is not even a thumbnail sketch of modern Bulgarian history; it is only an attempt to present the political circumstances that dictated also the more specific problem of the relationship between history and civic education in the Bulgarian educational tradition. Until 1944, "the national ideal" was a thematic common-place and conceptual core of both history and civic education. In this sense, it is very interesting to observe the appearance of "a happy ending" for Bulgarian history in the textbooks that were written at the time of the actual historical events – and that dramatically failed to anticipate the actual outcomes of those events.

A textbook published in a fourth edition in 1879 ends with the glorious image of San Stefano Bulgaria: "This Bulgarian kingdom includes almost the entire Bulgarian land" (Manchov 1879, 215). We can only imagine that the author was writing his history textbook in synchrony with history itself, running through the same temporal corridor as actual history – yet doomed to drop behind just a moment later. He must have written the textbook at some point during the short interval between March and June 1878, between the treaties of San Stefano and of Berlin.

Another textbook with a happy ending was published in 1918: "The Bulgarians participated in the European war, defeated their enemies, and liberated Macedonia, the Morava lands and Dobrudzha. In this way they restored the great and whole Bulgaria" (Stanev 1918, 216). This textbook was released in that same crucial year – perhaps just weeks before the military breakthrough which caused the defeat of Bulgaria that would come to be known as "the second national catastrophe".



Another happy-ending nationalist account was published in 1943; it states that “now the great deed of our national unification is coming to its happy end” (Sheytanov, Bozhikov 1943, 110). The “now” here is one year after the occupation of Macedonia and southern Thrace by Bulgarian troops – and one year before the arrival of the Soviet Army on the Danube. Two years earlier, one of the co-authors of the above-cited textbook co-authored another textbook, which includes a section on civic education that ends with the same formula as follows:

... in April 1941 most of the newly liberated lands were occupied by our national army. Bulgarian rule was established there. The joy of our until recently enslaved brothers became even greater. Aegean Thrace, the western outlands, and most of Macedonia are now under the powerful protection of the Bulgarian State. The great deed of our national unification is coming to its happy end. Days of progress and prosperity are coming for all Bulgarians (Popvasilev, Sheytanov 1941, 126).

In this sense, the new Bulgarian State was conceived of throughout the 1878-1944 period as a not entirely attained homeland; and, at the same, as the main instrument by which the long-cherished homeland (i.e. “Great Bulgaria” or “Bulgaria on three seas”) could be attained through systematic political action on the part of the state including, not in the last place, war. This interconnection of “the civic concept” of the state and “the ethnic concept” of the homeland (whereby the two instrumentally justified each other) would eventually leave no room for any liberal attitudes in official education, be it in history or in civics – especially in the authoritarian political contexts of the interwar period. Here is how those characteristics of the period are summed up in a contemporary two-volume study on Bulgarian society (1878-1939):

The new nationalism and state authoritarianism started from an entirely different (as compared with liberalism) concept of the state, the nation, and the individual. ... In the envisioned “new order”, “new state”, and “new society” (or “new citizenship”), the individual was an obedient particle of the organized and guided by leaders and elites whole. ... The state was the protector of the nation, and its justification consisted precisely therein (and not in some “social contract” of individual wills); it was authoritarian because that is how it could best coordinate and guide society towards the achievement of the national and social goals. Oriented by education and spirit towards their achievement, the individual owed unconditional obedience to the state (and its leaders)...
... The ideal and objective of “the new Bulgarian education” (called by some “balgaroznanie”, “balgarouchenie”¹) was the formation of “the new citizen”, who had to be above

1 These peculiar terms of the interwar period can be translated only in clumsy expressions like “learning to be Bulgarian” and “teaching Bulgarianness”.

all “Bulgarian” and “patriotic”. He had to be disciplined, to respect the authority of the leaders and to have a sense of “duty” to the nation and the state, being ready to unconditionally sacrifice himself for them. A national and state (authoritarian) spirit was to be cultivated by teaching particular subjects, especially “national” subjects such as Bulgarian history, language and literature, and geography. To these were added the subjects “religion” (designed to “Christianize” schools) and “civics” (where the emphasis was on duty to the state)... (Daskalov 2005, II, 397-399).

Here are also some examples of the clear conservative imperative of civic education textbooks from different decades. The attitude towards the state explicitly declared in them, including at the level of lexical repetition, is one of “respect”, “obedience”, “duty”, and “protection”:

... *The agents of power must be respected; whoever teases or attacks them commits a rebellious crime* (Gruev 1881, 22).²

... the first duty of the citizen to the fatherland is the duty from which all other duties follow, namely: to obey the laws of their country and to respect the authorities in charge of implementing them. But what if they are bad and unjust? We still must obey them. Indeed, they have been created by people, but people are not infallible and therefore their deeds are not perfect. ... Refusing to abide by the laws because we think they are bad would mean committing an injustice; it would be the same as refusing the state what we owe it ... it is better to endure injustice than to act unjustly (Paunchev 1904, 20).

The good citizen *selflessly loves his homeland and serves it faithfully... he looks up to and respects the head of state, the state institutions, the state symbols* (the national flag, the national anthem, etc.) and *our national army*. He knows that the head of state works always for the good and well-being of the nation and the state; that the state institutions make his life easier; that the state symbols represent the honour and power of his state, and that our brave national army defends him from external and internal enemies... *O you Bulgarian, keep your state as the apple of your eye!* ... (Koychev 1938, 79-80).

The good citizen loves his fatherland ... The good citizen respects the state authorities and voluntarily, willingly carries out their lawful orders... (Mandov, Petev 1942, 62).

The conservative character of the model of civic education is especially evident from another circumstance in the interwar period: the use of the terms “citizen” and “subject” in textbooks as full synonyms, for the citizen was conceived of precisely and only as someone who obeyed the government and its institutions. For example, in a textbook from 1938, we find the following contextual synonymy in the lesson titled “Duties and Rights of Citizens”: “The most important duty of the citizen is to obey the laws... Every Bulgar-

2 In all quotes in this paper the italics are in the original, and the underlining is added.



ian subject is obliged to do his military service... Every Bulgarian subject must duly pay his taxes... Every citizen is obliged to vote" (Koychev 1938, 13); also: "Civic rights are enjoyed not only by the Bulgarian subjects but also by all foreigners living in Bulgaria..." (Pravdolyubov, Stoyanov 1938, 61); as well as the almost-set-phrase "Bulgarian citizens or subjects" found in a number of civic education textbooks.

The conservative model of civic education has as its core nationalism and the traumatic consciousness of the non-coincidence of homeland and state throughout the 1878-1944 period. Its persistence in the traditions of Bulgarian education is due to the successive discursive achievement of entire series of homologies in the curricula, textbooks, and relevant political and cultural contexts – series of disciplinary, spatio-temporal, and conceptual homologies, which are examined separately in the next sections.

2. Disciplinary Homologies

Just as the conservative model of civic education was not a Bulgarian invention but a product of institutional transfer of European educational models in the last two decades of the nineteenth century (here we cannot go into the details, paths of transfer, and choice of those particular models), so too the non-autonomous character of the school subject "civics" corresponded to already existing non-Bulgarian educational traditions. Whereas there were history and geography textbooks throughout the nineteenth century, even before the establishment of the Bulgarian State in 1878, "civics" was predictably institutionalized in Bulgarian education only after the establishment of the new state, that is to say, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The first Bulgarian civic education textbook was published in 1881, and here we will note three of its characteristics. Firstly, its author, Yoakim Gruev, admitted that his model and source were foreign, and defined his work not as original but rather as translation: "This book, based on a translation of a similar French book compiled by Mr. P. Lalois, is designed to introduce pupils..." (Gruev 1881, 2). Secondly, in the title of the textbook civic education was interlinked with ethics in a unified subject field: the title was "Basics of Ethics and of Civic Science". Thirdly, the textbook covered an even wider field of interrelated knowledge than the one formulated in its title: "Every Bulgarian must know both the *history* and the *geography* of his land, he must know its *laws* and *regulations*; otherwise he will not be able to love it well and to serve it well" (Gruev 1881, 3).

This, inherited from foreign educational models, combination of subjects that also served as a basis of civic education, was regulated by state education policy and the relevant laws. In the 1891 National Education Law, civics appeared as a separate subject listed

among the following subjects: "...Homeland Studies [*Otechestvovedenie*], Civics..." (for primary schools); the list of secondary school subjects goes as follows: "... Bulgarian Language, Civics, History, Geography..." (Uchilishten almanah 1900, 279, 289). These collocations in the list of subjects became clearly interconnected subjects in the 1909 National Education Law: the subject to be taught at primary schools is "Homeland Studies with Civics" (according to the relevant curricula, "Homeland Studies" were defined as a combination between history and geography); the subject to be taught at junior high schools was defined as "General and National Geography with Civics", and the one at high schools as "Civics with Political Economy" (Sbornik 1924, 19, 22, 55-56). The syllabus of the "civics" section, whatever other subjects it was combined with, remained constant throughout the decades in question: it included knowledge about the home, family, native place, municipality, fatherland, society, state, territorial administration, legislation, the Constitution, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, the structure and activity of the different government ministries, the rights and duties of citizens.

It appears that the combination of the different subjects (history, geography, Bulgarian language and literature) with civics was asymmetrical, as the most persistent combination of civic education in the relevant institutional formulations is that with geography at the different levels of education. This, however, is at first sight only. As early as the 1890s, we find, alongside "civics" in "Homeland Studies", literary works that serve as illustrations to the lessons – these are mostly popular poems by Ivan Vazov³, selected thematically; the poems about the beauty of the Bulgarian landscape illustrate geography lessons, while the poems about Bulgarian heroism illustrate history lessons. In addition, the lessons in geography and civics abound in historical references – the lessons about a particular area (or municipality) almost always include historical references to events that took place there in the distant or recent past. Furthermore, history is conceived of as a hermeneutic tool aimed at achieving the understanding of civics – at that, in its ethical aspect, as knowledge of the national virtues:

When you learn the history [of Bulgaria], you will learn how our ancestors succeeded with their diligence in appropriating the land we were born in; who their enemies were and how they heroically fought them; how faithful they were to their clan, to their fatherland, and how they sacrificed their lives and property for its freedom and glory. And only then will you be able to understand better the great virtues I spoke to you about in "civics",

3 Ivan Vazov (1850-1921), classic Bulgarian writer known as "the patriarch of Bulgarian literature". His poetry, prose, and plays are an embodiment of the national idea in Bulgarian culture.



which are necessary for the well-being and greatness of a nation" (Paunchev 1899, 415).

The same imperative regarding the connection of civic education with national history was valid for the 1930s too: a section on civics in a 1936 textbook, in the lesson titled "Who Teach Us to Be Good Citizens", listed the parents, the school, the Church, and history, because "*all of us Bulgarians must know our national history - only then will we know how to preserve our state and to work for its success and well-being*" (Popov 1936, 14). Thus, national history was conceived of as a social agent which, along with the family and institutions, was capable of immediately forming "good citizens".

This tendency towards inter-subject connections and combinations, realized within the context of the nationalist tendency, had found imperative institutional justification in Memorandum on National Education No. 12353 dated 17 October 1913 (at the time of the Second Balkan War):

Since the liberation to this day, our state has striven to create the institutions necessary for its proper development, and to improve them so that they can be adequate to the tasks they are designed to fulfill. All those institutions, whatever their social purpose, cannot function in isolation from each other, but must jointly pursue one main idea – the idea that unites the souls of all members of the state...

After the liberation, the patriotic tendency in our schools decreased somewhat. Priority was given to general education; while the remaining national influence in this education was somehow overshadowed by the mass of general knowledge... We must create in ourselves above all faith in the national genius and determine ourselves as a nation through one national ideal...

The *history* teacher can do much in this respect. Indeed, history is studied so that pupils can learn about the development of the social, economic, and political institutions of different nations at different times. But in addition to that, the teacher should not forget to underline the efforts of the separate nations to self-determine themselves as national units... In recounting the heroic struggles of nations for national unification ... an allusion should be made to the unification aspirations of our nation...

The *geography* teacher also has ample opportunities to awaken pride in his pupils that they are sons of a "heavenly land" ... without forgetting the lands that were forcibly severed from the Bulgarian body...

The *Bulgarian language* teacher has the advantage of being given the opportunity to directly introduce pupils to the spirit of the Bulgarians through their own words... Give children works that reveal the Bulgarian spirit. Read them descriptions and memories of past struggles and amazing feats from the recent war... Underline the phenomenal Bulgarian heroism... (cited in Yordanov 1925, 26-33).

The Memorandum goes on to refer to the lessons in folk songs, civics, art, music, physical education, to the role of national festivals in patriotic education,

and so on. Given this institutionally regulated focus of the different school subjects on one and the same message – "the national idea" – the different subjects themselves begin to look simply as thematic variations on one and the same substantive message.⁴

Let us note that the institutionalized focus of the different subjects on just "one thing" continued after 1944 as well, in the Stalinist period; the only big difference is that whereas interwar nationalism made the different subject fields focus on the *subject* – "the nation", Stalinism made them focus on the *method* – "Marxist-Leninist philosophy", "Communist Party spirit in science and education", and so on.

By making the different subjects and sciences serve always and only one political and axiological centre (regardless of its different kind and character before and after 1944), the state made them incapable of producing different narratives and conveying different messages to society depending on their different subject matter, instruments, and methods. All of them proved to be repositories of one disciplinary homology for which the different subject fields functioned as nothing more than "themes". It turns out that the main function of the state and its education policies in both political cases was to completely institutionalize this inability. This, however, is a bigger question which we cannot discuss here.

In such a context, each of the school subjects may be said to have carried the message – that is to say, "the national idea" and "the national ideal" in the 1878-1944 period – of any of the others. The first systematic Bulgarian work on the methods of teaching history, published in the interwar period, defined the subject as follows: "... history at school presents a certain *centre of almost all sciences*" (Stanev, Stoyanov 1922, 10); still, it devoted more special attention to geography because "the study of the history of any nation is always preceded by a *geographic review of the place*" (ibid.). Since the interconnection between history and geography was also the basis for adding the subject "civics" to them, in the next paragraph we will look in more detail at the question of how history and geography education produced the homologies of time and space that transferred "the national idea" and the "Great Bulgaria" model to the subject parameters of "civics" in Bulgarian education policies and its conservative political model.

4 Academic science could not entirely serve as an institutional corrective of this situation in education because Sofia University was founded at the end of the nineteenth century precisely as a Higher School designed to train mostly teachers (hence the similarity between school curricula and the University curricula); as well as because "*one of the most significant lines of Bulgarianization of the university model was in the perception and development of the Higher School primarily as an educational, and not as a scientific institution*" (Boyadzhieva 1998, 288).



3. Spatial and Temporal Homologies

It turns out that after 1878, Great Bulgaria ("Bulgaria of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia", "Bulgaria on three seas" envisaged by the 1878 San Stefano map that never became a political reality) was the main storyline in geography textbooks and syllabi. That is to say, the subject "Geography of Bulgaria" taught much more than geography of the *state* – it was primarily designed to teach geography of the *nation* in its form of an imaginary territorial map that never became a reality in modern history. Paradoxical as this might seem at first sight, the sections on "civics" (institutionally connected with geography lessons anyway) fully conformed to this geographical tendency and took up its imperatives; thus, precisely through its connection with geography, civics began to teach not about the state but about the nation.

In 1892 the state curriculum formulated the subject "Homeland Studies" for primary schools. Under the title "European Turkey", it is written there explicitly: "*Macedonia and the Edirne vilayet are to be studied according to the same curriculum as the one for studying the Principality of Bulgaria*" (Programa 1892, 17). The formulas "Bulgarian lands beyond the boundaries of the Bulgarian State" and "Bulgarian lands under the rule of Serbia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey" are to be found in the curricula for all school levels. As defined in a 1907 curriculum, Geography for the fourth grade of primary school went into details such as the lesson title "Roads and Passes Linking Macedonia to Bulgaria" (Programa 1907, 15). This tendency continued and intensified in the interwar period. Thus, it turns out that throughout the 1878-1944 period, geography was a subject in which Great Bulgaria was conceived of as a natural phenomenon.

That is also why the boundaries drawn by a political and historical event such as the June-July 1878 Congress of Berlin were conceived of as "artificial" (opposite to the "natural" character of Great Bulgaria) precisely in geography education. An 1899 text, defined as "manual of homeland studies" (that is to say, geography and history of Bulgaria) explains this in detail (Paunchev 1899, 177-188). The "artificial boundaries" of course had clear negative connotations in relation to both the essence of natural phenomena and national values. The "natural boundaries", which were conceived of as ethnic and national – that is to say, the ones the State must strive to attain – were denoted precisely by natural phenomena: a river (the Danube as the northern boundary) and three seas (the Black Sea, the Aegean, and the Adriatic).

This model is stereotypical for the entire period until 1944 – so much so that it can also be found in a very famous Bulgarian interwar historical novel by popular right-wing writer Fani Popova-Mutafova. Set in the thirteenth century, the novel projects the following vision in relation to the state which King Yoan

Assen II achieved through one war and several successful dynastic marriages:

God Himself had marked the boundaries of this blessed land: the three seas and the wide white river... from the throne of Holy Sofia, one will would guide the flowering of the great kingdom: the will of the Bulgarian king... And there was no one other than the Bulgarian king who could unite, rally around his throne, weld into one, the rebellious, eternally warring nations... (Popova-Mutafova 1938, 20-21).

Here the natural boundaries of Great Bulgaria (called upon to "unite", through its king, the entire Balkan Peninsula) – a river and three seas – are explicitly declared to be a matter of Divine Choice and Will. Correspondingly, in the interwar period, the textbooks on geography (and civics as part of geography education) and historical novels strove to convey a common message and a common political reference expressed by means of "the natural boundaries".

However, the truly active agent of this homology was history, which covertly or overtly directed both geography (and hence, civics) and historical novels at the time. The very popular in the interwar period series of historical short stories and novels published by the Drevna Balgaria (Ancient Bulgaria) Publishing House (including the above-quoted novel by Fani Popova-Mutafova) was recommended by the Ministry of Education for reading; in addition, a book on methods of teaching history (based on the ideas of Russian specialists) recommended historical novels for "reading at home" while preparing history lessons: "reading historical novels is of great significance" (Kostov 1929, 112).

It was history that legitimated Great Bulgaria ("Bulgaria on three seas") as the true space of the nation: all that geography had to do was to say the same thing, but through natural arguments such as the Danube River and the three seas. The San Stefano map of March 1878 looks very much like the Great Bulgarias of the Bulgarian kings Simeon the Great in the tenth century and of the above-mentioned Yoan Assen II in the thirteenth century (in a geopolitical respect, this was in fact one and the same model). Although these Great Bulgarias proved very fragile and temporary in the Middle Ages, this resemblance was enough to set in motion the powerful instruments of analogy in the interwar period. A decade after 1878, the analogy between the Middle Ages and San Stefano Bulgaria by way of the map of Simeon the Great did not simply exist in the public sphere – it was institutionalized and written clearly in a history textbook. The tenth century of Simeon the Great was interpreted in the following way:

Now the whole Bulgarian nation, which inhabits almost the whole Balkan Peninsula, was united for the first time in one state, under the rule of one king's will; now it made



up one whole, towards which all our kings aspired and towards which we, too, aspire now (Ganchev 1888, 24).

“Now” and “then”, San Stefano and Simeon the Great, actually said one and the same thing. And what they said is so much the same, that the great king from the tenth century who fought many wars in fact turned out to have “united in one whole” – in other words, according to the textbook the “whole” in question was the nation and the territory, represented as natural and essential even before their first political incorporation within the boundaries of the state, whereby the homology with the maps of the science of geography was again achieved entirely instinctively and, furthermore, as something that was self-evident.

The predicate “unification” abounded in the interwar curricula which contained lessons about the Balkan Wars and the First World War. With no exception, all interwar curricula and textbooks on history contained the section “Wars for Bulgarian National Unification 1912-1919”. Analogy also drove the predicate in the sections of the curricula devoted to the Middle Ages (here is just one of the numerous examples: “Unification of the Balkan Slavic Lands into One. Iv. Assen II” – Programa 1920, 17). In this period the mediaeval Bulgarian kings were consistently represented as unifiers of the nation (as were the new wars, whose objective was formulated as national unification). All history textbooks until 1944 are completely identical on this point.⁵

It is precisely the 1912-1919 wars that turned the analogy into an argument, thereby turning the Middle Ages into a contemporary political allegory (thus conceptually eliminating the Middle Ages, for they saw the mediaeval Great Bulgarias in the tenth or twelfth-thirteenth centuries as realizations of the long-cherished Bulgarian nation-state). In his 1918 book *The Wars for the Unification of the Bulgarians in the Twelfth Century* (in Bulgarian), military historian Yordan Venedikov explicitly made this analogy not only through the term “wars for unification” referring to the twelfth century but also through the explained even in the Preface “storyline” of the allegory, which practically turned his historical study into a propaganda text; similar suggestions are also to be found in a number of history textbooks in the form of “lessons for the present” from the historical past:

By a strange coincidence imposed by the inexorable laws of international life, today we are fighting in the same places, against almost the same enemies, and for the same goals for which our ancestors fought under the House of Assen.

5 The question of the predicates expressing and legitimating the political actions through which the territory of Great Bulgaria was to be achieved – “to conquer”, “to unite”, “to liberate” – is discussed in more detail in Hranova 2005.

The citizen-soldier who, arms in hand, is building the future of our nation, will see that he is faced with the same enemies of the same character as back then.

He will draw courage from the good and learn lessons from the bad sides of our ancestors, and he will see for himself that no matter how strong they were, it was not the enemies that could determine the situation of our nation.

Placing the Bulgarians at the crossroads between the eastern and the western civilization, fate has assigned them a more enviable situation in the society of nations; but to achieve this, as long as our enemy-neighbours are still the same as they were seven centuries ago, we must now be more perfect and more perspicacious than our ancestors (Venedikov 1918, 1).

In addition to everything else, this excerpt offers us a rather strange (and oxymoronic from a contemporary liberal point of view) phrase – “the citizen-soldier” – which directly refers us also to the problems of civic education in that period through the grounding of its basic term. It turns out that in 1918, a year of war, the soldier was a citizen – that is to say, the citizen was the executor of the historical analogy that justified “the national ideal” and the dream for a Great Bulgaria. A recent study (Iakimova 2010) also examines interwar documents (such as a 1922 booklet titled “Tips for the Soldier-Citizen”) which offer recommendations for soldiers discharged from the army after the end of the wars; the supposition that here the soldier is called “citizen” precisely because he is no longer a soldier is not confirmed, according to the analysis made by the author:

... it appears from the content that the soldier remained a soldier after the end of his service ... the question of civic rights and liberties is discussed precisely in the section on the homeland, not in that on the state ... the citizen turns out to be nothing short of “a citizen of the nation” (Iakimova 2010, 148-151).

Now this requires a review of the conceptual homologies demonstrated precisely by the civic education textbooks from the 1878-1944 period.

4. Conceptual Homologies

At first sight, history education and civic education diverged and even employed opposite methods throughout the 1878-1944 period. The concepts in civic education lessons for all school levels were introduced to pupils in the following sequence: clan – family – municipality – nation – society – state – fatherland. Conversely, the interwar methods of teaching history called this “regressive method” and recommended it only for young pupils or for separate revision or review lessons:

The *family* is closest to the child, therefore the first concepts introduced to children are related to the organiza-



tion and rules of family life. After the family, [the lessons] move on to the *municipality* (village, town), then to the *nation* and, finally, to the *state*... But this historical knowledge is too fragmentary, it is grouped artificially, and should be taught only at primary-school level (Stanev, Stoyanov 1922, 12).

Another difference between the traditions in history education and civic education is that in history lessons, concepts were not highlighted and defined (whether history education should teach historical concepts or not became the subject of debate in methods of teaching history in Bulgaria only in the 1950s-1970s, and not only in Bulgaria). Conversely, civic education strove towards and required definition of concepts as early as from the 1880s onwards. Anticipating our conclusions, we will say here that the difference in methods did not lead to differences in the conceptual constellations in the textbooks on history and on civic education. History textbooks demonstrate – at the level of intentional *uses* in the micro-contexts of textbook discourses – firm homological cores in the meanings of “nation”, “fatherland”, “society”, and “state”. The same homology is to be found in the *definitions* of concepts in the tradition of teaching civic education. As the definitions are easier to trace with certainty than the concrete uses, here we will review only some of them and then try to reveal the homologies on the basis of civic education textbooks (as noted above, at the level of contextual uses the picture of concepts in history textbooks is practically the same).

In the first place, what is interesting is the actual predicate “civic”, which appears in state curricula from the end of the nineteenth century as firmly attached to two different school subjects – “civic history” and “civic education”, whereby the two subjects again turn out to be interconnected at the level of their general predicate. In that period, “civic history” actually meant political history, while the predicate “civic” was designed to distinguish it from the then traditional terms “sacred history” (related to the study of religion) and “natural history” (a general term for the natural sciences). “Civic education”, however, did not completely overlap with “political education”, as a distinction is made between the two predicates in a book by a Bulgarian sociologist published as early as 1902: “The sphere of civic education is wider than that of political education... political education should be sought within the sphere of civic education” insofar as, according to the author, “political” refers only and solely to “the actions of the state for achieving certain goals”, while “civic” education is designed to prepare the individual in principle for “proper relations” with society (Geraskov 1902, 21). What is common to the two institutionalized meanings – “civic” as “political” and “civic” as “social” (conceived of at that time as being broader than the political) – is that both were transferred from foreign conceptual paradigms. To late-nineteenth-century Bulgarians, the

common, everyday and traditional meaning of “citizen” was a “person living in a city or town” as opposed to a person living in a village. In this sense, the first textbooks on civic education had to cope with the relationship between the traditional and the newly transferred meanings of the term, and they coped with this task with varying success. The same problems existed in the relationships between the traditional and the new meanings of the term “state” (which in the traditional Bulgarian dialects means “property inherited from the father”) and “fatherland” (the traditional meaning of which is simply “native place”). The textbooks took different approaches towards the changes necessary after 1878 in the meanings of “citizen”, “state” or “fatherland”. There are textbooks in which the authors themselves used simultaneously different meanings without explaining the shifts between them; or they explained them; or (quite often) they presented the meaning as one, which, however, grew quantitatively and increased its value-content (for example: the fatherland in which all the Bulgarians live is larger than the fatherland in which the individual Bulgarian family lives).

Such a “quantitative” consideration is the main instrument of conceptual definitions in the civic education textbooks. However, each of the concepts is directly involved in the definition of another concept. For example, once defined, the concept “family” becomes a predicate of the concept “nation”, the difference being quantitative only, and the two form a homology that is best visible in the trope mode of a mutually metonymical representation: “The Bulgarian nation is a big family which, with its past, its sufferings and glorious deeds, with its memories, language, mores and customs, differs from all other nations just as every individual differs from his neighbours” (Paunchev 1904, 5).

According to this bias, the *nation* was a “family bigger than the family”, while society was also defined as a “big family”: “Society is like a family, only bigger in size...” (Stanev 1894, 6). For its part, the *state* was a “big society”: “we are members of a big society called state” (Gruev 1881, 37); but the state was “a society bigger than the society”: “As the state consists of many more individual members than a society, it is quite strong and can therefore counter all external enemies...” (Stanev 1894, 26); and so on. Given this state of affairs, the only conceptual difference in fact consists in the separate quantitative levels of gradation. At the top of this hierarchy is the concept “fatherland” which – considering the spatial parameters of “the national ideal of a Great Bulgaria” – of course remains always bigger than the state realized through politics and wars. The common homological core of the concepts “state” and “fatherland” is in that both are defined as “land”, i.e. territory, where the “fatherland” very often directly assumes the social functions of the “state”:



The land on which a nation lives is called its *native* land or *fatherland* ... the fatherland, as a big power, protects us from external enemies, it guards our homes, honour, property, etc. It opens schools in which we receive our education, it takes all measures to facilitate the livelihood of the whole population (Stanev 1894, 10-13).

This homology, expressed especially clearly and consistently in the interwar period, is the core of the conservative model of civic education based on nationalism; its ubiquitous presence has left no room for any liberal ideas that could also take the form of educational practices.

This directly reflected also on the very concept of “citizen” – it had an entirely circular structure, according to which the citizen was a son of the nation and of the fatherland, the homology being realized through the common predicate “freedom”:

For a nation, to be *free* means to be master of itself, to itself have the right to determine freely, without pressure, all its arrangements, all its laws and institutions ... Every person who is the son of such a nation, or a member of it, can proudly call himself *a citizen. The citizen is a free son of a free fatherland...* The union of all free citizens makes up the free fatherland (Stanev 1894, 16-17).

In this very logic, however, the concept “freedom” was an argument not for citizenship understood in a liberal sense but again for nationalism – because in all interwar civic education textbooks the Bulgarians living in other neighbour countries were conceived of as being “under slavery”. Thus, such an idea of freedom in the interwar period defined also the following basic function of the state: “Every state strives to incorporate within its boundaries all lands inhabited by its compatriots in order to become unified and mighty” (Mandov, Petev 1942, 7); of course, history was also used as an argument for this last, and, as a school subject, demonstrated the same constellation of concepts.

Finally, we must note that the conservative model of civic education in the 1878-1944 period and its connections with history education, through which series of disciplinary, spatio-temporal, and conceptual homologies were built, is entirely explicable both from the perspective of the specifically Bulgarian historical context and from the then existing European educational traditions. Finally, we will note some contemporary circumstances that make this selfsame model consciously or unconsciously reproducible today too.

5. Continuity Reloaded: Notes on the Present State of Affairs

The subject “civics” disappeared from Bulgarian education throughout the period of communist rule (1944-1989). “Social Science” (*Obshestvoznanie*), a subject introduced in schools in the late 1970s, was simply the title of a course that taught only and solely

Marxist-Leninist historical materialism. That is also why the imperatives for introducing civic education after 1989 appeared as new, unconnected to a direct Bulgarian tradition, and imported after the fall of communism and Bulgaria’s orientation towards membership in the European Union. In this sense, the main documents and curricula are foreign – they are the ones that are popularized, studied, and discussed, while the national tradition remains little-researched and little-known. At the same time, however, it has been revived and is being reproduced, including at the level of the old conceptual homologies – for example, a popular definition of “citizen” formulated in 1998 and cited approvingly and uncritically in a number of later works, goes as follows: “a person who is born, lives or is naturalized in a particular state or nation, who has particular human, civic, political and socio-economic rights and liberties as well as duties and responsibilities which are protected, guaranteed and regulated by law” (Balkanski, Zahariev 1998, 206). The indifference to the contemporary conceptual difference between “state” and “nation” in this definition marks a return towards the old conservative model. Here, however, we will give only two final examples of its contemporary recruitment in the narrower aspect of the relationship of interest to us here: the relationship between civic education and history. Both examples are from writings of experts in methods of teaching history.

The first example is from Romyana Kusheva’s monograph *Methods of Teaching History* (in Bulgarian, 2006). The latter contains a separate chapter on “History and Civics” (Kusheva 2006, 30-36). The developments in the history of the two school subjects in the 1878-1944 period reviewed in this chapter lead to the following conclusion, which we agree with:

The intersection points of history and civic education are especially clear in the definition of the goals of teaching them at school. Viewed even in a long interval of time – until the mid-forties – they essentially remained unchanged ... they can equally well be identified as goals of civic education and as goals of history education (ibid., 34-35).

What we disagree with is the absence of any political reflection in the following conclusion drawn by the author: “... there is every reason to conclude that there is an analogy between the views on civic education in the late thirties and in the late nineties” (ibid., 37). The least we can note here is that such an analogy categorically connects the politically conservative national model from the interwar period to the 1990s – something which the author does not see as problematic in any way.

Our second example is from a 2008 monograph by Maria Radeva, *School History Education in Bulgaria 1878-1944 (A Methodico-Historical Analysis)* (in Bulgar-



ian). Despite its subject, the monograph begins with a long chapter on “Bulgarian History Education in the 1990s: Facing the Challenges of European Integration” – obviously, this is the matrix through which the events of and in textbooks in the 1878-1944 period are also interpreted. Thus, even in the introduction, we read the following about textbooks from the 1878-1944 period:

Although one can find in them separate examples of “hidden agendas” and stereotypes about the Neighbours, on the whole the characteristics of Bulgarian school history education are dominated by tolerant interpretations based on a “calm” analytical, objective attitude towards the facts of political and civic history (Radeva 2008, 14).

Based on our personal knowledge of thirty different Bulgarian textbooks on history from the 1878-1944 period, we insist on noting that this is simply not true. We insist on noting that the textbooks in question are completely and overtly nationalist, especially those from the interwar period which complied with the official requirements formulated in the notorious Memorandum on National Education No. 12353 dated 17 October 1913; that there were no hidden agendas and stereotypes about the neighbours because the stereotypes about the neighbours were entirely explicit and they were even highlighted as “lessons” for Bulgarian society at the time in many textbooks; that after the 1919 Treaty of Neuilly, the image of the great powers (and hence of Europe) in them is quite negative. If there is a “hidden agenda”, it is in the author’s attempt to represent the pre-1944 textbooks as being entirely “European” in the following way:

[T]he Bulgarian textbooks on history were consistent not only with the national cultural and political context but also with the European pedagogical science and humanities, with their liberal values ... the methodical works on history borrowed, followed, applied the common European pedagogical ideas (ibid., 14).

Here it is not clear exactly what is meant by “liberal values” of European pedagogy in the *interwar* period (!) and whether there were “common European pedagogical ideas” at that time at all; it is also most unclear what the author means by the phrase “liberal nationalism” (ibid., 102-103), which functions as an oxymoron when referring to Bulgarian textbooks on history from the interwar period.

It is time to briefly define the “hidden agenda” of this monograph, which is representative not just of the work of Maria Radeva but also of the development of this set of problems in the works of the majority of contemporary Bulgarian historians, if we judge also from their publications on the subject of textbooks: the synchronization of Bulgarian textbooks with “the common European pedagogical ideas” in the interwar period, made within the context of the same syn-

chronization in the 1990s, forms an ordinary allegory that serves the thesis of continuity. In this scheme, the only expelled “actor” and “villain” is communist textbook historiography – on that basis, the hidden agenda consists in the latent return to interwar nationalism in its capacity as very “liberal” and very (in the contemporary sense of the term) “European” – in its role as a positive analogue of present-day developments in history and civic education.

6. In Lieu of a Conclusion

The historical longevity of the conservative nationalist model in Bulgarian educational tradition until 1944 is quite explicable by the traumatic image of a “natural” Great Bulgaria, always shattered in the course of time by unfair to the Bulgarian cause political acts which outlined “artificial” state borders. Nationalism after 1989 recognized the European Union not only as a threat to Bulgarian national identity but – paradoxically enough – also as a main agent somehow legitimizing the old nationalist goals, for it was conceived as a powerful instrument for demolishing the “artificial” borders. So, it was possible for a Bulgarian academic historian of the Middle Ages to openly write the following statement in 2004: “The development of the Bulgarian state and ethnic society in the Balkan geopolitical and living space in the Middle Ages had defined the political borders of the territory, the settlement of the neighbours and the problems with them. The changes of these borders as a result of the two world wars have led to a status quo which can be only diluted by the firm establishment of the European Union” (Gjuzelev 2004, 36). Not surprisingly, one can also read in a 2000 text on didactic methods in civic education the following topic recommended for discussion in class: “Let us imagine that a federation between Bulgaria and Macedonia is established by the name “Bulgarian federation”...” (Ivanov 2000, 129).

Such a political imagination does not define itself as an opposition to the official European orientation in the educational policy of the state. On the contrary, it defines itself as “truly European” as it comes in a post-communist (and ante-communist) situation; this way nationalism seems legitimized as it goes straight against the “international” pathos and bias of the communist period. Thus, the renunciation of communism recognizes, somehow “naturally”, as its tradition precisely the right-wing conservative nationalist model of history and civic education from the interwar period. But precisely this “binary” way of thinking on the major part of Bulgarian mainstream experts in teaching methods precludes any political and methodical turn towards a contemporarily rethought liberalism that could be both a theoretical and practical alternative to either of the two.

Of course, this is not a full and complete picture of the recent developments in the connections and

differences between history education and civic education in contemporary Bulgaria. A series of ongoing projects, proposals, and studies problematize this status quo, but they come mostly from interdisciplinary academic projects which, for the time being, remain

mostly in the narrow professional niche of the debate; some of the major projects are still in progress. In any case, we are certain that the public debate on the politics of history education and civic education in Bulgaria is yet to come.

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Mehmet Açıkalın

The Current Status of Social Studies Education in Turkey

Türkiye’ de Sosyal Bilgiler Eğitiminin Son Durumu

This article aims to portray and discuss the current status of social studies education in Turkey in terms of both K-8 and pre-service teacher education levels. The article starts with a brief history about the Turkish social studies education followed by the recent curriculum reform movements in Turkey. Then, the curriculum changes and the reform movements in pre-service social studies teacher education are discussed by analyzing the related literature.

The discussion indicates the dominance of standardized test in the Turkish educational system, teachers’ lack of knowledge and experience, and the limited resources to apply the new curriculum are the major issues for K-8 social studies education. In addition, the quality of social studies teacher education and teacher educators also is another issue that must be addressed. In conclusion, it is agreed by many scholars and educators the reform movements were rushed and the new reforms were applied without perfect planning.

Bu makalenin amacı Türkiye’ de sosyal bilgiler eğitimin son durumunun ilköğretim seviyesi ve eğitim fakülteleri açısından bir değerlendirmesinin yapılmasıdır. Makalede Türkiye’deki sosyal bilgiler eğitiminin kısa bir tarihesinin verilmesinin ardından son zamanlarda yapılan program değişiklikleri tartışılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, ilgili alanyazın taranmış ve yeni ilköğretim sosyal bilgiler programında yapılan değişiklikler ile sosyal bilgiler öğretmenliği bölümlerinin yeniden yapılandırılması konuları tartışılmıştır. Bu tartışmalar göstermiştir ki Türk eğitim sisteminin merkezi sınav sistemlerine dayalı olması, öğretmenlerin yeni sosyal bilgiler programını uygulamaya yeterince hazır olmamaları, ders öğretim materyali ve kaynak yetersizliği yeni programın uygulanması ile ilgili ortaya çıkan sorunlardır. Ayrıca sosyal bilgiler öğretmenliği bölümlerinin değerlendirilmesi ve niteliklerinin artırılması gerektiği de ortaya çıkmıştır. Son olarak söylemek gerekir ki bir çok eğitimci ve akademisyen yeni programın uygulanmasına yeterince planlama ve denemeler yapılmadan hızla geçildiği görüşünde birleşmektedir.

Keywords:

Turkish Social Studies Education; Teacher Education; Curriculum Reform in Turkey; Turkish Social Studies Textbooks; Constructivism.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Türkiye’ de Sosyal Bilgiler Eğitimi; Öğretmen Eğitimi; Türkiye’ de Eğitim Programı Reformları; Sosyal Bilgiler Ders Kitapları; Oluşturmacılık.

1. Introduction

Social studies [Sosyal Bilgiler] as an interdisciplinary course first was taken place in the elementary education program at the end of 1960’s in Turkey (Öztürk 2009). Later it also became a part of middle school program starting 1970-71 school year (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007; Semenderoğlu, Gülersoy 2005). This course was a combination of history, geography, and civic (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007). Although social studies stayed in the elementary and middle school program as an interdisciplinary course since then, it was suspended for a while in the middle school. In 1985, middle school social studies courses were abolished and converted to discipline based courses entitled “National History” [Milli Tarih], “National Geography” [Milli Coğrafya], and “Citizenship” [Vatandaşlık Bilgisi] (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007). This situation was lasted in 1998 when the curriculum reform movements were begun in Turkey. In this period compulsory educa-

tion increased from five to eight years for all Turkish citizens in order to rise up the quality of the education and to catch up with educational levels of the developed nations. As a result of these movements, integrated social studies courses were reinstated in the middle school (Öztürk 2009) and a new curriculum was developed for these courses (see Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı [Ministry of National Education –Curriculum Division] [TTKB] 2009b; 2009c).

Social studies courses are taught in the elementary and middle schools from the fourth through the seventh grades in Turkey. According to the current curriculum, social studies education is an interdisciplinary field (TTKB 2009b; 2009c). Thus, the subjects of social studies include history, geography, economy, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, political science, law, and civic education (TTKB 2009b; 2009c). This interdisciplinary notion of the social studies education is established in the curriculum as a result of the modeling the guidelines of National Council for Social Studies [NCSS] (1994) in the United States. As stated in the curriculum, the purpose of the social studies is to prepare Turkish citizens who embrace Atatürk’s principles and revolutions, understand the Turkish history and culture, grasps democratic values, respect human rights, care about environment, know about his/her rights and responsibilities as a citizen, and think critically and creatively in order to make



informed decisions (TTKB 2009b; 2009c). Atatürk is the founder of the Modern Turkish Republic which is established in 1923. Atatürk did fundamental changes in the educational system in these years along with various reforms and revolutions in other fields. All religious formal teaching were abolished, education was secularized, nationalized and democratized in this period (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007). Atatürk personally took a part in the educational reform and he was called "the principal" as he was the principal of all teachers in Turkey. He even dictated a citizenship education textbook with his adopted daughter Professor Afet İnan in 1929-30 (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007).

In early grades (grades 1-3) there is another course called life studies [Hayat Bilgisi] (see TTKB 2009a). Unlike social studies course, this course has been part of the elementary education program since the establishment of the Modern Turkish Republic. Although the life studies course always has been part of the elementary education program in Turkey, the curriculum of this course has been changed many times (Semenderoğlu, Gülersoy 2005; Şahin 2009). According to the current curriculum, the purposes of this course are to prepare the individuals for their lives, help them improve their personal skills to be better people, and to create base knowledge and skills for science and social studies courses. At the high school level (Grades 9-12) some of social studies subjects including history, geography, sociology, psychology, and philosophy become discipline-based courses and taught independently from each other. Thus, no interdisciplinary social studies course is taught at this level.

2. Curriculum Reform Movements

In the last decade, there have been curriculum reform movements in Turkey. The curriculum reforms for K-12 education were done under the authority of the curriculum division (Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı [TTKB]) of the Ministry of National Education. This division is the only authority to change and / or approve a new curriculum in Turkey and it consists of 15 members including a president. The members generally are selected among the experienced teachers, principals and superintendents. The process of preparing a new curriculum starts with forming a curriculum development commission for the each individual subject. TTKB select the commission members among university professors, teachers and other educational experts and after each commission finish its work, the new curriculum is approved by the TTKB.

The reform movements initially started in 1997 when the compulsory education increased from five to eight years for all Turkish citizens which also increased the teacher shortage to a greater extent at that time. According to Ministry of National Education (MEB İstatistik 2002) statistics, although more than 188.000 teachers were hired between 1997 and

2001, there were still almost 120.000 more teachers needed at that time. The teacher shortage is still an issue in Turkey. The current figures show that there are 585.000 teachers work in the public schools and 133.000 more teachers are needed (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2010).

In this period, social studies courses were reinstated in the middle school program; new curriculum was developed for these courses by the curriculum division of the Ministry of National Education; teacher education programs reorganized; and social studies teacher education programs were established within the faculties of education (Açıkalın, Savaşçı-Açıkalın 2010; Öztürk 2005). In the meantime, Turkey has been accepted as a nominee country for the European Union and the process of screening the developments and the negotiations have begun (Aksit 2007). One of the screening chapters was "education and culture" and Turkey needed to expedite reforming process in education like many other areas. Accordingly, comprehensive curriculum reform movements restarted in these years encompassing all school subjects from the elementary through high school and even teacher education programs. First, elementary and middle school curricula were developed in 2005 and the new four-year high school curriculum is still being developed (Aksit 2007). Second, teacher education programs also were restructured in 2006 to make them compatible with the elementary and middle school program (k-8).

Thus, it seems that the curriculum reform movements have started due to various internal factors and -as stated by number of scholars- the EU membership process of Turkey (Akınoğlu 2008a; 2008b; Aksit 2007; Şahin 2009). In the last decades there have been developments in politics, science, technology, human right that highly influence the family values and society in Turkey (TTKB 2010). These developments are considered to expand the idea that Turkey is modeling the Western nations and eager to reach their democratic and economic norms. Thus, EU membership process has provided an opportunity for Turkey to reach European educational norms and increase quality of education. Likewise TTKB (2010) accept the result of the international educational projects such as PISA and TIMSS and educational trends and developments in the developed countries as references to reach the educational norms of EU.

Like other disciplines, life studies and social studies curricula have also been restructured second time in less than ten years period. In fact, this process has not finished yet and the social studies curriculum is still being updated and revised. In this paper, the last updated versions of the life studies (grade 1-3) (see TTKB 2009a) and the social studies curriculum (grades 4-7) (see TTKB 2009b) will be discussed. As a result of the reform, social studies became an interdisciplinary field which is difficult to draw its border. Accordingly



nine learning themes were introduced and all teaching units were organized thematically rather than focusing on only one subject such as history or geography (Akınoğlu 2008b; Safran 2004; TTKB 2010). These nine learning themes are (a) individual and society, (b) culture and heritage, (c) people, places, and environments, (d) power, governance, and society, (e) time continuity, and change, (f) production, consumption and distribution, (g) science technology, and society, and (h) global connections. All teaching units within the curricula from grades 4 through 7 are organized according to these learning themes. Through the reforming process life studies courses (grade 1-3) were also reorganized second time. Life studies is also an interdisciplinary course and designed with the purpose of preparing students to create base knowledge and skills for science and social studies courses (TTKB 2009a). Thus, the content of this course include not only various social sciences such as history, geography and environment but also science disciplines such as earth sciences, astronomy, physics and chemistry. Of course these disciplines were presented in their very basic forms within the three learning themes. These learning themes are "individual", "society", and "environment". There are also three teaching units organized according to the learning themes and the units are repeated in every year with different contents. The units are entitled "my school excitement", "my unique home", and "yesterday - today - tomorrow".

As a result of the reform movements major changes were done within the life studies and social studies curricula in Turkey. These changes are very clearly presented in both curricula (TTKB 2009a; 2009b; 2009c) and discussed by many scholars in the field. In the next section of the article these changes will be discussed.

3. The Major Shifts and Changes with the Curricula

3.1. The teaching philosophy of the curricula has shifted from the behaviorist to the constructivist pedagogy.

These reform movements have done a major shift with the philosophy of the curricula (see TTKB 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2010). This shift has been acknowledged by many scholars in the field (Demirel 2009; Dinç, Doğan 2010; Kabapınar 2009; Safran 2004; Semenderoğlu, Gülersoy 2005; Şahin 2009; Şimşek, 2009; Tarman, Acun 2010). The main reason of this shift can be explained by the effort to increase the quality of education in Turkey and follow the educational trends and developments in the developed countries to reach the educational norms of European Union (see TTKB 2010). Unlike the former ones, the new curricula mostly focus on the constructivist theory. Constructivist learning theory is based on the idea that knowledge is constructed by the learner (Brooks, Brooks 1999; Fosnot 1996; Hendry

1996; Prawat, Floden 1994). According to this theory, prior knowledge of the learners and their interpretation of this knowledge have significant influence on the students' learning (Hendry 1996). Since every individual may learn and construct knowledge in various ways, each may develop "unique" realities based on prior knowledge and experiences which are highly influenced by the personal and cultural background of a person (Fosnot 1996; Hendry 1996). This notion of constructivism has significant influence on shifting classroom practices from the traditional transmission model to a more complex and interactive model in which students are actively engaged in learning process to construct their own realities and truths (Prawat, Floden 1994). Thus, organization of the units, teaching activities and evaluation strategies in the curricula are constructed based on this theory. The student-based teaching and assessment methods are included in the curricula (Safran 2004; TTKB 2010). Critical thinking, problem solving, decision making skills and the social and individual values cited in the curricula also support the constructivist tone of the curricula (Demirel 2009)

3.2. The curricula have become interdisciplinary and integrated, and the content is presented in thematic units rather than discipline based units.

Unlike the former curricula the new life studies and social studies curricula have become more interdisciplinary and integrated (see TTKB 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2010). There were some periods when social studies were taught as separate courses such as history, geography and citizenship and/or human rights (Çayır, Gürkaynak 2007). Even if social studies was an integrated course in the former curricula, each unit focused only on single subject (Semenderoğlu, Gülersoy 2005). Nevertheless, the latest innovations in the curricula ensure that each thematic unit to be a mixture of various subjects such as history, geography, economy, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, political science, law, civic and even science subjects for the life studies course (Kabapınar 2009; Safran 2004; Semenderoğlu, Gülersoy 2005; Şahin 2009; Şimşek, 2009).

3.3. The curricula focus on skills and values

The other novelty of the new curricula is the special emphasis given to skills and values (see TTKB 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2010), which is discussed by many scholars in the field (Akınoğlu 2008b; Demirel 2009; Kabapınar 2009; Safran 2004; Şahin 2009; Şimşek, 2009). According to the new curricula, being able to use the knowledge through skills is much more important than acquiring the knowledge itself. Thus students must be taught how to use knowledge by applying various skills. There are 15 major skills for social studies and 14 major skills for the life studies course. These major skills also have various sub-skills in both



curricula. While the presented skills in the curricula are slightly different for life studies and social studies courses, most of the skills are the same or very similar. Nevertheless, researching, critical and creative thinking, problem solving, decision making, communication, and empathy are the noteworthy skills in these curricula. Similarly, there are 20 values for social studies and 17 values for the life studies course in the curricula. Peace, tolerance, hospitality, respect, love, and patriotism are among the values in the both curricula.

3.4. Alternative measurement and evaluation methods are introduced in the curricula

The new curricula include various measurement and evaluation methods other than the traditional evaluation methods (see TTKB 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2010). Former curricula focused mostly on written exams with open-ended questions and/or multiple choice tests. Nevertheless, the new curricula introduce various measurement and evaluation methods that support the constructivist pedagogy. The curricula are designed based on students to work on various types projects that may require research, observation, presentation, drama, painting, and/or other types of activities. Thus, it is crucial to evaluate students' performance throughout the learning process rather than giving them a multiple choice test or an open-ended exam. Therefore, alternative assessment methods such as portfolio, oral or poster presentation, self and peer evaluation, rubric, and drama are encouraged to be used frequently in the curricula (Safran 2004).

3.5. Global perspective has influence on the social studies curriculum.

Global perspective (Hicks 2003; Kirkwood 2001) has gained more importance in the world and it has influences on the Turkish social studies curriculum to some extent (Açıkalın 2010; Akınoğlu 2008b; see also TTKB 2009b; 2009c) As stated above, one of the new learning themes in the current social studies curriculum is the global connections. This learning theme covers different instructional units that focus on global connections and issues in the social studies curriculum. According to the current curriculum (TTKB 2009b; 2009c), as the world become more interconnected due to the fast developments in science and technology, it is imperative for students to understand these economic, politic, and cultural connections among the nations. Thus, there is one unit focuses on global connections for each year from grades four through seven. The units are named "My Far Away Friends (grade 4)", "Our World (grade 5)", "Our Country and the World (grade 6)", and "Bridges between Countries (grade 7)". These units focus on some aspects of global perspective such as comprehension and appreciation of cultures, the world as interrelated system, and the global issues (see Açıkalın 2010; Akınoğlu 2008b).

4. Criticisms about the Reforms

The current reform movement in social studies education is supposed to shift the pedagogy from a behaviorist to a constructivist one which explains the interdisciplinary curricula with focus on global perspective, skills and values, and alternative assessment methods. On the other hand, there have been serious criticisms about this reform by many scholars (Aksit 2007; Eğitim Programları ve Öğretim Alanı Profesörler Kurulu [The Committee of Teacher Education and Curriculum Professors] [EPPK] 2006; Esen 2007) including the author of the article and non-governmental organizations (Eğitim-Sen 2005).

The most important concern about the reform movements has been raised by Eğitim-Sen (2005), a leading left wing teacher union which has approximately 110.000 members (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı [Ministry of Labor and Social Security] 2010). This union published an initial report about the elementary education curriculum reform in 2005. According to the report (Eğitim-Sen 2005), the constructivist pedagogy, which is the leading pedagogy in the curriculum, does not match up with the standardized tests which dominate the educational system in Turkey. As stated above, alternative assessment methods such as portfolio, oral or poster presentation, self and peer evaluation, rubric, and drama are used in the both curricula frequently in order to evaluate students' performance throughout the learning process. The results of these types of assessments only affect the students' grades within the school. However, a regular student has to take standardized tests many times at different grade levels in order to succeed in the educational system. For instance, at the end of the middle school (8th grade) a student has to take a standardized test which is held once a year in order to be decided to the high school which the student is going to be attending. A fellow Turkish high school student has to take another exam at the end of high school which is called the university entrance exam. Even a university graduate in most cases has to take a kind of standardized test in order to get a job or to apply for the postgraduate education. Therefore, it is clear that the educational system in Turkey is heavily dominated by the standardized tests; however, a constructivist social studies education requires the contradictory. This situation creates a dilemma for the students and their parents. On the one hand, they have to work on social studies projects to obtain good grades, on the other hand "these projects are not going to help them to pass the upcoming standardized test". Yes, this is what I recently have been hearing from many students including mine and even from parents. I also have heard many stories that parents did their kids' projects and let them study for the upcoming high school entrance exam. Similarly, Aksit (2007) points out Turkish parents are mostly concerned about



their kids' success in the national standardized test. This situation clearly indicates that there is a serious problem with the consistency of the curricula and the mainstream assessment system in Turkey. It seems that the policymaker has to make a choice between the constructivist pedagogy and the mainstream assessment system.

Another important concern is about readiness of the teachers to apply the current curricula. According to the current reports, teachers are not ready to apply the constructivist pedagogy in their teaching (Aksit 2007; Eğitim-Sen 2005; EPPK 2006; Tarman, Acun 2010). The majority of the in-service teachers were trained based on teacher-centered model, and they are not able to apply the constructivist student-centered pedagogy easily in their classroom (Aksit 2007). In-service teacher training was not also as effective as it should have been. Teachers were only trained for five days before the implementation of the new curricula. Aksit (2007) points out "following the initial training, a concern voiced widely by the universities and some NGOs is that teachers will continue to need effective ongoing professional support at the school level." (p.134). According to Eğitim-Sen's (2005) report this situation may influence student success in a negative way which may put pressure on teachers and school administrators by the parents. In addition, The Committee of Teacher Education and Curriculum Professors (EPPK 2006) points out the importance of the having teachers trained through in-service teacher education programs before applying the curriculum. According to EPPK (2006), not only the teachers but also school administrators must learn every aspects of the new curriculum in order to fruitfully apply it and convey its purpose to the student success. Unfortunately, none of these have been done so far, at least in an effective way.

The availability of essential resources (Aksit 2007; Dinç, Doğan 2010; Eğitim-Sen 2005; Tarman, Acun, 2010) for teacher to apply the new curriculum is another concern that directly connected to the former concern. Most teachers have not been trained based on student-centered constructivist pedagogy in their pre-service education; they have not grasped the essence of the curriculum in their in-service education; and above all that there is a lack of resources and guides for them to apply the new curriculum. This lacking in part is caused by the curriculum itself. As Demirel (2009) indicates although there are various noteworthy values in the curricula, there are not much explanations and activities given about how to teach these values in the curriculum. Similarly, there is not much information about how to teach the skills cited in the curriculum. Therefore, there is clearly a lack of guidance within the curriculum. In addition, it must be noted that the both curricula are interdisciplinary and teachers may need different sorts of resources

from various field to be prepared for their instructions. There is a lack of quality teaching resources to use in the instruction and this is another issue that must be addressed. Likewise, Esen (2007) who studied on 13 textbooks from different field (ABC, Turkish, Life Studies, and Social Studies) criticized the new textbooks published based on the current curriculum reform. While Esen (2007) acknowledges that the current focus of the new curriculum on the human rights and democracy is a very important development, she finds out that there are excessive similarities between the old text books and the new ones in terms of the function of transmitting the sexist stereotypes. She concluded that "the text books in Turkey, on one hand, inculcate nationalist ideology and militarist culture, on the other hand, enhance sexism and guarantees the social control to be imposed on the new generations."

On the other hand, the current social studies curriculum has become more global perspective oriented to keep up with EU membership process and endorse the interaction between the Turkish nations and other nations on the world (Akınoğlu 2008b; Aksit 2007). While most of the essential themes of global education are represented in the curriculum, they are not articulated adequately (Açıkalın 2010). There are not much explanations and /or examples of activities to apply global perspective in the classroom. According to Esen (2007), universal values that reflect global perspective such as peace, democracy, human rights, women's rights, children's rights, equality and freedom are reflected as values that are peculiar to Turkish nation in the curriculum. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that empathy is cited as a skill in the curriculum for the first time (Kabapınar 2009) and this might be considered an improvement for infusing global perspective. However, the curriculum lacks of presenting commonly accepted global issues such as international conflicts, wars, terrorism, human trafficking, global warming, and other environmental issues and it does not provide an environment that nourish multiple perspective which is considered one of the essential aspects of the global perspective (Açıkalın 2010). It seems that there is much need to be done to improve the role of global education in the Turkish social studies curriculum.

Overall, there are several concerns about the new curricula. These concerns might be caused in part by modeling other countries' social studies curricula. It is very clear that the new social studies curriculum is almost a duplication of the social studies curriculum written by NCSS (1994) in the United States (Akınoğlu 2008b; Eğitim-Sen 2005; EPPK 2006; Şimşek 2009). Of course, there is nothing wrong with modeling other curricula and using experiences and examples from other countries in the process of preparing a new curriculum. However, if a curriculum is being successfully

applied within the country it is originated, it is not necessarily it will be fruitful in another country (EPPK 2006). There are various differences between Turkey and the United States in terms of the educational dynamics. First of all, the United States has a very decentralized and flexible educational system whereas Turkey has an over centralized and strict educational system. According to The World Bank report, Turkey has one of the most centralized educational systems in the world (Fretwell, Wheeler 2001). Although there have been attempts by the Turkish government to decentralize the educational system, it has not succeed to date (Aksit 2007). In this sense, NCSS (1994) curriculum is merely a guideline for the social studies teachers and educators in different states that follow different curriculums. Thus, when NCSS (1994) curriculum is adapted in Turkey, it is likely to see some issues are raised. Turkish social studies teachers might be struggling with flexible nature of the curriculum, as they are used to apply a stricter curriculum with a clearer instruction. The thematic nature of the curriculum is also another puzzling area for the Turkish teachers because they are used to teach mostly discipline and content based units rather than focusing on skills and values.

Finally, it is agreed by many scholars and educators the reform movements were rushed and the new curricula were not piloted adequately in a proper way (Aksit 2007; EPPK 2006). Aksit (2007) points out the criticisms about the piloting process and he states that "... including teacher and student feedback, and the modifications made based on the feedback, were never reported and discussed in an open forum. Instead, the schools were sent textbooks for the new curriculum, and asked to use them right away." (p.134). In addition, the lack of involvement of students, teachers, parents and educators (Aksit 2007; EPPK 2006; Eğitim-Sen 2005) with the reform process are seen as the other weaknesses of the reform movement.

5. Pre-service Social Studies Teacher Education and the Reform Movements

Pre-service social studies teacher education in Turkey is a four-year undergraduate program and students are accepted to the program based on their scores on the national university entrance exam. Teacher education reform took a start simultaneously with the reform movements in the K-12 education which began at the end of the 1990's. Teacher education reform movements were begun due to teacher shortage in this period (Açıkalın, Savaşçı-Açıkalın 2010; Öztürk 2005) and the low quality in teacher education (Öztürk 2005). Thus, the reform movements have focused on opening new faculties of education in Turkish universities, curriculum development for teacher education programs, and recruiting qualified teacher educators.

As a result, the numbers of the faculties of education in Turkey are doubled in the last two decades. According to the Higher Educational Council's recent report (Kavak, Aydın, Akbaba-Altun 2007), the number of faculties of education in state universities increased from 32 in 1992 to 64 in 2006. In addition, teacher education programs re-structured in this period according to the elementary education (k-8) curriculum reforms. Thus, elementary science, elementary math education, and social studies education departments were established in 1998 within the faculties of education in the Turkish universities (Öztürk 2005). Before then, social studies courses (6th -8th grades) had been taught by high school history or geography teachers; and science courses (6th -8th grades) had been taught by high school physics, chemistry, or biology teachers. Thus, it must be noted that this reform aimed to prepare teachers who were familiar with the development of middle school students and it was expected to increase the quality of middle school education (Öztürk 2005).

There were major revisions in the curricula of teacher education programs as well within this period. The teacher education curriculum for each department was standardized and all faculties of education began to follow the same curriculum with the exception of elective courses (Öztürk 2005). The curriculum for each program was written from the beginning in order to make it compatible with the new K-8 curricula. This curriculum development aimed to update and improve the quality of the teacher education in Turkey (Grossman, Onkol, Sands 2007). The last revision in the social studies teacher education curriculum was in 2006. According to the current version, the curriculum includes social science courses (such as history, geography, anthropology, sociology), education and method courses (i.e. introduction to educational sciences, social studies method, instructional technology and material development, classroom management), field experiences, and few elective courses. The program is 156 credits including 16 elective credits.

In addition there were attempts to improve the quality of pre-service teacher education by recruiting highly qualified teacher educators in this period. More than 70 research assistant were sent abroad (mostly to U.S.A and European Countries) to study for their doctoral degrees in education by means of the World Bank funded national education development project [NEDP] (Öztürk 2005). The Ministry of National Education also started a project in 2000 and funded more than two hundreds young educators to study abroad in the field of education. Today most of these funded students are returned home and working in several faculties of education as teaching staffs and researchers in the Turkish universities.

While there have been reform movements to improve the quality of teacher education in the Turkish universities, there have been some criticisms about



these attempts. In one of the recent article Grossman et al. (2007) investigated the effectiveness of the NEDP. The study was conducted on 170 teacher educators from 54 faculties of education in Turkey. Regrettably the finding of the study is not promising. Half of the participants believed that these projects "without any value" or "somewhat less than valuable". Majority of the participants (83 %) indicated that NEDP did not meet its overall goals.

Despite these projects the quality of professors at faculties of education is not at desired level. According to The World Bank's report, professors at faculties of education in the Turkish universities tend to be less well-qualified than other university teaching staffs (Fretwell, Wheeler 2001). A recent study by Açıkalın and Savaşçı-Açıkalın (2010) also points out some reservation about the quality of teaching staff at faculties of education in the Turkish universities. The study, conducted on 191 teaching staffs from selected faculties of education, showed that the majority -almost two-third- of the faculty members in elementary, science, and social studies education departments have discipline based degrees such as physic, chemistry, history or geography. Another important finding of the study was about the research degree levels of the faculty members. The study indicated that 22 % of the participants do not have doctoral degrees. They only have masters or even undergraduate degrees. Ironically, faculty members who have a doctoral degree in elementary education, science education, and social studies education fields also constitute 22 % of the total participants (Açıkalın, Savaşçı-Açıkalın 2010). Thus, it is clear that there is lack of faculty members who are specialized in educational fields within these departments.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, there have been reform movements in social studies education from the elementary to the teacher education level in the last two decades. In general, these movements aimed to improve the quality of education and to make the Turkish educational system compatible with educational systems of EU countries.

However, major issues have been raised about the effectiveness of these reforms. In this article, these issues are discussed in terms of social studies education at both K-8 and pre-service teacher education levels. As discussed above, the dominance of standardized test in the Turkish educational system, teachers' lack of knowledge and experience, and the limited resources to apply the new curriculum are the major issues for K-8 social studies education. On the other hand, the rapid increases in the faculties of education in a short period of time and the newly established social studies education departments have made it very difficult to find well qualified teaching staffs for these departments. It seems that there are very serious issues in the current social studies education in Turkey.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the reform movement was rushed and the new curricula were applied without adequate preparation. Thus, in order to improve the quality of social studies education in Turkey, the issues mentioned above must be addressed. In-service social studies teachers must be trained about how to apply the new curricula immediately. More guidance and resources must be provided for teachers to apply the curricula more effectively. Of course the other issues may require more time and major policy and fundamental changes in the Turkish educational system. For instance, solving the discrepancy between the constructivist pedagogy -the foundational theory behind the new curriculum- and standardized test system in Turkey requires thorough analysis of the current situation and various research studies on this issue. In addition, recruiting well qualified teacher educators requires long run projects, extensive funding and well planning which take much time. Thus, there is much work need to be done by the all stakeholders, scholars, and the policymakers to solve these issues.

As a final word, this article is merely a description and discussion of the current situation of social studies education in Turkey. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the experiences throughout the reform movements discussed in the article may provide valuable information, ideas, and insight for other educators and educational policymakers on the world.

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Website: <http://ayayinlari.com/index.php>
E-mail: ayayinlari@ayayinlari.com.tr

İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler Ders Kitabı: 6. Sınıf [Elementary Social Studies Textbook: Grade 6]. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar
Website: <http://www.altinkitaplar.com.tr/>
E-mail: info@altinkitaplar.com.tr

İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler Ders Kitabı: 7. Sınıf [Elementary Social Studies Textbook: Grade 7]. Ankara: Milli Eğitim



Bakanlığı Yayınları [Ministry of National Education Publication]

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Website: <http://www.kozayayin.com.tr/>

E-mail: bilgi@kozayayin.com.tr Bu mail adresi spam botlara karşı korumalıdır, görebilmek için Javascript açık olmalıdır

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Anadolu University Social Studies Education
(http://www.anadolu.edu.tr/akademik/fak_egt/sosyal-bilgogrtprg/eindex.htm) 12.12. 2010.

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List of Abbreviations

EPPK: Eğitim Programları ve Öğretim Alanı Profesörler Kurulu [The Committee of Teacher Education and Curriculum Professors]

MEB: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı [Ministry on National Education]

NCSS: National Council for the Social Studies (USA)

NEDP: National Education Development Project

TTKB: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı [Ministry of National Education –Curriculum Division]



Case archive (Part II)¹ Lesson report Part II

Problem solving in classroom *The fox and the grapes*

On the strategic task of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the communist party of the former German Democratic Republic) to evolve a GDR's developed, socialistic society.

10th grade, polytechnical secondary school, Berlin/German Democratic Republic (GDR)
recorded approximately 1984.

Source: Fuhrmann, Elisabeth (supported by Krause, Winfried and Rönsch, Monika): Problemlösen im Unterricht [problem solving within lessons], Berlin/GDR: Volk und Wissen 1986, pages 51-55.

In a 10th grade, a teacher plans a specific unit on "The strategic task of the SED to evolve a GDR's developed, socialistic society", to be dealt with in the last civic education lesson ("Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht"). She prepared a problem-based systematic and usage-orientated lesson. The pupils were asked to use their knowledge and ability acquired within the former lessons in order to analyze an argument of the class enemy independently.

At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher starts to read out the fable *The Fox and the Grapes* without a comment.

The Fox and the Grapes²

One hot summer's day a Fox was strolling through an orchard till he came to a bunch of Grapes just ripening on a vine which had been trained over a lofty branch. "Just the things to quench my thirst," quoth he. Drawing back a few paces, he took a run and a jump, and just missed the bunch. Turning round again with a One, Two, Three, he jumped up, but with no greater success. Again and again he tried after the tempting morsel, but at last had to give it up, and walked away with his nose in the air, saying: "I am sure they are sour." It is easy to despise what you cannot get.

<http://www.bartleby.com/17/1/31.html>

Afterwards, the pupils discuss the following question: "In your eyes, what is the poet's intention of the fable?"

A couple of the pupils' answers are:

"The fox is not able to fulfill his wishes due to his incompetency. Now he veiled his incompetency by inventing flimsy excuses."

"The fox does not want to admit that the grapes are unreachable for him. Therefore, he says, they are too sour. – The poet wants to decry untruthful behavior, the attempt to draw a veil over everything among humans, or towards oneself."

"In short: Since the aim cannot be reached, excuses are made."

At first, the teacher does not participate in the discussion; then after two minutes, she interrupts and presents a hidden picture on the board. This picture shows a quotation of the class enemy (see also "Unterrichtshilfe", 10th grade, page 63). It says that the "developed, socialistic society" has only been evolved because communism will not become reality.

The teacher asks the pupils to read the quotation on the board and to compare it to the fable.

Here after, they discuss the following: the quotation suggests that the communists have the same way of thinking as the fox has in the fable: The grapes are not reachable for the communists. Therefore, they seek for flimsy excuses. The developed, socialistic society is supposed to be such an excuse. It is rejected, that it is a necessary step towards the communist society. – No doubt, it is aimed to be a denial of the class enemy.

The teacher offers only a few directions to think of: Rate this quotation! – What do the others think of it? – Can everybody agree on it?

Now, the teacher leads again: "So far, so good. You suggest that we have to deal with a thesis that is not correct. This, we have to prove thoroughly. Try to find an anti-thesis."

After a short discussion with the neighbor (pair work), the pupils write down their anti-thesis'. The following pupil's suggestion is put into contrast to the quotation on the board:

"The developed, socialistic society is a necessary step towards communism."

Now, it is crucial to prove scientifically that this thesis is correct. In order to do that, a guideline is discussed shortly, and the following questions are written down on the board:

1 Part I in JSSE 2010, 3 (Rudolf Engelhardt: Parteipolitik in der Schule, 1964): <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/pdf/Engelhardt-de-JSSE-3-2010.pdf>.

2 In the document the fable's text is excluded, because the story is well-known to teachers. Here is a version of the narrative, which the teacher might have used.



1. What do classic thinkers of Marxism-Leninism recommend to be the necessary steps towards communism?
2. Where is the difference between building the basis of socialism and evolving a developed, socialistic society?
3. What are our next tasks?

By proving the anti-thesis, the pupils work in pairs and use their notes, textbook and specific work sheets that contain abstracts of Marx's documents and the party's documents. In order to work on their argumentation, the pupils scribble down some notes. They have got fifteen minutes time to prepare. During this preparation time, the teacher walks from desk to desk in order to get a general idea of the way her pupils work on the task. At the same time, she has the opportunity to correct and give advice to them.

Now, the results are discussed in class: Two pupils from different groups are asked to present their results on each question. The others have to add something or agree on it.

In order to disapprove of the enemy's opinion, several essential arguments have been found. The most important are:

The classics of Marxism-Leninism make a difference only between the two big phases of the communistic society's fabric: Socialism and the "real" communistic society. However, they emphasize that it takes a long time to develop this process. Due to their society's perspective, they were not able to provide any details, because they did not speculate but made scientifically proved and realistic predictions, respectively.

Due to the victory of the socialistic relations of production (*Produktionsverhältnisse*), a problematic situation occurred in the European socialistic countries. What was on the agenda historically: Firstly, to pave the way for transition to build communism directly, or secondly, to build socialism broadly? With regard to a collective perception process of the brother parties, they searched for a justified answer. Within this process, the Marxist-Leninist theory was enriched by the theory of a developed, socialistic society. (see: decision of the 8th SED party congress on the society's strategy)

The fabric of a developed, socialistic society is known for its essential development process, in particular for the development of its productive forces (*Produktivkräfte*), such as to implement a highly developed materialistic-technical basis, to minimize the differences between classes and hierarchy in society, to enable people to plan and lead sociological processes, and to overcome traditional habits and ways of thinking.

Although her pupils prove to have good knowledge and find logical arguments, the teacher is not fully satisfied: The pupil's presentations are too flat, too superficial. (Perhaps this is due to the guideline ques-

tions?) She asks: "Is it really that simple? Has the development been as formal as you have described it?"

Now, some of the pupils admit hesitantly a number of problems they discussed during the breaks frequently – including their experiences of productive work at their company, for instance the attitude towards work among some workers, discipline of planning (*Plandisziplin*), full time working, usage rate of machines and plants. In addition, their discussion includes the questions in what way the disturbance of the class enemy, the impact of the world's political situation, etc. have an effect on their own country's economic development.

Finally, the teacher recalls the enemy's thesis again and asks her pupils to conclude their standpoint.

Here is an abstract of a pupil's answer:

"The grapes are not unreachable for us but for the capitalistic system. They have to find new excuses regularly, in order to justify or palliate their situation (high unemployment rates, social insecurity, wars, and sorrow of the people). Therefore, only by establishing socialism and communism the big problems of humanity such as keeping peace, offering social security for everyone, and improving social progress can be solved. – However, socialism is not a gift. We have to 'form' it. By our work only, socialism can come true."

Translation: Julia Sammoray



Case archive (Part II¹) Lesson report Part II

Problemlösen im Unterricht „Der Fuchs und die Trauben“

Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR
10. Klasse, Polytechnische Oberschule, Berlin/DDR,
Aufzeichnungsdatum ca. 1984.

Quelle: Elisabeth Fuhrmann (unter Mitarbeit von Winfried Krause und Monika Rönsch): Problemlösen im Unterricht, Berlin/DDR: Volk und Wissen 1986, S. 51-55

Im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht einer Klasse 10 hat die Lehrerin die letzte Stunde der Stoffeinheit „Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR“ als problemhaft gestaltete Systematisierungs- und Anwendungsstunde geplant. Die Schüler sollen das in dieser Stoffeinheit erworbene Wissen und Können in der Auseinandersetzung mit einem Argument des Klassengegners weitgehend selbständig anwenden.

Die Lehrerin beginnt die Stunde – kommentarlos – mit dem Vortragen der Fabel „Der Fuchs und die Trauben“.

Der Fuchs und die Trauben (Äsop)

Eine Maus und ein Spatz saßen an einem Herbstabend unter einem Weinstock und plauderten miteinander. Auf einmal zirpte der Spatz seiner Freundin zu: „Versteck dich, der Fuchs kommt“, und flog rasch hinauf ins Laub.

Der Fuchs schlich sich an den Weinstock heran, seine Blicke hingen sehnsüchtig an den dicken, blauen, überreifen Trauben. Vorsichtig spähte er nach allen Seiten. Dann stützte er sich mit seinen Vorderpfoten gegen den Stamm, reckte kräftig seinen Körper empor und wollte mit dem Mund ein paar Trauben erwischen. Aber sie hingen zu hoch.

Etwas verärgert versuchte er sein Glück noch einmal. Diesmal tat er einen gewaltigen Satz, doch er schnappte wieder nur ins Leere.

Ein drittes Mal bemühte er sich und sprang aus Leibeskräften. Voller Gier huschte er nach den üppigen Trauben und streckte sich so lange dabei, bis er auf den Rücken kollerte. Nicht ein Blatt hatte sich bewegt.

Der Spatz, der schweigend zugesehen hatte, konnte sich nicht länger beherrschen und zwitscherte belustigt: „Herr Fuchs, Ihr wollt zu hoch hinaus!“

Die Maus äugte aus ihrem Versteck und piepste vorwitzig: „Gib dir keine Mühe, die Trauben bekommst du nie.“ Und wie ein Pfeil schoß sie in ihr Loch zurück.

Der Fuchs biß die Zähne zusammen, rümpfte die Nase und meinte hochmütig: „Sie sind mir noch nicht reif genug, ich mag keine sauren Trauben.“ Mit erhobenem Haupt stolzierte er in den Wald zurück.²

Es schließt sich ein Unterrichtsgespräch zu der Frage an: „Was will der Dichter Ihrer Meinung nach mit dieser Fabel zum Ausdruck bringen?“

Einige Schülerantworten:

– „Da dem Fuchs die Erlangung seiner Wünsche wegen seiner Unfähigkeit versagt blieb, versuchte er diese Unfähigkeit zu verschleiern, indem er eben Ausreden erfand.“

– „Der Fuchs will nicht zugeben, daß ihm die Trauben zu hoch hängen, deshalb sagt er, sie sind mir zu sauer. – Damit will der Dichter unehrliches Verhalten, Bemäntelungsversuche der Menschen untereinander oder auch sich selbst gegenüber anprangern.“

– „Kurz gesagt: Da das Ziel nicht erreichbar ist, werden Ausreden gesucht.“

In dieses Unterrichtsgespräch greift die Lehrerin überhaupt nicht ein, bricht nach 2 Minuten ab und schlägt ein bis dahin verdecktes Tafelbild auf, das ein Zitat des Klassengegners wiedergibt (vgl. Unterrichtshilfe Staatsbürgerkunde Klasse 10, S. 63). In ihm wird behauptet, daß die Etappe „entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft“ nur erfunden worden sei, weil der Kommunismus nicht zu verwirklichen wäre.

Die Lehrerin fordert die Schüler auf, das Tafelbild zu lesen und Vergleiche mit der Fabel anzustellen.

Im Unterrichtsgespräch wird herausgearbeitet: In dem Zitat wird den Kommunisten eine Denkweise unterstellt, wie sie der Fuchs in der Fabel hat: Den Kommunisten hängen die Trauben zu hoch, sie suchen

1 Teil I in JSSE 2010, 3 (Rudolf Engelhardt: Parteipolitik in der Schule, 1964): <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/pdf/Engelhardt-de-JSSE-3-2010.pdf>.

2 Im Originaldokument ist die (vermutlich vorgetragene) Textfassung der Fabel nicht abgedruckt. Sie wurde hier ergänzt aus Projekt Gutenberg.de http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/?&id=5&kapitel=28&xid=6#gb_found.



nach einer Ausrede. Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft wird als eine solche Ausrede bezeichnet. Es wird in Abrede gestellt, daß sie eine notwendige Etappe auf dem Weg in die kommunistische Gesellschaft ist. – Es handelt sich um eine ganz gezielte Verleugnung durch den Klassengegner.

Die Lehrerin kann sich mit wenigen Denkanstößen begnügen, etwa der Art: Bewerten Sie diese Aussage! – Was meinen die anderen dazu? – Alle einverstanden?

Nun führt die Lehrerin wieder direkt: „Soweit schön und gut. Wir haben es hier also mit einer These zu tun, von der Sie meinen, sie beinhalte eine falsche Aussage. Das wollen wir aber exakt nachweisen. Versuchen Sie, zunächst eine Antithese aufzustellen.“

Nach kurzem Gedankenaustausch zwischen den Banknachbarn (Partnerarbeit) formulieren die Schüler ihre Antithesen schriftlich. Folgende Formulierung aus einem Schülerheft läßt die Lehrerin dem Zitat im Tafelbild gegenüberstellen:

„Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft ist eine notwendige Etappe auf dem Wege zum Kommunismus.“

Nun geht es an die wissenschaftliche Beweisführung für die Richtigkeit dieser These. Dazu werden als Leitfaden in einem knappen Unterrichtsgespräch folgende Fragen erarbeitet und ebenfalls im Tafelbild festgehalten:

1. Was sagen die Klassiker des Marxismus-Leninismus zu notwendigen Phasen des Kommunismus?
2. Worin unterscheiden sich Aufbau der Grundlagen des Sozialismus und Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft?
3. Welches sind unsere nächsten Aufgaben?

Die Beweisführung erfolgt in Partnerarbeit. Die Schüler nutzen für die Argumentation ihre Aufzeichnungen, das Lehrbuch sowie spezielle Arbeitsblätter mit Textausschnitten aus Schriften von Marx und Parteidokumenten. In Stichpunkten formulieren sie die Beweisführung in ihren Heften. Für diesen Unterrichtsabschnitt haben die Schüler 15 Minuten Zeit. Die Lehrerin geht von Bank zu Bank und verschafft sich dabei einen Überblick, wie die Schüler an die Aufgabe herangehen. Zugleich nutzt sie die Möglichkeit, hier und da anregend und korrigierend einzugreifen.

Die Auswertung wird in folgender Form vorgenommen: Zu jeder Frage tragen jeweils zwei Schüler aus verschiedenen Gruppen ihre Ergebnisse vor, die übrigen Schüler sind aufgefordert, zu ergänzen oder ihr Einverständnis zu bekunden.

Zur Widerlegung der gegnerischen Behauptung wurden wesentliche Argumente gefunden. Die wichtigsten sind:

– Die Klassiker des Marxismus-Leninismus unterscheiden lediglich die beiden großen Phasen der kommunistischen Gesellschaftsformation: Sozialis-

mus und „eigentliche“ kommunistische Gesellschaft, betonen aber die Langfristigkeit des Entwicklungsprozesses. Sie konnten von ihren gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen her noch keine detaillierten Aussagen treffen; denn sie spekulierten nicht, sondern trafen wissenschaftlich begründete bzw. real mögliche Voraussagen.

– Mit dem Sieg der sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse entstand in den sozialistischen Ländern Europas eine Problemsituation. Was stand nun historisch auf der Tagesordnung: der unmittelbare Übergang zum Aufbau des Kommunismus oder der umfassende Aufbau des Sozialismus? In einem kollektiven Erkenntnisprozeß der Bruderparteien wurde eine begründete Antwort erarbeitet und die marxistisch-leninistische Theorie mit der Theorie der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft bereichert (vgl. Beschluß des VIII. Parteitages der SED über die Gesellschaftsstrategie der Partei³).

– Die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist gekennzeichnet durch wesentliche Wandlungsprozesse, insbesondere der Entwicklung der Produktivkräfte (z.B. Schaffung einer hochentwickelten materiell-technischen Basis; Annäherung der Klassen und Schichten; Befähigung der Menschen zur Planung und Leitung gesellschaftlicher Prozesse; Überwindung überkommener Gewohnheiten und Denkweisen).

Obwohl die Schüler gute Kenntnisse nachweisen, auch logisch zwingend argumentieren, ist die Lehrerin nicht ganz zufrieden: Die Darstellung der Schüler ist zu rund, zu glatt. (Vielleicht eine Folge der vorgegebenen Fragen?) Sie fragt: „Ist das tatsächlich so einfach? Verläuft die Entwicklung bei uns so schulbuchmäßig?“

Ein wenig zögernd sprechen einige Schüler jetzt Probleme an, über die in Pausen häufig diskutiert wird, wobei sie unmittelbar ihre Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse aus der produktiven Arbeit in „ihrem“ Betrieb mit einbeziehen (z.B. die Einstellung zur Arbeit bei einzelnen Werkträgern; Plandisziplin; volle Ausnutzung der Arbeitszeit; Auslastung von Maschinen und Anlagen). Sie beziehen auch die Störversuche des Klassengegners, die Auswirkungen der weltpolitischen Situation auf die ökonomische Entwicklung in unserem Land u.a. in die Diskussion ein.

Abschließend greift die Lehrerin nochmals auf die gegnerische These zurück und fordert die Schüler auf, ihren Standpunkt zusammenzufassen.

Es wird herausgearbeitet (Schülerantwort):

„Nicht uns hängen die Trauben zu hoch, sondern dem kapitalistischen System. Es muß ständig neue

3 Der VIII. Parteitag der SED – der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands – fand statt vom 15.-19. Juli 1971 in Berlin/DDR. Vgl. <http://www.hdg.de/lemo/html/DasGeteilteDeutschland/KontinuitaetUndWandel/EntwicklungenImOsten/parteitag-DerSEDVIIIIBody.html>.



Ausreden erfinden, um die dort bestehenden Zustände zu rechtfertigen oder zu bemänteln (Arbeitslosigkeit, soziale Unsicherheit, Kriege und Leid der Menschen). Die großen Menschheitsprobleme wie Erhaltung des Friedens, soziale Sicherheit für alle und sozialer Fortschritt können nur mit der Errichtung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus endgültig gelöst werden. – Aber der Sozialismus ist kein Geschenk. Wir müssen ihn ‚machen‘. Er kann nur durch unsere Arbeit verwirklicht werden.“



Tilman Grammes:

Commentary – Staatsbürgerkunde (civics and politics) in the former GDR

1. Context of the lesson's documentation
2. The authors group's commentary (GDR) on the example
3. Aspects of the lesson's documentation to use in teacher's education
4. Further information
5. References
6. Supplement

1. Context of the lesson's documentation

The lesson's documentation has been aimed at teacher's education and further education. The chosen example is set in a 10th grade of a polytechnic secondary school (Polytechnische Oberschule POS¹) in Berlin, GDR. There is no evidence of the exact date of recording. However, we assume that it took place in the middle of the 1980s.

According to the way of reporting, so-called lesson's documentation, it is done by the teaching person itself or, as far as this example is concerned, reported by an observer (according to his memory) afterwards – it is not a completely synchronized protocol. In comparison to a lesson model (re-worked and model-like), the lesson's documentation is known to be a representation of reality (no re-work in particular, or improvement is done). Due to the fact that this example will be published in a book titled *Problem solving in classroom* ("Problemlösen im Unterricht"), it could be considered as a success story and a model-like lesson (compare Drews/Fuhrmann 1980).

The example *The Fox and the Grapes* is part of a published compilation on general didactics of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften APW) in the former GDR. According to this compilation, the narrow volume *Problem solving in classroom* („Problemlösen im Unterricht“) is part of the series *Advice for teachers* ("Ratschläge für Lehrer"). In addition, this series contains titles such as *Questions and Answers on good practice of a lesson*, *How to reach discipline in lessons?*, *How do I teach moral values?*, *Meeting individual's particularities – Giving individual support – Providing individual challenges for pupils in lessons*, etc. The series' development in content is lead and coordinated by a team of the APW. The books were provided by the pedagogical districts' cabinets of the GDR; they were broadly known and frequently read. According to a popular magazine for elementary (school) children of the GDR, this series – which was highly desired by teachers – came to be known as *Teacherbummi* ("Lehrerbummi", Neuner 1996, 47):

1 For POS see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polytechnische_Oberschule.

Here the text set on the inner cover page²:

"After the VIIIth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR, the publication *Advice for teachers* ("Ratschläge für Lehrer") has been founded by an initiative of parents, educators, school functionaries, and pedagogical scientists. The President of the APS in the GDR, Prof. Dr. sc. Gerhart Neuner, suggested in the course of the congress to publish this series in order to find answers to "very concrete questions in daily pedagogical labor." Therefore, the series' brochures focus on areas to further improve the pedagogical process at school, and to meet everyday challenges of educators and teachers. The authors' aims were to offer handy and constructive solutions in a clear and lively way, which are supposed to encourage creative thinking, to learn from the other's experiences, and to improve the exchange among everybody in order to enrich pedagogical life."

The topic of the lesson is "The strategic task of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the communist party of the former German Democratic Republic) to evolve a GDR's developed, socialistic society." It is supposed to be a problem-based systematic and usage-orientated lesson in a 10th grade. First of all, criteria are defined to manage "processes of problem handling". These criteria were inductively gained of an analysis from a former geography lesson (example 7) on the topic "Specific examples of agriculture in capitalistic countries: nutrition" in a 10th grade, too.

2. The GDR authors group's commentary (GDR) on the example

Source: Elisabeth Fuhrmann: *Problemlösen im Unterricht*. [problem solving in classroom] Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1986, p. 10–17 and p. 51.

To use the variety of different forms of teaching

Three main phases and several variations

In order to state the essence of a problem-orientated lesson clearly, the following has to be emphasized:

2 For more information on the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften APW) browse (German): http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akademie_der_P%C3%A4dagogischen_Wissenschaften_der_DDR; Concerning the role and function of Gerhart Neuner browse: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerhart_Neuner.



The general understanding of a problem-orientated lesson is closely linked to an *awareness of crucial laws of an epistemological process*, it follows the *phases of a problem solving process*, and it is bound to *the perception and solution to problems for didactic reason*.

From a didactic point of view, a problem (sometimes known as „lesson-problem“) is supposed to have the following features:

- It contains – compared to every other problem in terms of a social or individual epistemological or improvement process – a *fully known contradiction*: a contradiction between existence and phenomenon, ideal and reality, aim and the opportunity to meet the aim, new knowledge of the pupils and their usual experiences, new challenges of them and their incapability to rise to it. However, for the pupils, the problem should mirror the contradiction (e.g. like a conflict between fictional characters) by provoking a strong desire to overcome.
- Its solution aims at the pupils' epistemological activity to meet the main idea of the curriculum's demands.
- The challenging situation must not be relevant for a few pupils only, but it should be perceived as such for the whole group.
- It is as difficult as the pupils – concerning their psychological development – are able to understand and to find solutions to it. [10/11] The pupils do not know the approach to solving it, but have to think about it, which they are able to do in the “next development zone.”³

Problem-orientated lessons are based on laws of social and individual epistemological processes and continue the tradition of didactics and learning theory, which ideas are rooted in the classical bourgeois pedagogy.⁴ In terms of Marxist-Leninist *philosophy*, it is emphasized that an epistemological-based and experience-based progress of humanity is primarily lead by social needs. However, there might occur contradictions between the aims of human behavior – that are linked directly or indirectly to satisfy these needs – and the opportunities to meet these aims. If a human being becomes *aware* of such a contradiction during an activity process, it is defined as a *problem*. By striving for overcoming these contradictions between the aims and its opportunities to meet them, it causes the

search for new epistemologies and the exploration of tools to better control the environment. Problem-orientated lessons do not aim at an „understanding“ of a social epistemological process in particular, but want to reassure that pupils recognize how human perception has been and is encouraged, and that they test their own epistemological power in order to train their ability to realize a problem, to get hold of it and to learn dialectical thinking. According to the reassured wisdom of Marxism-Leninism psychology, every fully developed individual epistemological process contains the following basic phases: Firstly, *awareness of a problem*, secondly, *search for solutions* [11/12], and thirdly, *management and check on the ideas of solutions*.

These three basic phases of an epistemological process describe the „invariants“, which problem-orientated lessons are based on.

In fact, there are hundreds of modifications of this series of phases, which result in a huge amount of variations to manage problem solving processes. All variations show the following:

The pupils are only challenged with a *problem*, if it is subjectively meaningful to them. Therefore, their interest in and desire for gaining new insights, for rising to a recognized contradiction or conflict, for independently solving a tricky task or understanding a challenging topic, for clarifying an incomprehensible issue, for checking on own solutions, etc. is triggered, and their learning motivation is risen. In order to keep the pupils' interest awake and to expand their mental activity, the pupils are motivated to look for solutions independently. Further on, they get time to think and try, their ideas are taken for serious, their witty approaches, assumptions, suggestions – even if they are wrong or unsatisfactory – are acknowledged as intellectual achievement.

In addition, the pupils do a *review of their solutions* almost independently, or they participate in it. Within this process, cooperative forms of working are considered to be a crucial factor to increase efficiency and to save time.

In fact, the pupils carry out the same steps of thinking – in short and managed by the teacher –, which are characteristic for the *main phases of scientific epistemological processes* [12/13]. In general, by doing so, they do not gain any new knowledge of society. However, if this process is lead pedagogical wisely, the pupil's experience to be able to solve a problem independently can be compared to the scientist's, pioneer's and artist's experience to solve a problem. Indeed, this has a beneficial impact on problem-orientated lessons in order to activate pupils' thoughts and develop their creative abilities.

The following overview provides a superficial orientation on the *main phases* of the pupils' epistemological activity in problem-orientated lessons and its *variations* in terms of the teacher's management.

3 [commentary TG] Zone of the next development's step is related to the cultural-historical school of Russian learning psychology (Wygotsky, Lurija, Leontjew), which theory had been received in the GDR and in Germany as part of the 1968 pedagogical idea: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kulturhistorische_Schule.

4 compare: Komenský's, Herbart's and in particular Diesterweg's claims for an advanced and independent learning process, according to the use of a heuristic method; claims for the increase of a „exploring way of learning“ in science lessons at bourgeois high schools; according to socialistic didactics, Danilow's knowledge of the role of contradiction in learning processes, in particular; Weck's, Machmutow's and other's basic works.

| Main phases | Variation to manage epistemological activity |
|---|--|
| 1. Providing a problem – Understanding of the problem, recognition of the problem by the pupils | <p>a) The teacher describes the problem, “empathizes” the pupil with the situation and verbalizes the problem, which should be recognized and solved later by the pupils.</p> <p>b) The problem is developed step by step – according to the pupils’ knowledge and experiences –, the pupils should be able to recognize the problem independently and verbalize it.</p> <p>c) Without any introduction, the teacher asks a question or gives a task that is able to empathize the pupils with the problem spontaneously. (This can only be done if the contradiction is obvious or meaningful to the pupils.)</p> <p>d) The pupils are able to recognize problems linked to the subject matter, which the teacher revives. [13/14]</p> |
| 2. Search for solutions ^a (collecting ideas) | <p>a) The epistemological phase is <i>predominant</i>. The teacher accepts several hypotheses, assumptions, or approaches for a solution or suggestions of solutions. These are contrasted with each other, they discuss opportunities and ways to review and justify them theoretically, and they assume their probability and define their sequence according to their review.</p> <p>b) The epistemological phase is <i>predominant</i>. There is only one hypothesis (assumption, etc.) presented and justified, which will be dealt with from now on.</p> <p>c) The step to establish a hypothesis is <i>not predominant</i>, but related to other steps. Analyzing the problem is <i>clearly linked to suggesting solutions</i>. (This variation requires a <i>simple structure</i>.)</p> <p>d) The step to establish a hypothesis is <i>not predominant</i>. During the analysis of a problem it is split up into <i>sub-problems</i>. Questions and sub-tasks are derived from the analysis, which will be answered and solved step by step. [14/15] (in particular, this variation is suitable for <i>complex or interdisciplinary</i> problems)</p> |
| 3. Solution (Proving the hypothesis) | <p>a) The hypothesis (assumption or solution) is <i>proven</i> (supported by experiments, deductive conclusion, evidence, calculation, measurement, functional check, full understanding of a literary meaning by comparison, interpretation, or re-reading, etc.). The problem is solved.</p> <p>b) The hypothesis (assumption or solution) is <i>rejected</i> (proven by an experiment, contrasting evidence, proof of inappropriateness, etc.). The problem has to be analyzed again in order to find a new solution.</p> <p>c) A <i>number</i> of hypotheses could be verified. (This can only happen, if the hypotheses are not contradictory.) In this case, there are several solutions to the problem, of which the pupils will become aware of.</p> <p>d) The hypothesis, assumption, etc. can only be <i>verified for specific cases</i>. The pupils learn to enlarge their “field of searching”, because their assumption leads only to a part of the solution. [15/16] Or: The pupils learn that there is not any complete solution to the problem at the moment, but only partial solutions.</p> <p>e) The problem cannot be solved, because it is an objective problem concerning the development of society, or because it is an epistemological problem, which is actually discussed in research. According to the pupils’ newly gained knowledge, it is related to ideological (e.g. infinity of an epistemological process) and political (e.g. strategy and tactics of a political battle considered to be a creative achievement of the workers’ party) insights, which include the understanding of the causes and why this problem could not have been solved by now; in addition, to help to deepen the awareness of the problem.</p> |

a According to the subject, this phase could be seen differently. As far as civics, polytechnic, or scientific lessons are concerned, the example might be related to a problem-based analysis by deriving questions, advancing hypotheses, predictions, or assumptions. As far as mathematics is concerned, an analysis of a mathematical problem is based on suggesting approaches for a solution, which are justified, carefully considered, or critically reflected. In terms of literature classes, this phase



In each phase, all *methodological basic forms and cooperative forms* such as teacher's lectures and demonstrations, teaching discourse and all forms of independent work of pupils, can be used and employed in aiming at single or collaborative work. Therefore, there are a number of variations.

With regard to the grade of the pupils' independence, it covers a broad range of options: from *receptive, active thinking* during a lecture till *solving the problem independently*. The key is to combine these various options and not to focus on lectures or independent work only [16/17].

The following part will show the variety of variations to manage problem-based processes in lessons by employing examples. It was challenging to find suitable examples due to the combination of the above-mentioned options to modify the pupils' perceptions, which leads to over 80 variations to manage problem solving processes. This number of variations will increase to over 100, if different methodological basic and cooperative forms are considered, too. If all grades and all relevant subjects are taken into account, the number would multiply once again. According to the author, it is *focused* on a few variations only. The choice is limited to 7 variations, which will be discussed in 11 examples of different subjects. These examples are supposed to trigger the reader's mind to advance creative thinking (in terms of other subjects, other "cases", and other combinations of factors). However, this implies that *every single reader* will reflect on *all* examples thoroughly, and not only on these, which are related to his subject. In order to offer an easy approach in content, we have chosen those examples, which are dealt with in several subjects, and which do not require any expert knowledge. Therefore, they are considered to be common knowledge to all teachers. In addition, to read *all* examples is essential due to further reasons: If a teacher only focuses on examples related to his subjects, it will be difficult to understand the fundamental concern of the „variability to manage problem solving“. Moreover, he might lack comprehension of subject-specific accents and peculiarities of problem-orientated lessons in his subject (...).

Seven variations – 11 examples

Examples 7 and 8 [The fox and the grapes, TG]

...[51] The following example will display several peculiarities that can be applied to a number of variations concerning, in particular, civic education lessons and its specific processes of solving problems. (The former example no.7 dealt with the analysis of a geography lesson. TG)

These are for instance:

- Consequential relation to facts (geographical, historical, biographical facts; realities of current developments and time, etc.)

- The "comparison" between existence and phenomenon, ideal and reality (as a "trigger" for deeper understanding and knowledge)
- The argumentative-based analysis (sometimes purposeful provoked or organized by the teacher) of non-scientific or purposeful wrong statements of the class's enemy, ideological "half-truths", etc.
- Involvement of experiences of life, personal opinions, pupils' standpoints
- The awareness of current (or historical) sociological problems of development and the discussion on solutions, respectively, on its conditions, and how pupils think about it;
- The teaching, respectively, the purposeful development of values concerning sociological facts, respectively incidents or people's behavior.
- The efficiency of problem-lead discussions concerning political-ideological education.

3. Aspects of the lesson's documentation to use in teacher's education

The subject *Civics and Politics* (Staatsbürgerkunde) is considered as a minor subject – 2 hours / week. (browse: Table of lessons http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polytechnic_Secondary_School#Table_of_lessons_1971) The analysis of the lesson's documentation clearly displays all of the didactic-methodological problems, which the "strange subject" *Civics and Politics* had to struggle with structurally. By discussing this lesson, the students might deal with following aspects:

- Lesson planning: In contrast to existing opinions, the GDR did not provide a lesson concept such as "all pupils learn the same thing at the same pace". Moreover, lesson planning and teaching was based on a number of "variations". In fact, it is supposed to "enable to manage creative learning in problem-orientated lessons" (Fuhrmann et al. 1986, 6). In addition, the so-called Lesson toolkit/*help for lessons* ("Unterrichtshilfe"), that contained ideas and plans for each lesson according to the *table of lessons* for all subjects, was not able and should not be able to guarantee the same lesson at every school.
- Normative framework (aims): Normative relations to the "classics" of Marxism-Leninism provides the "natural" solution to the problem in content and is seen as a premise that cannot be challenged, for instance historical and dialectical materialism (Histomat, Diamat), and Scientific Communism.
- Concept of knowledge (content): Handling knowledge is based on an implicit positivism ("material of facts"). Because of using immunization strategies, a set of "right" knowledge is separated from critical remarks. Exclusively, "the scientific verification of the thesis" is accepted, whereas a falsification of it is not possible. The underlying mechanism is difficult to comprehend as a so-called epistemological essen-



tialism, which makes a difference between visible “manifestation” of reality and its “existence” (principles of the historical materialism). This is meant to be indoctrination (compare: Snook 2010).

- Forming a judgment: From a moral point of view, the classical fable *The fox and the Grapes* was used to establish a politicized analogy of a class struggle to deal with the so-called Cold War. *The fox and the Grapes* is one of the traditional Aesop’s fables and can be held to illustrate the concept of cognitive dissonance. In this view, the premise of the fox that covets inaccessible grapes is taken to stand for a person who reacts on a defeat dishonestly. In that case, the disdain the fox expresses for the grapes, he states he did not want to reach them. The conclusion to the fable serves at least to diminish the dissonance even if the behavior in fact remains irrational. [source: Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Fox_and_the_Grapes, Dec 27th, 2010]
- Methodology: According to the professionalization of the GDR teachers’ education, the methodology of teaching is – at least on the surface – varied.
- Discussion (seen as a method): Finally, both the discussion and “argumentative analysis” aim at a certain result, and are therefore not open concerning the result. The discussion is considered to be an instrument for providing the right conclusion. Its pedagogical ideal is defined as consensus and homogeneity, not controversy and pluralism. There is a main difference between discussions as a method in authoritarian regimes and in democratic systems (Popper 1945).
- Orientation on experience (known as didactic principle): The pupil’s presentations are considered as too flat, too superficial. It is necessary not to forget about controversial subjective experiences on the one hand, and about sociological problems on the other. There is a relation established in the subject *Technical studies and productive work* (ESP⁵) and in the experiences of productive work at the pupils’ companies in terms of the polytechnic educational concept.
- Pupils: From a critical point of view, “indoctrination” might affect the pupils’ mind successfully, or condemns it as untrustworthy. However, it might lead to – metaphorically speaking – “bilingualism” among the pupils, and they also might pay “lip service” only.

4. Further information

Concerning classroom’s reality in civics and politics in general: compare Grammes/Schluss/Vogler 2006.

Video recordings of lessons in the GDR are available at the video database lessons in the GDR, Deutsches Institut für internationale pädagogische Forschung (DIPF), Frankfurt/Main, <http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/filme/filme.html>. This is a unique collection of the former Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the GDR until 1989. Access for research purposes, please get in touch with Prof. Dr. Henning Schluss, University of Vienna, Austria (Universität Wien) <http://bildungswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/fe1/bildungsforschung-und-bildungstheorie/personal/schluss-henning/>

5 More information on this subject (German); browse: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einf%C3%BChrung_in_die_sozialistische_Produktion.



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Supplement

Unterrichtshilfe Staatsbürgerkunde 10

[lesson toolkit civic and politics grade 10]

The following text is provided in german language only:

Piontkowski, Siegfried et al. 1984. Staatsbürgerkunde. Unterrichtshilfen Klasse 10. Berlin/DDR: Volk und Wissen.

[S. 5]

[5] Einleitung

Hiermit werden im Zusammenhang mit der Einführung des überarbeiteten Lehrplans und des neuen Lehrbuches für Staatsbürgerkunde Klasse 10 zum Schuljahr 1984/85 neue Unterrichtshilfen vorgelegt.

Das Auffälligste an den neuen Unterrichtshilfen besteht darin, daß der Lehrer nachdrücklicher auf die Langfristigkeit der Planung und Gestaltung des Bildungs- und Erziehungsprozesses im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht orientiert wird und daß die Unterrichtsstunden oft nicht in ihrem Gesamtverlauf vorgestellt werden. Dem Lehrer wird damit bewußt Spielraum für eine eigenständige und schöpferische Planung und Gestaltung seiner Unterrichtsstunden überlassen ...

[6] Abkürzungsverzeichnis

In den Unterrichtshilfen werden folgende *Abkürzungen* verwendet:

| | |
|-----|--|
| STE | Stoffeinheit |
| UE | Unterrichtseinheit |
| LV | Lehrervortrag |
| UG | Unterrichtsgespräch |
| UD | Unterrichtsdiskussion |
| SST | angeleitete, relativ selbständige Schülertätigkeit |
| LK | Leistungskontrolle |
| ZO | Zielorientierung |
| LB | Lehrbuch |
| UM | Unterrichtsmittel |
| USF | Unterrichtssendung des Fernsehens |

SchA Schülerauftrag

SV Schülervortrag

TB Tafelbild

HA Hausaufgabe

[7] Zum Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht in Klasse 10

„Dem Unterricht in den *Klassen 9 und 10* liegt die weltanschauliche Erkenntnis des Marxismus-Leninismus zugrunde, daß sich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus gesetzmäßig vollzieht, daß gesellschaftliche Gesetze objektive Handlungserfordernisse zum Ausdruck bringen und daß der historische Untergang des Kapitalismus und die Errichtung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus mit geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit im revolutionären Kampf der Arbeiterklasse vollzogen werden.“ (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, S. 10.) In diesem Zusammenhang sollen die Schüler „zur tiefen Einsicht geführt werden, daß die Arbeiterklasse eine marxistisch-leninistische Partei braucht, die die konkret-historischen Kampfbedingungen gründlich analysiert, die wissenschaftlich begründete Strategie und Taktik des Kampfes ausarbeitet und die die Arbeiterklasse und alle anderen Werktätigen zur Lösung der herangereiften Aufgaben befähigt und führt“ (Ebenda).

Im Unterricht der Klasse 10 wird den Schülern vor allem die auf der Ausnutzung gesellschaftlicher Gesetze beruhende Politik der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei zur Verwirklichung des strategischen Ziels der SED erläutert, in der DDR weiterhin die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten und so grundlegende Voraussetzungen für den allmählichen Übergang zum Kommunismus zu schaffen. Diese Ziel- und Aufgabenstellung der SED wird in ihrer Einbettung in den revolutionären Weltprozeß und in den Kampf um ihre Erfüllung als Beitrag zum weiteren Voranschreiten des Sozialismus in der Welt im internationalen Klassenkampf zwischen Sozialismus und Imperialismus behandelt. Der Unterricht in Klasse 10 hat den Schülern auf diese Weise konkret-historische Erfordernisse revolutionären Handelns bewußt zu machen und ihre klassenmäßige Einstellung zu diesen Aufgaben unserer weiteren gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung weiter auszuprägen ...

[46] Stoffeinheit 2: Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR

1. Zu den Zielen und inhaltlichen Schwerpunkten des Unterrichts

In dieser Stoffeinheit ist den Schülern die Strategie der SED für die weitere gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in der DDR zu erläutern und zu begründen. Sie sind mit entscheidenden Aufgabenstellungen dieser Gesellschaftsstrategie vertraut zu machen, und es sind konkrete Einsichten in den Prozeß ihrer Realisierung zu vermitteln. Die Schüler sollen dabei die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als nächsten Schritt zur Verwirklichung der historischen Mis-



sion der Arbeiterklasse erfassen und sich mit den aus der dynamischen Entwicklung des Sozialismus erwachsenden neuen Maßstäben revolutionären Handelns identifizieren. Das *erzieherische Anliegen* des Unterrichts besteht darin, den Schülern die Verwirklichung des Sinns des Sozialismus als große humanistische Aufgabe, als erstrebenswertes persönliches Ziel und zugleich als gesellschaftlichen Auftrag nahezubringen. Im Unterricht sind Motive und Bereitschaften der Schüler zu entwickeln, aktiv an der Verwirklichung der Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen, an der weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus teilzuhaben. Indem die Schüler die SED als gesellschaftliche Kraft kennenlernen, die eine auf das Wohl des Volkes gerichtete Politik konzipiert und den Prozeß ihrer Realisierung zielgerichtet leitet und führt, ist die Verbundenheit mit der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei weiter auszuprägen ...

Bei der *Planung und Gestaltung des Unterrichts* ist es notwendig zu beachten, daß die Erkenntnis vom Kommunismus als eine dynamisch sich entwickelnde Ordnung sowie die Erkenntnis von den Vorzügen und Triebkräften des Sozialismus schrittweise erarbeitet werden.

So dienen

- die Information über die Phasen in der Entwicklung der einheitlichen kommunistischen Gesellschaftsformation (1./2. Stunde),
- die nähere Betrachtung entscheidender Aufgaben zur Realisierung des Sinns des Sozialismus (4. Stunde), [48/49]

- die Erörterung von Entwicklungsproblemen und Anforderungen im Prozeß gesellschaftlichen Voranschreitens (4. Stunde)

- der Vermittlung der Einsicht, daß die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft ein dynamischer Prozeß, ein Prozeß tiefgreifender Wandlungen ist.

Das Herausarbeiten von Kenntnissen über die Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus erfolgt vor allem auf der Grundlage von Tatsachen

- über das feste Fundament des realen Sozialismus in der DDR (1./2. Stunde),
- im Zusammenhang mit dem Nachweis, daß im Sozialismus die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen im Mittelpunkt stehen (3. Stunde),
- im Zusammenhang mit der Kennzeichnung des gesellschaftlichen Fortschritts als planmäßig gestalteter und zielgerichtet geführter Prozeß (4. Stunde),
- im Zusammenhang mit dem Verdeutlichen der schöpferischen Aktivität der Werktätigen, der Übereinstimmung der grundlegenden Interessen und Ziele der Gesellschaft und des einzelnen (4. Stunde).

Das, was auf diese Weise an Kenntnissen über die Vorzüge des Sozialismus und seine Triebkräfte sowie über ihre weitere Entfaltung im Verlaufe der einzelnen Unterrichtsstunden erworben wird, was die Schüler von den tiefgreifenden Wandlungen im Prozeß der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft erfahren, findet schließlich seine Synthese und zugleich produktive Anwendung bei der Behandlung des 4. inhaltlichen Schwerpunktes (5. Stunde).

[50] 2. Zur Gliederung der Stoffeinheit

| Stoffabschnitte des Lehrplans | Inhaltliche und didaktische Linienführung | Stundenthemen | Unterrichtsmittel, langfristige Schüleraufträge |
|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ZO für die STE: Aufwerfen der Frage nach den revolutionären Herausforderungen unseres sozialistischen Alltags • Begründung der von der SED ausgearbeiteten strategischen Zielstellung für die nächste Etappe der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR - Kennzeichnung der Entscheidungssituation zu Beginn der sechziger Jahre in der DDR - Information zu Auffassungen der Klassiker des Marxismus-Leninismus über den Prozeßcharakter des Aufbaus von Sozialismus und Kommunismus - Analyse zum konkret-historischen Stand der Realisierung der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse nach dem Sieg der sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse in der DDR (sozialistische Errungenschaften auf dem Wege zum Kommunismus) - Zusammenfassende Begründung der im Programm der SED fixierten strategischen Zielstellung, die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten • Erörterung von Voraussetzungen für den Übergang zur zweiten Phase der kommunistischen Gesellschaftsformation | <p><i>1./2. Stunde:</i> Worin besteht das nächste Ziel der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR? (1)</p> | <p>LB, Abschn. 2.1.</p> <p>LB, S.39-41</p> <p>LB, S. 37/38, 43/44 Arbeitsblatt</p> <p>LB, S. 38/39 R 982 und R 983 (Auswahl)</p> <p>Programm der SED, Abschn. II, Einleitung und Abschnitt V LB, S. 39-41, 43/44 Programm der SED, Abschn. V</p> |



2. Die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft

- Ergebniskontrolle:
 - Welche weitere Wegstrecke für die Realisierung der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse ist mit der Zielstellung abgesteckt, in der DDR die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten?
 - Erschließen des weltanschaulichen Gehalts der Formulierung vom Sinn des Sozialismus im Programm der SED – Kennzeichnung von Vorzügen des Sozialismus (2)
 - Erarbeitung: Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und der anderen Werktätigen, auf deren Realisierung das Wirken der SED gerichtet ist
 - Einführung: Wechselbeziehungen von gesellschaftlichen und persönlichen Interessen bei der Realisierung des Sinns des Sozialismus
 - Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung wesentlicher Vorzüge des real existierenden Sozialismus
 - Überblick über wichtige Aufgaben bei der weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus
 - Erörterung von Entwicklungsproblemen und Kennzeichnung von Anforderungen an die Führungstätigkeit der Partei der Arbeiterklasse, der staatlichen Leitungsorgane sowie an jeden einzelnen Werktätigen bei der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft
- Ausgewählte Problemkreise:
 - Verknüpfung von wissenschaftlich-technischem, ökonomischem und sozialem Fortschritt
 - immer harmonischere Entwicklung aller Seiten und Bereiche der sozialistischen Gesellschaft

- Aufgabe zur Vorbereitung auf die 5. Stunde
- Systematisierung und Anwendung der erworbenen Kenntnisse über die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft und ihre Gestaltung
 - Zusammenfassung: Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft
 - Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen
 - Erarbeitung einer Argumentation zur Haltlosigkeit von „Einwänden“ des Klassengegners gegen die Generallinie der SED
 - Widerlegung gegnerischer Thesen
 - Entlarvung der klassenmäßigen Ziele (Anwendung erworbener Kenntnisse)

3. Stunde:

Das Wohl des Volkes steht im Mittelpunkt

LB, S. 45/46, 49/50
Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung

4. Stunde:

Für den Weg ins Neuland gibt es keine Patentrezepte (3)

LB, Abschn. 2.2.
Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung
LB, S.47/48, 51-53
aktuelle Materialien der Tagespresse

USF „Die sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse - entscheidende Grundlage unseres ökonomischen Fortschritts“

5. Stunde:

Was heißt Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft? (4)

Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung; Abschnitt V
LB, S.43-45
Programm der SED, Abschnitt V

LB, S. 43/44

[52] 3. Literatur

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O. Reinhold: Unsere marxistisch-leninistische Strategie zur Meisterung der Aufgaben von Gegenwart und Zukunft. In: „Einheit“, Heft 12/1983.

...

4. Hinweise und Materialien zur Unterrichtsgestaltung

(1) Zur Gestaltung der 1./2. Stunde: Worin besteht das nächste Ziel der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR?

...

(2) Erschließen des weltanschaulichen Gehalts der Formulierung vom Sinn des Sozialismus im Programm der SED – Kennzeichnung von Vorzügen des Sozialismus

...

(3) Zur Gestaltung der 4. Stunde: Für den Weg ins Neuland gibt es keine Patentrezepte

...

3. Schritt: Aufgabe zur Vorbereitung auf die 5. Stunde

Setzen Sie sich mit dem folgenden Standpunkt auseinander: „Die Revolutionäre, die heute kämpfen, haben es leichter und schwerer. Sie brauchen in ihrem Kampf nicht mehr Angst um ihr Leben zu haben. Aber sie müssen den schweren Kampf für die Besserung der Menschen führen, gegen veraltete Auffassungen und Vorurteile. Dieser Kampf ist deshalb so kompliziert, weil man ihn nicht gegen die Menschen, sondern nur mit den Menschen führen kann.“ (Martina Kaminski in ihrem Abituraufsatz. Zitiert nach „DLZ“ [Deutsche Lehrerzeitung], Nr.40/1983, S.7)

(4) Zur Gestaltung der 5. Stunde: Was heißt Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft?

1. Schritt: Systematisierung und Anwendung der erworbenen Kenntnisse über die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft und ihre Gestaltung

In dieser letzten Stunde der STE sollen die neu erworbenen Kenntnisse der Schüler unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten systematisiert werden:

1. Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft,
2. die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen.

1. Teilschritt: Zusammenfassung: Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft

Es kommt inhaltlich darauf an, die bisherigen Erkenntnisse der Schüler über Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft zu synthetisieren.

Dieser Teilschritt kann mit Hilfe einer SST mit dem Programm der SED (Staatsbürgerkunde 9/10. Dokumente und Materialien, A. a. O., S. 212-214) realisiert werden.

Fragestellung:

- Was sind wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft?

2. Teilschritt: Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen

Es kommt inhaltlich darauf an, die bisherigen Erkenntnisse der Schüler unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten zu systematisieren:

- Die weitere Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein langfristig verlaufender historischer Prozeß, in dem die Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus weiter entfaltet werden, sich tiefgreifende gesellschaftliche Wandlungen vollziehen und so grundlegende Voraussetzungen für den allmählichen Übergang zur klassenlosen kommunistischen Gesellschaft geschaffen werden;



- Arbeit, Bewußtsein, schöpferische Initiative und organisiertes Handeln der Millionen Werktätigen in Stadt und Land unter der Führung der SED als bestimmender Faktor für das Tempo des Aufbaus der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft und des Übergangs zum Kommunismus.

Die Systematisierung kann mit Hilfe einer UD erfolgen. Fragestellungen bzw. Thesen als Inhalte der UD:

1. Der Sozialismus ist kein ein für allemal fertiges Ding. Er ist in fortwährender Veränderung und Umbildung begriffen. Inwiefern stellt hierbei die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft einen historischen Schritt auf dem Wege zur klassenlosen kommunistischen Gesellschaft dar, geht es um mehr, als Errungenes lediglich zu verbessern?

2. Die SED spricht davon, daß die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft ein Prozeß ist, der großen revolutionären Elan erfordert. Und dieser Elan ist keineswegs geringer als jener, der notwendig war auf dem Wege bis zum Sieg der sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse. Wo liegen die Herausforderungen der für uns selbstverständlichen Vorgänge?

Grundlagen für die Arbeit:

- Auswertung der Hausaufgabe aus der 4. Std.
- Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung (S. 211-214).

2. Schritt: Erarbeitung einer Argumentation zur Haltlosigkeit von Einwänden des Klassegegners gegen die Generallinie der SED

Aufgabenstellung für die Auseinandersetzung:

Prof. Dr. Fr. Haffner (Münster, BRD) stellte auf einer Tagung der (west) Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde zum Thema „Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft“ folgende These auf: Mit der Formel vom „entwickelten Sozialismus“ nehmen die kommunistischen Theoretiker zu der Methode Zuflucht, die Nichterfüllung ihrer Voraussagen (über den Aufbau von Sozialismus und Kommunismus, d.

Verf.) durch Einschieben immer neuer Etappen zu bewältigen. (Osteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens. Nr. 12/1977, S. 1111.)

- Welche Argumente der marxistisch-leninistischen Theorie von Sozialismus und Kommunismus widerlegen solche Behauptungen vom „Erfinden und Einschieben immer neuer Etappen“ in den Aufbau von Sozialismus und Kommunismus?

- Welche konkreten Fakten des realen Sozialismus sowie über die Politik der SED seit Beginn der revolutionären Umgestaltung auf dem Territorium der DDR lassen sich gegen die Behauptung von der Nichterfüllung der „Voraussagen“ der SED ins Feld führen?

- Geht es den Formulierern solcher oder ähnlicher Thesen nur um einen theoretischen Streit? Welche politischen Absichten verfolgen sie?

Methodisch läßt sich dieser Schritt als UG oder Entwicklung einer *schriftlichen Argumentation* gestalten. Grundlagen für diese Argumentation enthält auch das LB auf den Seiten 43/44. Zweckmäßig kann an dieser Stelle auch die Demonstration einer schlagkräftigen *Gegenargumentation durch den Lehrer* sein. Sie sollte vor allem folgende Aussagen enthalten:

- Die wissenschaftliche Begründetheit der strategischen Aufgabenstellung der SED für die nächste Etappe der Entwicklung des Sozialismus in der DDR, in der sich eine realistische Einschätzung des erreichten Standes mit Zukunftsorientiertheit verbindet.
- Die Erfolge der SED bei der Realisierung der Grundinteressen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen und die Kontinuität ihrer Politik von Anfang an.
- Die klassenmäßige politische Zielsetzung antikommunistischer Angriffe, Verwirrung unter den Werktätigen der DDR zu stiften, ihr Vertrauen in die Politik der SED zu erschüttern, ihre Initiative zu lähmen.

Tilman Grammes:

Kommentar – Staatsbürgerkunde in der ehemaligen DDR

1. Kontext der Unterrichtsnachschrift
2. Kommentierung des Beispiels durch die Autorengruppe aus der DDR
3. Gesichtspunkte zur Arbeit mit der Unterrichtsnachschrift in der Lehrerbildung
4. Weiterführende Arbeit
5. Literatur
6. Anhang

1. Kontext der Unterrichtsnachschrift

Die Unterrichtsnachschrift wurde für die Lehrerbildung und Lehrerweiterbildung erstellt. Das ausgewählte Beispiel führt uns in eine 10. Klasse einer Polytechnischen Oberschule¹ in Berlin/DDR. Das genaue Aufzeichnungsdatum der Unterrichtsbeobachtung wird nicht genannt und ist mit Mitte der 1980er Jahre anzunehmen.

Von der Reportageform haben wir es hier mit einer sog. Unterrichtsnachschrift zu tun. Eine Unterrichtsnachschrift wird von der unterrichtenden Lehrkraft selbst oder wie hier einem Beobachter aus der Erinnerung angefertigt. Sie unterscheidet sich von einem vollständigen Wortprotokoll. Im Unterschied zum bearbeiteten und modellhaften Stundenbild², erhebt die Unterrichtsnachschrift den Anspruch, nicht gesondert bearbeitet („geschönt“) worden zu sein. Dadurch, dass sie in einem Buch mit dem Titel „Problemlösen im Unterricht“ publiziert wird, kann dennoch der Eindruck einer Erfolgsstory und „Musterstunde“ entstehen (vgl. Drews/Fuhrmann 1980).

Das Beispiel „Der Fuchs und die Trauben“ steht in einer Publikationsreihe zur Allgemeinen Didaktik der Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR. Der schmale Band „Problemlösen im Unterricht“ erscheint in der Reihe „Ratschläge für Lehrer“. Die Reihe hat Titel wie Fragen und Antworten zur Gestaltung einer guten Unterrichtsstunde, Wie erreiche ich im Unterricht Disziplin?, Wie erziehe ich zu moralischem Verhalten?, Individuelle Besonderheiten – individuelle Förderung, Differenzierung im Unterricht u.v.a.m. Die Entwicklung der Reihe wird inhaltlich angeleitet und koordiniert durch eine Arbeitsgruppe der APW. Die Titel standen in den Pädagogischen Kreis- und Bezirkskabinetten der DDR, waren weit verbreitet und viel gelesen. In Anspielung auf eine bekannte Illustrierte für Kindergarten- und Unterstufenkinder in der DDR wurde diese bei Lehrerinnen und Lehrern beliebte

Schriftenreihe als „Lehrerbummi“ bezeichnet (Neuner 1996, 47).³ Die „Ratschläge für Lehrer“

„sind Teil der Initiativen von Lehrern, Erziehern, Schulfunktionären und pädagogischen Wissenschaftlern nach dem VIII. Pädagogischen Kongress der DDR. Der Präsident der Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR, Prof. Dr. sc. Gerhart Neuner, schlug auf dem Kongress vor, diese Reihe ‚zu ganz konkreten Fragen der tagtäglichen pädagogischen Arbeit‘ herauszugeben. Die Broschüren dieser Reihe konzentrieren sich auf Probleme der weiteren Vervollkommnung des pädagogischen Prozesses an der Schule, der täglichen Arbeit der Lehrer und Erzieher. Die Autoren wollen anschaulich und lebendig, handhabbar und konstruktiv Lösungswege weisen, zum schöpferischen Denken anregen, Erfahrungen vermitteln und den Erfahrungsaustausch fördern und damit das pädagogische Leben bereichern.“ (Text auf der vorderen, inneren Umschlagseite⁴)

Die Stunde hat als Thema „Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED⁵ zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR“. Es handelt sich um eine Systematisierungs- und Anwendungsstunde in einer 10. Klasse. Zunächst werden Merkmale zur „Führung von Problembearbeitungsprozessen“ entwickelt. Die Merkmale (Kriterien) sind induktiv aus der Analyse einer zuvor dokumentierten Geographiestunde (Beispiel 7) mit dem Thema „Ausgewählte Beispiele zur Landwirtschaft in den kapitalistischen Ländern: Ernährung“, ebenfalls in einer 10. Klasse, gewonnen wurden.

2. Kommentierung des Beispiels durch die Autorengruppe aus der DDR

Quelle: Elisabeth Fuhrmann: Problemlösen im Unterricht. Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1986, S. 10–17 und S. 51.
Die Vielfalt von Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten nutzen

1 Zur POS vgl. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polytechnische_Oberschule.

2 Zu diesem Typus zählt das erste Beispiel in diesem Fallarchiv, Rudolf Engelhardt „Wie politisch darf der Lehrer sein?“ <http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/pdf/Engelhardt-de-JSSE-3-2010.pdf>.

3 Zur beliebten Titelfigur „Bummi“ vgl. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bummi>.

4 Zur Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften vgl. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akademie_der_P%C3%A4dagogischen_Wissenschaften_der_DDR; zu Rolle und Funktion von Gerhart Neuner vgl. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerhart_Neuner.

5 SED – Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands.



Drei Hauptphasen und viele Varianten

Um das Wesen problemhafter Unterrichtsgestaltung zu verdeutlichen, sei ... nochmals hervorgehoben: Unter problemhafter Unterrichtsgestaltung wird eine solche Art und Weise der Unterrichtsführung verstanden, die bewußt *an wesentlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Erkenntnisprozesses orientiert* ist, den *Phasen des Problemlösungsprozesses* folgt und die gebunden ist an das *Erkennen und Lösen von Problemen* im didaktischen Sinne.

Ein Problem im didaktischen Sinne (manchmal auch als „Unterrichtsproblem“ bezeichnet) ist durch folgende Merkmale gekennzeichnet:

- Es beinhaltet – wie jedes Problem im gesellschaftlichen oder individuellen Erkenntnis- bzw. Entwicklungsprozeß – einen *bewußtgewordenen Widerspruch*, und zwar einen Widerspruch zwischen Wesen und Erscheinung, Ideal und Wirklichkeit, Ziel und den Möglichkeiten seiner Realisierung, neuen Erkenntnissen der Schüler und ihren Alltagserfahrungen, neuen Anforderungen an sie und ihrem Unvermögen, diese zu erfüllen o. ä. bzw. die Widerspiegelung eines Widerspruchs (z. B. als Konflikt zwischen literarischen Gestalten), wobei der Widerspruch in jedem Falle so beschaffen sein sollte, daß er bei den Schülern ein starkes *Bestreben* nach Auflösung weckt.
- Seine Lösung richtet die Erkenntnisaktivität der Schüler auf das *Wesentliche* der entsprechenden Lehrplanforderung.
- Es darf nicht nur einzelne Schüler, sondern sollte möglichst *die ganze Klasse* in eine Problemsituation versetzen.
- Es enthält für die Schüler eine ihrem Entwicklungsstand angemessene hohe *Schwierigkeit*, die daraus erwächst, daß den Schülern der Lösungsweg nicht bekannt ist, sondern erst *ge-[10/11]funden* werden muß, dies aber in der „Zone der nächsten Entwicklung“⁶ möglich ist.

Problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung basiert auf Gesetzmäßigkeiten des gesellschaftlichen und individuellen Erkenntnisprozesses und setzt zugleich eine didaktisch und lerntheoretisch begründete Traditionslinie fort, deren Wurzeln weit in die klassische bürgerliche Pädagogik zurückreichen.⁷ Durch die marxistisch-leninistische *Philosophie* wurde herausgear-

beitet, daß der Erkenntnis- und Erfahrungsfortschritt der Menschheit primär durch *gesellschaftliche Bedürfnisse* bestimmt wird. Zwischen den direkt oder indirekt auf Bedürfnisbefriedigung gerichteten *Zielen* menschlichen Handelns und den jeweiligen *Möglichkeiten der Zielrealisierung* können *Widersprüche* auftreten. Wird ein solcher Widerspruch den Menschen im Prozeß der Tätigkeit *bewußt*, dann spricht man von einem *Problem*. Das Streben nach Auflösung der Widersprüche zwischen Zielen und Zielrealisierungsmöglichkeiten bewirkt die Suche nach neuen Erkenntnissen und die Schaffung von Mitteln zur besseren Beherrschung der Umwelt. Problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung orientiert nicht so sehr auf ein „Nachvollziehen“ des gesellschaftlichen Erkenntnisprozesses, sondern darauf, daß die Schüler begreifen, wie und wodurch menschliche Erkenntnis befördert wurde und wird, daß sie ihre eigenen *Erkenntniskräfte erproben*, sich beim Problemerkennen und Problemlösen *im dialektischen Denken* üben.

Zu den gesicherten Erkenntnissen der marxistisch-leninistischen *Psychologie* gehört, daß jeder voll entfaltete individuelle Erkenntnisprozeß aus den grundlegenden Phasen *Bewußtwerden einer Problemsituation*, *Suche nach Lösungsmöglich-[11/12]keiten* sowie *Durchführen und Überprüfen der Lösungsideen* besteht.

Diese drei grundlegenden Phasen des Erkenntnisprozesses bilden gewissermaßen die „Invarianten“, an denen problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung orientiert ist ...

Im Konkreten gibt es Hunderte von Modifizierungen dieser Phasenfolge, aus denen sich eine Vielzahl von Varianten der Führung von Problemlösungsprozessen ergibt. Für alle Varianten gilt:

Die Schüler geraten durch eine für sie subjektiv bedeutsame Problemstellung in eine *Problemsituation*. Dadurch werden ihr Interesse und ihr Wunsch nach Erkenntnisgewinn, nach Auflösung eines ihnen bewußtgewordenen Widerspruchs oder Konflikts, nach selbständiger Bewältigung einer kniffligen Aufgabe oder eines anspruchsvollen Themas, nach Klärung eines unverständlichen Sachverhalts, nach Überprüfung eigener Lösungsideen usw. geweckt und ihre Lernmotivation erhöht.

Das Interesse der Schüler und ihre hohe geistige Aktivität werden wachgehalten bzw. weiter erhöht, indem die Schüler zu selbständiger *Suche nach Lösungsideen* angeregt werden, ihnen Zeit zum Nachdenken und Ausprobieren gelassen wird, ihre Ideen ernst genommen, originelle Denkansätze, Vermutungen, Vorschläge, auch wenn sie falsch oder unvollkommen sind, aufgegriffen und als geistige Leistungen anerkannt werden.

Auch die *Überprüfung der Lösungsideen* erfolgt nach Möglichkeit weitgehend durch die Schüler selbst bzw. unter ihrer aktiven Mitwirkung, wobei der Einsatz kooperativer Arbeitsformen einen wesentlichen

6 [Kommentar TG] Zone der nächsten Entwicklung spielt an auf die Kulturhistorische Schule der sowjetische Lernpsychologie (Wygotsky, Lurija, Leontjew), die in der DDR und teilweise auch in der BRD innerhalb der 1968er Pädagogik breit rezipiert wurde: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kulturhistorische_Schule.

7 Vgl. u. a. die Forderungen Komenskýs, Herbarts und besonders Diesterwegs nach mehr Selbsttätigkeit im Lernprozeß, nach Anwendung der „heuristischen“ Methode; Forderungen für den naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht an bürgerlichen Gymnasien nach mehr „entdeckendem Lernen“; in der sozialistischen Didaktik vor allem die Erkenntnisse Danilows über die Rolle des Widerspruchs im Lernprozeß; die grundlegenden Arbeiten von Weck, Machmutow u. a.

Faktor zur Steigerung der Effektivität (auch des Zeitgewinns) darstellt.

Die Schüler vollziehen – verkürzt und unter Führung des Lehrers – im Prinzip die gleichen Denkschritte, die für die [12/13] *Hauptphasen des wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisprozesses* kennzeichnend sind. Dabei gewinnen sie in der Regel keine gesellschaftlich neuen Erkenntnisse. Bei pädagogisch kluger Führung besteht jedoch zwischen dem Erleben eines Schülers, der ein Problem selbständig gelöst hat, und dem Pro-

blemerleben eines Forschers, Neuerers oder Künstlers viel Gemeinsames. Darin vor allem liegen die großen Potenzen problemhafter Unterrichtsgestaltung für die Aktivierung der Schüler und die Herausbildung von schöpferischen Eigenschaften.

Der folgende Überblick soll eine Groborientierung über die *Hauptphasen* der Erkenntnistätigkeit der Schüler im problemhaft gestalteten Unterricht und *Varianten* ihrer Führung durch den Lehrer ermöglichen.

| Hauptphasen | Varianten der Führung der Erkenntnistätigkeit |
|--|---|
| 1. Problemstellen – Erfassen der Problemsituation, Erkennen des Problems durch die Schüler | <ul style="list-style-type: none">a) Der Lehrer beschreibt den Problemsachverhalt, „versetzt“ die Schüler in eine Problemsituation und formuliert selbst das Problem, das die Schüler erfassen sollen und das dann gelöst werden soll.b) Die Problemsituation wird schrittweise – unter Einbeziehung der Kenntnisse und Erfahrungen der Schüler – entwickelt, die Schüler sollen dabei selbständig das Problem erkennen und formulieren.c) Der Lehrer stellt ohne besondere Einleitung eine Frage oder Aufgabe, die die Schüler spontan in eine Problemsituation versetzen. (Das ist nur bei solchen Problemen möglich, bei denen der Widerspruch ganz offensichtlich und für die Schüler subjektiv bedeutsam ist.)d) Die Schüler erkennen im Zusammenhang mit dem Stoff Probleme, die der Lehrer aufgreift. [13/14] |
| 2. Suche nach Lösungsmöglichkeiten ^a (Ideenfindung) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">a) Die Erkenntnisphase ist <i>deutlich ausgeprägt</i>. Der Lehrer läßt <i>mehrere</i> Hypothesen bzw. Vermutungen oder Lösungsansätze aufstellen bzw. -vorschläge machen und einander gegenüberstellen, Möglichkeiten und Wege zu ihrer Überprüfung diskutieren und theoretisch begründen, die Wahrscheinlichkeit ihres Zutreffens erwägen und die Reihenfolge ihrer Überprüfung festlegen.b) Die Erkenntnisphase ist <i>deutlich ausgeprägt</i>. Es wird nur <i>eine</i> Hypothese (Vermutung, Annahme o. ä.) aufgestellt und begründet. Ihr wird nachgegangen.c) Der Schritt der Hypothesenbildung ist <i>nicht deutlich ausgebildet</i>. Er klingt nur an, ist mit anderen Schritten verbunden. Die Problemanalyse führt <i>direkt zu Lösungsvorschlägen</i>. (Diese Variante setzt ein Problem <i>einfacher Struktur</i> voraus.)d) Der Schritt der Hypothesenbildung ist <i>nicht deutlich ausgebildet</i>. Bei der Problemanalyse wird das Problem <i>in Teilprobleme zerlegt</i>. Es wird eine Kette von [14/15] Fragen und Teilaufgaben abgeleitet, die nacheinander zu beantworten bzw. zu lösen sind. (Diese Variante ist vor allem bei <i>komplexen oder übergreifenden Problemstellungen</i> angebracht.) |
| 3. Ausführen der Lösung (Hypothesenprüfung) | <ul style="list-style-type: none">a) Die Hypothese (Vermutung, Annahme, der Lösungsvorschlag) wird <i>bestätigt</i> (mit Hilfe eines Experiments, durch deduktives Schließen, durch einen Beweis, durch Berechnung, durch Messung, durch Funktionsüberprüfung, durch vollständigeres Erschließen eines künstlerischen Bildes mittels literarischer Vergleiche, Belege, Interpretationen, durch Nachlesen u. a. Das Problem ist gelöst.b) Die Hypothese (Vermutung, Annahme, der Lösungsvorschlag) wird <i>zurückgewiesen</i> (durch ein Experiment, einen Gegenbeweis, den Nachweis der Unzweckmäßigkeit u. ä.). Das Problem muß nochmals analysiert und die Lösung erneut gesucht werden.c) <i>Mehrere</i> Hypothesen können <i>bestätigt</i> werden. (Das ist nur bei einander nicht ausschließenden Hypothesen möglich.) Es gibt in diesem Falle mehrere Lösungen des Problems, und diese Tatsache wird den Schülern bewußtgemacht.d) Die Hypothese, Vermutung u. ä. kann <i>nur für Spezialfälle</i> des Problems <i>bestätigt</i> werden. Die Schüler werden zu der Erkenntnis geführt, daß sie das „Suchfeld“ erweitern müssen, weil ihre Vermutung [15/16] nur einen Teilbereich der Lösung abdeckt. Oder: Es wird den Schülern bewußtgemacht, daß es gegenwärtig objektiv noch keine vollständige Lösung des Problems, sondern nur Teillösungen gibt.e) Das Problem kann <i>nicht gelöst</i> werden, weil es sich um ein objektives Problem in der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung oder um ein Erkenntnisproblem handelt, das noch Gegenstand der Forschung ist. Die von den Schülern zu gewinnenden Erkenntnisse betreffen weltanschauliche (z. B. Unendlichkeit des Erkenntnisprozesses) und politische (z. B. die Ausarbeitung von Strategie und Taktik des politischen Kampfes als schöpferische Leistung der Partei der Arbeiterklasse) Einsichten, die auch das Verständnis der Ursachen dafür einschließen, warum das Problem objektiv bisher noch nicht gelöst werden konnte, und die das Problembewußtsein weiter vertiefen helfen. |

Fachspezifisch kann diese Phase sehr unterschiedlich „beschaffen“ sein. Für den gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen, polytechnischen oder naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht kann das zum Beispiel heißen, daß die Analyse des Problems verbunden wird mit dem Ableiten von Fragen, Aufstellen von Hypothesen, Prognosen, Vermutungen. Für den Mathematikunterricht kann das bedeuten, daß die Analyse des mathematischen Problems zu Vorschlägen für mögliche Lösungsansätze oder Lösungswege herausfordert, die begründet, gegeneinander abgewogen oder gedanklich durchgespielt werden. Im Literaturunterricht kann diese Phase die Diskussion unterschiedlicher Interpretations- oder Wertungsmöglichkeiten oder verschiedener Ansätze für Konfliktlösungen usw. beinhalten, die sich immer auf den konkreten Text beziehen. Im Fach Kunsterziehung kann die Wahl oder Begründung unterschiedlicher Gestaltungsvorschläge für ein Thema eine ähnliche Funktion haben.



In jeder Phase können alle *methodischen Grundformen und Kooperationsformen*, also Lehrervorträge und Demonstrationen, Unterrichtsgespräche und alle Formen der selbständigen Schülerarbeit, genutzt, arbeitsgleiches oder arbeitsteiliges Vorgehen eingesetzt werden. Dadurch ergibt sich eine weitere Variationsmöglichkeit.

Der Grad der Selbständigkeit der Schüler kann also vom *rezeptiven aktiven Mitdenken* beim Lehrervortrag bis zum *selbständigen Vollzug des ganzen Problemlösungsprozesses* reichen. Dabei sollte die vielfältige Kombination der drei methodischen Grund- und Kooperationsformen die Regel, die Nutzung ausschließlich einer Form (nur Lehrervortrag oder nur [16/17] selbständige individuelle Schülerarbeit) die Ausnahme sein.

Im folgenden Abschnitt soll anhand von Beispielen die Vielfalt möglicher Varianten der Gestaltung des Problemlösungsprozesses im Unterricht veranschaulicht werden. Dafür eine geeignete Auswahl zu treffen war nicht leicht; denn allein die Kombination der oben ausgewiesenen Möglichkeiten der Modifizierung des Erkenntnisweges der Schüler führt auf etwa 80 Varianten der Führung des Problemlösungsprozesses. Bei Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen methodischen Grund- und Kooperationsformen steigt die Zahl auf mehrere Hundert. Wollte man alle Klassenstufen und alle in Frage kommenden Fächer einbeziehen, würde sich diese Zahl weiter vervielfachen. Für den Autor war also *Beschränkung* auf wenige Varianten geboten. Es wurden 7 Varianten ausgewählt, die an insgesamt 11 Beispielen aus unterschiedlichen Fächern veranschaulicht werden. Die Beispiele sollen den Leser zum schöpferischen Weiter- und Umdenken (auf andere Fächer, andere „Fälle“ und andere Kombinationen von Gestaltungsfaktoren) anregen. Das setzt jedoch voraus, daß *jeder* Leser sich in *alle* Beispiele hineindenkt, nicht nur in die, in denen er sein Fach wiederfindet. Um das inhaltliche Verständnis zu erleichtern, haben wir bewußt solche Beispiele gewählt, die in vielen Fächern Anwendung finden und keine Spezialkenntnisse im jeweiligen Fach voraussetzen, sondern zur Allgemeinbildung jedes Lehrers gehören. Das Lesen *aller* Beispiele ist noch aus einem weiteren Grunde unerläßlich: Beschränkte sich ein Fachlehrer auf die Beispiele aus seinen Fächern, so dürfte es ihm nicht nur schwerfallen, das Grundanliegen „Variabilität der Gestaltung des Problemlösens“ zu erkennen, sondern er liefe auch Gefahr, fachspezifische Akzente, Besonderheiten der problemhaften Unterrichtsgestaltung *in seinem Fach* nicht richtig zu erfassen (...)

Sieben Varianten – veranschaulicht an 11 Beispielen

Beispiele 7 und 8 [Der Fuchs und die Trauben, TG]

... [51] Durch dieses Beispiel [vorangegangen ist als Beispiel 7 die Analyse einer Geographiestunde, TG] werden einige „Besonderheiten“ deutlich, die für viele

Gestaltungsvarianten zutreffen, die vor allem im gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Unterricht zur Führung von Problembearbeitungsprozessen Anwendung finden können.

Das sind zum Beispiel:

- der konsequente Bezug auf Faktenmaterial (geographische, historische, biographische Fakten; Realitäten der gegenwärtigen Entwicklung, des Zeitgeschehens o. a.);
- das „Gegenüberstellen“ von Wesen und Erscheinung, Ideal und Wirklichkeit (als „Anreiz“ für deren tieferes Durchdringen und Erfassen);
- die (vom Lehrer z. T. bewußt provozierte bzw. organisierte) argumentative Auseinandersetzung mit unwissenschaftlichen oder bewußt falschen Aussagen des Klassegegners, ideologischen „Halbwahrheiten“ usw.;
- die Einbeziehung der „Lebens“erfahrungen, persönlichen Meinungen, Standpunkte der Schüler;
- das Bewußtmachen von aktuellen (oder historischen) gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungsproblemen und die Diskussion von Lösungsmöglichkeiten bzw. -bedingungen, wie die Schüler sie sehen;
- die Vermittlung bzw. bewußte Entwicklung von Wertmaßstäben in bezug auf gesellschaftliche Sachverhalte bzw. Geschehnisse oder das Handeln von Menschen;
- die Wirksamkeit von Problemdiskussionen hinsichtlich der politisch-ideologischen Erziehung.

3. Gesichtspunkte zur Arbeit mit der Unterrichtsnachschrift in der Lehrerausbildung

Das Fach Staatsbürgerkunde zählt von der Stundentafel her zu den Nebenfächern mit einer oder zwei Wochenstunden (vgl. die Stundentafel http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polytechnische_Oberschule). Die Analyse der Unterrichtsnachschrift kann wie in einem Brennglas alle didaktisch-methodischen Probleme aufzeigen, mit denen das „unmögliche Fach“ Staatsbürgerkunde strukturell zu kämpfen hatte. Ein Gespräch über die beschriebene Stunde könnte u.a. die folgenden Aspekte behandeln:

- Unterrichtsplanung: Entgegen einer manchmal anzutreffenden Ansicht gibt es in der DDR keinen „Unterricht im Gleichschritt“, sondern eine Vielzahl von „Varianten“, nach denen Unterricht geplant und durchgeführt werden sollte. Es geht um das „Befähigen zur Führung schöpferischer Lerntätigkeit durch problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung“ (Fuhrmann u.a. 1986, 6). Auch die sog. Unterrichtshilfen, die Anregungen und Planungen für jede einzelne Stunde nach dem Lehrplan für alle Fächer geben, konnten und sollten keinen einheitlichen Unterricht garantieren.
- Normativer Rahmen (Ziele): Der normative Bezug auf die „Klassiker“ des Marxismus-Leninismus steckt den



- „natürlichen“ und nicht hinterfragbaren inhaltlichen Lösungsrahmen für die Problemstellung ab. Historischer und Dialektischer Materialismus (Histomat, Diamat) sowie Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus (WK).
- **Wissenskzept (Inhalt):** Dem Umgang mit Wissen unterliegt ein impliziter Positivismus („Faktenmaterial“). Es werden Immunisierungsstrategien verwendet. Ein als „richtig“ gesetztes Wissen wird gegenüber Kritik abgeschottet. Es geht ausschliesslich um „die wissenschaftliche Beweisführung für die Richtigkeit dieser These“. Eine Widerlegung (Falsifikation) der These ist unmöglich. Der Mechanismus dafür ist ein schwierig zu durchschauender erkenntnistheoretischer Essentialismus, der mit einer Unterscheidung von (sichtbarer) „Erscheinung“ der Wirklichkeit und ihrem „Wesen“ (Entwicklungsgesetze gemäß der Lehre des historischen Materialismus) arbeitet. Hier findet Indoktrination statt (vgl. Snook 2010).
 - **Urteilsbildung:** Es wird moralisiert, indem die klassische Fabel „Der Fuchs und die Trauben“ für eine politisierende Analogie zum Klassenkampf im Rahmen der Auseinandersetzungen des sog. Kalten Krieges genutzt wird. „Der Fuchs und die Trauben“ zählt zu den klassischen Fabeln des Aesop und illustriert das Konzept der kognitiven Dissonanz. Die Fabel karikiert den unehrlichen Umgang mit einer Niederlage: Um sich nicht eingestehen zu müssen, dass er die Trauben nicht erreichen kann, behauptet der Fuchs, sie gar nicht erreichen zu wollen. Die Moral von der Geschichte ist: „Es ist leicht etwas zu verachten, was man nicht erreichen kann.“ In der Psychologie wird ein solches Schönreden eines Versagens auch als Rationalisierung oder Kognitive Dissonanz-Reduktion bezeichnet. Hierbei wird versucht, einer konflikthafte Situation nachträglich einen rationalen Sinn zu geben. (aus http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Der_Fuchs_und_die_Trauben)
 - **Methodik:** Die Unterrichtsmethodik ist – zumindest äußerlich - abwechslungsreich, was eine hohe Professionalität der DDR-Lehrerausbildung ausdrückt.
 - **Diskussion (als Methode):** Die Diskussion und „argumentative Auseinandersetzung“ ist zum Ende hin nicht ergebnisoffen, sondern geschlossen („ergebniszu“). Die Diskussion wird funktionalisiert, um die eine richtige Wertung herzustellen. Als pädagogisches Ideal gelten Konsens und Homogenität, nicht Kontroversität und Pluralität. Diskussion als Methode in autoritären Erziehungsstaaten und in demokratischen Systemen sind zu unterscheiden (Popper 1945).
 - **Erfahrungsorientierung (als didaktisches Prinzip):** Die Darstellung der Schüler wird in der Bewertung als noch „zu rund und glatt“ bewertet. Es soll also nicht von kontroversen subjektiven Erfahrungen und „objektiven“ gesellschaftlichen Problemen abgesehen werden. Es wird Bezug genommen auf das Fach Einführung in die sozialistische Produktion

(ESP⁸) sowie auf praktische Erfahrungen in der betrieblichen Realität im Rahmen der polytechnischen Bildungskonzeption.

- **Schülerinnen und Schüler:** Es kann gefragt werden, ob die „Überzeugungsbildung“ (Indoktrination) erfolgreich wirkt oder unglaubwürdig bleibt und bei den Schülerinnen und Schülern zu „Zweisprachigkeit“ und „Lippenbekenntnissen“ führen wird.

4. Weiterführende Arbeit

Zur Unterrichtswirklichkeit im Fach Staatsbürgerkunde allgemein vgl. Grammes/Schluss/Vogler 2006.

Videomitschnitte von Unterrichtsstunden in der DDR sind zugänglich über die Videodatenbank Schulunterricht in der DDR, Deutsches Institut für internationale pädagogische Forschung (DIPF), Frankfurt/Main, <http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/filme/filme.html>. Dies ist eine einzigartige Sammlung aus der ehemaligen Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften in der DDR bis 1989. Zugang für Forschungszwecke Kontakt Prof. Dr. Henning Schluss, Universität Wien <http://bildungswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/fe1/bildungsforschung-und-bildungstheorie/personal/schluss-henning/>

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Anhang

Unterrichtshilfe Staatsbürgerkunde 10

[lesson toolkit civic and politics grade 10]

The following text is provided in german language only:

Piontkowski, Siegfried et al. 1984. Staatsbürgerkunde. Unterrichtshilfen Klasse 10. Berlin/DDR: Volk und Wissen.

[S. 5]

[5] Einleitung

8 Zum Fach ESP vgl. http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einf%C3%BChrung_in_die_sozialistische_Produktion.



Hiermit werden im Zusammenhang mit der Einführung des überarbeiteten Lehrplans und des neuen Lehrbuches für Staatsbürgerkunde Klasse 10 zum Schuljahr 1984/85 neue Unterrichtshilfen vorgelegt.

Das Auffälligste an den neuen Unterrichtshilfen besteht darin, daß der Lehrer nachdrücklicher auf die Langfristigkeit der Planung und Gestaltung des Bildungs- und Erziehungsprozesses im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht orientiert wird und daß die Unterrichtsstunden oft nicht in ihrem Gesamtverlauf vorgestellt werden. Dem Lehrer wird damit bewußt Spielraum für eine eigenständige und schöpferische Planung und Gestaltung seiner Unterrichtsstunden überlassen ...

[6] Abkürzungsverzeichnis

In den Unterrichtshilfen werden folgende *Abkürzungen* verwendet:

| | |
|------|--|
| STE | Stoffeinheit |
| UE | Unterrichtseinheit |
| LV | Lehrervortrag |
| UG | Unterrichtsgespräch |
| UD | Unterrichtsdiskussion |
| SST | angeleitete, relativ selbständige Schülertätigkeit |
| LK | Leistungskontrolle |
| ZO | Zielorientierung |
| LB | Lehrbuch |
| UM | Unterrichtsmittel |
| USF | Unterrichtssendung des Fernsehens |
| SchA | Schülerauftrag |
| SV | Schülervortrag |
| TB | Tafelbild |
| HA | Hausaufgabe |

[7] Zum Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht in Klasse 10

„Dem Unterricht in den *Klassen 9 und 10* liegt die weltanschauliche Erkenntnis des Marxismus-Leninismus zugrunde, daß sich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung zum Sozialismus und Kommunismus gesetzmäßig vollzieht, daß gesellschaftliche Gesetze objektive Handlungserfordernisse zum Ausdruck bringen und daß der historische Untergang des Kapitalismus und die Errichtung des Sozialismus und Kommunismus mit geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit im revolutionären Kampf der Arbeiterklasse vollzogen werden.“ (Lehrplan Staatsbürgerkunde Klassen 7 bis 10. Berlin 1983, S. 10.) In diesem Zusammenhang sollen die Schüler „zur tiefen Einsicht geführt werden, daß die Arbeiterklasse eine marxistisch-leninistische Partei braucht, die die konkret-historischen Kampfbedingungen gründlich analysiert, die wissenschaftlich begründete Strategie und Taktik des Kampfes ausarbeitet und die die Arbeiterklasse und alle anderen Werktätigen zur Lösung der herangereiften Aufgaben befähigt und führt“ (Ebenda).

Im Unterricht der Klasse 10 wird den Schülern vor allem die auf der Ausnutzung gesellschaftlicher Gesetze beruhende Politik der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei zur Verwirklichung des strategischen Ziels der SED erläutert, in der DDR

weiterhin die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten und so grundlegende Voraussetzungen für den allmählichen Übergang zum Kommunismus zu schaffen. Diese Ziel- und Aufgabenstellung der SED wird in ihrer Einbettung in den revolutionären Weltprozeß und in den Kampf um ihre Erfüllung als Beitrag zum weiteren Voranschreiten des Sozialismus in der Welt im internationalen Klassenkampf zwischen Sozialismus und Imperialismus behandelt. Der Unterricht in Klasse 10 hat den Schülern auf diese Weise konkret-historische Erfordernisse revolutionären Handelns bewußt zu machen und ihre klassenmäßige Einstellung zu diesen Aufgaben unserer weiteren gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung weiter auszuprägen ...

[46] Stoffeinheit 2: Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED zur Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft in der DDR

1. Zu den Zielen und inhaltlichen Schwerpunkten des Unterrichts

In dieser Stoffeinheit ist den Schülern die Strategie der SED für die weitere gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in der DDR zu erläutern und zu begründen. Sie sind mit entscheidenden Aufgabenstellungen dieser Gesellschaftsstrategie vertraut zu machen, und es sind konkrete Einsichten in den Prozeß ihrer Realisierung zu vermitteln. Die Schüler sollen dabei die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als nächsten Schritt zur Verwirklichung der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse erfassen und sich mit den aus der dynamischen Entwicklung des Sozialismus erwachsenden neuen Maßstäben revolutionären Handelns identifizieren. Das *erzieherische Anliegen* des Unterrichts besteht darin, den Schülern die Verwirklichung des Sinns des Sozialismus als große humanistische Aufgabe, als erstrebenswertes persönliches Ziel und zugleich als gesellschaftlichen Auftrag nahezubringen. Im Unterricht sind Motive und Bereitschaften der Schüler zu entwickeln, aktiv an der Verwirklichung der Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen, an der weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus teilzuhaben. Indem die Schüler die SED als gesellschaftliche Kraft kennenlernen, die eine auf das Wohl des Volkes gerichtete Politik konzipiert und den Prozeß ihrer Realisierung zielgerichtet leitet und führt, ist die Verbundenheit mit der marxistisch-leninistischen Partei weiter auszuprägen ...

Bei der *Planung und Gestaltung des Unterrichts* ist es notwendig zu beachten, daß die Erkenntnis vom Kommunismus als eine dynamisch sich entwickelnde Ordnung sowie die Erkenntnis von den Vorzügen und Triebkräften des Sozialismus schrittweise erarbeitet werden.

So dienen

- die Information über die Phasen in der Entwicklung der einheitlichen kommunistischen Gesellschaftsformation (1./2. Stunde),
- die nähere Betrachtung entscheidender Aufgaben zur Realisierung des Sinns des Sozialismus (4. Stunde), [48/49]



- die Erörterung von Entwicklungsproblemen und Anforderungen im Prozeß gesellschaftlichen Voranschreitens (4. Stunde)
- der Vermittlung der Einsicht, daß die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft ein dynamischer Prozeß, ein Prozeß tiefgreifender Wandlungen ist. Das Herausarbeiten von Kenntnissen über die Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus erfolgt vor allem auf der Grundlage von Tatsachen
- über das feste Fundament des realen Sozialismus in der DDR (1./2. Stunde),
- im Zusammenhang mit dem Nachweis, daß im Sozialismus die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen im Mittelpunkt stehen (3. Stunde),

- im Zusammenhang mit der Kennzeichnung des gesellschaftlichen Fortschritts als planmäßig gestalteter und zielgerichtet geführter Prozeß (4. Stunde),
- im Zusammenhang mit dem Verdeutlichen der schöpferischen Aktivität der Werktätigen, der Übereinstimmung der grundlegenden Interessen und Ziele der Gesellschaft und des einzelnen (4. Stunde).

Das, was auf diese Weise an Kenntnissen über die Vorzüge des Sozialismus und seine Triebkräfte sowie über ihre weitere Entfaltung im Verlaufe der einzelnen Unterrichtsstunden erworben wird, was die Schüler von den tiefgreifenden Wandlungen im Prozeß der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft erfahren, findet schließlich seine Synthese und zugleich produktive Anwendung bei der Behandlung des 4. inhaltlichen Schwerpunktes (5. Stunde).

[50] 2. Zur Gliederung der Stoffeinheit

| Stoffabschnitte des Lehrplans | Inhaltliche und didaktische Linienführung | Stundenthemen | Unterrichtsmittel, langfristige Schüleraufträge |
|--|--|---|---|
| 1. Die strategische Aufgabenstellung der SED | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ZO für die STE: Aufwerfen der Frage nach den revolutionären Herausforderungen unseres sozialistischen Alltags • Begründung der von der SED ausgearbeiteten strategischen Zielstellung für die nächste Etappe der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR - Kennzeichnung der Entscheidungssituation zu Beginn der sechziger Jahre in der DDR - Information zu Auffassungen der Klassiker des Marxismus-Leninismus über den Prozeßcharakter des Aufbaus von Sozialismus und Kommunismus - Analyse zum konkret-historischen Stand der Realisierung der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse nach dem Sieg der sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse in der DDR (sozialistische Errungenschaften auf dem Wege zum Kommunismus) - Zusammenfassende Begründung der im Programm der SED fixierten strategischen Zielstellung, die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten • Erörterung von Voraussetzungen für den Übergang zur zweiten Phase der kommunistischen Gesellschaftsformation | <p>1./2. Stunde: Worin besteht das nächste Ziel der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR? (1)</p> | <p>LB, Abschn. 2.1. LB, S.39-41 LB, S. 37/38, 43/44 Arbeitsblatt LB, S. 38/39 R 982 und R 983 (Auswahl) Programm der SED, Abschn. II, Einleitung und Abschnitt V LB, S. 39-41, 43/44 Programm der SED, Abschn. V</p> |

2. Die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft

- Ergebniskontrolle:
 - Welche weitere Wegstrecke für die Realisierung der historischen Mission der Arbeiterklasse ist mit der Zielstellung abgesteckt, in der DDR die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft zu gestalten?
 - Erschließen des weltanschaulichen Gehalts der Formulierung vom Sinn des Sozialismus im Programm der SED – Kennzeichnung von Vorzügen des Sozialismus (2)
 - Erarbeitung: Interessen der Arbeiterklasse und der anderen Werktätigen, auf deren Realisierung das Wirken der SED gerichtet ist
 - Einführung: Wechselbeziehungen von gesellschaftlichen und persönlichen Interessen bei der Realisierung des Sinns des Sozialismus
 - Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung wesentlicher Vorzüge des real existierenden Sozialismus
 - Überblick über wichtige Aufgaben bei der weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus
 - Erörterung von Entwicklungsproblemen und Kennzeichnung von Anforderungen an die Führungstätigkeit der Partei der Arbeiterklasse, der staatlichen Leitungsorgane sowie an jeden einzelnen Werktätigen bei der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft
- Ausgewählte Problemkreise:
 - Verknüpfung von wissenschaftlich-technischem, ökonomischem und sozialem Fortschritt
 - immer harmonischere Entwicklung aller Seiten und Bereiche der sozialistischen Gesellschaft

- Aufgabe zur Vorbereitung auf die 5. Stunde
- Systematisierung und Anwendung der erworbenen Kenntnisse über die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft und ihre Gestaltung
 - Zusammenfassung: Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft
 - Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen
- Erarbeitung einer Argumentation zur Haltlosigkeit von „Einwänden“ des Klassengegners gegen die Generallinie der SED
 - Widerlegung gegnerischer Thesen
 - Entlarvung der klassenmäßigen Ziele (Anwendung erworbener Kenntnisse)

3. Stunde:

Das Wohl des Volkes steht im Mittelpunkt

LB, S. 45/46, 49/50
Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung

4. Stunde:

Für den Weg ins Neuland gibt es keine Patentrezepte (3)

LB, Abschn. 2.2.
Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung
LB, S.47/48, 51-53
aktuelle Materialien der Tagespresse

USF „Die sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse - entscheidende Grundlage unseres ökonomischen Fortschritts“

5. Stunde:

Was heißt Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft? (4)

Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung; Abschnitt V
LB, S.43-45
Programm der SED, Abschnitt V

LB, S. 43/44

[52] 3. Literatur

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...

4. Hinweise und Materialien zur Unterrichtsgestaltung

(1) Zur Gestaltung der 1./2. Stunde: Worin besteht das nächste Ziel der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung in der DDR?

...

(2) Erschließen des weltanschaulichen Gehalts der Formulierung vom Sinn des Sozialismus im Programm der SED – Kennzeichnung von Vorzügen des Sozialismus

...

(3) Zur Gestaltung der 4. Stunde: Für den Weg ins Neuland gibt es keine Patentrezepte

...

3. Schritt: Aufgabe zur Vorbereitung auf die 5. Stunde

Setzen Sie sich mit dem folgenden Standpunkt auseinander: „Die Revolutionäre, die heute kämpfen, haben es leichter und schwerer. Sie brauchen in ihrem Kampf nicht mehr Angst um ihr Leben zu haben. Aber sie müssen den schweren Kampf für die Besserung der Menschen führen, gegen veraltete Auffassungen und Vorurteile. Dieser Kampf ist deshalb so kompliziert, weil man ihn nicht gegen die Menschen, sondern nur mit den Menschen führen kann.“ (Martina Kaminski in ihrem Abituraufsatz. Zitiert nach „DLZ“ [Deutsche Lehrerzeitung], Nr.40/1983, S.7)

(4) Zur Gestaltung der 5. Stunde: Was heißt Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft?

1. Schritt: Systematisierung und Anwendung der erworbenen Kenntnisse über die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft und ihre Gestaltung

In dieser letzten Stunde der STE sollen die neu erworbenen Kenntnisse der Schüler unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten systematisiert werden:

1. Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft,
2. die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen.

1. Teilschritt: Zusammenfassung: Wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft

Es kommt inhaltlich darauf an, die bisherigen Erkenntnisse der Schüler über Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft zu synthetisieren.

Dieser Teilschritt kann mit Hilfe einer SST mit dem Programm der SED (Staatsbürgerkunde 9/10. Dokumente und Materialien, A. a. O., S. 212-214) realisiert werden.

Fragestellung:

- Was sind wesentliche Merkmale der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft?

2. Teilschritt: Zusammenfassende Kennzeichnung der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als Prozeß tiefgreifender gesellschaftlicher Wandlungen

Es kommt inhaltlich darauf an, die bisherigen Erkenntnisse der Schüler unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten zu systematisieren:

- Die weitere Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft als ein langfristig verlaufender historischer Prozeß, in dem die Vorzüge und Triebkräfte des Sozialismus weiter entfaltet werden, sich tiefgreifende gesellschaftliche Wandlungen vollziehen und so grundlegende Voraussetzungen für den allmählichen Übergang zur klassenlosen kommunistischen Gesellschaft geschaffen werden;



- Arbeit, Bewußtsein, schöpferische Initiative und organisiertes Handeln der Millionen Werktätigen in Stadt und Land unter der Führung der SED als bestimmender Faktor für das Tempo des Aufbaus der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft und des Übergangs zum Kommunismus.

Die Systematisierung kann mit Hilfe einer UD erfolgen. Fragestellungen bzw. Thesen als Inhalte der UD:

1. Der Sozialismus ist kein ein für allemal fertiges Ding. Er ist in fortwährender Veränderung und Umbildung begriffen. Inwiefern stellt hierbei die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft einen historischen Schritt auf dem Wege zur klassenlosen kommunistischen Gesellschaft dar, geht es um mehr, als Errungenes lediglich zu verbessern?

2. Die SED spricht davon, daß die Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft ein Prozeß ist, der großen revolutionären Elan erfordert. Und dieser Elan ist keineswegs geringer als jener, der notwendig war auf dem Wege bis zum Sieg der sozialistischen Produktionsverhältnisse. Wo liegen die Herausforderungen der für uns selbstverständlichen Vorgänge?

Grundlagen für die Arbeit:

- Auswertung der Hausaufgabe aus der 4. Std.
- Programm der SED, Abschnitt II, Einleitung (S. 211-214).

2. Schritt: Erarbeitung einer Argumentation zur Haltlosigkeit von Einwänden des Klassegegners gegen die Generallinie der SED

Aufgabenstellung für die Auseinandersetzung:

Prof. Dr. Fr. Haffner (Münster, BRD) stellte auf einer Tagung der (west) Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde zum Thema „Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft“ folgende These auf: Mit der Formel vom „entwickelten Sozialismus“ nehmen die kommunistischen Theoretiker zu der Methode Zuflucht, die Nichterfüllung ihrer Voraussagen (über den Aufbau von Sozialismus und Kommunismus, d. Verf.) durch Einschieben immer neuer Etappen zu bewältigen. (Osteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens. Nr. 12/1977, S. 1111.)

- Welche Argumente der marxistisch-leninistischen Theorie von Sozialismus und Kommunismus widerlegen solche Be-

hauptungen vom „Erfinden und Einschieben immer neuer Etappen“ in den Aufbau von Sozialismus und Kommunismus?

- Welche konkreten Fakten des realen Sozialismus sowie über die Politik der SED seit Beginn der revolutionären Umgestaltung auf dem Territorium der DDR lassen sich gegen die Behauptung von der Nichterfüllung der „Voraussagen“ der SED ins Feld führen?

- Geht es den Formulierern solcher oder ähnlicher Thesen nur um einen theoretischen Streit? Welche politischen Absichten verfolgen sie?

Methodisch läßt sich dieser Schritt als UG oder Entwicklung einer *schriftlichen Argumentation* gestalten. Grundlagen für diese Argumentation enthält auch das LB auf den Seiten 43/44. Zweckmäßig kann an dieser Stelle auch die Demonstration einer schlagkräftigen *Gegenargumentation durch den Lehrer* sein. Sie sollte vor allem folgende Aussagen enthalten:

- Die wissenschaftliche Begründetheit der strategischen Aufgabenstellung der SED für die nächste Etappe der Entwicklung des Sozialismus in der DDR, in der sich eine realistische Einschätzung des erreichten Standes mit Zukunftsorientiertheit verbindet.
- Die Erfolge der SED bei der Realisierung der Grundinteressen der Arbeiterklasse und aller anderen Werktätigen und die Kontinuität ihrer Politik von Anfang an.
- Die klassenmäßige politische Zielsetzung antikommunistischer Angriffe, Verwirrung unter den Werktätigen der DDR zu stiften, ihr Vertrauen in die Politik der SED zu erschüttern, ihre Initiative zu lähmen.

Tilman Grammes

Current Trends and Topics in U.S citizenship, law-related and economic education. Report from the National Council of the Social Studies 90th Annual Conference 2010

The National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS) serves as one of the world's largest professional communities. The 90th annual congress 2010 took place at Mile High City in Denver/Colorado. What is going on in U.S. civics, law-related and economics education? The following congress report presents an overview on educational policy, research and curriculum projects, to facilitate the reader outside the U.S. a quick information about the state-of-the-art.

Content

1. Educational policies
2. Standards and Testing
3. Research (CUFA)
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All information in paragraphs related to websites is quoted. The websites were checked on 15th of January 2011.

1. Educational policies

The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) was founded in 1921 and has grown to be the largest association in the country (and worldwide) devoted solely to social studies education. The NCSS Membership today is about 17,600 educators but has decreased (1990: 26,000). To European social studies teachers this still seems to be an incredible number of members. But taking the number of social studies teachers into account, the percentage of membership seems to be average.

The Conference program can be looked at <http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/images/Preview2010.pdf>. During the conference even a local "Social Studies TV" was broadcasted!

The aim of NCSS is to engage and support educators in strengthening and advocating social studies. NCSS members come from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and 69 foreign countries. Organized as a network of more than 110 affiliated state, local, and regional councils and associated groups (<http://www.socialstudies.org/local>), the NCSS membership represents K-12 classroom teachers, college and university faculty members, curriculum designers and specialists, social studies supervisors, and leaders in the various disciplines that constitute the social studies.

NCSS serves as an umbrella organization for elementary, secondary, and college teachers of history, geography, economics, political science, sociology,

psychology, anthropology, and law-related education. It is under constant discussion between NCSS as a "liberal East Coast organization" and the more discipline-orientated associations, how the social sciences disciplines are represented and integrated in the curriculum (Fallace 2008). There might be a swing of the pendulum from social studies to history teaching¹. Not letting NCSS split apart!

The history of NCSS has always been shaped by its presidents. Their annual speeches give an excellent insight into the development and struggle for social studies to become one of the core subjects in curriculum (Previte/Sheehan 2002). This year, Steven Goldberg reported that curricular narrowing is most severe since federal focus on achievement in reading and math – and, to a lesser degree, science – has caused schools to reduce the amount of instructional time devoted to non-assessed subjects, including social studies. While most Americans agree on the importance of preparing young people for citizenship in a democracy, civic education has received less and less attention in schools over the past few decades.² During that time, schools have focused their attention on preparing students for college and jobs firstly, secondly and more recently, on responding to increasing accountability demands, primarily in mathematics, reading, and writing. Experts believe a decline in civic engagement – such as the decline in voting rates among young voters since 18-year-olds were given the

1 National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council for History Education are working together to gather information on the state of world history education, and have developed a brief survey: <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/ncssncheworldhistory>.

2 A study of McEachron (2010) looked at the development of allocated social studies time in elementary classrooms in Virginia over more than two decades (since 1987!). The research method is based on written timetables provided by elementary classroom teachers to students completing internship requirements in a teacher education programme. A total of 72 students' field placement schedules were analyzed; 50 students were in primary classrooms (K-3) and 23 in upper elementary classrooms (4-5). The time allocated to social studies averaged less than two hours per week!



right to vote in 1972 – may be a direct result of the decrease in emphasis placed on civics.

“Mr. President, where is citizenship education?” asks Frederick Risinger, Indiana University/Bloomington and former president of NCSS in 1990. He addressed an open letter to President Obama, published in *Social Education* (vol. 74, 2010, no. 6, 338-339) to express his concerns about the increasing emphasis on mathematics and science education along with the continued emphasis on reading/language arts, whereas a fourth major curriculum area, social studies, is being marginalized by a lack of funding and (reduced) interest on the part of the U.S. Department of Education, state departments of education, and the movement towards national common educational standards. “I have never seen such unwillingness to enter into discussions of issues and agree on policies that are in the best interests of all Americans. I believe that a major factor in this deterioration of what I term as pluralistic citizenship behaviour is the marginalization of social studies/citizenship education in the pre-K-12 curriculum throughout the nation.” (Risinger 2010, 338)

During its 90th annual meeting keynote speaker Maya Soetoro-Ng was warmly welcome by the audience as a colleague, as she worked as a social studies teacher in history classes. She did her PhD in international comparative education and is a highly reputed peace educator. Barack Obama, 44th and current President of the US, is her half-brother, whom she supported in the campaign for President. Maya Soetoro-Ng wrote a picture book for children (“Ladder to the moon”, 2010) recently. This leads to the topic of her keynote, which sets up “imagination” against “standardization”. She distinguished three kinds of collective imagination: empathetic imagination, moral imagination (How to imagine “peace”?) and narrative imagination with a strong focus on story-telling. We cannot foster global commitment without local engagement. Peace education is not a separate subject but has to be included in every single social studies lesson.

The final keynote was given by famous basketball hero Kareem Abdul-Jabbar who uses his legacy to boost two causes: the study of history and the education of young people. The documentary film “On the shoulders of giants. My journey through the Harlem Renaissance” chronicles the all-black Harlem Rens basketball team from the 1920s to the late 1930s. The film on African-American history will be at the movies in February 2011. Teaching materials include eight one-minute video-clips accompanied by questions and activities which follow Bloom’s taxonomy to encourage higher level thinking (www.kareemabduljabbar.com/studyguide).

NCSS is an event with a lot of motivating awards (<http://www.socialstudies.org/awards>) as for example “Outstanding Social Studies Teacher of the Year”. Annually, the “Spirit of America” award recognizes an indi-

vidual who exemplifies the American democratic spirit. This year, the award was given to Da Chen who grew up in a tiny village in the deep south of China. During the Cultural Revolution, his family was beaten, his father thrown in reform camp, and at age nine, he was threatened with imprisonment. His first memoir (“Colors of the Mountain”) became a best-seller. His second memoir (“Sounds of the River”) continues his story as a teenager leaving the farm to his university life in Beijing.

American public and private education policies are always widely discussed in public (Ravitch 2010). *Waiting for Superman* (<http://www.waitingforsuperman.com/>) is a new powerful and alarming documentary by David Guggenheim. To an international audience the filmmaker is best known for his environmental documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), featuring former nominee for President and environmental activist Al Gore. *Waiting for Superman* raised a debate why American educational system failed where the nation is near the bottom of advanced countries in math and reading scores and where the slogan “No child left behind”³ has become a cynical punch line. The film analyzes the failures of American public education by telling the emotional stories of five children – Bianca, Francisco, Anthony, Daisy and Emily – following them through the educational system and exploring the roles that charter schools⁴ and education reformers could play in offering hope for the future. However, the deeper changes in American society that have led to the crisis are not explored. Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and one of the “villains” in the documentary, has written about the flaws she finds in the film’s generalizations. “Are teachers the problem?” the *TIMES* is asking (Sep. 29, 2010: <http://www.time.com/time/arts/article/0,8599,2021951,00.html>). A lot of teacher bashing as well as union busting can be heard in the film. Compare the critical online forum *Not Waiting for Superman* (<http://www.notwaitingforsuperman.org/>) launched by the nonprofit educational publisher Rethinking Schools or the critical comment in the *New York Magazine* about “disaster schools” (<http://nymag.com/news/features/67966/>). We have to wait and see, if the film will be perceived by the European audience.

In times of forced school reform when it is flogged down to death, educational scientists tend to look back what they can learn from previous efforts. Widely ad-

3 Educational policy and public controversy is shaped by educational programs like „No child left behind” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/No_Child_Left_Behind_Act). For criticism see CIRCLE newsletter (Winter 2009): Has “no child left behind” narrowed school curricula? <http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/Newsletter/v6.i1.01.pdf> Here: recommendations No. 1-4, p. 3 and p. 12. Current program by the Department of Education is “Race to the Top” (RTT).

4 Charter schools are public schools that are granted autonomy from many district policies.



vertised were books by Ronald W. Evans, professor of Teacher Education at San Diego State University. In his study *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children?* (Evans 2004, compare Evans 2011) he looks at the (potential) failure of new social studies. With regard to the origins of the Cold War, the movement sought to develop critical thinkers through "inquiry" and "discovery." The „New social studies“ was a 1960's attempt to transform the teaching of history and social sciences. Although it led to a veritable treasure trove of innovative materials, the "revolution" envisioned by its proponents never materialized. Evans situates the 40 federally funded curriculum projects that altogether came to be known as the 'new social studies' in historical context, drawing attention to their conservative origins, the many ways in which they were pedagogically progressive, and the reasons why they did not have the long-term impact so many educators hoped for and expected.

Public visibility is perceived as a severe problem of social studies, the NCSS is apt to change that. "We are the foundation about everything other builds" (Sue Blanchette at Social Studies TV). Some critical voices could be heard (by former presidents in the Jean Fair Memorial Symposium) if "having a national event is not the way of professional development". Nevertheless, the next five years are already scheduled. NCSS Congress 2011 will be held in Washington on "Dimensions of Diversity", followed by Seattle (2012), St. Louis (2013), Boston (2014), New Orleans (2015), and Washington again (2016).

2. Standards and Testing

There has been a long discussion whether to launch standards in the field or not. But there is always the pressure if you are not part of the activity the subject will disappear. How can you have powerful understanding and testing at the same time?

On the one hand, there is this constant struggle of the social studies to be a part of the curriculum and to be seen as one of the "big 4" on the other. Social studies seem to be a marginalized area. All resources are focused on often de-contextualized reading skills. "Lets go back to teach the kids some science and social science, perhaps they like them and start reading!" was the critical note of a teacher to these programmes whose efficiency can be doubted.

2.1 U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (U.S.C.I.S.) Naturalization Test

<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.749cabd81f5ffc8fba713d10526e0aa0/?vgnnextoid=982a309186e89210VgnVCM10000025e6a00aRCRD&vgnextchannel=c242df6bdd42a210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>.

In order to get an idea of US testing culture in general, have a look at the U.S.C.I.S. Naturalization Test and its civics items (Schneider 2010).

2.2 National Standards Social Studies

National Council for the Social Studies's Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies <http://www.socialstudies.org/standards/stitle.html>

On Constitution Day, September 17, 2010, NCSS published the revised national curriculum standards for social studies. They are judged as much better, more comprehensive, more understandable. The aim is to lead social studies back to become one of the "big four" in the curriculum (maths, science, language and - social studies). Developed by a task force of the National Council for the Social Studies, and approved by the NCSS Board of Directors in March 2010. In short, the ten themes of social studies are: Culture, time, continuity and change; people, places and environment; individual development and identity; individuals, groups, and institutions; power, authority, and governance; production, distribution, and consumption; science, technology, and society; global connections; civic ideals and practices.

Here an excerpt:

Civic ideals and practices

Social studies programmes should include experiences that provide for the study of ideals, principles, and practices of citizenship in a democratic republic.

... Questions faced by students studying this theme might be: What are the democratic ideals and practices of a constitutional democracy? What is the balance between rights and responsibilities? What is civic participation? How do citizens become involved? What is the role of the citizen in the community and the nation, and as a member of the world community? Students will explore how individuals and institutions interact. They will also recognize and respect different points of view. Students learn by experience how to participate in community service and political activities and how to use democratic processes to influence public policy.

Other content standards have been published for geography, history, economics, psychology, education technology standards.

2.3 Standards Civics and Government

<http://www.civiced.org/stds.html>

Center for Civic Education's National Standards for Civics and Government. Free download. But they lack actuality as they date from 1994 (!), and therefore should be revised.

2.4 Council for Economic Education (CEE)

Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics (VNCSE)

2nd Edition New York 2010

Full download: <http://www.councilforeconed.org/ea/standards/standards.pdf>



Online lessons related to each of the 20 standards:
<http://www.councilforeconed.org/ea/standards/>

Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics was first published by the CEE in 1997 and quickly became an essential tool informing economic education. Each standard is an essential principle of economics that an economically literate student should know and a statement of what the student should be able to issue according to that knowledge in the 4th 8th grade, and until graduating from high school. This knowledge includes the most important and enduring ideas, concepts, and issues in economics. According to the original publication, there are the following 20 economics content standards presented: scarcity, decision making, allocation, incentives, trade, specialization, markets and prices, role of prices, competition and market structure, money and inflation, interest rates, income, entrepreneurship, economic growth, role of government and market failure, government failure, economic fluctuations, unemployment and inflation, fiscal and monetary policy.

2.5 National Council for the Social Studies:

Programme Standards for the Initial Preparation of Social Studies Teachers

http://downloads.ncss.org/NCATE/NCSS_NCATE_STDS-04rev.pdf

The document contains the actual standards, all of which appear in a more detailed version in the *National Council for the Social Studies* document *National Standards for Social Studies Teachers*. The standards are intended to assure (1) that teachers who start to teach social studies possess the knowledge, capabilities, and dispositions associated with the central concepts, tools of inquiry, and structures of the disciplines that make up the social studies, and (2) that they are able to create learning experiences that make these aspects of subject matter meaningful for learners.

In addition, there are local content standards on history, geography and civics. The following report highlights selected state standards and/or curriculum frameworks with an explicit link to civics or citizenship education (September 2010): <http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/CitEd/2-Stds.pdf>.

Compare in addition: <http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/71/30/7130.pdf>.

Each of the 50 states and the district of Columbia in the United States requires at least one course in civics or government for graduation from high-school. Forty-nine states and the district of Columbia have civics and/or social studies standards describing what students should „know and be able to do.“ (Avery 2007, 5)

The standards tend to focus on knowledge to the exclusion of skills and dispositions.

“In a national survey conducted in 2006, current high-school students and recent graduates (ages 15-

25) report that their civics-related coursework focused on traditional themes, such as the US constitution, the branches of government, and great American political and military heroes ... There are differences in what young people recall about their experiences. African-American and Latino students are more likely to recall learning about social injustices in their civics classes than are white and Asian-American students, and college and college-bound students (a rough proxy for socioeconomic status) are more likely to recall studying traditional topics than are their peers.” (Avery 2007, 5)

In one response to the decline in civic engagement, most states developed content standards in civics or government in the 1990s and early 2000s to ensure that students acquired a basic understanding of how government works, of the documents on which American democracy is based and of basic democratic values. Unlike state efforts to improve instruction in the core academic disciplines, however, most states have not established statewide assessments aligned with their civics standards. A number of states recently have established legislative committees or task forces to examine their civic education practices and make recommendations to the legislature, the state education agency and their public schools.

(<http://www.ecs.org/ecsmain.asp?page=/html/projects.asp?am=7>)

2.6 National Alliance for Civic Education (NACE)

http://www.ecs.org/html/offsite.asp?document=http://www.cived.net/req_guid.html

NACE was launched in 2000 and now has more than 200 groups and individual members committed to advance civic knowledge and engagement. While 31 states currently test civics topics, only Missouri, Ohio and Utah have a separate test on civics topics. Today, 29 states require high-school students to take a course in government or civics. Five states (Alabama, Arizona, California, Idaho and New York) require students to take a senior year „capstone“ civics or government course. Nearly every state and the District of Columbia have also instituted standards that in some way incorporate civics content. Twenty-three states and the district of Columbia present their civics standards as explicit standards within their social studies standards, and three states (Arkansas, Colorado and Vermont) have separate civics standards. Another 18 states integrate civics topics into their social studies or other subject standards. However, there is great variation in the extent and quality of state standards. The revision of Texas’ social studies standards is generating a hot debate and strong opinions (see: http://www.socialstudies.org/state-social_studies_standards_development).



2.7 American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

Making Standards Matter (2001)

<http://www.aft.org/newspubs/periodicals/ae/winter2001/standards.cfm>

The AFT was an early advocate for standard(s)-based education. In 1992, in response to national concerns that students in the US were not learning enough to compete in a global economy and that there was an intolerable gap between the achievement of whites and blacks, the late Albert Shanker, then president of the AFT, urged states to take a lesson from other high-achieving countries and set clear and rigorous academic standards for all students. ACT found that while standards continue to improve in the states, most continue to have difficulty in setting clear and specific standards in social studies as compared to other core subjects such as math and science. The AFT specifically recommends: „Social studies standards need to be focused and explicit about the U.S. and world history students should learn at each of the three educational levels.“ The *Policy Research Project on Civic Education Policies and Practices* found that on average civics content in states' social studies standards overemphasize lower-order thinking of identifying and describing positions, stating that „civic statements requiring students to evaluate, take, and defend positions – the highest-order level of thinking – are the least prevalent in most state standards.“

2.8 National Center for Learning and Citizenship (ECS)

http://www.ecs.org/QNA/docs/Civic_Competency.pdf

QNA (questions and answers) is an online search database that can be used to construct your own assessments of civic knowledge, skills and dispositions, and school citizenship climate. The database contains questions categorized by national civics students that have been juried by civic learning experts for their clarity and meaningfulness in relation to the competencies of civic knowledge, skills and dispositions. Item and instrument sources are listed here: http://www.ecs.org/QNA/docs/More_about_sources.pdf

2.9 Report of Maryland's Social Studies Task Force

http://marylandpublicschools.org/NR/rdonlyres/FCB60C1D-6CC2-4270-BDAA-153D67247324/23710/Social_Studies_Taskforce_Report_2010.pdf

In a survey carried out in 2005, half of the surveyed Maryland elementary teachers noted a reduction in social studies time, as one-quarter of middle school teachers did. Additionally, 7 in 10 elementary school principals and nearly 9 in 10 elementary school teachers said social studies is not a high-priority subject in their schools.

2.10 Journell, Wayne 2010.

Standardizing Citizenship: The Potential Influence of State Curriculum Standards on the Civic Development of Adolescents. In: *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2, 351-358

The rise of state-mandated standards in public education have allowed legislators to answer the question of what constitutes a proper civic education, a debate that has existed in the United States since the turn of the twentieth century. Through the content employed in their standards, states may indirectly influence the type of citizenship education students receive in the classroom. The study focuses on the *Virginia Standards of Learning* for two courses: civics and economics, and US and Virginia government, which are usually taught to eighth-graders and high-school seniors, respectively. A content analysis of the essential knowledge found in the standards for these courses can be categorized into seven forms of citizenship: civic republicanism, character education, deliberative, social justice, participatory, transnational, and cosmopolitan. Although the results are specific to the *Virginia Standards of Learning*, the nature of how citizenship is portrayed within the standards may transfer to other states with similar forms of standard(s)-based education within their social studies curricula. (quoted from ERIC database)

Many American critical voices on standardization seem quite familiar to continental European discussion. If we define success through statistics only, we will use an incomplete picture of student success in learning. As social studies educators, we must strive to provide policy makers with a picture of learning accomplishment that takes into account a variety of learning facets. Therefore, this is a more accurate way to measure success. Sue Blanchette, president elect of the NCSS, says: "Social studies is the foundation of the core curriculum, it is not the stepchild."

3. Curriculum

NCSS annual congress as a premier social studies professional development community is a rich source for presenting and reflecting curricula by teachers from all around the states. There is a strong attempt to bridge the gulf between college teacher educators and classroom teachers. Evaluating curricula takes place on a high professional level. This chapter can highlight a very few selection only. Access to more material see chapter 6 and 7.

3.1 Civic Mirror (CV)

<http://civicmirror.com/>

The Civic Mirror (CV) is a microsimulation that turns classrooms into countries, students into citizens, and teachers into 21st century educators. This material has to be charged. But you can sign up for a free trial. There is an instructive video on the start page and another one on Youtube.



3.2 Virtual congress

The Center on Congress at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

www.tpscongress.org

This is a free teaching tool. One of the units deals with „Critical Thinking: Analyzing Congressional Floor Debates“. Students can examine the main components of an effective, thoughtful argument in Congress, analyze examples of Congressional debates, and learn how to present a case on a particular issue. Or they can delve into consensus building in the legislative process by examining historical examples and experience the process first-hand by taking on the role of Members of Congress within a virtual Congress environment. In another unit, students can explore the roles citizens have played in key 19th and 20th century social movements by getting involved, working through the policy process, and helping to bring about important change. Contains a lot of videos and interactive material. Corresponding lesson plans that have been designed for students in grades 8 through 12.

3.3 Understanding fiscal responsibility. Teaching the National Debt.

Teachers College, Columbia University/New York

<http://www.tc.columbia.edu/news/article.htm?id=7347>

At the beginning of 2010, the federal government had borrowed nearly \$8 trillion, including a \$1.42 trillion added in the last fiscal year. The total debt including debt the government owes itself exceeded \$12 trillion. During the recent fiscal crisis many of the student's parents have lost their jobs and their houses. Most young Americans do not have an adequate understanding of the ever-increasing national debt, budget deficit, or of the budget process itself. Questions in the curriculum material, granted with \$2.45 million from the Peter G. Peterson Foundation, are: Can the federal budget survive the "graying" of America and the rising cost of health care? Does political philosophy influence how we view the federal budget process? Does foreign debt create a dangerous imbalance of power between creditor and debtor nations? How would ending the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts affect the United States economy? The curriculum includes a inter-cultural sensitive unit "Views of borrowing and lending in world religions". The curricula will incorporate books, primary sources, simulations, films, videotaped lessons and other digital media. It will be appropriate for students ranging from grade seven through college, and for teaching in five subject areas: Civics/Government, Economics, U.S. History, World History/Global Studies, and Mathematics. The curriculum will be field-tested in a nationally representative sample of 25 schools in three cities (Austin, TX, Pittsburgh, PA, and New York City). It will then be revised for full national distribution free of charge to

more than 100,000 schools in 2011. "In light of recent research showing that children possess the ability to understand specific economics topics such as banking, possessions/ownership, prices/profits and savings by the time they reach the age of eight, we expect that adolescents with a more informed perspective about the national debt, federal budget, and budget deficit from our Curriculum will be able to make more knowledgeable and responsible decisions about their own finances and demand better decisions from their elected leaders." (Anand R. Marri, Assistant Professor of Social Studies and Education at TC <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/faculty/index.htm?facid=arm2104>)

3.4 Current issues approach

Close Up Foundation

www.closeup.org

Published annually, this student text and accompanying teachers' guide identifies 10 domestic and ten international issues and provides an overview of each. Current Issues 2010-11, the 34th annual print edition, is a great way to stimulate classroom discussions with students about the key policy issues the U.S. faces today.

The Choices Program

<http://www.choices.edu/>

The Current issues series includes seventeen contemporary issues titles – seven focused on specific regions and ten focused on global issues.

The Public Issues Series

<http://www.soc-sci-ed-consortium.org/publications.html>

The famous "Public Issues Series" was originally conceived by the Harvard Social Studies project in the 1960s and 1970s. The purpose of the series was to help students analyze and discuss persisting human dilemmas related to public issues. In the late 1980s, the SSEC published the series. Two booklets in the series, with accompanying teacher guides, are online on the Social Science Education Consortium SSEC homepage. There is a possibility that these materials may be revised and re-released.

4. Research

Subject matter didactics, which is firmly rooted in many countries in continental Europe like France, Germany, Russia, is not a university discipline in its own right in the English-speaking countries. The questions and topics are dealt with under different disciplinary labels such as curriculum&instruction or teaching methods. However, NCSS opening keynote speech by Sam Wineburg (Director Stanford University History Education Group) focused on a core question of subject matter didactics – the processing and status of knowledge in teachers' and students' epistemolo-



gies and in classroom practice (textbooks, sources). Wineburg exemplified his findings within the domain of historical thinking. How do historians know what they know? An actual case was reported in the Washington Post on Wednesday, October 20, 2010 (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/19/AR2010101907974.html>). A history textbook for fourth graders in Virginia elementary school with the title *Our Virginia: Past and Present* claimed that thousands of African-Americans fought as Confederate soldiers during the Civil War. The author, Joy Masoff, who is not a trained historian but has written several books, said she found the information about black Confederate soldiers primarily through Internet research! Scholars are nearly unanimous in calling these accounts of black Confederate soldiers a misrepresentation of history. Wineburg shifted the conversation from what is being taught to how it is being taught. "In its deepest forms, historical thinking is neither a natural process nor something that springs automatically from psychological development. Its achievement goes against the grain of how we ordinarily think, one of the reasons why it is much easier to learn names, dates and stories than it is to change the fundamental mental structures we use to grasp the meaning of the past ... Mature historical knowing teaches us to go beyond our own image, to go beyond our brief life, and to go beyond the fleeting moment in human history into which we've been born. History educates ('leads outward' in Latin) in the deepest sense. Of the subjects in the secular curriculum it does the best in teaching those virtues once reserved for theology – the virtue of humility, in the face of our limits to know; and the virtue of awe, in the face of the expanse of human history." (Wineburg 2001 cover) This critical thinking approach in the tradition of liberal education is still important to U.S. "positive" and text based teaching and learning culture!

4.1 College and University Faculty Association (CUFA)

<http://www.ncsscufa.org/>

Research is located within the College and University Faculty Association (CUFA) of NCSS. CUFA consists of higher education faculty members, graduate students, and others interested in working with social educators such as social scientists, historians, and philosophers. As well as being an advocacy organization for social studies education, CUFA members provide a forum for communication among professional educators, and examine social studies from a theoretical and research perspective. Grants for research and classroom applications are distributed through the fund for the Advancement of Social Studies Education (FASSE, <http://www.socialstudies.org/fasse>). A National Study on the state of social studies teachers is under way.

Research findings are published in the various journals (compare chapter 5). *Theory and Research in Social Education*. Volume 39, Number 1, Winter 2011 contains among others the following studies:

The Complex and Unequal Impact of High Stakes Accountability On Untested Social Studies (Judith L. Pace, University of San Francisco)

The author presents complex findings from a qualitative study in five California classrooms spanning grades four through seven. Different from previous accounts of social studies under high stakes accountability, teachers in these middle and higher performing, middle class settings were generally satisfied with their social studies teaching. Yet observations revealed that in combination with other factors, accountability did influence social studies gatekeeping, or teachers' curricular-instructional decision making, in both direct and indirect ways. Its impact varied according to school performance status and student demographics, combined with other factors. A few teachers embraced the goals of raising test scores and developing skills in literacy, but in the lowest performing school with the most students of color, academic literacy skills training interfered with exploration of history.

A Social Studies Teacher's Sense Making of Controversial Issues Discussions of Race in a Predominantly White, Rural High School Classroom (Elizabeth A. Washington/Emma K. Humphries – University of Florida)

In this qualitative study, we first explore the "sense making" of co-author Emma, a former high school teacher, with regard to discussion of issues around race that became controversial in her social studies classroom. Her student population comprised predominantly white, rural, socioeconomically disadvantaged students, many of whom expressed racist views – on both "open" and "closed" issues – either privately with her or in classroom discussions. In our findings, we discuss Emma's views on teaching controversial issues, disclosure of personal viewpoints on controversial issues, the definition of "controversial issues", the importance of building strong relationships with students before approaching controversial issues, and how to plan for controversial issues discussion. Our findings have potential implications for social studies educators in teacher education programs who seek to prepare their preservice teachers for potential controversial issues surrounding race that may come up in their future classrooms.

4.2 The Social Studies Inquiry Research Collaborative (SSIRC)

Authentic Intellectual Challenge in Social Studies Classroom

<http://www.auburn.edu/academic/societies/ssirc/>

The Social Studies Inquiry Research Collaborative (SSIRC) is a group of college and university researchers in diverse settings across the United States who



have joined together to study the effects of challenging, authentic social studies instruction on student learning and performance. The website invites colleagues to join in on-going research. The project is inspired by the authentic pedagogy of Fred Newmann et.al. (1996, 2001). Authentic instruction is a model for high-quality instruction and lists five major components of the teaching process which are: Higher-order thinking, Depth of knowledge, Connectedness to the world beyond the classroom, Substantive conversation and Social support for student achievement. (<http://www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/educatrs/leadshp/le4auth.htm>).

The research is organized in a way that individual researchers or small teams from all over the U.S. can join in collecting quantitative data and qualitative observation for structured analysis. This organization of research could be highly recommended to European researchers! Qualitative examples of classroom observation are reported. For example, the minimal quartile is characterized as follows: "... when lessons included writing or the analysis of political cartoons, photographs, or other examples of historical evidence, the emphasis was often on gathering and reporting information, not going into deeper forms of interpretation or knowledge production. Several teachers did engage students in projects, such as group newspapers on the civil war, videos, or plans for an American Revolution theme park. Although likely engaging, the activities were not structured to involve students in depth or substantive conversation and were again largely focused on gathering and reporting information and not producing new interpretations or knowledge – or in the case of the theme park project, a fun exercise without real ties to making clear connections and illustrating knowledge attainment. There was little to no 'connectedness' to the real world in these lessons ... Most of the examples of connectedness were informal references to a recent event to help students connect to a past one, such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq or current foreign policy issues with Cuba or Russia tied back to previous times." (from the preliminary report: http://auburn.edu/ssirc/SSIRC_CUFA10.pdf, page 16) Here the factual "positivism" can be found which Sam Winburg criticized in his opening speech.

Critical analysis of progressive teaching and learning methods are rare. Here one example:

Lorrei DiCamillo 2010: „Fun“ Pedagogy Curtails Intellectual Rigor in a U.S. History Class. *The Journal of Social Studies Research* Volume 34, 2

This case study examines a U.S. History class where a veteran teacher uses challenging primary source documents and a debate to encourage his students to think critically about history. The teacher is knowledgeable about the subject matter and articulates a clear purpose for teaching. Surprisingly, the author

finds that the teacher's methods, which include the use of competitions and games, contradict some of his espoused teaching goals and some students' engagement in the class. The ambitious four-week competitive debate the teacher enacts creates an adversarial classroom climate where students focus on competing with each other. Additionally, the teacher's jokes and sense of humor encourage students' attention during lessons, but limit students' abilities to discuss issues intelligently. The findings add to the research base about teachers who use entertainment and gamesmanship, and illustrate how a teacher's beliefs and pedagogy undermined the quality of lessons and the students' experiences in the class.

URL: <http://www.thejsr.com/>

4.3 Education Commission of the States (ECS)

Education Policy Issue Site: Citizenship Education, selected research & readings

<http://www.ecs.org/html/IssueSection.asp?issueid=19&s=Selected+Research+%26+Readings>

Here a few results from readings and research from this site:

A Five-Year Evaluation of a Comprehensive High School Civic Engagement Initiative

In September 2003, Hudson High School in Massachusetts launched two new civic development efforts – clustering and school-wide governance – providing an opportunity to study the influence of school-wide democratic deliberation on students' civic knowledge and participation. Clusters of 100-150 students met for one hour a week to discuss governance and other school-related issues. Successive classes of twelfth graders have shown improvements on measures of community service and political knowledge and the improvements have been widespread in the student body.

(The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, March 2010).

Democracy for Some: The Civic Opportunity Gap in High School

In a study of high school civic opportunities, the authors found that a student's race and academic track, and a school's average socioeconomic status (SES) determines the availability of the school-based civic learning opportunities that promote voting and broader forms of civic engagement. High school students attending higher SES schools, those who are college-bound, and white students get more of these opportunities than low-income students, those not heading to college and students of color.

(Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement)



Paths to 21st Century Competencies Through Civic Education Classrooms: An Analysis of Survey Result From Ninth-Graders

Interest is high on the part of business leaders, as well as the general public, in the competencies that young people will need to thrive in an economy that is rapidly changing, global in scope and technology driven. Educators are urged to ensure that young people acquire 21st century skills and competencies by the time they leave school. Students who experience interactive discussion-based civic education score the highest on 21st century competencies, including working with others and knowledge of economic and political processes.

(Judith Torney-Purta and Britt Wilkenfeld, American Bar Association Division for Public Education, October 2009).

High Schools, Civics and Citizenship: What Social Studies Teachers Think and Do

This study revolves around the essential question: What are teachers trying to teach our youth about citizenship and what it means to be an American? The findings are based on a national, random sample survey of 866 public high school social studies teachers, an over-sample survey of 245 Catholic and private high school social studies teachers, and three focus groups. Social studies teachers are in the trenches and can report not only on their own attitudes, priorities and behaviors but also on what is actually happening in high schools and school district.

(American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, September 2010).

5. Journals

NCSS itself provides a series of journals for practitioners and professionals.

5.1 Social Education (SE)

<http://www.socialstudies.org/socialeducation>

The NCSS flagship journal, Social Education contains a balance of theoretical content and practical ideas for classroom use. Their award-winning resources include techniques for using teaching materials in the classroom, information on the latest instructional technology, reviews of educational media, research on significant topics related to social studies, and lesson plans that can be applied to various disciplines. The "Research and Practice" section, established in 2001 and currently edited by Walter Parker, features educational research that is directly relevant to the work of classroom teachers.

5.2 Social Studies and the Young Learner (SSYL)

<http://www.socialstudies.org/ssyl>

For K-6 teachers, NCSS offers Social Studies and the Young Learner, a journal which meets teachers' needs for new information and creative teaching activities. The teaching techniques presented are designed to stimulate the reading, writing, and critical thinking skills vital to classroom success.

5.3 Theory and Research in Social Education (TRSE)

http://www.ncsscufa.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54:about-trse&catid=41:trse&Itemid=57

Theory and Research in Social Education is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. Its purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge and understanding of the purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations

5.4 Journal of International Social Studies

<http://iajiss.org/>

The International Assembly of the National Council of the Social Studies announces the inaugural issue of a new open access, peer reviewed electronic journal. The purpose of the journal is to serve as a forum for social studies scholars from around the world to present and discuss common concerns in global, international and transnational issues in social studies education. The first issue in September of 2010 for example contains Singapore teachers' perspectives of diversity "Between self and state" (Li-Ching Ho, Theresa Alviar-Martin).

The CUFA website (http://cufancss.org/index.php?option=com_weblinks&view=category&id=55&Itemid=69) lists further social studies journals. Here a selection with focus on citizenship education/civics and economic education. There are separate journals on history and geography teaching, for example "The History Teacher" (published by the Society for History Education) and "The Journal of Geography" (published by National Council for Geographic Education).

In addition, "Harvard Educational Review" or "Teachers College Record" are journals which should be accessible at each European educational library.

5.5 Social Studies Research and Practice (SSRP)

<http://www.socstrp.org>

The Social Studies Research and Practice journal is an open access, peer-reviewed, electronic journal that focuses on providing a venue for P-16 social studies research and practice manuscripts, lesson plans, reviews, and issues related to higher-level learning outcomes. Current issue (2010, 3) contains a qualitative study on "Review, reflect, and react: A culturally



responsive model for pre-service secondary social studies teachers" by Paul G. Pritchett, Tehia V. Starker and Amy J. Good (<http://www.socstrp.org/issues/PDF/5.3.2.pdf>). Or read on "Hmong Adolescent Conceptions of Citizenship" (Annette M. M. Simmons, 2010, 2). There will be a special issue on economic education in 2012 (call for papers).

5.6 Learning for Democracy (LFD). An international journal of thought and practice.

<http://www.siu.edu/lfd/>

The journal recently (2008) completed his transition from the United Kingdom location to Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, School of Education in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction (Prof. Caroline R. Pryor). The journal is premised on the idea that learning—informal and formal, at home, in school and in the workplace is central to any solution. The journal includes two sections. Section One is devoted to articles reporting theoretical, historical and philosophical perspectives on learning for democracy. Section Two, Theory into Practice, is devoted to articles reporting empirical research, as well as articles, discussions, reports or notes about ways democratic thought might be applied in a variety of settings, such as schools or cities. Motto: "I may be wrong and you may be right, and by an effort, we may get nearer to the truth." (Karl Popper: *The Open Society and Its Enemies*)

5.7 Democracy and Education (D&E)

http://www.lclark.edu/graduate/publications/democracy_and_education/about/

Seeks to present examples of the successes and struggles of educators working to merge democratic teachings and principles with real-world practices; a forum for sharing ideas, highlighting research, and discussing the bond of democratic educators to their students, communities, each other and the world.

5.8 Canadian Social Studies (CSS)

<http://www2.education.ualberta.ca/css/>

Canada's national (formerly: *The History and Social Studies Teacher*) Indexed, refereed social studies journal. Published quarterly on-line at the University of Alberta/Canada. It is a journal of comment and criticism on social education and publishes articles on curricular issues relating to history, geography, social sciences, and social studies. Current issue contains Aviv Cohen: A theoretical model of four conceptions of civic education (2010, 2, 17-28).

5.9 International Journal of Social Education (IJSE)

<http://ijse.iweb.bsu.edu/>

The IJSE is the journal of the Indiana Council for the Social Studies. The journal first appeared in 1945, when Robert La Follette produced what was originally known as the *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, serving as the official journal of the Indiana Council for the Social Studies. Last issue (2008, 2) contains an interesting study: "Susie Burroughs, Peggy F. Hopper, Key Brocato, and Angela Sanders: „Teaching for and About Citizenship in a Democratic Society: Comparative Views of Selected Civic Educators in the United States, Europe, and Latin America"

5.10 The Journal of Social Studies Research (JSSR)

<http://www.thejssr.com/>

JSSR is the official peer-reviewed publication of The International Society for the Social Studies (ISSS). The International Society for the Social Studies (ISSS) is a non-profit, professional society devoted to the social studies, based on University of Central Florida, College of Education.

5.11 IJED Inter-American Journal of Education for Democracy

<http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/ried/issue/archive>

The Inter-American Journal of Education for Democracy is a refereed academic publication that aims to foster intellectual discussion and exchange about efforts to promote education for democratic citizenship across the Americas. The IJED is a plural forum that diffuses knowledge on a wide array of topics, disciplines, theoretical perspectives, and methodologies in the field of citizenship education for democracy.

<http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/ried/article/view/615>

Economic Education

5.12 Journal of Economic Education (JEE)

<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/00220485.asp>

Department of Economics, Indiana University This site offers abstracts and tables of contents for JEE articles from 1984 to the present. The articles cover innovations in and evaluation of teaching techniques, materials and programmes in economics, and is aimed at instructors of introductory to graduate-level economics. Archives until 2008 can be seen here: <http://www.indiana.edu/~econed/anrpts.htm>

5.13 The teaching economist

<http://www.cengage.com/economics/meachern/teachingeconomist/about.html>

This is a complete on-line archive of the semi-annual electronic newsletter edited by William McEachern of the University of Connecticut. Through news items and reviews of web sites, new books and research, he



examines economics teaching from a surprising number of angles.

5.14 ERN educator: courses, cases and teaching

http://www.ssrn.com/update/ern/ern_ern-educator.html

This is an online journal for works in progress, containing working papers which include papers awaiting review for the Journal of Economic Education. The mission of this journal includes the publication of descriptions of innovative courses and course materials. This is part of the US-based Economics Research Network.

5.15 Journal for Economic Educators (JEE)

<http://frank.mtsu.edu/~jee/>

Published by the Tennessee Economics Association, this peer-reviewed journal covers economics education at all levels. Published roughly twice a year, it is available on open access with issues going back to the first in 1999.

6. Links

Selection. Extended list see <http://www.ecs.org/ecs-main.asp?page=/html/projects.asp?am=7>

6.1 CIRCLE

The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement
www.civicyouth.org

Excellent information on current research on topics like civic knowledge, community participation, concepts of citizenship, group membership and social networks, higher education, K-12 civic education, news & entertainment media, non-college, youth race, gender, and immigrant status, service learning, youth attitudes and beliefs, youth demographics, youth voting/political participation. By providing a stream of reliable data and analysis CIRCLE has begun to change public discourse and press. Research has been cited in most national newspapers, including The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Los Angeles Times, and on CNN, NPR, PBS, MTV, and Fox News. Useful newsletter.

http://www.civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/V8.i1_final.pdf
containing a study on (p. 6)

6.2 Carnegie Foundation

National campaign for the civics mission of the school
<http://www.civicmissionofschools.org/>

The Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools is a coalition of 40 organizations committed to improving the quality and quantity of civic learning in American schools. The Campaign's goal is to increase and improve civic learning in grades K-12 by working for

policies that implement the recommendations of the Civic Mission of Schools report.

6.3 Center for Citizenship Education (CCE)

<http://new.civiced.org/>

The Center for Civic Education is a nonprofit, non-partisan educational corporation dedicated to fostering the development of informed, responsible participation in civic life by citizens committed to values and principles fundamental to American constitutional democracy. The Center specializes in civic/citizenship education, law-related education, and international educational exchange programs for developing democracies. Programs focus on the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights; American political traditions and institutions at the federal, state, and local levels; constitutionalism; civic participation; and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. The principal goals of the Center's programs are to help students develop (1) an increased understanding of the institutions of American constitutional democracy and the fundamental principles and values upon which they are founded, (2) the skills necessary to participate as effective and responsible citizens, and (3) the willingness to use democratic procedures for making decisions and managing conflict.

6.4 Youth Leadership Initiative (YLI)

www.youthleadership.net

The motto is: "Politics is a good thing!" The Youth Leadership Initiative at the University of Virginia Center for Politics is dedicated to increasing civic engagement by providing teachers with the best civics education materials and programs. Research shows that quality civics education programs are essential to creating lifelong citizenship and YLI programs empower students to take responsibility for our democracy. In 1998 UVA professor and Center for Politics Director Larry J. Sabato founded the Youth Leadership Initiative to combat the apathy and cynicism that he saw in his politics students. Professor Sabato believed that by creating quality civics education programs students would be energized to accept the responsibilities of citizenship and become lifelong participants in American democracy. Activities such as the yearly Mock Election, E-Congress, Democracy Corps, and YLI lesson plans do more than just teach about civics and government. Each program is infused with simulations and hands-on projects that connect students with the political process. Free lesson plans (<http://www.youthleadership.net/learning-programs/lesson-plans/>) include a "political ideology survey", "debate watching guide", "What is government and do we need it?".

6.5 Deliberating in a democracy (DID)

www.deliberating.org



An International initiative designed to improve student understanding of democratic principles and civic deliberation skills. For a democracy to thrive, citizens must be able and willing to express and exchange ideas among themselves and with their representative government. Free speech ensures that conflicting views can be heard and understood. The Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago (CRFC), The Constitutional Rights Foundation in Los Angeles (CRF) and StreetLaw, Inc. are conducting a major six year teacher-based initiative, *Deliberating in a Democracy (DID)*, designed to improve teaching and learning of democratic principles and the skills of civic deliberation. Eastern Europe lessons are translated into various languages like Russian, Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Spanish (-> Haiti).

6.6 Powerful and authentic social studies (PASS)

<http://www.socialstudies.org/pass>

Partnering with National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in the professional development of staff. Materials and Resources in PASS sets consist of videos, manuals, handouts, and transparencies. The resources include sample curriculum units, assessments, and videotaped instruction. In the interactive sessions of PASS workshops and seminars, participants compare their evaluations of these resources with the evaluations by the writers of the manuals. What role do the videos play in the sets? The videos provide examples of classroom instruction on a variety of social studies subjects. Different subjects are dealt with at each of the three levels (elementary, middle, and high school). videotaped excerpts of classroom instruction in the PASS sets include topics like Freedom of the Press in School, The Demand Curve, Where Do You Live? (A kindergarten classroom is organized into streets), Slavery and the Declaration of Independence, Sloppy Sally (A community persuades a messy neighbor to reform) – elementary school; Middle School: Reconstruction and African American Migration, Immigration, Driver's License: At What Age, Life in Africa; Population in China; High School: The Atomic Bombing of Japan, Political Cartoons of the Progressive Era, electing Federal Judges, School Dress Code, Fair Labor Standards. The teaching on the videos had to meet a sufficient level of quality to be featured in the PASS sets, but it is not presented simply as a model for direct imitation. Outside the NCSS professional development workshops and seminars, the price for each set is \$279.00.

6.7 Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC)

www.soc-sci-ed-consortium.org

The Social Science Education Consortium, founded in 1963, is a not-for-profit educational corporation dedicated to strengthening the social science content

in social studies education. The members of SSEC include leading social scientists and social science/social studies educators throughout the United States and Canada. In 2003, SSEC signed a cooperative agreement, affiliating with the National Council for the Social Studies. NCSS manages the membership of the SSEC, handles the organization's finances, sells SSEC publications, and collaborates with SSEC on projects.

6.8 American Political Science Association (APSA)

Teaching Political Science

http://www.apsanet.org/content_3799.cfm?navID=6

Education for civic engagement and responsive governance were founding objectives of the political science profession at the beginning of the 20th century and remain essential for the 21st century. Supporting and sustaining quality civic education has been an important theme throughout the history of the American Political Science Association. The APSA Teaching and Learning Conference in February 2011 is a unique meeting in which APSA strives to promote greater understanding of cutting-edge approaches, techniques, and methodologies for the political science classroom. The conference provides a forum for scholars to share effective and innovative teaching and learning models and to discuss broad themes and values of political science education—especially the scholarship of teaching and learning.

6.9 National Center for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC)

Education Commission of the States (ECS)

http://www.ecs.org/ecsmain.asp?page=Qna/splash_new.asp

Projects supported by grants from foundations, corporations and the federal government constitute a major portion of ECS' work. The National Center for Learning and Citizenship (NCLC) assists education leaders to promote, support and reward citizenship education and service-learning as essential components of America's education system. NCLC identifies and analyzes policies and practices that support effective service-learning and citizenship education; disseminates analyses of best practices and policy trends; and convenes national, state and local meetings and networks to share information about service-learning and citizenship education. NCLC also works closely with other national, state and local advocacy groups to contribute to a collective public voice in support of the civic mission of schools. NCLC complements the ECS mission with a unique level of expertise and collaboration within the fields of citizenship education and service-learning. NCLC provides information about service-learning and citizenship education. Most of our publications can be downloaded at no cost. Resources include case studies highlighting



successful K-12 programs linking service with learning; research findings about the impact of service-learning on students, schools and communities and the related importance of developing and nurturing citizenship competencies throughout the K-12 experience.

- The issue of *The Progress of Education Reform: Citizenship education* (<http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/87/95/8795.pdf>) examines research on what constitutes citizenship education, how citizenship education contributes to the acquisition of 21st century skills and civic learning opportunity and achievement gaps. (Jennifer Piscatelli, Education Commission of the States, October 2010)

- *The Progress of Education Reform – Service Learning* (<http://www.ecs.org/docs/PER2009-Dec8x11.pdf>): The term service-learning is used frequently these days, but confusion remains as to what it is and why it matters. More importantly, are there any measurable benefits? This issue of *The Progress of Education Reform* looks at four research studies that explore the impact of service-learning on student achievement and civic engagement. (JoAnn Henderson, December 2009)

Law-related education

6.10 American Bar Association (ABA)

<http://www.abanet.org/publiced/youth/home.html>

The American Bar Association develops, promotes, and supports law-related education (LRE) programs that prepare elementary, middle, and secondary students for effective and responsible citizenship, committed to liberty, justice, equal protection, and the rule of law. „[T]he term ‚law-related education‘ means education to equip non-lawyers with knowledge and skills pertaining to the law, the legal process, and the legal system, and the fundamental principles and values on which these are based,“ according to the Law-Related Education Act of 1978. For those new to LRE, the ABA’s *Essentials of Law-Related Education* and the videotape „*A More Perfect Union*“ with its Presenter’s Guide provides an excellent overview. A sampler of one-shot LRE lessons for all grade levels can be found in *Sure-Fire Presentations*. For those beginning an LRE program, a more thorough understanding of LRE is provided by the *LRE Toolkit: The LRE Resource Center in a Box*.

6.11 Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago (CRFC)

<http://www.crfc.org/>

Compare Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF)

<http://www.crf-usa.org/>

The Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago (CRFC) works with elementary and secondary schools to develop critical thinking skills, civic participation, and commitment to the rule of law among young people. Nonprofit and nonpartisan, CRFC is a national

leader in the design and implementation of quality law-related education (LRE) programs for local, national, and international projects. CRFC was founded in 1974. The website provides lessons for all grades and on current topics. Specialized on law-related education: Law-related education (LRE) about the founding documents of the United States, including the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. A basic premise of the movement was the need for students to study not only the documents themselves, but the legal cases and controversies that have given them meaning and relevance.

6.12 Streetlaw

www.streetlaw.org

Nearly four decades Street Law, Inc. is a nonprofit organization dedicated to providing practical, participatory education about law, democracy, and human rights. Through its philosophy and programs, people are empowered to transform democratic ideals into citizen action. Street Law began in 1972, when a small group of Georgetown University Law Center students developed an experimental curriculum designed to teach District of Columbia high school students about practical aspects of the law and the legal system. Because of its practical nature, this course was called Street Law, a name so popular with young people that it has continued as the name of the organization.

The Street Law curriculum evolved from a loose-leaf binder of lessons to a unique textbook, *Street Law: A Course in Practical Law*. The text, now in its eighth edition and published by Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, is the nation’s leading high school law text. Its publication played an important role in adding law to the curricula of school systems around the country. “The Response” is a recent curriculum on “Guantanamo”.

Economic Education

6.13 Council of Economic Education

<http://www.councilforeconed.org/>

There is an informative video on the starting page. The Council for Economic Education offers many programs promoting economic literacy in the United States and across the globe. All of the Council for Economic Education’s programs fall into three core areas, *EconomicsAmerica*, *EconomicsInternational*, and *EconomicsExchange*.

6.14 Federal Reserve

www.federalreserveeducation.org

The Federal Reserve System (also known as the Federal Reserve, and informally as The Fed) is the central banking system of the United States. The FED education section provides free lesson plans, some of them in Spanish. Furthermore games (e.g. FedVille) and simulations as well as videos.



7. Textbooks

The complete editions consist of complex media packages with teachers guide, audio material etc. The teacher's textbook includes the students textbook and adds commentaries, links and so on. Each of these textbooks are widely spread in the U.S. The textbook market is dominated by three states, Texas, Florida and California.

7.1 Civics. Government and Economics in Action

Davis, James E.; Fernlund, Phyllis Maxey; Woll, Peter. Civics. Government and Economics in Action. Needham, Mass.: Pearson. Edition 2009. (<http://www.pearsonschool.com/index.cfm?locator=PSZu4y&PMDbSiteId=2781&PMDbSolutionId=6724&PMDbSubSolutionId=&PMDbCategoryId=815&PMDbSubCategoryId=&PMDbSubjectAreaId=&PMDbProgramId=55284>).

7.2 Civics Today. Citizenship, Economics & You

Remy, Richard C. et al. Civics Today. Citizenship, Economics & You. New York: Glencoe/McGraw-Hill Education. Edition 2008. (<http://glencoe.mcgraw-hill.com/sites/0078746310/>).

7.3 Civics in Practice. Principles of Government and Economics

Holt McDougal. Civics in Practice. Principles of Government and Economics. Edition 2011. (<http://holtmcdougal.hmhco.com/hm/detail.htm?ID=1007500000078692>).

7.4 Some recent textbook research

Champliss, Marilyn; Richardson, Wendy; Torney-Purta, Judith; Wilkenfeld, Britt. 2007. Improving Textbooks as a Way to Foster Civic Understanding and Engagement. CIRCLE working paper 54, April 2007. (<http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP54Chambliss.pdf>).

"In this paper we describe a recent study in which tenth graders who had parent permission were randomly assigned to read one of three types of passages about direct and representative democracy. After reading, all students responded to the same tasks to measure their understanding and their motivation to engage in civic-related activities. Students came from regular classes in two middle class high schools, one from a West Coast state and the other from a state in the Mid- Atlantic region. We chose to collect data on two sides of the country, believing that often, research conducted in one location has been generalized too widely."

Myers, John P.; Stocks, Jessica L. 2010. Fostering the Common Good: The Portrayal of the Social Economy in Secondary Business and Economics Textbooks. In: *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 2010, 2.

„In this research study, we undertook a content analysis of thirteen economics and business textbooks were examined for their coverage of the social economy, which encompasses a range of nonprofit and social enterprise organizations that put "people before profits." The goal was to understand the ways that these textbooks represent official knowledge of the economy that is passed on to secondary students and how that knowledge is valued and organized in society. The findings show that the social economy is weakly represented in our sample although three did contain some content about the topic. There were two key dimensions to this finding. First, there was little recognition of the social economy as an economic sector. Second, there was fairly consistent coverage of social economy organizations in the textbooks although it lacked depth and little attention was paid to their social purpose. Comparing business and economic textbooks, our analysis showed that the business textbooks had broader overall coverage of the social economy and, significantly, more recognition of it as an economic sector." (<http://www.thejssr.com/>)

8. References

8.1 Bibliographical instruments

ERIC – the world largest educational library, especially journals.

<http://www.eric.ed.gov/>

ERIC provides unlimited access to more than 1.3 million bibliographic records of journal articles and other education-related materials, with hundreds of new records added multiple times per week. If available, links to full text are included. There is although a helpful list of journals in the field of education.

“Deep Blue” at the University of Michigan

<http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/>

Most research in the U.S on the level of doctoral dissertations remains unpublished. But there is the “deep blue” at the University of Michigan. Deep Blue provides access to the work that makes the University of Michigan a leader in research, teaching, and creativity. See for example: Shreiner, Tamara L. 2009. Framing a model of democratic thinking to inform teaching and learning in civic education. University of Michigan . (http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/2027.42/62338/1/tlknowlt_1.pdf).

National Center for Learning and Citizenship

http://www.ecs.org/ecsmain.asp?page=Qna/splash_new.asp

In August 2004, the ECS National Center for Learning and Citizenship started collecting, judging and coding existing assessment instruments. The Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools and the Center for Civic Education have contributed resources to support the creation of this draft database. The database contains questions categorized by national civics standards that have been juried by civic learning experts for their clarity and meaningfulness in relation to the competencies of civic knowledge, skills and dispositions. Some items were simplified (often to make them useable at lower grade levels). This database is intended to help research and design officers, administrative supervisors, school district officials, evaluators or researchers (including graduate students) and state and district leaders assess how their schools or districts are performing in terms of civic knowledge and skills, the dispositions that students are developing, and the students’ views of their schools and classrooms. Teachers also could use these instruments to assess individual classrooms on civic knowledge, skills or dispositions. The database was designed for use in the United States, but some items may be appropriate for international use as well.

8.2 Handbooks

Arthur, James; Davies, Ian; Hahn, Carole, eds. 2008. *International Handbook on Education for Citizenship and Democracy*. London: Sage.

Barton, Keith C., ed. 2006. *Research Methods in Social Studies Education: Contemporary Issues and Perspectives*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

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Levstik, Linda; Tyson, Cynthia A., eds. 2008. *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (http://www.ncsscufa.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=125:research-on-ss&catid=53:notes-on-research-and-practice&Itemid=67).

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Totten, Samuel; Petersen, Jon E. 2005. *Researching and Teaching Social Issues: The Personal Stories and Pedagogical Efforts of Professors of Education*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

8.3 Monographies and journal articles

Avery, Patricia. 2007. *Civic Education in Diverse Contexts: Challenges and Opportunities*. Citizenship Education in an Age of Worldwide Migration Conference. Münster/Germany.

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5 From the text: "Stop that teenager before he votes!" (Rosenberg). This rather unusual plea caught my attention several years ago, since I'm more accustomed to hearing appeals for programs designed to increase voting by young adults. This contrarian perspective argues that Americans should re-examine the use of voting patterns as the ultimate criteria of civic participation. Despite the popular perception of voting as the pinnacle of civic behavior, the author suggests that voting without careful analysis of issues and candidates contributes little, if anything, to democracy. The transparent futility of uninformed voting may, in fact, enhance a sense of alienation and estrangement from the political process. Voting is a minimalist expression of citizenship, and voter education should promote behaviors beyond merely punching a card and dropping it in a ballot box."



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Review

Martha C. Nussbaum

Not For Profit. Why Democracy Needs The Humanities

Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

ISBN-10: 0691140642

Martha C. Nussbaum is the Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics in the Philosophy Department, Law School, and Divinity School at the University of Chicago. She is the author of many books, including *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (Princeton).

<http://www.law.uchicago.edu/faculty/nussbaum>

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martha_Nussbaum

http://www.uchicago.edu/features/20100628_nussbaum.shtml

In this book Nussbaum makes a strong case for the importance of the liberal arts in education. If the economic pressure of globalization is not kept under control, the end result might be an erosion of our democracies. The book is more a manifesto (178 pages) and not an empirical study. Quantitative data have been omitted.

Chapter I. Silent Crisis

The motivation for Nussbaum to write this book lies in the world wide crisis “of massive proportions” that Nussbaum sees as damaging for the future of democracy.

While putting an accent on national profits, governments are neglecting the teaching of skills that citizens need to participate in democracy. The humanities and the arts are being cut away. And what we fail to teach pupils is respect and concern for other citizens in a democracy; to think critically, to approach world problems as world citizens. In short: we should ‘produce’ an inclusive type of citizenship instead of educating our children for profit making.

Chapter II. Education for Profit, Education for Democracy

Nussbaum contradicts the old development model that holds that economic growth will deliver democracy. Her line of thinking is education not as passive absorption of facts and traditions, but to challenge the mind of pupils “to become active, competent, and thoughtfully critical”(18).

And since there is world wide more interest in economic growth, education programs in arts and the humanities are cut so that technical aspects get more attention. In order to participate in democracy Nussbaum prefers among others the following abilities for children (25,26):

- To think about political issues
- Recognize equal rights for other people
- Have concern for the lives of others
- Judge political leaders critically
- See the own nation as part of the world

Chapter III. Educating Citizens: The Moral (and Anti-Moral) Emotions

In this chapter Nussbaum stresses the education of children to be critical and realize the influence of their surrounding (among others peer groups). She remarks that all societies create in- and out-groups; groups that are stigmatized. She notices this also in international politics. The experiments of Milgram (authoritarian figures take responsibility for punishing) illustrate the importance of learning independent critical thinking. The lessons that Nussbaum draws for a healthy democracy are among others (45, 46):

- Students should see the world from the viewpoint of other people
- Teach attitudes that weakness is not shameful and the need for others not unmanly
- Develop the capacity for genuine concern for others
- Fight the thinking to see minorities as ‘lower’
- Promote critical thinking and the raising of a dissenting voice

Chapter IV. Socratic Pedagogy: The Importance of Argument

In order to promote an unauthoritarian, respectful education Nussbaum suggests the Socratic Pedagogy. Since the 18th century in Europe, North America and India thinkers argued against ‘rote learning’ and started experimenting with active and critical participation of children. (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, Bronson Alcott, Horace Mann, and John Dewey) “Instruction always took the form of questions rather than assertions” (62).

Most influential in this respect was John Dewey because of the connection he made between the Socratic education and democratic citizenship. His goal was the ‘production’ of active democratic citizens. He fought against passivity in education. Pupils should



learn the skills of citizenship. Rabindranath Tagore developed a similar approach in India.

Nussbaum concludes: "Democracies all over the world are undervaluing, and consequently neglecting, skills that we all badly need to keep democracies vital, respectful, and accountable". (77)

Chapter V. Citizens of the World

In this chapter the author is pleading for an education of world citizenship. Students should see themselves as members of a heterogeneous society, a heterogeneous world and to understand the history and culture of the group that inhabit it. Young people need to understand how the global economy works, and need to understand the many religions in the world. Important in this respect is that all pupils (in the US) should learn at least one foreign language.

Chapter VI. Cultivating Imagination: Literature and the Arts

Nussbaum's thesis in this chapter is that citizens cannot understand the world by factual knowledge alone. What is also needed is imagination: to see oneself in the shoes of another person. Literature and arts play a key role in acquiring this competence according to Nussbaum. To implement that kind of education it is recommended to change teacher training in the US.

Chapter VIII. Democratic Education on the Ropes

The teaching that Nussbaum proposes is threatened in the US. It costs extra because of small classes, and extra time to discuss and write. The current situation of the economy and finances in the US and elsewhere is pressuring more for economic growth and what education can contribute to that end. As a consequence "Training for citizenship is doing poorly in every nation in the most crucial years of children's lives" (133). This development in the US and in Europe has to do with the tendency to favour testing. And critical thinking and imagining as well as skills for world citizenship are not testable. Exam results ('teaching to the test') have top priority in the (US) educational system. Nussbaum expects president Obama to bring his 'change' slogan in practice. But she has not heard much from him so far. She fears that schools that deliver useful profit-makers instead of thoughtful, critical citizens commit a 'suicide of the soul' (142)

Comments

Not For Profit is a highly relevant manifest that warns for the erosion of our democracies. Although the diagnosis of education is very much related to the developments in the USA, similar signs are visible in European countries. Nussbaum's remark about the learning of several languages is typical for the US, where bilingualism is infrequent.

Nussbaum rightly sees the role of education in transferring knowledge, attitudes and skills for participation in democracy as vital. What remains underexposed in her book are the influence of family, peer groups, the neighbourhood, and the media. The foundation for democratic participation should be laid in the early childhood years in the family. The role of schools is important, but research shows that the influence of peer groups and media is great.

It is quite understandable that in a brief manifest not every aspect of Nussbaum's arguments can be underpinned. Since the author makes no distinction between types of secondary schools, it remains to be seen if the suggested literature and arts lessons can be applied in classes of lower vocational schools where the accent is much more on technical training for jobs.

Education for democracy may be in crisis, but that democracy itself is also in crisis is not discussed. See the survey results with respect to the trust of citizens in politics and politicians. Notice the voting behaviour of citizens: the rise of the Tea Party movement in the US and populist movements in Europe and the crisis of several established political parties in some EU-countries.

The risk is real that the less 'hard' subjects, which may be seen (by political decision-makers, but also by pupils and parents) as less relevant for the economy, will lose, or as Nussbaum expects, are cut. However, Nussbaum's presupposition that the humanities contribute little to economic growth is doubtful. On the contrary, creativity, critical thinking and a broad understanding of the world are vital for economic growth.

The development that Nussbaum signals is realistic, also in Europe where because of the economic crisis drastic budget reductions are in progress. Education and culture will not remain out of range. Nussbaum's *Not For Profit* is important for everyone who cares for this world. It is recommended reading for teacher trainers and future teachers. Her publication is an alarm signal, although several EU-countries still have subjects like citizenship (UK), social studies (NL), civic education (politische Bildung) (DE) in the school curricula. In addition to the transfer of knowledge about the functioning of society and democracy, values, attitudes and skills for democratic citizenship are taught there.

Ruud Veldhuis (Netherlands)



Masthead

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