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(Hidden) Normativity in Social Science Education and History Education

edited by

Maria Olson

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The Struggling Concept of Social Issues in Social Studies:
A Discourse Analysis on the Use of a Central Concept in Syllabuses
for Social Studies in Swedish Upper Secondary School
Göran Morén, Sara Irisdotter Aldenmyr

Preparing for Citizenship: Second Order Thinking Concepts in
Social Science Education
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Social Science Teachers on Citizenship Education: A Comparative
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Maria Olson, Tatjana Zimenkova

(Hidden) Normativity in Social Science Education and History Education

Keywords

Normativity, Social science education, History education, Citizenship education, Citizenship learning

1 Introduction

Hidden and unhidden normativity in Social science education and History education are being intensively researched and criticized in both educational scientific and media discourses (Gatto 2002). In addition, they are extensively discussed in teacher education and concealed or explicated in education policies and curricula for these school subjects. These discussions are further, to more or less extent, related to civic and citizenship education, as well as to political discourses more generally (e.g. Papastephanou, 2007; Hedtke, Zimenkova & Hippe, 2008 in previous issues of JSSE).

Not only do political actors at macro level try to provide for citizen formation with help of Social science education and History education. A multitude of other actors at regional and local level – be it non-governmental, religious or economic actors, or parents – bring their own agendas and normative stances into the school subjects of Social science education and History Education. The term “hidden curricula” and the idea of (hidden) normativity are further associated with national and supra national policy agendas and grand cultural narratives. However, local and regional specifics that are intimately connected to the normatively laden conceptions of citizenship education and learning inside and outside of school, we argue, can and should be provided increased attention in research. In this special issue, two school subjects are highlighted: Social science education and History education.

The very idea of normativity of Social science education and History education is being evaluated quite differently in different national educational settings and subject didactic traditions. It encompasses the whole range from being considered as allowable and wishful in order to reach some central moral, political or other normative goals of society to absolute ban and resolute absence of any substantive or normative qualification of social science and history

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teachers as professionals (for the German discussion, cf. Besand et al., 2011).

This special issue of the JSSE, entitled (Hidden) Normativity in Social Science Education and History Education brings together empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions that in one way or the other elaborate on normativity in Social science education and History education. Central questions addressed in the call are: How is normativity visible and formed within Social science education and History education? How can these processes be approached empirically? Is there something wrong with normativity, and if so why? Which role does normativity play for social science teachers and history teachers in their profession? The authors in this issue have created vital responses to these questions, suggesting new comparative methodologies and opening up innovative areas of empirical research in more or less theoretical framings. The following specific approaches to research on normativity in Social science education and History education are embraced by the authors:

- Normativity is stressed as a phenomenon indisputably related to Social science education and History education. But the modes of normativity, its explicitness, direction, strength and actors alter. Education policy and practice are deeply entwined, and processes of normative change come to the fore in critical and constructive investigations of central concepts in these school subjects, at different school levels and over time. Out of different theoretical and methodological approaches, the authors demonstrate convincingly the necessity to consider different sources of empirical material in order not only to map and describe different facets of normativity in Social science education and History education. But also to make a case for the complexity involved in the intermingling of hidden and unhidden normativity in the everyday practice of teaching and learning of these school subjects.

- Focusing different forms of knowledge and conceptual uses in policy and practice in Social science education and History education (at mainly upper secondary level) allow for approaching normativity not only as a matter of detecting where it is situated in these school subjects and why this is so. It also contributes to the development of relevant subject specific methodological frameworks that may be considered key for the development of this field of research.

- Sociological and other educational theories and methods deriving from social sciences are being used innovatively by the authors. In doing so, we argue, they open up for a widening of the scope as

regards the meaning and importance of theoretically underpinned comparative approaches to the research field of subject didactics.

- By stressing critical concepts and conceptual uses in Social science education and History education, the intimate connection between these subjects and their assigned task to see to citizenship learning and social formation emerges.

2 In this special issue

Göran Morén and Sara Irisdotter Aldenmyr describe in their article *The Struggling Concept of Social Issues in Social Studies* the shifting meanings within Social studies at upper secondary school over time. With help of critical discourse analysis they provide a broadened view of the relationship between conceptual change and the direction of normativity in policy and teaching practice in Social science education (see also *Sandahl*, and for History education *Potapova* in this issue). The authors discuss the how's, what's and why's of Social science education, while bringing together the changes of syllabi and teaching conceptions in the subject. Taking point of departure in the concept of social issues as a critical concept, their article contributes to the development of comparative approaches in the field in two ways; by focusing on (hidden) normativity in this subject over time, and by providing knowledge about subject specific meaning making in the Swedish situation (Anderson-Levitt 2003). Taken together, *Morén and Irisdotter Aldenmyr*, as well as *Sandahl and Potapova*, demonstrate how attention to concepts is suitable for pointing out the shifting character of the why's, what's and how's of Social science education and History education, and the inherent shifts of normativity related to these shifts.

Another way of centring on normativity in Social science education is demonstrated in the article *Social science teachers on citizenship education: a comparative study of two post-communist countries*, by **Margarita Jeliaskova**. In using the examples of Bulgaria and Croatia, Social science teachers in upper secondary schools' self-perceptions and understandings of their professional role as citizenship teachers are investigated. While demonstrating that the positions of these teachers never overlap directly with official positions and ideal types, the production of normativity in the teachers' descriptions feeds into the need for deepened insights into this group of actors in Social science education. Based on relevant literature and pilot research, *Jeliaskova* applies a group-grid theory framework on attitudes and self-perceptions of teachers, studied with help of Q-methodology. Out of this study, she does not only provide intriguing empirical material to the field. She also contributes to creating a methodological approach capable of identifying differences and commonalities in social science teaching traditions, as is interlinkage to citizenship education. The work of hers thus proposes a concrete and applicable metho-

dological base for comparative research in Social science education in and beyond nation state borders.

Jeliaskova addresses the on going discussion about what is being taught and how in Social science education. In doing so, she illustrates how the self-perception of the teacher is a crucial precondition for their choice of second-order concepts to use in the subject teaching (see also *Sandahl*). In addition, she demonstrates in what way the notion of relevancy of teaching facts (or competences etc.) in this school subject is being actualised in the teacher's didactical approach. The method suggested allows for both mapping of individual self-positioning of the teacher and of simultaneous organisation of the research results along an axis of basic attitudes and beliefs in politics and society in general. In doing this, it is highlighted how national curricula undergo reformulation in Social science education in relation to the teacher's individual self-perception as a subject teacher. Further, the article contributes to making visible that social science teachers make choices in a pre-assumed dichotomisation between knowledge and attitudes in subject specific content and teaching aims. These choices have bearing for the direction taking in citizenship and political learning in the classroom, which brings us over to the text article in the issue.

Johan Sandahl addresses in his article *Preparing for Citizenship: Second Order Thinking Concepts in Social Science Education* two aspects as relation the function of Social science education. On the one hand, as in *Jeliaskova*, social science teachers of upper secondary school emerge as actors (producing the normativities, reformulating the curricula, and bringing their individual understandings into the teaching process). On the other hand, light is shed on the specific second order thinking concepts they use in their teaching practice. In raising these two aspects, the article contributes in a constructive way to an empirically based reconstruction of second order thinking concepts in Social science education, but also as regards the systematisation of these concepts. We gain insight in how processes of social science teaching works, and which competences and capacities teachers reflect on as being the most important ones for social science teaching. The outcomes are related to the subject didactic task of providing for citizenship learning beyond factual knowledge. The article contributes to highlighting how empirically based contributions serve the aim of revealing and elaborating questions of knowledge and/ vs. competences as goal settings in Social science education in relation to this task. The analyses by *Sandahl and Jeliaskova* not only open up for possibilities of international comparative research. They may also be used in implementation research and in teacher training, in order to strengthen reflection on teaching and learning (second order) concepts in Social science education, and in relation to the subject's role as a subject for citizenship-learning.



In her article *Paradoxes of Normativity in Russian History Education*, **Natalia Potapova** takes a similar approach as *Sandahl* and *Jeliazkova* on History education. She undertakes an investigation of hidden and unhidden normativity in Russian history textbooks, asking herself how far normativity can be considered as hidden and from what and whom is it hidden. Different rationalities and shifts in history teaching over time are described to the end of elaborating the depiction of history teaching as patriotic education and its development. As in *Morén and Irisdotter Aldenmyr*, and *Jeliazkova* the shifts and instabilities of normativity in History education become visible. Addressing a strong patriotic component in History education, Potapova demonstrates how critical thinking about society and social issues are neglected in this school subject. She also highlights how the subject teaching is used as a legitimization of current political order through a focus on learning for patriotism. In her analysis she asks how second order concepts become suitable for establishing patriotic pride and loyalties through History education, thus opening the discussion on normativity or neutrality of the second order concepts as 'bearers' of different, changing normativities over time, involving different "hidden" curricula (see also *Morén and Irisdotter Aldenmyr*) (Koselleck, 2004). Elaborating on very specific understandings of History education and teaching as a school subject and as a space for evaluation of the political present, *Potapova* makes visible how unhidden normativity (which, in its turn can become *hidden* for the teachers and learners themselves if the absence of critical reflection brings about blindness towards normativity) is constructed in history teaching.

Taken together, the contributions in this special issue stress the imperishable relationship between normativity and subject didactics in general, and in Social science education and History education in particular. Taking on the articles' topics, this relationship might be formulated in another way, namely as a normative 'pressure' coming from society itself, with its alleged politically driven desire to provide for a sustainable development of society at the present and in the future. Social science education and History education can be considered as school subjects that stand in the midst of this concern (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Out of this framing, we wish to meet up with two questions stemming from the research field of citizenship education and learning: "what kind of citizens are intended [in these school subjects, *guest editors' comment*]?" And "what are the conditions for civic existence and action taking involved in these conscious and unconscious intentions"? (Hedtke & Zimenkova, 2012; Olson 2012a, 2012b; Nicoll et al., 2013). These questions were not explicitly presented in the open call for papers for this issue, nor did the editors communicate it to the selected authors later on in the process. Nonetheless, we find them to be central for the development of the

subject didactic research field in which the role and function of schools subjects in school and society are at the fore of the interest.

3 Miscellanea, reacting to the open call

Christopher Schank and Alexander Lorch emphasise in their article *Economic Citizenship and Socio-Economic Rationality as Foundation of an Appropriate Economic Education* the importance of considering business ethics as a vibrant part of Economic education, and further citizenship education. Highlighting the role of business ethics in a qualified and well-argued manner they point to the fact that economy to higher extent should be seen as part of society and its related value- and decision-making. Framing the argument with help of theoretical arguments inspired by Habermas, they make a case for a non-atomistic view of the individual in economic education in order to provide for important moral insights from economics to citizenship education in school. **Robert Joseph McKee** also focuses on moral aspects in school. In the article *Encouraging Classroom Discussion* he claims that teachers should be more active in promoting student participation in classroom discussions. Linking the argument to an initiated presentation of a previously carried out qualitative study, he claims student participation to be of utmost value in the teaching and learning of democracy and citizenship in school. In addition, *McKee* offers concrete ways of heading for such promotion for the teachers. Like *McKee*, the last article in this issue, *The Value Preference of the Parents in Turkey towards Their Children*, also shed light on the role and function of 'lived' values, but from the home situation. Through a thorough qualitative study **Zafer Kus, Zihni Meray and Kadir Karatekin** map and analyse the value orientation among Turkish parents as regards the value formation they consider to be most important to pass on to their children. They found honesty and family unity to be the strongest values, which responds to historically established notions belonging to the history of Turkey. Such analyses are of utmost importance for the on going development and refinement of citizenship learning inside and outside of school. Taken together, these three additional articles responding to the open call of this issue (*Hidden*) *Normativity in Social Science Education and History Education*, bring vital aspects of normativity into the centre of this issue in at least two ways. First, they stress the need to see to the relationship between Social science education and History education other school subjects in school. Secondly, they bring in practice-related and informal learning aspects into the discussion of the hidden and unhidden normativity in school as a historically established institution for the reproduction and renewal of society itself.



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Göran Morén, Sara Irisdotter Aldenmyr

The Struggling Concept of Social Issues in Social Studies: A Discourse Analysis on the Use of a Central Concept in Syllabuses for Social Studies in Swedish Upper Secondary School

This is a study of how the concept of social issues was used in various ways in syllabuses for the school subject *Samhällskunskap* (Social Studies) in Swedish upper secondary school from 1965 to 2011. The concept is present in all syllabuses, be it with shifting status and position. A discourse analysis of syllabus texts shows how the concept of social issues in some contexts functions as a subject content among other contents, while functioning as a central, organizing principle in others. This analysis also shows how the use of the concept of social issues further indicates what educational philosophies and working methods are advocated in the syllabuses. The use of the concept may in turn be interpreted as part of a discursive struggle of powers between advocators of a differentiated upper-secondary school model on the one hand and advocators of a unified upper-secondary school model on the other. In this sense, the study of a single concept used in syllabuses may contribute to a discussion about larger educational discourse and the normativity embedded in education in general and in the school subject *Samhällskunskap* in particular.

Keywords:

Social Studies, syllabus, social issues, upper secondary school, discourse analysis

1 Introduction: The school subject *Samhällskunskap* as an arena for the normative assignment of schools to foster citizenship

Samhällskunskap (Social Studies)¹ was established as a school subject in Sweden in the early 1960s, when it was separated from the school subject history. Before that, it was included as a special orientation within history. A subject called *Medborgarkunskap* (citizenship education) could be considered to be a forerunner in the curriculum from 1919 (Larsson 2011). After the Second World War, youth education was given the specific normative responsibility of moulding active democratic citizens for a democratic society. This assignment was given to schools in general, but there was a call for a specific subject to take the main responsibility for this normative agenda of education. *Samhällskunskap* was finally introduced in the comprehensive school in 1962 (following the curriculum of 1962, Lgr 62) and upper secondary school in 1965 (Lgy65) with this specific purpose. The assignment of fostering democratic citizenship connects to several academic disciplines such as political science, economics, sociology etc. The school subject, however, has no obvious affiliation with any specific academic discipline.

In the American context the situation is somewhat different. History still forms the foundation of Social Studies, but there is ongoing debate as to whether or not an issues-oriented approach or, for that matter, a wider representation of academic disciplines should be allowed

to challenge a more traditional, chronological teaching of history within Social Studies (Evans, 2004). Those conflicts are similar to those dealt with in Swedish secondary school, where there is an integrated approach that forms an alternative to the teaching of history, “sam-hällskunskap”, religion and geography separately. Even if *Samhällskunskap* in the upper secondary school, which is the focus of this article, is more clearly separated from these other subjects, tension still exists between the more narrow and the broader perspectives. We argue that there is good reason to refer to research on Social Studies, as the didactical and epistemological questions are comparable.

The syllabus for *Samhällskunskap* has changed over time with regards to what content, design or approach ought to define the subject. A simplified way of describing these changes is to say that the character of the subject is shifting within a field of tension between a predetermined content-orientation and an inquiry-based approach. Within the latter, the term *samhällsfrågor* (social issues) is central, since the virtues or abilities desirable of a citizen are best achieved through investigation and discussion of real social issues.

In the present study, we use the term social issues to translate the Swedish word *samhällsfrågor*. *Samhällsfrågor* could also be translated as “questions about society”, referring to matters of importance and relevance which are more or less open for discussion and interpretation. We aim to show how the concept of *social issues* has been used in syllabuses in *Samhällskunskap* for upper secondary school since 1965. We will show how the concept has taken various forms and has been given various meaning over time, and we will argue how this may be understood in terms of a struggle between different educational discourses. In other words, we wish to follow a larger discursive struggle in Swedish upper secondary school using the prominent yet changing concept of *social issues* as a lens. This further enables us to show how the arena of *Samhällskunskap* has been and still is an arena of crucial importance to the normative responsibility of fostering citizenship. To do so, we need to take our point of departure in an understanding of the school subject *Samhällskunskap* (Social Studies) in a wider context of curriculum reforms.

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These reforms were, in turn, for a long time part of an ongoing process towards a less differentiated school system.

During a political struggle in the early 1900s, conservative voices argued to keep academic and vocational education apart in a differentiated school system, whereas liberals and social democrats favored a more unified model in which the differences between educational programs were less obvious (Lundgren, 2012; Hartman, 2005; Edgren, 2011). Finally, a committee in 1946, appointed by a social-democratic government, lay the foundations for a unified compulsory school, which was realized in 1962. However, the upper secondary school (which is the focus of the present study) was still rather differentiated with the curriculum of 1965. At an organizational level, upper secondary school became less differentiated as a result of the 1970 curriculum reform for upper secondary school. However, the differentiation was still noticeable within the system since different programs had different time allocated as well as different goals and contents.

With the curriculum reform of 1994, a further step was taken towards less differentiation. All programs, including vocational programs, were now three years long, and a set of subjects – including *Samhällskunskap* – formed a common core with identical syllabuses for all programs. With passing grades, students from all programs would be eligible for university. However, this trend of a unified model for upper secondary school was broken with the latest curriculum reform of 2011 following a period of conservative government. Some of the syllabus reforms (1988, 2000) were carried out between major curriculum reforms and seem to anticipate some of the prominent changes of the curriculum to come (1994 and 2011).

The level of differentiation between the educational programs in upper secondary school may be seen to represent an ideological and philosophical struggle for what education is for in a society, and for whom. Since the school subject of *Samhällskunskap* has a clear normative agenda, we claim it to be significant for and especially sensitive to ideological changes in society.

1.1 Disposition

In the following, we wish to present prior research that focuses on Social Studies in Swedish youth education and that has connections to international counterparts. The international references are further outlined in the following section about our theoretical framework.

The theoretical framework of the present study concerns both educational philosophy in relation to Social Studies and critical discourse theories on how educational concepts and philosophies may be regarded as the result of struggling discourses. The section Theoretical Framework is given a rather prominent position in the article since part of our research interest is to connect our analysis of concept to larger theoretical outlooks (see research question two). The section Theoretical Framework is therefore not only a presentation of relevant theories but also a contribution to the

field of Social Studies research since we connect it to educational philosophy and ideological standpoints concerning the role of education in society.

After presenting the theoretical frameworks, we will present our methods for data material selection and methods of analysis. Our analysis then follows in which we examine the concept of Social Studies in the chosen syllabuses (from 1965, 1970, 1988, 1994, 2000 and 2011) and analyze how it is used in relation to other concepts that appear in the texts. In the final discussion, we will suggest how various uses of the concept of *social issues* relates to larger educational philosophical discourses and how these discourses are further oriented towards notions of differentiated or unified school models and ideologies.

2. Prior research

2.1 *Samhällskunskap* in Swedish youth education

The aim, character and content of the Swedish school subject *Samhällskunskap* has been explored from a range of perspectives, although research focusing on how to teach *Samhällskunskap* has just recently become more prevalent. There is only one study (Bjessmo, 1992ⁱⁱ) that deals explicitly with the concept of *social issues* (*samhällsfrågor*) as a central concept for the teaching of *Samhällskunskap*. In the study involving teachers of *Samhällskunskap*, Bjessmo describes the idea of using social issues as a point of departure as fundamentally new in many regards. It carries implications both for the interpretation of the subject content as well as for teaching methods. The subject is no longer primarily defined by specific content but rather by the issues. The teaching method advocated is inquiry-oriented, based on progressive ideas where the students decide what social issues to study. The syllabus provides little instruction as to what should be defined as a *social issue* and consequently, the teachers in the study show difficulties in separating social issues from the former “main elements” in the syllabus (Bjessmo, 1992, p. 31). Other research has shown that “current social issues” are usually dealt with in terms of short news presentations and as a separate track in the course (e.g. Karlsson 2011).

Most Swedish research on *Samhällskunskap* draws to some extent upon the work of Tomas Englund (1986). Englund explored citizenship education of schools with special reference to history and *Samhällskunskap*. Within a tradition of curriculum theory, he carried out a discourse analysis of political documents for the governing of schools, including the syllabus of *Samhällskunskap*. His conclusion is that there are different, competing subject conceptions that relate to dominant discourses. Englund (1986, p. 305 ff) describes the subject as being interpreted differently depending on three educational conceptions: the patriarchal, the scientific rational and the democratic. The discourse analysis is based on the identification of certain *determinants* which are “the fundamental factors conditioning the image of reality which such education is to convey and the view of knowledge which it expresses” (Englund, 1986, p. 193). This concept resembles the



analytical point of departure in the present study, the central but shifting concept of *social issue*, in the way that the determinants have shifting meanings depending on the discourse.

The political tension, where left-wing forces that favor progressive interpretations and right-wing forces stand for more conservative interpretations of educational concepts and purposes, is the foundation of Englund's (1986) understanding of the determinants. The bottom-line is that a chronological development exists where the democratic conception dominates from the 1980s and onwards. These curriculum theory perspectives have also been applied to the development of school in recent decades, where an important point is that the democratic conception is being challenged by a market-oriented conception with schools being guided by the ideas of new public management (e.g. Biesta 2010). However, the line of thought sketched out in the introduction of this article, which claims that the subject of *Samhällskunskap* may serve as a crucial example of how forces of a differentiated or unified school system work, may be strengthened by the results presented in the studies of both Agneta Bronäs (2000) and Christina Odenstad (2010). Bronäs (2000) shows how the content and the abstraction level of subject textbooks differ depending on whether the textbook is intended for use in a vocational or a theoretical program. Bronäs asks how this can be interpreted and motivated from a democratic point of view. Odenstad (2010) analyzed tests used in the subject and shows how tests in theoretical programs are more advanced and aim for higher abstraction than tests in vocational programs.

Studies of teacher and student attitudes to and notions of *Samhällskunskap* show that the concept of social issues is seldom presented as the defining concept of the school subject, or, as Bjessmo puts it, "the organizing principle" of the subject. (See Vernersson, 1999; Karlsson 2011; Karlefjärd, 2011; Bernmark-Ottosson, 2009; Wikman, 2003; Sandahl, 2011.) However, *social issues* do appear in one way or another in some of these studies. Some of the teachers interviewed by Ann Bernmark-Ottosson claim they "take departure in a current social issue" (Bernmark-Ottosson 2009, p. 77) when teaching, but the consequences of such statements are not clear. Based on a questionnaire given to a large number of teachers, Torbjörn Lindmark (2013) categorizes four subject conceptions: fact-and-concept-focused, value-focused, analysis-focused and citizenship-focused. He found that these conceptions were related to personal characteristics such as gender and to what other school subject the teacher taught. Although not the primary focus in the study, Johan Sandahl's (2011) study shows that teachers of *Samhällskunskap* feel they are dealing with social issues in their subject. His analysis of the school subject is based on Peter Seixas's concept *first and second order concept*. Sandahl (2011) found that teachers generally had a didactical idea that knowledge at the level of first-order concepts, be they basic concepts such as "state", "multinational enterprises" or "the UN" or more complex concepts such as "neo-

liberalism", "climate adjustment" or "development theory", always related to second-order concepts. Examples of second-order concepts in the subject are as follows: social science perspectives, social science causality, social science inference, social science evidence and social science abstraction. These examples may in turn be understood as abilities that students should develop through studying the content of *Samhällskunskap*. Sandahl emphasizes the importance of these second-order concepts being specific for the subject yet above the content level.

2.2 Social studies - Beyond the Swedish context

The research presented above focuses on *Samhällskunskap* as taught in Sweden. Other studies beyond the Swedish context are, of course, also of great relevance to our study, since they take their point of departure in a similar field of interest: the school's objective to teach about society and foster citizenship by working with issues, inquiries or current societal questions. These types of studies often recognize a field of tension between a position that may be understood as issue-centered and another position that may be understood as content-centered (cf. Evans, 2004; Ochoa-Becker, 2007; Barton, 2012; Ikeno, 2012).

Anna Ochoa-Becker interprets an issue-centered teaching of Social Studies as directly focused on the goal of developing the pupil's ability to participate in democratic processes and dialogues. The educational theorist Keith C. Barton also represents a position that aims to develop such abilities. Barton has studied Social Studies in international contexts and highlights the importance of understanding the national contexts for what constitutes successful teaching in social sciences. Barton emphasizes the ability of teachers to interpret and pass on a sense of a core or purpose in every school subject that in turn will help students to create meaning, especially in relation to their democratic life (Barton, 2012). Norio Ikeno (2012) argues that Social Studies in a Japanese school context is experiencing discursive changes towards a regression to a "back-to-basics" discourse that challenges prior efforts to organize interdisciplinary teaching based on social problems.

These glimpses of Social Studies research beyond the Swedish context represent a rather large field of educational research concerning how young people may be educated to become good citizens through the study of the past and through the study of contemporary society. The question of what makes a good and educated citizen and what abilities s/he ought to have has varied over time and between different educational contexts (cf. Olson, 2012; Olson et al., 2014). We will return to discussing how these questions have been dealt with theoretically in prior Social Studies research when presenting our theoretical framework below. We wish to contribute to this discussion in a way that has not, to our knowledge, yet been done. In Social Studies research in Sweden, there has been no analysis of the use in syllabuses of the central term *social issue*: even less light has been shed on the way these various uses connect to

a discursive struggle between educational philosophies. This is, we argue, a gap in Swedish Social Studies research that needs to be considered so that more can be understood about the normative agendas of *Samhällskunskap*.

3 Purpose and questions

The purpose of the present study is to investigate how the concept of *social issues* is used in the contexts of syllabuses from 1965 to 2011 for the *Samhällskunskap* (Social Studies) in Swedish upper secondary school. Its overall aim is to shed light on how a certain educational concept, including notions about what types of teaching and learning it refers to, is given various and shifting meaning depending on the hegemonic educational discourse it is used within. The questions guiding our analysis are as follows:

- How is the concept of *social issues* used in syllabuses for *Samhällskunskap* in upper secondary school from 1965 to 2011 in terms of status and relation to other concepts and with reference to educational ideas and ideologies of teaching?
- What role does the concept of social issues play in a larger educational context and in connection to normative ideas of the role of education in general and the role of the subject *Samhällskunskap* specifically?

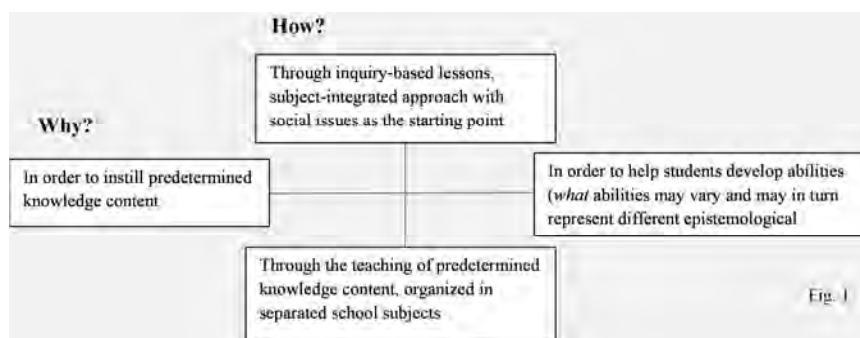
4 Theoretical frameworks

4.1 Social studies as an arena for discursive struggle

Theoretically, we wish to take our point of departure in an educational concept of meaning-making which claims that various ways of formulating goals and learning objectives correspond with various ideas of what type of meaning ought to be achieved within Social Studies (cf. Barton 2014, forthcoming). Within the field of Social Studies in general and the Swedish subject *Samhällskunskap* in particular, there are a few crucial syllabus-based indicators that are of certain interest regarding what type of meaning-making ought to be achieved in the classroom. The most prominent indicator in the present study is in what way, if at all, the concept of social issues is brought to the fore as a crucial point of departure in the organization of classroom activities in Social Studies. This indicator needs to be followed up by analyses of how the concept of social issues relates to formulations about students' activeness and initiative to a) raise issues in the classroom and to b) investigate them in inquiry-based classroom activities. Should the issues targeted in the Social Studies classroom spring from students' own interests and worldviews, or is it the teacher's responsibility to formulate questions with substance and relevance? Further, should these issues be tackled as phenomena open to student inquiry or as issues presented and explained by teachers?

However, teacher steered lessons on the one hand and inquiry-based working methods on the other are not the only parameters involved in the wordings around *Samhällskunskap* in the syllabuses of Swedish upper secondary school. While these analytical indicators touch upon working methods and didactical approaches (the question of *how*), there are other positions involved in the same field of tension that more so concern epistemology and the question of what teaching should lead to (the question of *why*). The American scholar Ronald Evans (1998; 2004; 2008; 2010) uses five categories to describe the "camps" that have been struggling to define Social Studies in terms of both objectives as well as content and teaching methods. The primary tension is that between an issues-centered approach and a content-centered approach. These camps are ever-present but weaker or stronger depending on other discursive elements at the time, such as political trends, wartime and the status of the economy (Evans, 2004). The camps favoring an issues-centered teaching model also represent an epistemological viewpoint that claims that the subject cannot be defined by predetermined content. The aim of these camps is based either on social meliorism or recon-structivism. The alternative camps are more based on ideas of the importance of predetermined content. The overall purpose of these ideas is either to reproduce the content of social sciences, to stress the scientific methods or to see Social Studies as a tool for social efficiency. Evans describes the struggle of dominance as a "turf war" where all progressive attempts to introduce more issues-centered approaches are met by resistance and where the reformers "underestimated the persistence of the grammar of schooling, basic aspects of schools, classrooms, and teaching that seem to defy change and to deflect attempts at reform" (Evans, 2004, p. 177).

Taking all this into account, there are two axes to be considered in the analysis. On one axis, the pendulum swings between *teaching or working approaches*, such as inquiry-based teaching with integrated subjects and social issues as the point of departure on the one hand, and teaching based on predetermined content in separate subjects on the other. On the other axis the pendulum swings more so between *different epistemological motives and purposes* with the purpose to instill predetermined knowledge content in students on the one hand, and the aim to help students develop a range of abilities on the other. The figure below suggests that one didactical approach may have shifting purposes



or motives (*Why* should we educate?), since the same purpose may be achieved through various approaches and working methods (*How* should we educate?). Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that there are certain patterns and combinations that are more dominant than others.

The educational theorist Tomas Englund presents four different educational traditions that include notions of what ought to be taught, how it should be taught and why. The traditions are called educational philosophies of essentialism, progressivism, perennialism and reconstructivism (Englund, 1997). An essentialistic approach states that school subjects consist of certain core contents, mainly based on academic disciplines, and that schools should instill this in students (Englund 1997, p.135). An opposite approach, named progressivism, brings to the fore students' own experiences, knowledge and questions as the point of departure in education. The two other traditions named by Englund are placed in opposite positions to each other but represent a perhaps somewhat more explicit idea of the purpose of education. Perennialism is a conservative position which guards classical, traditional values and cultivation sets of knowledge, while reconstructivism aims for critical fostering with a political ambition to constitute a better society through education (Kroksmark 1989, p.134).

We choose to understand the various purposes and methods of education as part of hegemonic macro-level discourses relevant for society in general and education in particular (cf. Fairclough, 1989). Following this line of thought, the educational philosophical traditions presented by Englund in the above may be interpreted as discourses, struggling for hegemony in educational contexts. They all, in various ways, make claims about what is important knowledge and may thereby be positioned in the figure presented in the above, mainly regarding the overall purpose with education and the question *why* we should educate.

Both essentialism and perennialism seem to be grounded in a notion of the importance of instilling certain predetermined knowledge in students. While the essentialistic discourse uses academic knowledge and science as authority, perennialism relies on tradition. As for the progressive and reconstructive discourses, they both seem to aim for the development of certain kinds of abilities amongst students. However, the progressive discourse relies in the good democratic potential of all human beings when given the opportunity to exercise it, while reconstructivism has a more radical political ambition to actively change of society and constantly improve upon it.

The relations between these various agendas of education and the question of a differentiated or unified school system are, according to our interpretation, in *some* aspects possible to point out, although there are

no theoretically self-given relations. An educational philosophy that relies on tradition, predetermined knowledge content and the self-given legitimacy of academic disciplines connects to a conservative idea of keeping academic knowledge exclusive in a more differentiated school system. An educational philosophy of developing abilities in order to change society on the other hand connects more so to liberal ideas of unifying education and making knowledge and abilities available to all as a tool for change (cf. Evans 2004, Lundgren 2012). The axis dealing with the question on why we should educate may be extended by adding the philosophical terms formulated by Englund (1986) and the ideological struggle between a differentiated and a unified school model.

In order to capture, identify and analyze the traveling concept of social issue in *Samhällskunskap* and the way it relates to and are used within the various educational traditions presented in the above, we turn to a theory and methodology of discourse analysis, presented in the following.

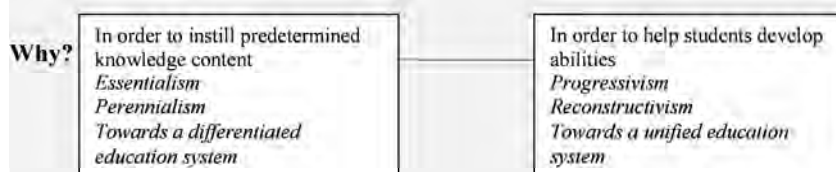


Fig. 2

4.2 Discourse analyzing narratives of meaning-making syllabuses

A central concept in this study is the concept of discourse. Discourse should be understood as "language as social practice determined by social structures" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17). According to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, ideology and established power relations are embedded in discourse. When we express something, we tend to reproduce hierarchical relations by repeating traditional knowledge and notions that serve the interest of the already dominant groups in society (Fairclough, 1995). These hegemonies are protected by what we call "common sense", that is, notions that are never or seldom questioned and challenged. However, there are always possibilities to challenge traditional discourses and replace them through processes of discursive struggle (Fairclough, 1989).

In this study, we see syllabuses as texts which show traces of struggle and fixate the discursive hegemony at the present time. The texts thereby hold the power relations and the dominating apprehensions of the time and context in which they were constructed. This is a critical perspective that suggests explanations as to how and why society has developed as it has, connecting texts and local discourses to macro-level discourses based on materialized social facts and in dialectic relation to other social elements that are not discursive (Jørgensen and

Phillips 2002). This approach to discourse analysis differs from other discourse analyses that claim the discourse to be disconnected from ideas of non-discursive social elements, that is, an “extra-discursive reality”.

The discourse theory of Laclau & Mouffe (2001) is an example of an approach that has been criticized for not recognizing any social existences beyond discourse (cf. Townshend, 2004, p. 273). These approaches do not offer the same type of explanation as to why a certain discourse attains hegemony over another since there are no driving forces, behaviour structures or human tendencies beyond the discourse that may serve as an explanation (cf. Townshend, 2004). Nevertheless, the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (2001) offers analytical concepts that help identify the processes of discursive struggle in ways that are fruitful for discourse analyses, although one may not want to adopt the ontological presumptions of Laclau and Mouffe. Those analytical possibilities encouraged the researchers David Rear and Alan Jones (2013) to combine the methodological strengths of discourse theory with Norman Fairclough’s power-oriented social theory and critical discourse analysis, which is a theoretical line of thought we wish to follow in the present study. Fairclough himself, together with Chourliaraki (1999, p. 124 ff), enhances the idea of the theoretical merging when recognizing discourse theory (DT) as valuable for analyzing complexities of change in late modern society. The valuable contributions of DT are due to its confidence in the flexibility and power of language.

In this present study, we wish to identify the discursive processes connected to the development of the *Samhällskunskap*. This analysis takes as its point of departure the concept of social issue, which entered the syllabus in 1965 and retained its position as a more or less prominent keyword in all syllabuses thereafter.

As outlined in the above, the concept of social issue may relate to a number of didactical, epistemological and educational ideologies. How these ideologies are played out and how they struggle for hegemony in the discursive practices of educational policy-making is a question suited to scrutiny from a critical discourse analytical point of view. The concept of “social issues” retains a position in syllabuses over time, be it with association and connection to various and changing concepts and framings. In that sense, it can be seen as a contested concept. Within discourse theory, these concepts may be understood as both “nodal points” and “floating signifiers”. When to use one or the other of these analytical labels depends on our understanding of the state of the discursive struggle process and the status of the concept studied. A floating signifier may be a concept used within several struggling discourses and may thereby be vague and point to various meanings, while a nodal point may be a concept that determines other signs within hegemonic discourse:

Floating signifiers are the signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way. Nodal points are floating signifiers, but

whereas the term ‘nodal point’ refers to a crucial and structuring master-signifier within a specific discourse, the term ‘floating signifier’ belongs to the ongoing struggle between different discourses to fix the meaning of important signs. (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. xi)

We choose to label the concept of *social issues* as a floating significant because it reoccurs in all syllabuses from 1965 and thereafter, although used in various ways. In addition to this, the sign may in some syllabus (con)texts be understood as a nodal point in itself, as it in *some* texts seems to define and point out the direction for other concepts within a dominating educational discourse.

5 Method and materials

We aim to conduct a discourse analysis that follows the concept of *social issues* as it occurs in the syllabuses for the *Samhällskunskap* in upper secondary school from 1965 to 2011. The syllabuses are to various degrees complemented by other interpretative text materials from the national authorities of education. Some of these texts have also been analyzed and the motives for looking into these types of materials will be given in the analysis. Another type of text referred to in our analysis is curriculum.

Curricula and syllabuses are national policy documents that steer schools at different levels. A curriculum in the Swedish school system is the major steering document for schools—it describes and lists the overall goals and guidelines, the fundamental values and tasks of the school, as well as the structure of the school system. Syllabuses cover the contents and goals of specific subjects and courses. The connection between these two types of policy documents has differed slightly over time. Generally they are closely connected though, and a syllabus reform comes with a curriculum reform. However, there are also examples of syllabus reforms within an existing curriculum. Focus will mostly be on the syllabuses, since they represent internal discourse of the subject in focus, although some references are made to the curricula which, although there are no self-given relation between the two types of policy documents, the syllabuses are expected to accord with.

These following syllabuses were analyzed. The right column shows which curriculum each syllabus relates to:

Syllabus	Curriculum
Syllabus of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> for 3-year programs at upper secondary school, 1965.	Curriculum for upper secondary school 1965 (Lgy 65).
Syllabuses of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> for 3-year programs at upper secondary school, 1970.	Curriculum for upper secondary school 1970 (Lgy 70).
Syllabus of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> (for all programs, academic and vocational) at upper secondary school, 1988.	
Syllabus of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> (for all programs) at upper secondary school, 1994.	Curriculum for upper secondary school 1994 (Lpf 94).
Syllabus of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> (for all programs) at upper secondary school, 2000.	
Subject syllabus of <i>Samhällskunskap</i> for upper secondary school 2011.	Curriculum for upper secondary school 2011 (Gy11).

The syllabuses were read through systematically with focus on the concept of *social issues*. An indicator of the status of the concept is the way it relates to other concepts in the text, that is its “internal relations” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 36). What other concepts and terms are mentioned in close connection to the concept of social issues? In what ways do they give meaning to each other? Is the concept of social issues clarified through the use of other terms, sentences, lines of thoughts – or vice versa?

Besides these internal relations, there are also reasons to look at intertextual relations, that is, how the texts that include the concept of social issues “draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). In this perspective, other texts should be understood not only as actual texts but also as ideas and traditions. In this step of the analysis, we will draw upon the philosophies of education outlined by Englund (1986) that may be seen as educational discourses struggling for hegemony. While the internal analyses will primarily be made in the analysis of section 6, the intertextual interpretations will be outlined in the final discussion of this article.

This discourse analytical reading of the syllabuses is theoretically anchored in critical discourse analysis, which is presented in the above. A critical discourse analysis allows us to explain certain uses of concepts in relation to societal struggle for power. Methodologically, we use concepts as *floating signifiers* and *nodal points*, borrowed from the discourse theory of Laclau & Mouffe (2001), since they allow us to grasp crucial elements in processes of rapidly changing discourses. Reading the term *social issue* as a floating signifier helps us analytically to see the shifting meanings of the term. In some syllabus texts, the term *social issue* may be interpreted as a nodal point, that is, a point of reference that other terms are oriented towards, and with the potential to function as an organizing principle for lesson activities. In other syllabus texts the term is not given that kind of function.

6 Analysis - Following the concept of *social issues*

This section is structured in a chronological order, analyzing the concept of *social issues* as it appears in the syllabuses from 1965 to the current date. Each headline shows a shift in how the floating signifier *social issues* is to be understood.

6.1 Social issues - One feature of the content

The first syllabus for *Samhällskunskap* for upper secondary school appeared in 1965 within the context of a very detailed content-based curriculum. The syllabus regulates *what* content should be studied as well as for *which school year* it applies. Seven main elements capture the content in very open terms. These are

- Population, settlements, industry and commerce in different natural circumstances and under different economic, political and social conditions.
 - Economics and political economy.
 - Community planning.
 - Government, political life, political views.
 - Forming of opinions.
 - International politics and economy.
 - Current social issues.
- (Lgy 65)

The concept of *social issues* is here presented along with the other “main elements” and is in this case fairly void of content. The established notion of teaching in general, well in line with the curriculum being set by its content rather than by its goals, is that of teaching a predetermined content. The hegemony of this discourse is not challenged to any greater extent yet. The concept of social issues is not given a special status in relation to other concepts in the syllabus. Yet, there are some indications that *social issues* have a different status or role compared with other content. Social issues reflect a kind of aggregate of the knowledge of other main elements, since the aim of this particular main element is that the students “on the grounds of acquired knowledge and skills seek to clarify some important social issues” (Lgy 65). This rather clear way of giving a fairly central concept meaning by relating it to other central concepts indicates that the concept may be analyzed in terms of a floating signifier (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 28). The choice of understanding the concept with this analytical term is further strengthened as the very same concept reoccurs in all the following syllabuses, be it with floating meanings as we exemplify below.

As early as 1970, along with a new curriculum, there was a small revision in the syllabus and the floating signifier *social issues* was given a slightly different meaning than it had in the prior syllabus. *Social issues* was still presented as content among the other “main elements”, but the aim now was “on the grounds of acquired knowledge and skills” to “analyze and discuss social issues” (Lgy 70, suppl. 11, p. 305). The idea that teaching *Samhällskunskap* also involves analyzing and discussing, especially when it comes to social issues, represents a shift regarding which surrounding concepts give meaning to the floating signifier *social issues*. These

new concepts involved in the meaning-making of *social issues* are verbs (analyze and discuss) dictating *how* to deal with social issues. The concept is thereby associated with a certain kind of action.

The National Board of Education has published recommendations as complements to the syllabus. Here we may read that there are several descriptions of the subject that lean towards a more progressive, problem-based view of it. Studying *Samhällskunskap* should be “a process where debating problems and analyzing contexts should be natural” (Lgy70, suppl. 38, p. 5). It is also clear that “current social issues” refers to more than just news coverage – the term “current” is not the central one in this concept; rather, it is to be understood as “areas of problems” (Lgy 70, suppl. 38, p. 5). The selection of “current social issues” is to be a process where students are involved (Lgy 70, suppl. 38, p. 16). There is a shift in the function of the floating signifier *social issues*, as this specific “main element” cannot be completely predetermined. These complementary recommendations also point out how the students are supposed to develop analytical skills which are supposedly honed through a problem-based approach (Lgy 70, suppl. 38, p. 5).

Along with this development, a first step was taken in Sweden in the early 1960s towards a less differentiated school system. Still the upper secondary school was divided into different fields of study, along a general division of academic and non-academic programs, with different syllabuses for *Samhällskunskap*. In some programs the subject was only offered as an elective course, but in general the view of *social issues* as a content along with other contents does not differ very much between the programs. However, for some of the non-academic programs, there is a sentence in the planning supplement of the syllabus that gives the concept of *social issues* a slightly different meaning: it says that “teaching generally takes a point of departure in social issues” (Lgy70, suppl. , p. 183). As we will see in the syllabus of 1988, this wording will serve to push the floating signifier *social issues* towards another discourse. However, in 1970, the term was still used within a discourse of teaching predetermined subject content. The section in the curriculum stating general aspects of instruction starts by claiming that “teaching is to be objective” (Lgy 70, p. 26). The floating signifier of *social issues* functions therefore as nothing more than a mild suggestion to steer the didactical plans of some teachers without affecting the predetermined content.

6.2 Social issues as a point of departure

A new syllabus for *Samhällskunskap* in upper secondary school was introduced in 1988 (Suppl. 1988:82) *without* a total reform including a new curriculum. In some aspects the new syllabus comprises a number of the fundamental ideas that later appeared in the curriculum of 1994. A non-differentiated school model had been realized for elementary and secondary school in the early 1960's. There were also plans to reform upper secondary school and to make it less differentiated. A step in that direction was taken with the new syllabus for *Samhällskunskap*.

The content of the syllabus needed to be formulated in such a way that made it possible to choose focus depending on the student group. The goals of the syllabus also needed to be formulated in such a way that they were attainable regardless of how much time the subject was allocated. The solution, according to Bjessmo (1992), was to give *social issues* a very central role in the syllabus. Instead of being a content among other contents, it was to become *the point of departure* for all studies on the subject, no matter the content. In that way, the concept of *social issues* may be understood as the organizing principle for teaching *Samhällskunskap*.

The students shall, from studying different social issues, that connect to their experiences, needs and interests, attain widened and deepened knowledge about ... (Suppl. 1988, p. 82).

The concept of *social issues* is clearly used to turn the notion of the subject and the teaching of it towards a more progressive discourse. As a floating signifier, *social issues* is here used to capture the essence of the subject within a discourse emphasizing the activity of the students and the integrated character of the subject. Using the analytical tool of Laclau & Mouffe, we argue that the concept is here turned into a nodal point. The main elements are fewer and the description of content more limited. It is also a matter of organization of the syllabus, where the concept of social issues is placed as an umbrella term, before the main elements are mentioned. It can be argued that this is not a sudden change. In commentary materials from the National Board of Education about the syllabus of 1970, this line of thought was already being presented in the late 1970's, and a reform of the curriculum for elementary and secondary school in 1980 had also taken a step in this direction. With the syllabus of 1988 and by the positioning of *social issues* as a key concept in the subject, *Samhällskunskap* is to be understood as a subject in opposition to predetermined content knowledge, both in relation to working methods and teaching approaches as well as in relation to the purpose of education (see figure 1). The how-question is dealt with through an inquiry-based, integrated approach and the why-question focuses more on the abilities and skills to be developed. The predetermined knowledge content is toned down in both these parameters. This prominent position of the concept makes it relevant to understand it as a nodal point in the educational discourse on *Samhällskunskap*.

6.3 A new curriculum in line with the progressive syllabus

With a national curriculum reform in 1994, the next step was taken towards a less differentiated school. All study programs in upper secondary school were to cover three years (previously the vocational programs were two years long) and a set of “core subjects” was supposed to be taught with the same syllabuses for all programs. *Samhällskunskap* was one of them – although history

was not – which marks the importance given to the subject. Another central aspect in the reform was that the school was to be steered by goals rather than by content. This did not mean that the content was made invisible in the curriculum, but from that point on it was formulated as subordinate to the goals.

These changes are also reflected in the assessment system. Students were to be assessed in relation to criteria instead of to each other. These criteria were seldom very specific regarding the content but were rather focused on skills. These changes are in line with a progressive discourse expressed in the syllabus of 1988 through the central concept of *social issues*. In the new syllabus following the curriculum from 1994, *social issues* may be seen as the nodal point, functioning as an organizing principle of the field of Social Studies and thereby giving meaning to other concepts within the discourse. The goal of the basic course of *Samhällskunskap* (which is the same in all study programs) is that

...students deepen and structure their knowledge about society, working life and economy by studying different social issues (KP 1994:66).

The concept of *social issues* then appears – instead of specific predetermined content – in the criteria for assessment:

Students participate in and take some responsibility in planning their study in *Samhällskunskap*. In the study of different social issues the student seeks, uses and presents relevant facts, domestic as well as international. The student views the issues from different perspective and values and states reasons and consequences of the chosen question (KP 1994:66).

Instead of pointing out the content in terms of “main element”, we can in the syllabus of 1994 see a general description of what the subject should cover through all its courses. There is a list of “areas of knowledge” which is followed by this statement: “[t]hese areas of knowledge contain many social issues which can form the point of departure for studies and analysis” (KP 1994:65). Thus, the function of social issues in the syllabus is radically different from 1970, being the nodal point of the subject.

6.4 A step towards more focus on content

In 2000, a reform of the syllabuses was once again carried out without a renewal of the whole curriculum. Just as the syllabus of 1988 showed aspects that came to be fundamental in the 1994 curriculum reform, the syllabus of 2000 showed signs of what later came to be central in the 2011 curriculum reform. In the syllabus of 2000, the overall goal of the subject *Samhällskunskap* was still “to deepen the students’ knowledge about current conditions in society and social issues” (Gy 2000). The term social issues is also present and central in the overall description of the subject. *Social issues* is meant

to be “a natural point of departure” when deciding *what* to study, and this should be a decision made by teachers and students together. Unlike in the syllabus of 1994, the texts state which academic disciplines the subjects comprise (from a core of political science and economics to the inclusion of sociology, cultural geography and law).

The design of the syllabus was also changed in 2000. In the syllabus from 1994, each course had an overall goal in which *social issues* was the point of departure. In 2000, these types of goals were moved to the general description of the subject. The concept is still there, but the change in position within the organization of the syllabus shows how the floating signifier now changes. In the overall objective of the subject, *social issues* is no longer pointed out as being the point of departure: what is pointed out is that the subject should *lead to* (our italics) “knowledge about [...] social issues” (Gy 2000). In the syllabus of the basic course in *Samhällskunskap*, *social issues* is still present as a central concept in the goal description, just as it is in the previous syllabus. The concept is still represented in the text, but has lost its ground as the organizing, nodal point of the subject.

The criteria for assessment in the syllabus of 2000 focus slightly more on the content knowledge than on the skills that students are expected to develop. The discourse has over time turned towards focusing on a predetermined content, and the inquiry-based model for the classroom activities is not as emphasized as it once was. The floating signifier *social issues* is still represented in the text, and there are sentences showing its central position. In a section about the character of the subject, the syllabus claims that “[t]hrough the selection of social issues the width and rapid change of the subject is made clear” (Gy 2000). Evidently *social issues* are still important, but the syllabus does not say if the students are expected to choose what issues they want to study. A slight shift of status of the term is a sign of a change in discourse. The concept of *social issues* is no longer the nodal point for the comprehension of the subject.

6.5 Social Issues in a syllabus focusing on content and abilities

During the first decade of the new millennium, a political discourse claimed that school was in need of more clarity and order. Students should not be in doubt about what they need to learn, and teachers should focus more on assessment. This discourse is captured by Biesta (2010), who describes it as an “age of measurement”. The discourse moves in two directions in the latest curriculum reform of 2011. On the one hand, the suggested need for clarity when it comes to content leads to a more predetermined content (in all subjects), a fact pointed out by the new term *core content*. On the other hand, emphasis is on assessment that should be based on abilities.

A new structure of the steering documents came with the curriculum of 2011, with the intention of being consistent through all its parts. The structure goes from

describing the aim of the subject to the core content in each course followed by the criteria used for assessment in relation to certain abilities. The term “subject plan” was used instead of “syllabus”. There was a combination of pointing out the content in more detail than previously, while assessment was still focused on abilities that students are supposed to develop *through* specific content knowledge.

The term *social issues* was still present in the description of the subject and in the criteria for assessment. Once again there was the idea that teaching ought to take “point of departure in different social issues” (Gy11, Subject plan, Samhällskunskap). In addition, a couple of criteria for assessment deal with *social issues*, like for example: “In the work with social issues the student shows ability to [...] seek, criticize and interpret information of different sources” (Gy11, Subject plan, Samhällskunskap). If the syllabus were read without the reader taking into account the discourse of the time, the impression may be that *social issues* were still crucial for the comprehension and character of the subject. However, set in relation to other signifiers, such as the strongly emphasized *core content* and the focus on assessment, *social issues* can no longer be viewed as being the nodal point of the subject. Also, commentary materials with more didactic argumentation state that the studies “could be organized around social issues” (Skolverket 2011, subject commentaries Social Studies).

7 Discussion

Initially in this article the development of the Swedish school system was outlined as being a struggle between proponents of a differentiated school model and a more unified one. These models follow two opposite logics which may be captured by different answers to the following historical question: *for whom is education and why?* The same question is also relevant for the philosophies, or educational discourses as we here wish to understand them, referred to in the above: essentialism, perennialism, progressivism and reconstructionism (cf. Englund 1997)ⁱⁱⁱ. While the first two (essentialism and perennialism) strengthen an idea of a differentiated school model in the stressing of the importance of academic disciplines and traditionally established sets of knowledge, the other two (progressivism and reconstructionism) challenge these ideas by wanting to use education as tools for societal change towards equal chances for all. The four philosophies of education can also be categorized into two entities, where essentialism and perennialism both embrace an idea of a predetermined subject content and the other two open up for something different. In that sense, they also— be it not as clearly — indicate certain positions in the didactical question of “how”: what methods should we use in studies of society when striving to educate students to become good

citizens?

In the present study on how the concept of *social issues* is used over time in syllabuses, we have identified crucial turning points which may be seen to be expressions of larger educational discourses of educational philosophies and ideologies of differentiated versus unified school models. The single most crucial turning point is to be found in the syllabus of 1988 where the term *social issues* emerges not only as a central term but also as an organizing principle that defines the way in which the possible contents of the subject ought to be framed and tackled. The concept of *social issues* is represented in all syllabuses in Social Studies (*Samhällskunskap*) in Swedish upper secondary school from 1965 to 2011, and was presented as a central didactic principle (a nodal point, speaking to Laclau & Mouffe 2001, p. xi) with a new and very specific meaning and function in the syllabus of 1988. The concept of social issues may here be said to strengthen a discourse of progressivism and educational change towards a unified school model. Focusing on the *social issues* rather than pointing out the content in detail opened up for progressive thoughts around content and the value of a stable core of knowledge. Further, this may be seen as a chance to take steps towards less differentiation as it made it possible to have the same syllabus for different programs in the upper secondary school although the subject was allocated a different number of hours per week depending on the program (vocational on the one hand and academic on the other). However, the findings of prior research (cf. Bronäs 2000, Odenstad 2010), show that this syllabus-logic that may open up for a unified subject of *Samhällskunskap* is not manifested in teaching practice. This strengthens an interpretation that the relation between the discursive level of steering documents and the teaching practices is complex and depends on various actors at various levels in the educational system and broader society.

The answer to the question of “for whom and why” is broadened in the syllabus from 1988 compared with what had existed prior. The school subject with its special task in laying the foundation for democracy is now more inclusive and the content is subordinate to the abilities students are supposed to develop. This new way of viewing the subject, with *social issues* as *the* central

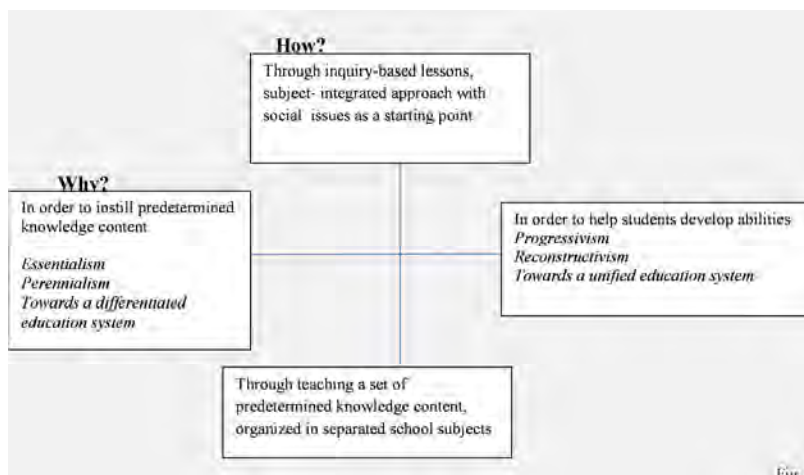


Fig. 3

concept, also indicates a position in the question of “how”. The syllabus from 1988 dictates a more problem- and issues-oriented teaching. In the model presented above (and shown here), there is a shift in 1988 from the bottom left corner to the upper right. *Samhällskunskap* used to be conceived as being a subject with predetermined content and the teaching was organized following this content, well-defined by its separate subjects. With the syllabus from 1988, the subject changes into an inquiry-based model with social issues as the point of departure. The overall aim reaches further than the reproduction of specific content.

The curriculum reform of 1994, including a new syllabus for *Samhällskunskap*, came as a logical continuation of the changes seen in the 1988 syllabus. With the 1994 reform, the Swedish school system made a fundamental shift to steering via learning outcomes rather than content. In that model, *social issues* is well suited as being the organizing principle of *Samhällskunskap*. The goals were formulated in terms of *abilities*. The content was described to a certain extent, but it was not specified in detail. The changing position of *social issues* in 1988, kept in the syllabus of 1994, also reflects a change of discourse towards a more progressive one. Along with that position also followed a fairly open definition of *social issues*. Neither the syllabus nor the commentary materials are clear on what can be defined as a *social issue*, and Bjessmo has shown that it was not clear to teachers how to separate social issues from “main elements” of the subject (Bjessmo, 1992).

The pendulum of educational philosophies swung back towards a more essentialistic position during the latter part of the century. A first sign is the revision of the syllabus in 2000 within the curriculum of 1994. A new discourse on education focusing on accountability and measurement (see Biesta, 2011) was on the rise and gave direction to the reform. The effect was that *social issues* did not disappear from the syllabus but no longer did it have the same prominent role as a nodal point. Yet another step in the direction towards more essentialism and less progressivism came with the latest reform of 2011 when there was a call for more “clarity” as to *what* students should learn. But although the syllabus is more detailed, the system, of assessment is still formed around the students’ abilities. One may say that the desired abilities are supposed to develop through knowledge about specific, predetermined content. It could be confusing when on the one hand the term *social issues* is still in the syllabus, be it not in an as prominent position, and on the other hand the content is pointed out in more detail.

In our analysis, we have outlined how the concept of *social issues* is used in syllabuses for *Samhällskunskap* in upper secondary school from 1965 to 2011. Our analysis has shown how the frequency, status and relation to other concepts varies over time, and that there has been a peak where the concept was very central and defined how the subject should be handled didactically, while it now rather appears in competition with other concepts. The declining status of the concept in itself points

towards other educational ideals that are not as progressive or student-centered.

Our second research question was about what role the concept plays in a larger educational context and in connection to normative ideas of the role of education in general and the role of the subject *Samhällskunskap* specifically. One aspect that is important to highlight in relation to this question is the discursive struggle that takes place not only on the syllabus-arena but also in the intertextual tension between policy documents and teaching practices. From a discourse analytical perspective, all these arenas and levels may be seen as partakers of dialectical interaction where, speaking to Fairclough (1995, 2003), ideologies and uses of language in various contexts connect to politics and societal circumstances at a macro level. Even though the relations between the different practices in an education system are not always obvious, there are reasons to believe that they affect each other as regards ways of speaking, thinking and acting. It should, however, be stressed that the signifiers identifiable in syllabus texts (such as *social issues*) are involved in a complex relationship with other signifiers in the educational world – signifiers that are to be found in teachers’ reflections and habits (cf. Sandahl, 2011; Bernmark-Ottosson, 2009; Lindmark, 2013), textbooks (Bronäs, 2000) and tests (Odenstad, 2010).

In our study, we have shown how the term *social issues* is brought to the fore as a signifier of unifying educational ideals at a syllabus-level. It seems as if the syllabus arena is open to these kinds of signifiers at certain times when ideas of a unified education system dominate, while they tend to be downplayed at times when unifying forces are not as strong. In that sense, we claim to have identified an important discursive landmark in the syllabuses analyzed. Our study indicates that the syllabus arena rather rapidly incorporates ideological change, while the arenas mentioned above are more tenacious. It could of course be argued that the activities in school are what matter and should thereby be the main object for research. On the other hand there is – we claim – a certain value in looking into these more changeable text arenas since they much more rapidly show political tendencies and educational trends, which thereby makes them possible to identify and discuss.

When it comes to how the educational discourses of *Samhällskunskap* contribute to differentiation or unification of the school system, the different arenas in the school system and their connections to each other need further investigation. To what extent the organizing and didactical implications are noticeable when the concept of *social issues* emerges as a nodal point in syllabus discourses is a question for further research. This study contributes, from our point of view, to the discussion in terms of how the level of syllabus-texts deals with the struggle between conflicting ideological and political interests and the way in which the didactical principle of *social issues* is used as a tool in this struggle. What remains a crucial question is how teachers take part in discursive struggles that may be described as a

struggle between philosophies of what knowledge is and ideologies of how education in Social Studies may contribute to a just society.

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Endnotes

ⁱ *Samhällskunskap* is translated into the term Social Studies in the present study, since it is an internationally well-known term often used as an umbrella term for school subjects dealing with social science. A more direct translation of the word Samhälls (society-) kunskap (knowledge) is "knowledge about society".

ⁱⁱ The title was *Samhällsfrågan är fri [The Social Issue is free]* The Swedish use of the term "free" should be understood in terms of "free to choose".

ⁱⁱⁱ In this analysis, we use the educational philosophies of essentialism and progressivism as opposite analytical positions. This is due to the fact that essentialism is connected to academic knowledge rather than the perennialistic emphasis on tradition and thereby seem to be more relevant for argumentation in upper secondary school. Likewise, the progressive stressing on student activity and the developing of abilities is more relevant in this context than the more politically explicit reconstructivistic philosophy of societal change. The two positions of perennialism and reconstructivism are relevant to our understanding of the field although not analytically used in this analysis of syllabus texts

Johan Sandahl

Preparing for Citizenship: The Value of Second Order Thinking Concepts in Social Science Education

Social Science as a school subject aims at making students knowledgeable in societal issues as well as preparing them for citizenship. Despite the strong position of Social Science in the Swedish school curricula, little research has been done in the field. Previous research has mainly concentrated on factual knowledge and conceptual learning, or the role of deliberation in class activities. Less research has focused on the role of disciplinary thinking and how that might promote learning to think like a social scientist while at the same time preparing students for citizenship. By using a conceptual framework from history didactics, Social Science education is in the following text explored in search of second order thinking concepts. Also, the relationship between these concepts and democratic socialisation is discussed. By focusing on one substantial case, this study tries to reach beyond the various topics commonly covered in Social Science education. The research was conducted by observing teaching in Social Science and interviewing six experienced teachers. Using this conceptual framework, ideas on how to organise, analyse, interpret and critically review discourses in society were constructed as six proposed second order thinking concepts of Social Science: social science causality, social science evidence and inference, social science abstraction, social science comparison and contrast, social science perspective taking and the evaluative dimension. The argument is that when students work scientifically they develop a way of thinking about society and they challenge their set opinions about different topics. Therefore, second order thinking concepts are important for learning Social Science and at the same time preparing students for a life as citizens.

Keywords:

social science, social studies, civics, didactics, second order concepts, second order thinking concepts, citizenship education, civic literacy

1 Introduction

Two truths approach each other. One comes from inside, the other from outside, and where they meet we have a chance to catch sight of ourselves.

(‘Preludes’ by Tomas Tranströmer, 2001:38)

All education aims at making students knowledgeable in subject matter while at the same time preparing them for life outside school. One of the most emphasised preparations is that of citizenship. This is often referred to as citizenship education where students are informed about, prepared for and gain knowledge through citizenship (Olson, 2008). Citizenship education, in this definition, includes knowledge, abilities, attitudes and experiences that students need in order to be informed and active citizens (Campbell, 2012). Citizenship education raises questions concerning what kind of knowledge and abilities teaching should focus on in order to advance students’ possibilities to become informed

and active citizens. One way to explore a possible answer to this question is to study the subject assigned for political socialisation. In a Nordic context, the main subject designated for addressing political education and contemporary issues is Social Science education (“Samhällskunskap” in Swedish, cf. Børhaug 2011, p. 25, Christensen, 2011 & 2013). Social Science is an interdisciplinary subject consisting of several academic disciplines such as political science, sociology and economics. The dual role of Social Science as both a subject to be *learned* and a subject to be *used* raises questions on what kind of disciplinary knowledge and abilities Social Science education contributes within the process of students’ citizenship education.

Since the 1960s Social Science has had a strong position in the Swedish curricula; it is a compulsory subject throughout the school system (ages 7-19), and becomes a separately taught subject in upper secondary school (it is often taught within “social studies” at the lower stages). It is, however, poorly explored in research. Among Social Science didacticians much attention has been on factual knowledge and conceptual learning, specifically focusing on concepts within the political and economical domains (such as “democracy” and “price”, respectively, see Bronäs, 2000 and Lundholm & Davies, 2013). Pedagogical researchers have criticised this focus concerning the transformation of the academic content in school subjects and argued for the values of discussion and debate where the students’ own ideas on societal issues can be discussed. In this tradition, citizenship education has been promoted as a cross-curricular phenomenon best realised through deliberative teaching (Englund, 2006).

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In Sweden, Social Science is the primary school subject where the students' own ideas on societal matters engage the perspectives they encounter in the social sciences. By analysing data collected from interviews with six upper secondary Social Science teachers, and observations of their classes, this article will examine to what extent teachers work with scientific disciplinary knowledge in class and under what conditions such knowledge is being taught. Also, the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and citizenship education is discussed. By using a conceptual framework from history didactics, referred to as first and second order concepts, the question of disciplinary knowledge and citizenship education is examined; first order concepts are the terms and concepts that constitute the substantial knowledge of the discipline and second order thinking concepts are the procedural ways that social scientist "think" when they organise, analyse and critically review societal issues. In this framework, knowledge and abilities are considered as intertwined: no analysis or critical thinking can be accomplished without deep factual knowledge (Lee, 2005).

The aim of this article is to explore and describe possible second order thinking concepts in Social Science education by studying upper secondary teachers' intentions and actual teaching in Social Science classrooms. The suggested concepts can be seen as a consistent tool kit that can be used to help students advance their ability to analyse and critically review societal issues. Furthermore, the aim is to discuss how these concepts can play a part in citizenship education. The following research questions are addressed: What second order thinking concepts can be identified in the teachers' reflections upon their teaching, and how might these concepts be used in students' democratic life during and after their formal schooling? This article is a further development of a licentiate thesis published in 2011 (Sandahl, 2011).

2 Social science education

In order to understand the subject of the study, Social Science, it is necessary to know its background and what aims are concentrated on in school. Social Science (referred to in Swedish as 'Samhällskunskap') was introduced in Sweden after the Second World War in an effort to educate students on societal issues and to foster them into good democratic citizens. Before 1945, history was the main subject for socialization into society, but the nationalistic tendencies in history education came under scrutiny. Social Science became a new and politically formulated subject that was meant to vaccinate young people against totalitarian ideologies by focusing on civic literacy and democratic ideals. However, just as in the case of the general school curriculum, there has been a shift in emphasis on knowledge and fostering (Englund, 1986; Olson, 2008; Bronäs 2003). Since the 1960s, Social Science has been the assigned subject with responsibility for political education in Sweden (Ekman & Pilo, 2012, p. 58).

Social Science has been described as a "kaleidoscope of loosely connected parts" (Bronäs & Selander, 2002, p. 75) with a strong emphasis on conveying facts, especially within politics and economics (Bernmark-Ottosson, 2009; Lindmark, 2013). The "kaleidoscope" is also visible in the current curricula for upper secondary school. The content matter is a mix of different subfields mainly within political science, economics and sociology. Also emphasised in the curricula are the abilities to gather and critically review information and analyse societal issues. The aim is for students to "develop a scientific approach to social issues and an understanding of scientific work on social issues" (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012, p. 2). The curricula does not systematically explain what a scientific approach in Social Science might consist of other than that it should involve "concepts, theories, models and methods from the social sciences" (The Swedish National Agency for Education 2012:2) and clues are scattered under different headlines such as "Aim of the Subject", "Core Content" and "Knowledge Requirements" (The Swedish National Agency for Education 2012, cf. Sandahl, 2014). Still, advancing students' knowledge and abilities through a scientific approach "should contribute to creating conditions for active participation in the life of society" (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012, p. 2).

Even though Social Science is a mandatory subject throughout the entire Swedish school system, there has been little didactic research. One important factor related to this is that there is no equivalent discipline at the university level. In fact, social science is composed of four university disciplines: political science, sociology, economics and human geography (Bernmark-Ottosson 2009). Among these, political scientists have shown some interest in didactic research, but mainly in studying political socialisation among the youth or young people's attitudes towards democracy. In these studies, Social Science education is used as an object of study (e.g. Broman, 2009; Ekman, 2007). Pedagogical researchers have mainly concentrated their attention on deliberation in Social Science education, focusing on discussion and debate as a way to allow students to learn factual knowledge as well as develop democratic skills. In other words, the focus has been aimed at discourse climate and learning to understand how other people think about societal issues, thus enhancing students' knowledge and skills as citizens. Furthermore, deliberation refers to a generic skill, which means that it might be equally important in other school subjects such as history or religious education (Englund, 2006). Within this tradition there has been strong scepticism towards teaching disciplinary knowledge in school (Englund, 1994).

Within Social Science didactics there has been a discussion on core content and abilities (often referred to as "skills") within the subject. However, most attention has been focused on important concepts from various social sciences (Vernersson, 1999; Severin, 2002; cf. Lundholm & Davies 2013). Several researchers have



pointed out that conceptual learning is an important part of Social Science education, but also that it is just one part of teaching (Severin 2002, Odenstad 2010). Others discuss abilities in general terms such as “critical thinking” or “analyse”, but rarely consider the meaning of such concepts within the specific domain of Social Science Education (Kinchloe, 2001; Newmann 1987 & 1990; Case, 2005; cf. Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Torben Spanget Christensen (2011 & 2013) has highlighted the importance of disciplinary knowledge where knowledge, methods and theories from the social science disciplines can be used for advancing students’ ability to analyse and critically review societal issues. Furthermore, Spanget Christensen argues for the use of disciplinary knowledge to advance students’ political self-reflection.

In conclusion, neither research tradition has offered a systematic way of describing what scientific disciplinary knowledge might be in a school context besides “the facts”. Consequently, considerable energy has been invested in arguing for or against learning the facts of the subject. Furthermore, very little has been done to examine how disciplinary knowledge can contribute to citizenship education. In the following section, attention will be focused on another field closely linked with Social Science education: history education. In history education there has been a long tradition of trying to define what a disciplinary approach might be in a school context and how it can contribute to citizenship education.

3 Defining the disciplinary approach: applying a theoretical framework from history education

In subject matter didactics and pedagogy much theoretical work has been aimed at distinguishing different kinds of knowledge from each other. Benjamin Bloom and his followers attempted to characterise six levels of cognition, from basic information and memorising to judging the value of information (Anderson 1994). These six typologies are sometimes divided into two different categories: factual knowledge and procedural knowledge, or low order thinking and high order thinking (Anderson, Krathwohl, Airasan & Bloom, 2000; Näsström, 2008). Factual knowledge/low order thinking is the understanding of concepts and knowing the facts; procedural knowledge/high order thinking is using metacognitive knowledge to process and analyse problems (cf. Donovan & Bransford, 2005, p. 1-2).

This cognitive approach to knowledge had a huge impact on history didactics in England in the 1970s. Pioneers like Denis Shemilt and Peter Lee started researching what constituted high order thinking in school history. Mainly based on an academic understanding of history, they set out to change history teaching and its focus on the “memorisation of facts” (Schools History 13-16 Project 1976, p. 50; Shemilt, 1980). From the 1990s onward several researchers in the United States and Canada joined the discussion (e.g. Wineburg, 1991; Seixas & Peck, 2004) and a theoretical

framework began to develop. This framework made a distinction between first- and second-order concepts. First-order concepts are all the facts, terms and concepts found in history as an academic discipline. These factual, or substantial, concepts could be divided into two subgroups, where the first group consists of terms that are propositional, for example “king”, and the other group consists of compound concepts such as “the enlightenment”. Compound concepts are not isolated, but are part of a wider context that includes a bundle of events, actions and ideas (Lee, 2005 & 2006). However, first order concepts are not sufficient to capture what history is about and what is to be learnt. In addition to facts and content matter, there are second order concepts: disciplinary and procedural tools that help historians organise, analyse, interpret and critically review history. These concepts are not bound to specific historical topics or epochs (cf. “the enlightenment” above) but are used in all issues relating to historical inquiry. Also, these concepts are intertwined with factual knowledge – you cannot analyse without a deep foundation of factual knowledge. Furthermore, this “historical thinking” is not natural; it needs to be taught (Wineburg, 2001). For researchers in history education, the task has been to conceptualise these tacit procedural concepts that historians produce but often do not reflect upon (cf. Wineburg 1991).

In history education, six second order concepts or “thinking concepts” have been highlighted to frame what kind of knowledge students need in order to advance their historical thinking. These include the ability to establish historical significance, use primary source evidence, analyse cause and consequence, identify continuity and change, take historical perspectives and understand the ethical dimensions of history (Seixas & Morton, 2012). Through these tools, students can advance their thinking and make high-level analysis of historical content and learn to be critical thinkers. This framing of the subject offers a different view on what history is: something beyond content. Furthermore, it allows educators to emphasise on the activity in class and help students advance in interpretation and critical thinking.

Within history didactics there has been a heated discussion about the disciplinary approach and its focus on “thinking like an (academic) historian”. The critique has mainly emphasised that school history is not just about learning to master the discipline as a historian, but to engage in meaning making aspects of history (Barton, 2009; Ahonen, 2005) and using it for orientation, moral judgement and political action, thus connecting it to citizenship education (Rüsen, 2005; Barton & Levstik 2004; Barton 2012). However, some work has been made to explore how historical knowledge can help students to use history in their own meaning making and at the same time root their inference in empirical evidence (Johansson, 2012; cf. Rüsen 2005). One such important example is deconstructing historical narratives and their meaning for different individuals, groups and societies



(Karlsson, 2011). By doing this, historical use in media, politics and everyday life becomes an important part that history education can contribute in terms of citizenship education. In conclusion, second-order thinking concepts are acknowledged as important, and they have contributed to the discussion within history didactics and also led to new trenches. One side argues for an academic understanding of the subject while the other side argues for more meaning making aspects where the students' own experiences are included.

4 Aim of research: are there social science thinking concepts?

In this section I will argue that the theoretical framework presented above has merit for Social Science Education as well. Approaching social science knowledge in terms of abilities, something beyond "the facts", has been done before by several researchers (Kinchloe, 2001; Newmann 1987 & 1990; Case, 2005). However, most of these researchers do their studies in settings that do not have a Social Science subject in school, but a mix of history and various social sciences (e.g. Social Studies). Furthermore, few attempts have been made to deconstruct the meaning of "social science analysis" or "social science critical thinking" and what it might consist of in a school context (Cf Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). The theoretical framework, that is defining disciplinary knowledge through first and second order concepts, could potentially be very potent in framing what it means to "think like a social scientist" and give teachers the conceptual language to use in their teaching.

This aim of this article is to examine to what extent teachers work with scientific disciplinary knowledge in class and under what conditions such knowledge is being taught. More specifically, the purpose is to explore and describe possible second order concepts, or "thinking concepts", in Social Science education by studying teachers' intentions and actual teaching in Social Science classrooms. By doing this, a tool kit more consistent than the one offered in curricula and textbooks could be suggested to teachers; a tool kit to help teachers in their planning, in their feedback to students and their assessment of students' abilities to analyse and critically review societal issues. The choice to study teachers and teaching is important. To a great extent it is within schools that the subject of Social Science is being constructed. Teachers interpret the curricula and transform the subject into something other than a mere mini version of political science or sociology. Social Science involves the processes of students' own conceptions on what society should be like, that is to say it includes meaning making aspects (Lindmark, 2013; cf. Lundholm & Davies, 2012). However, even though the subject is not just a trickle down version of the academic disciplines, it evolves around scientific approaches. A further aim of this article is to discuss how second order thinking concepts can play a part in citizenship education. Two research questions are addressed: What second order

thinking concepts can be identified in the teachers' reflections upon their teaching, and how might these concepts be used in students' democratic life during and after their formal schooling?

5 Materials and methods

To achieve the aim of the study, interviews were conducted with six experienced teachers about their teaching. The teachers worked at six different upper secondary schools in a major city in Sweden. However, teachers worked in very different contexts ranging from suburban heterogeneous schools to homogenous inner city schools and from publicly run to privately run schools. By contacting headmasters in the county-surroundings, a number of teachers were recommended in various schools and out of these six teachers were selected to take part in the study. One important selection criteria was that it should be possible to follow a number of lessons teaching the same topic. The topic that suited both the researcher's and the teachers' schedules was globalisation. Nevertheless, there was also another benefit. By focusing on globalisation as a substantial case, it was possible to reach beyond the various topics covered in Social Science education; globalisation is an interdisciplinary theme covering all of the subjects in the social sciences. The study was inspired by case study methodology where I used globalisation as a case of Social Science teaching in order to develop concepts and a theoretical framework (Yin, 1994, Grønmo, 2006, p. 96). Teachers and teaching were chosen in order to get close to the reflective practitioner (cf. Shulman, 2004), rather than studying textbooks and curricula.

The particular teachers' teaching on globalisation was used to generate themes in their reflections to create an understanding of how they described knowledge and abilities in Social Science teaching (Hays, 2004, p. 218; Yin, 1994). As in most case studies, I focused on interviews (Hays, 2004, p. 229). The interviews were conducted during a span of two months with experienced teachers in upper secondary schools. The interviews revolved around the educational material that the teacher was asked to bring to each interview (about the use of this method, see Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007, p. 356-361). In addition, talked about the classroom situations were discussed, mainly in terms of students' discussions and subject matter in the teacher's teaching on globalisation. I had observed the teacher's classes prior to the interview. This method of stimulated recall made it easier to talk about real teaching and not only about the ideas of teaching Social Science (Stough, 2001).

Using the conceptual framework from history didactics, presented above and below, themes were generated in an attempt to describe the thinking concepts that teachers used and reflected upon in their teaching. However, most attention was given to generate possible second order thinking concepts rather than to focus on the use of first order concepts. The second order thinking



concepts were defined as disciplinary and procedural ways of generating knowledge, organising knowledge, analysing and critically reviewing societal issues. Furthermore, they were conceptualised by their use in various topics, not just in specific subject matter such as economics or government (cf. Lee, 2006). The teachers' accounts and their reflections about their teaching was organised into typologies that were framed by the conceptual framework, and then tested again on the empirical material, in what can be described as an abductive approach (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). This work was done in order to define what social science second order thinking might consist of.

Table 1: Conceptual framework for first- and second-order concepts

First Order Concepts	Second Order Thinking Concepts
<p>Substantial knowledge such as facts, terms and concepts found in social science as academic disciplines. Often connected to certain topics or themes. These can be:</p> <p>a. Propositional Concepts <i>Propositional facts and terms</i></p> <p>b. Compound Concepts <i>Complex concepts that are part of a wider context</i></p>	<p>Disciplinary and procedural knowledge on how social scientists generate knowledge and how they organise, analyse and critically review societal issues. Conceptualised by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Not being exclusive to one specific topic</i> • <i>Being specifically relevant for the social science disciplines</i>

The aim was not to create a definitive list of thinking concepts that capture what it means to possess the ability to "think like a social scientist", but to explore possible meanings of the concepts (cf. Seixas & Peck, 2008; Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 119-120).

A substantial part of the interviews revolved around the teachers' aims with their teaching and why they found Social Science education specifically important for students. Returning to Campbell's (2012, p. 1) definition of citizenship education, focus was on exploring the contribution of knowledge and abilities for students' life outside school, particularly as democratic citizens.

6 Results

The observed teaching on globalisation was mainly concerned with international relations and development studies. The substantial first order concepts were connected to these specific topics and they all originate from the field or subfields within political science, economics and geography. Propositional concepts were, for instance, the plenitude of organisations within the international community, such as the UN and WTO, but also terms such as exports and imports. Compound concepts were represented by concepts like neo-liberalism, globalisation and justice. The teachers worked with these concepts in class so that students could use

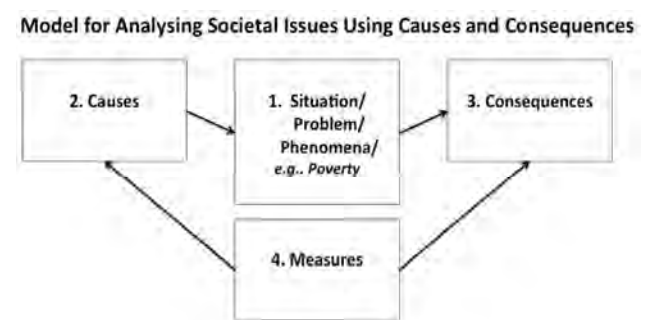
them when describing and analysing global issues such as free trade, poverty and international conflicts. However, these concepts were not the centre of what students were doing in class.

Instead, the activities in class and the teachers' reflections afterwards, revolved around students' abilities to "analyse", "critically review" and "contextualise". It was these abilities that the teachers were asked to conceptualise with concrete examples from their own teaching. In doing this, the teachers described several different components concerning what it means to be able to organise, analyse and critically review societal issues. These components were connected to the specific subject of Social Science and used in all issues and topics during activities in class and when they attempted to describe what they did: when explaining, the teachers gave examples from content matter than other than that of globalisation. Thus, it was possible to construct the components according to the conceptual framework. Derived from teachers' reflections, six distinctive second order concepts were defined, and all were intertwined with "knowing the facts". The concepts defined were social science causality, social science evidence and inference, social science abstraction, social science comparison and contrast, social science perspective taking and the evaluative dimension.

6.1 Analysing cause and consequence

A very common activity in class was to use a model in order to analyse the causes and consequences of a societal issue, such as poverty, as well as discussing possible measures to tackle the situation. The model is presented below:

Figure 1: The model for analysing societal issues



When discussing the use of the model, the teachers explained how they in almost all topics worked with this model of analysis based on causes and consequences, thus emphasising its importance in order to organise and explore contemporary issues in class. One teacher explains why it is so important in social science education:

I mean, that's always the starting point: a problem. There is something that always is wrong; an anomaly or some kind of discrepancy; something that isn't good. That's social sciences for you. Nothing is ever purely

happy, there's always something unhappy about society. You start with a problem.

The teacher moves on, talking about how concepts like cause and consequence can help students to organise and find valid causes behind societal problems. He explains how he wants students to reason (brackets indicates "speaking as a student"):

"In the short run there's a lot of problems, but in the long run I think the current economic globalisation will lead to an increase in economic welfare. Especially for people living in the developing countries. It doesn't mean that we in our country will be poorer etcetera."

For him and the other teachers, this analysis needed to be based in evidence. By using simple templates, they tried to advance students' abilities to investigate different topics and sort causes and consequences in political, economic and social terms as well as consequences for individuals, groups and societies. Also, they worked with important concepts such as agency and structure. Since many of the issues in Social Science are contemporary and includes different political solutions, they also included what could be done, in terms of measures. Seeing that measures could aim at either consequences or causes was also emphasised as an important part of analysing issues.

6.2 Using evidence and making inference

In the activities in class the teachers often asked students to back up their arguments with facts: "how do you know this?" In the interviews after the lesson, where this question was asked during an argument on the benefits of free trade, this teacher emphasised that students need to separate what they know from what they think and believe. The argument was that an important part of having the ability to analyse and critically review concerns students relating their inferences to some kind of evidence. In this sense, evidence and inference are closely linked. Thus, when students work with analysis students should practise making inferences that are based on facts and not beliefs. The teachers explain:

They (the students) need to practise to use examples to verify or falsify the problem they're studying. Am I describing a real problem in the real world? It might be information that comes from researchers or fact-books or newspapers. But also finding the counter-arguments that falsifies your claims: "that there's a lot indicating that globalisation mostly profits the west, but examples like China, Taiwan are indicating... etcetera. One thing is "twisting and turning" different perspectives, but there needs to some claims to what I'm saying.

In short, the students need to present evidence and practise working with different sources. A reoccurring example was the importance of critical thinking and working with bias through source criticism where

political tendencies can be revealed. Together with the ability to take different perspectives, this could be a powerful way of scrutinising political and economic issues. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that working with evidence and inference gives important clues on how social scientists construct knowledge. By working with empirical data and theories, students can advance their way of understanding what social sciences can say about societies and what the limitations are regarding social scientific claims.

6.3 Using abstractions to understand

The teachers highlighted the importance of using abstractions in order to simplify complex structures and phenomena. This involves working with theoretical models that social scientists use to simplify complexity and create an understanding of societies. In the activities in class, such models were used in different forms. When international relations were in focus, models like Wallerstein's world system theory were used in class, and when students worked with development issues they used different development theories such as dependency theory. One of the teachers explains why it is important to use theory and models:

I want to give them tools so they can use models and theories to explain reality. [...] Like in international relations where the world system theory and the anarchy theory can be used to make sense of what's going on. But also, that it's a simplified reality. To help them understand the world using models and theories and also question them. My task is to advance their skills in using these tools to unfold the world.

When discussing the use of models and theories, the teachers gave examples from other content areas in Social Science, such as models used frequently in economics, but also theories that can help explain class-related issues or variances in the social order of different countries. Putnam's and Bourdieu's theories were mentioned. Another important aspect of Social Science that the teachers discussed was for students to learn how to understand an issue by moving back and forth between the abstract and the concrete, thus trying to understand the limitations of theories and models.

6.4 Comparing and contrasting

In the activities in class the teachers worked with examples, and in the interviews they often emphasised the power that a good example brings to a discussion. They also regularly asked students to compare and contrast their examples; for example, asking them to compare what poverty might mean in a Swedish context compared to a Kenyan setting. In this sense, comparing and contrasting might help students to understand phenomena better. One example is given below when one of the teachers talk about the importance of comparative examples in analysis:



A first step in an analysis is to compare. I used that when they compared the political parties last autumn (election year). They (the students) compared and contrasted the political parties different approaches to various problems that the students could choose themselves. It's always good to compare and contrast – that's when you can see the differences.

Thus, in comparing phenomena like political parties, forms of government or family formations, students can clarify differences. In class, the teachers and students also investigated why there are differences and what consequences there are for individuals, groups and societies. By using comparison the teachers wanted students to be able to generalise and see bigger pictures.

6.5 Taking perspectives

Taking perspectives refers to the ability to take different points of views on contemporary issues, and that there are, in fact, few questions that contain “truths”. The teachers in the study all emphasised that perspective taking is crucial in order to understand how societal issues are interpreted differently. In class, a recurring question from the teachers was for students to consider other perspectives, for example “are there other ways of understanding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict besides the one that solely blames Israel?” One part of perspective taking is to see ideological perspectives in issues: both the perspectives students themselves bring to school and perspectives they encounter in textbooks, articles and in media. One of the teachers explains how he tries to balance societal issues in class when students bring their own ideological preferences to class:

This might sound strange, but the more left or right winged the students are the more I take the opposite stand. I guess it's because I want to balance it. Most students on this school have a very positive attitude towards globalisation [...] so I chose literature that gives perspectives other than for instance right winged think tanks. They (the students) need to see nuances.

Being able to see things from different ideological perspectives is an important tool in scrutinising one's own ideological thinking and revealing ideology in other people's statements. The teachers described this as using different kinds of “glasses” when students studied societal issues. It was also underlined that it is not about accepting other people's worldview, but learning to understand how others might think and how important ideology can be in determining our way of understanding what is going on in society.

The other part of perspective-taking is trying to interpret and understand that people in different parts of the world might see social issues from different perspectives. The teachers talked about their experiences regarding students' worldview and their lack of understanding for other people. One of the teachers used a series of documentaries about asylum seekers

from all over the world and their personal story on how they arrived to Sweden. In the first quote, teacher one explains what she wants, followed by teacher two's example on globalisation:

T1: In doing this (watching the documentary) I hope that students can see how an immigrant in Sweden might think. You get that person's story. [...] I think this gives that human dimension on issues and it opens up for emphatic understanding on why people seek asylum in our country.

T2: I think it's a part of critical thinking. To be able to understand issues from the perspective of the other. It might be what it (globalisation) means for me in Sweden but also understand that it means something different for someone in Mozambique.

Thus, by using these cultural perspectives, students can learn to see and interpret issues beyond their own narrow context; values and attitudes might be different in various settings. If issues are not contextualised it will make it difficult for students to understand how other people think and feel. Otherwise, the others might appear “stupid” or “strange” and all analysis then emanates from a nation-based perspective.

6.6 The Evaluating Dimension

The teachers also talked about a part of teaching that was not directly included in “understanding social science”. One of the teachers describes how he and his students struggle with causal analysis, perspective taking and abstractions all through the school year, but at the end it boils down to politics and taking a stand:

I mean... There's no scientific truth in these questions. There are economic theories that say this and there are economic theories that say that. There isn't just one truth... [...] I want them (the students) to see that it's also about politics and your own way of making a stand. What is the political view you yourself have? I guess this's where students' own opinions come in. Also, that's what's fun about it and makes it interesting for them.

All societal issues that are analysed and critically reviewed invite ideological standpoints, especially when students work with different kinds of solutions to societal challenges. This evaluating dimension is always present. The teachers interviewed did not think it was their job to help students take a stand, but illuminate what kind of values were at stake in different societal issues, such as personal freedom versus collective interest. An issue can highlight different perspectives and consequences regarding these values, but it also invites students' political preferences. The teachers described the balance between analysing and having an opinion as a challenging assignment, but something that needs to be addressed in class.



6.7 The Use of Knowing

The teachers had similar but somewhat different views on the use of Social Science education. They all emphasised the “intrinsic value of knowledge”, where knowing was an important part of becoming an enlightened individual. Knowing things about society and using that knowledge to critically review newspapers and information on the Internet was one way to describe the use of Social Science education.

The second order thinking concepts, such as the tools used to analyse and critically review, can be described as “disciplinary”. Nevertheless, the teachers gave very few responses that explained the importance to prepare students for further studies in the academic disciplines. The use of Social Science education was not primarily a question about turning students into good political scientists or sociologists, but rather good citizens. One of the teachers tries to explain how he sees the importance of Social Science:

It's about the importance of expressing one's views and listening to others. [...] In the best of worlds they listen to each other and take in some other views (than their own) and hopefully they become more confident and are able to take on the world. If they... understand that there are different views on how people see the world. It's not just their dad's opinion that “high taxes are bad”. There are other sides to the problem. If you succeed in this then you're really on to something. Then you can listen and reason with other people... express your own views. It's not about learning to write your CV or apply for jobs, not all those practical things... [...] It's more about sitting around the dinner table at home discussing and understanding how complex and difficult society is. And that you're a part of that very society.

One important component in creating this meaning making of knowing social science is to choose questions that matter to the students. It is important to use contemporary issues that are real to the students and not just strictly follow the different themes in the curricula or the textbooks. By using tools such as perspective taking, evidence and inference, the teachers highlight the possibilities to advance students' abilities and become more engaged, tolerant and seeing themselves as a part of the world they live in. However, they all distance themselves from the prospect of using education for specific political action. Engagement is not primarily an issue of becoming a member of a political youth league, but a member of society. One teacher exemplifies:

It's more about social commitment. A political curiosity of what's going on in media... ... on their own... Trying to decode what's being said. And being willing to say what they think and believe, that kind of engagement.

To conclude, the teachers' understanding of knowledge as “doing” social sciences and “knowing” social science can be seen as a “politische bildung” for which the teachers aim with their teaching. A kind of ideal citizen: prepared for citizenship.

7 Prepared for Citizenship: Conclusion and Discussion

Most previous research on Social Science education has discussed the importance of first order concepts (Severin, 2002; Vernerström, 1999; cf. Lundholm & Davies, 2013). By using a theoretical framework from history didactics (Lee, 2005; Seixas & Peck, 2004), this article explores Social Science education from another perspective. By focusing on second order thinking concepts, or thinking tools, used in order to organise, analyse and critically review societal issues, six second order concepts are suggested, and all are derived from data collected by observing teaching and interviewing teachers about their teaching. The concepts defined were social science causality, social science evidence and inference, social science abstraction, social science comparison and contrast, social science perspective taking and the evaluative dimension—summarised in Table 2 (see next page).

By focusing on these thinking concepts, rather than first order concepts, attention is turned towards what it means to “do social science” rather than “knowing the facts of social science”. Teaching and learning social science is not just about learning the facts stipulated in curricula and textbooks, but about learning how to interpret, analyse and discuss society from a social science perspective. The second-order concepts are also found in the curricula (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2012), but not described as a consistent toolbox. In fact, the procedural knowledge on how social scientists work with evidence, inference, perspectives, causality and abstractions are scattered in different sections thus making it difficult for teachers to visualise and clarify what analysis and critical thinking might consist of. It is, so to speak, left in the hand of the professional teachers to define what it is. The proposed second order thinking concepts are an attempt to verbalise what it could be.

In fact, in the research process it was clear that the teachers used these thinking concepts in class activities, but that they did not have words to describe what they were doing. However, the second order concepts presented should not be interpreted as a final list of concepts that captures what it means to “think scientifically” in Social Science education. Rather, it should be seen as a first attempt to conceptualise what it could be. When attention is once more turned to the research conducted in history education it will soon be found that the historical second order concepts have developed over time; thinking concepts have been merged; removed or added (Seixas & Peck, 2004 & 2008; Seixas & Morton, 2012, cf. Sandahl, 2011).



Table 2: Suggested first- and second-order concepts for Social science education

First Order Concepts	Second Order Thinking Concepts
<p>Substantial knowledge such as facts, terms and concepts found in social science as academic disciplines. Often connected to certain topics or themes. Examples:</p> <p>Propositional Concepts <i>NGO's, UN, exports/imports, developing countries, industrialised countries, multinational corporations.</i></p> <p>Compound Concepts <i>Neo-liberalism, sustainable development, globalisation, justice, development theory, climate change, international law, free trade, protectionism.</i></p>	<p>Disciplinary and procedural knowledge on how social scientists generate knowledge and how they organise, analyse and critically review societal issues. Suggested second order thinking concepts:</p> <p>Social Science Causality <i>Organising and analysing issues by using cause and consequence. Exploring political, economical, social aspects. Exploring impact on individuals, groups and societies and on local, national and global level. The role of agency and structure in analysis. Discussing measures to deal with challenges.</i></p> <p>Social Science Evidence and Inference <i>Basing inference on evidence from various sources. Using source criticism to find political tendencies. Separating what you know from what you believe and think.</i></p> <p>Social Science Abstraction <i>Using models and theories to simplify and understand. Understanding that models and theories are simplifications. Moving between the abstract and the concrete.</i></p> <p>Social Science Comparison and Contrast <i>Compare and contrast to clarify and understand differences. Exploring causes and consequences behind differences.</i></p> <p>Social Science Perspective Taking <i>Seeing issues through different lenses, both ideological and cultural. Understanding the role of perspectives in analysis.</i></p> <p>The evaluative dimension <i>Understanding that all societal issues include one's own ideological preferences. Illuminating conflicting values in political and societal issues.</i></p>

Second order thinking concepts as a way of approaching teaching and learning have several benefits. It puts emphasis on abilities without creating a trench between abilities and facts. Nothing can be analysed or critically reviewed without deep factual understanding about the issues at hand. In fact, finding evidence to strengthen

inferences is all about “getting the facts straight”. Thus, knowing is intertwined with doing and the second order thinking concepts are overlapping in this process.

As regards educating students in general, or for enlightened understanding, thinking concepts play an important role in acquiring an understanding of how knowledge is obtained in the social sciences. Allowing students to know what teachers mean when they ask them to analyse and be critical is essential to their learning process. One could argue that disciplinary thinking is a small version of the academic subjects. If so, it risks alienating students because it focuses too much on preparing them for academia and therefore lacks meaning for most students not interested in further studies in the social sciences (Englund, 1994; cf. Barton, 2012). However, I will argue below that the role of second order thinking concepts is not primarily to educate students for further studies. Instead, second order thinking concepts can play an important part in preparing students for life as citizens.

When students work scientifically, or disciplinarily, they can develop a specific way of thinking about society, and they have to challenge their set opinions about different topics. An important aspect of this is the use of perspective taking. All issues can be interpreted from different perspectives, especially from ideological and intercultural standpoints. Working with students in class thus includes taking and revealing ideological perspectives on different issues such as foreign aid or free trade agreements. It is also about taking and revealing different standpoints that are based on different identities in nations or groups. From a Swedish point of view, that might be to try to understand the role of morality in political debates in the US (for example abortion), something that without a contextualisation seems strange from a secularised Swedish perspective. Therefore, trying to understand how people perceive the world in other places is crucial for understanding “the other”. Role-play, debates and other techniques enable the students to question and scrutinise their own standpoints and practise understanding peoples from other places.

The six concepts hold important keys in advancing students’ critical thinking on societal issues. Thus, I argue that second order thinking concepts are important for achieving critical thinking among students after their formal schooling also. Furthermore, critical thinking is crucial when students discuss and explore societal and controversial issues in Social Science classrooms. As previous research suggests, the ability to discuss and listen to others are important parts of teaching (Odenstad, 2010; Englund, 2006). Still, students’ arguments have to be rooted in evidence, based on how social scientists make inference and include the ability to see their own political preferences when they discuss societal issues. If “social science thinking” is not stressed, there is really no difference between the classroom discussions and the conversations that students have with their friends at a



café or a bar (cf. Christensen, 2013). Students must be allowed to explore “genuine issues” – questions that matter to them and relate to their life outside school.

There lies a great strength in teaching for citizenship through second order thinking concepts. In fact, knowledge, methods and theories from the social sciences provide important insights to advance students’ reflections on their own and others political life (Christensen, 2011 & 2013; cf. Tväråna 2014). Therefore, the normative sides of Social Science education are not just about democratic values, but also about discussing not what they think and what they know. I would argue that the ultimate aim of Social Science education is to achieve an education that emphasises students that are enlightened, analytically minded and critical thinkers. In order to achieve these preferred citizens, Social Science education need to move beyond “debate” and “factual knowledge”. Second order thinking concepts are crucial in achieving this.

Taking on contemporary societal issues in school is not a pastime or pretend activity where students come to talk freely about their political beliefs, or perhaps a lack of thereof. Humans as a species are continually faced with challenges that threaten our very existence on this planet. Climate change, rising social unrest, changing migration patterns and growing gaps in income are just some of those challenges that new generations have to face. An important step in meeting these challenges is an education taking on such issues and learning to understand them and discussing possible futures. Social Science is not the only school subject to do this, but is certainly an important one.

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Margarita Jeliaskova

Social Science Teachers on Citizenship Education: A Comparative Study of Two Post-Communist Countries

This paper presents some of the results of a comparative study of high school social science teachers in two post-communist European countries: Bulgaria and Croatia. In both countries, citizenship education was implemented as a part of the EU accession efforts. I discuss the ways teachers deal with the everyday dilemmas of teaching in a field which is by definition controversial and loaded with diverse political meanings. The study involved teachers in the two countries using Q-methodology, a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. Five distinct ways of dealing with these questions, five types of views were found in Bulgaria: Pragmatic Conservatives, Deliberative Liberals, Local Social Guardians, Personal Growth Facilitators, and Global Future Debaters. In Croatia, the types of views were: Patriotic Conservatives, Liberal Democracy Mentors, Reflective Humanists, and Personal Growth Coaches. The differences and similarities between the teachers' views in both countries are compared. The study highlights the crucial role of teachers, of their beliefs and experiences in shaping national and European citizenship education policies. The implications of the study findings for citizenship education policy, curriculum development, and teacher training are briefly discussed.

Keywords:

Citizenship education, post-communist countries, comparative study, Social science teachers, Q-methodology, grid-group cultural theory

1 Introduction

The recent tragic events in the Ukraine are a painful reminder that we are still dealing with the legacy of Eastern Europe's communist past. Bulgaria and Croatia are two post-communist countries, which joined the European Union, the one after a peaceful transition, the other recently, after a war of independence. Both have made significant efforts to adopt citizenship education as suggested and guided by various European Union institutions (Council of Europe, 2010; Eurydice, 2012; Abbs & Werth, 2012). The opinions on the success of this endeavour vary considerably, and so do the ideas about the goals, the content and the methods of teaching citizenship. (Kerr, 2008; Splitter, 2011)

In this study, chose to talk to secondary school teachers in subjects directly related to citizenship education in Bulgaria and Croatia and to look for insights, which may go beyond the particular experiences of these two countries. I turned directly to teachers, the gatekeepers (Thornton, 2005) and the crucial actors of any educational process. I talked to teachers in both countries about their views and ideas of citizenship education and the ways they are coping with curriculum reform, overall educational policy changes, and ideological confusion. In this article, I will present the outcomes of these conversations. But first, the theoretical and methodological background of the study will be briefly explained.

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2 The political force-field of teaching citizenship explored with Q-methodology

In the last two decades, citizenship education has been high on the agenda in almost all European countries, 'old' and 'new' democracies alike. Although the temptation to shape people in certain ideological directions is not new, the ambition in Europe for the last 25 years has been to promote and enhance democracy through political education (European Commission, 2013). The discussions about the very definitions of citizenship and citizenship education have never seized throughout European History (Heater, 1990; Crick, 2000; Jones, Gaventa, & Institute of Development Studies, 2002) Also, the discussion about what counts as effect and how this is to be measured has produced a considerable body of scholarly work. (e.g. reviews by Osler & Starkey, 2005; Hedtke et al; 2008, Neubauer, 2012) The studies tend to bypass the role and the attitude of teachers; as they seek a correlation between different types of curricula and various indicators of changed political attitudes in young people (Isac et al, 2011; Schultz et al, 2008, Torney-Punta et al., 2001); or they focus on curriculum analysis (Zimenkova, 2008; Hranova 2011). World-wide, there have been even fewer studies on teachers' views. (e.g. Anderson, Avery, Pederson, Smith, & Sullivan, 1997; Araújo, 2008; Evans, 2006, Patterson, Doppen, & Misco, 2012). Post-communist countries have received attention in research, but predominantly in one-country studies concerning particular aspect of citizenship education (Szakács, 2013; Hranova, 2011; Dimitrov, G., 2008; Rus, 2008). Comparative studies are usually focused on difference between countries and tend to overlook within-country diversity (Hahn, 2010).

Teachers are key players in the process of citizenship education. Teachers are the ones who implement the task of citizenship education daily, in the context of implicit or explicit school policies and broader national objectives. Obviously, they do this according to their own understanding and skill. Faced with the task to



implement a demanding and often deliberately broadly defined curriculum in citizenship education, social studies teachers have to find a *workable balance* of conflicting demands upon their work: how to teach a subject according to their professional criteria and beliefs, while fulfilling the obligation to contribute to citizenship education? Should they educate students mainly about their rights or about their obligations? How do they find a balance between learning about freedom and about taking responsibility for a local and also increasingly global community? Should teachers remain neutral or propagate their own political and ideological preferences? Are they obliged to remain loyal to state policies or to the contrary, systematically criticize them? Should they shield children from political controversy or use it in the classroom? And finally, what kind of citizens would they educate—good and adapted ones or critical and caring citizens?

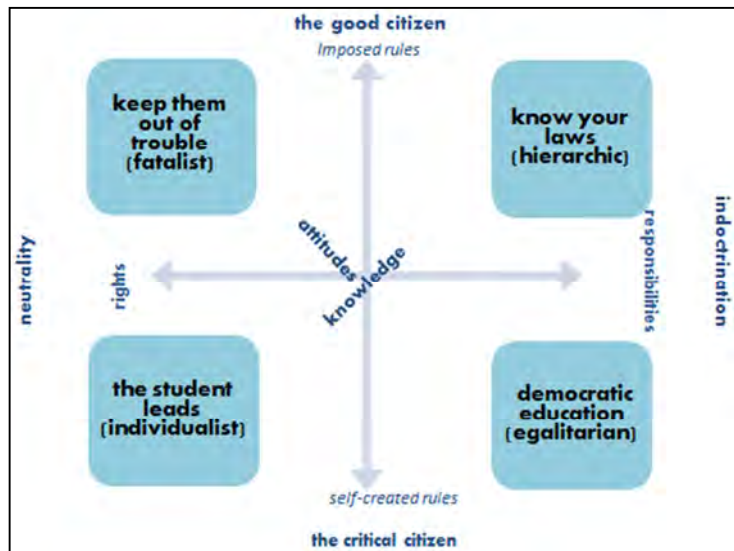
I argue that the answers to these questions constitute *patterns of thinking and subsequent action*, which are based on core beliefs about politics, education, and the teaching profession. They gravitate towards different definitions of *the concept of citizenship education* as the nexus of a number of important, but equally difficult to define concepts—democracy, politics, neutrality, political education, the place of education in society, and the teacher as a professional. These concepts are not independent from each other and do not form random *mix-and-match* combinations. What looks like a widely accepted definition is in reality a demarcation of a field within which political discussion takes place, at many levels, visible and invisible. Below, I will outline the boundaries of this field, I call it a force-field, to indicate that it is dynamic, with mutual influences of different dimensions which pull it one direction or another, but it remains one field, nonetheless. This force-field of ideas about citizenship education determines the topics included in my conversations with teachers.

The force-field of dimensions where the diverse views and beliefs of teachers fit is constructed on the basis of grid-group cultural theory (Douglas, M. 1978, Thompson, M. et al. 1990). Grid-group cultural theory defines four core-value cultural types, ideal types—conservative hierarchy, active and competitive individualism, egalitarian enclavism, and fatalism—that serve as the researcher’s compass in structuring and ordering existing dis-courses (Hoppe, 2007). Using the grid-group framework, we can identify views on citizenship education, which gravitate towards one of the ideal types in the framework; not one of those ways can be considered better, or more viable, or more up to date, without taking into consideration the particular political and national context in which it originated and was developed. (Hood, 2000), The prominent themes in the citizenship education discourse fit the grid-group scheme and delineate its

outer boundaries, organized around the four ideal types, presented in the scheme (figure 1) (Jeliaskova, 2013)

Figure1. Four ideal types of views

The individualist ideal type is concerned with educating critical citizens, but mainly aimed at promo-



ting their individual progress and gain. The egalitarian type is also critical, but aimed at social equity in its criticism. Both teachers operate as a coach. However, the individualist one puts knowledge of ‘the system’ at the forefront, whereas the egalitarian one is concerned with group values and morality. The individualist type shares with the fatalist one the ideal of remaining politically neutral, as opposed to the hierarchic and egalitarian ones, which are directly concerned with instilling and reinforcing particular values in their students. The hierarchic type is concerned with system-sustainability and thus at educating ‘good’ citizens. The fatalist type sees the ‘good’ citizen more as one staying out of trouble. The fatalist type shares a preference for attitudes and skills with the egalitarian type, while the hierarchic type’s focus is on knowledge about the social order and the established institutions. Unlike the individualists, however, they are concerned with assigning a proper place in society for the future citizens. While both the egalitarian and the hierarchic types encourage participation, the accent is respectively on alternative forms of (direct) participation as opposed to using the legitimate channels (elections, laws).

These ideal types serve to delineate the discourse on citizenship education in relation to social studies. Every teacher determines his or her own particular position in the force-field described in Figure 1. This position would not overlap completely with the ideal types outlined before, and would also differ from the officially stated curriculum objectives. Every teacher finds his or her own workable balance of views, held together by core beliefs, often implicit.¹

The description of the ideal types and the dimensions of the force-field guided the construction of a set of 41 statements addressing the spectrum of possible views. In this way, a common space was created, within which a discourse and an exchange of ideas could take place (see appendix 1). These 41 statements formed were used for structured interviews using Q-methodology. Q-methodology is suitable for the purpose of mapping highly diverse views to expose underlying similarities and key themes (McKeown & Thomas, 2013). Q-methodology combines face-to-face semi-structured interviews with factor analysis, thus allowing for working with small and diverse samples in exploratory settings (see for a detailed explanation (Watts & Stenner, 2012)

During face-to-face interviews, the respondents were invited to rank the 41 statements in a fixed pattern, from 'most agree' to 'most disagree' (see appendix 2). The rankings were recorded for subsequent processing and factor analysis, resulting in clusters of respondents holding similar views.

Thus, the sorting interviews served to explore these individual views and the subsequent factor analysis mapped and exemplified overarching central themes, important distinctions and similarities between the teachers within each country (Wolf, 2004). The analysis reveals a number of distinct views expressed by groups of teachers in each of these countries. The comparison between the two countries was then based on this revealed diversity within a shared national context. In other words, The analysis results in a map of teachers' views and beliefs, not a detailed one with myriads of islands, but a simple map with a few large 'continents', certainly all on one planet.

Two sets of interviews were held: 17 interviews with high school teachers in social studies in Bulgaria in 2011ⁱⁱ, and 17 interviews with high school teachers in social studies in Croatiaⁱⁱⁱ in 2012.^{iv} Due to the explorative nature of the method and the small number, the sample of respondents is not representative. However, in order to capture as much diversity of views as possible, I sought a balance between diversity of backgrounds and demographics on the one hand, and pragmatic restrictions, on the other. In both cases, teachers with social science and humanities were involved, who taught subject directly related to citizenship education at upper secondary school level. Their teaching experience varied from two to over twenty years.

The two sets of data were factor analysed separately, resulting in two sets of factors—5 for Bulgaria and 4 for Croatia. The factors represent groups of respondents who think in similar ways.

2 Bulgaria: a strong sense of responsibility

The five factors found in the Bulgarian data set are presented in figure 2. For clarity's sake, I have left out the labels from the original scheme, only referring to

one dimension, to serve as a 'compass' for the reader. Each factor represents a group of teachers holding similar view. The figure is not a mathematically precise representation; it is a visualisation of the mix of quantitative data and the subsequent qualitative analysis of the interviews. The distance between the factors is a rough indication of the degree to which they are alike.

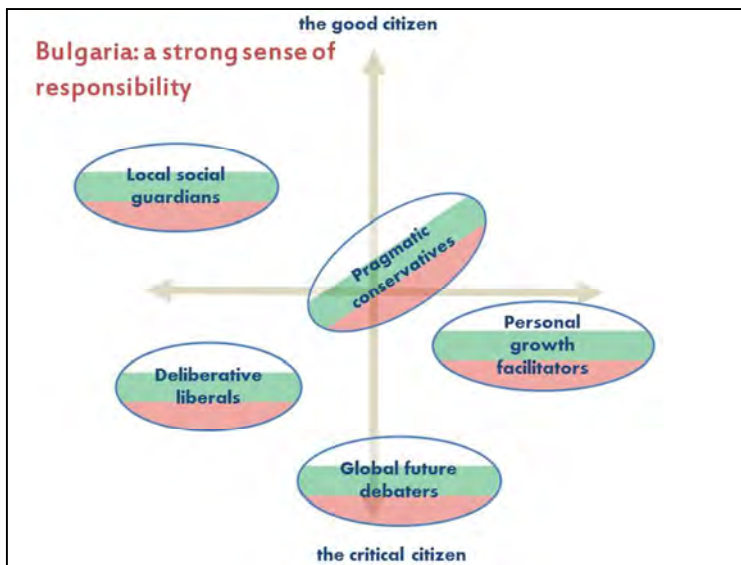


Figure 2. Five factors in Bulgaria

3 Common themes: "A neutral teacher is a scared teacher"

The teachers I spoke to were making a serious attempt to uphold their own professional and academic standards, to be truthful and to demonstrate a clear position on matters they deem important. The overall impression is that they remain critical, guard their degree of professional discretion and assume a great responsibility for the education of Bulgarian youth, even when they feel that the school as an institution, and particularly the state, are failing them. Especially when the institutions are failing them, the respondents add.

All teachers agree that citizenship education is about participation in a democratic debate and this is why they help students to develop their research and discussion skills. (14^v) The strong link between citizenship and democracy was found in every interview, in spite of critical notes about Bulgarian political reality. In the eyes of the teachers, the process of democratization, though far from completed, is irreversible. (22)

"It is extremely important for them to understand that is not silence, aggression, negativity or passivity that would help them, but debate, regardless of how different your opponent's opinion is. This is the only civilized way to solve problems. To be able to defend your point of view, firmly, respectfully, without being afraid of the other."^{vi}

Probably because many of the Bulgarian respondents had a background in philosophy, the fact value-dichotomy proved to be unpopular among them. They did not subscribe to the suggestion that only established facts should be taught (24). The statement was puzzling to most respondents and the reaction could be summed up by this quote:

“Oh, it will be extremely boring to present only established facts. Our teaching will be meaningless.”

Absolutely categorically, with high statistical significance, teachers reject the statement ‘*My task as a teacher is to defend state policies and interests, because I am an employee of a state financed educational institution*’ (31). In one case a respondent suggested that other subject teachers do behave as ‘civil servants’ and ascribed a special place to philosophy teachers at school. The teachers assume a strong professional attitude and do not feel too restricted by state requirements of any kind. This almost allergic reaction to any state interference can be partially traced to old communist times:

“We should not lose the art of telling the truth in a situation when it was forbidden to do so.”

For the younger teachers the explanation is sometimes more trivial—they do not feel supported enough by the state to feel part of any official state policy. Generally, the teachers’ attitude towards the state is ambivalent, to say the least. As one respondent puts it

“I am out of sync with the state.”

Traditionally, as well, Bulgarian schools have been considered pioneers of progress, enlightenment and democracy. This is why all respondents define Bulgarian schools as largely democratic (27). The juxtaposition between school and state institutions emerges as a theme:

“[Today’s young people] are critical towards society as a whole, towards the institutions which have no clear youth policy and strategy for their future, but they do not necessarily hold schools accountable for these problems.”

Teachers insist on a solid, though not overburdened knowledge base, but this is not the same as just feeding children with facts. In a nutshell, this is everything they had to say about the official state standards and prescribed curriculum.

I have observed a peculiar combination of a large number of consensus items with low correlations between factors. The qualitative data reveal that, although some items do appear undisputed on the

surface, reading them in context reveals substantial differences. For example, virtually every respondent agrees with the necessity to teach young people to be critical and not to believe everything in the media (6). However, they offer different assessments of young people’s susceptibility to manipulation. The comments vary from

“I am afraid it is too late, they already believe everything”

to

“They have this [critical attitude] naturally, they are Bulgarian and thus distrustful.”

The teachers also vary in their ideas about independent decision-making (2). The group of teachers defining factor 1 considers independent thinking a necessary skill to enable the acquisition of knowledge, while factors 3 and 4 value *the spirit of independence*:

“If they are dependent, they would never be able to be true to themselves ...” Also, the expected success of teaching this kind of independence varies from “wishful thinking” to “self-evident”.

Bulgarian teachers exhibit a strikingly ambivalent attitude towards politics and politicians. Most respondents make a clear distinction between the *practice* of politics—what politicians do—which is considered predominantly as something not suitable for students, if not outright harmful; and the *political nature* of any social phenomenon discussed. The latter is often not seen as ‘politics.’ *Политика* in Bulgaria is a negative term for teachers and students alike. Teachers sometimes go at great lengths to explain how they differentiate between active political propaganda (which is considered inappropriate) and allowing for an academic, but not necessarily academically detached analysis of the most urgent problems of society. A positive role model of a Bulgarian politician suitable for school lessons is yet to be found.

Let’s turn now to the five types of teachers, technically called factors. The factors consist of groups of teachers holding similar views. The descriptions below are composite and the quotes are from teachers ‘belonging’ to this factor.

2.1 Factor 1^{vii}. Pragmatic conservatives: ‘We give them the rules of social behaviour’

The Pragmatic Conservatives put a strong emphasis on knowledge, take a mentoring and protective position towards their students, and exhibit a great amount of trust towards the school as an institution. They see the school as „a model of a social institution“ and thus encourage participating in school activities as a preparation for life.

The Pragmatic Conservative teachers do not agree with the suggestion that citizenship education is an outdated concept and define it as follows:

“It gives students rules of social behaviour, after they have studied values in ethics classes.”

Consequently, this is the only group that sees citizenship education as an instrument to help students find a place in the labour market. (8)

“The other subjects do not prepare them for the labour market... [...] I tell them that school is also work and if you add up all the financing for their education, they sometimes end up making more money than their parents.”

The teachers in this group are slightly more interested in factual knowledge—just to look at things as they are, instead of how they should be. (9) While the others sort the statement negatively and put an accent of the need to have a horizon, an ideal in the future, these respondents situate citizenship education in the current moment:

“Yes, I agree with this quite a lot, because we tend to do a lot of things for the future only, instead of here and now.”

The latter quote corroborates the pragmatic, status quo orientation of this factor. Partly, the pragmatism could be explained as a reaction to Bulgaria’s socialist past, where the unattainable ‘bright future’ had become a running gag.

The Pragmatic Conservatives do not wish to encourage students to participate in Bulgaria’s current political life (26):

“They are children, after all, and should remain children... “

The teachers do what they can to protect their students from the hardships of everyday politics, which they see in a negative light. This is a theme underlying various other topics and echoing in other factors as well:

“Why would anyone want to encourage students’ to engage in politics? In Bulgaria, politics is over-exposed; politicians get into the centre of events and get a lot of attention [...] In Bulgaria, politics is seen as follows: elections are organized so that some people could enter some institutions and get privileges, and then nothing happens—I do not think that this is the right message to convey to kids!”

This particular respondent then goes on to explain that politics should be something left to professionals, after all. Not everyone needs to know everything about politics, the way we do not know anatomy and

go to the doctor. Ideally, politicians are experts in governance, it seems. Logically, the teachers with this attitude are careful not to ‘politicize’ the class discussion too much (19)

The Pragmatic Conservatives very strongly reject the suggestion that sometimes it is necessary to engage in activities outside the legitimate institutions (32). Generally, teachers’ personal political engagement is not linked for them to teaching citizenship. To demonstrate this kind of active political engagement is considered an act of irresponsibility:

“We should not forget that we are educating our students [...] It is extremely important for them to know the mechanisms of resistance, but this resistance should not result in anarchy [...] they should act solely within the limits of the law...”

For the Pragmatic Conservatives, the greatest concern is discipline. In their eyes, students do not take their obligations seriously. Very often, the respondents mention rights in conjunction with democracy, stating that ‘*democracy and freedom is not the same as doing whatever you want.*’ They counter the youthful students’ claim on more freedom with the classic:

“They know their rights perfectly well, but it is about time they should think about their responsibilities as well.”

Statements concerning the method, process, and critical analytic skills necessary to acquire knowledge about institutions, social structures, and politics, are rated positively. (23, 13, 14, 12). Respondents are concerned with neutrality and are careful not to promote any particular ideology. (34). The teachers share a cautious, sometimes confused, judgment of the past. They often feel they are forced to renounce the ‘old’ ideology and they are not convinced that the new one, called ‘democracy’ in short, is necessarily better.

“Students need to decide for themselves what is good and what is bad [...] Not all things from the past were bad; we should not throw out the baby with the bathwater.”

Statement 2, ‘*We need to teach young people to be independent and to make their own decisions*’, while on the surface concerned with granting students independence, is interpreted in a protective, mentoring fashion. One respondent regrets that students have ‘*too little opportunity to express their own thoughts, we tend to draw them into the field of our own thinking.*’ Another respondent claims, similarly to the argument against engagement in politics, that students’ independence is not a sign of maturity:

“Kids, due to circumstances, are forced to take responsibility for their lives much too early, this puts them under enormous stress.”

This protective attitude towards the students is mixed with a matter-of-fact acceptance of the hardships and the challenges of the modern globalized world (39). The Pragmatic Conservatives are certainly not concerned with promoting values such as tolerance and multiculturalism. They focus on the message: learn to live with it!

Also, consistent with their role of mentor, they feel the need to step in where family, in their eyes, comes short:

“Parents do not have the time, plus the teacher gives a balanced picture of all views”[...]

“It will be completely anti-pedagogical and senseless to close my eyes to the problems and to let the kids enter society without a clear position on these topics!”

Just like all Bulgarian respondents, the Pragmatic Conservatives reject the idea that they are just civil servants and should defend the interest of the state (31):

“The state has abdicated from its duties, so why should we feel obliged to defend it?”

The Pragmatic Conservatives consider the state interest in general worth defending, but not in the current Bulgarian state, which they perceive as lacking in many ways. They are even ready to take some of the blame for this, which may explain their hesitation in imposing their views on students:

“Tomorrow they will rule us, the sooner they take power away from us, the better.”

In sum, these teachers see themselves as contributing to the education of a citizen who would find a place in the fabric of society, who would obey the law out of conviction and as a result of thoughtful deliberation, and would be mature enough to ensure social stability, on the one hand, and safeguarding personal rights and freedoms, on the other. This situates the factor mainly in the hierarchical quadrant, with a slight overlap with individualism. In Bulgaria, the distrust towards power is too great to allow for a viable genuinely hierarchic position.

2.2 Factor 2. Deliberative liberals: ‘We are here to provoke them into freedom’

The name of this group of teachers refers to their two most important vantage points – individualistic/liberal orientation and a focus on democratic deliberation. Deliberative Liberals’ main concern is the method of thinking and inquiry, the need to take one’s own decisions. They steer away from everything that looks

like indoctrination and imposing specific content and worldviews. Providing *information* to students is important, particularly about civic rights and freedoms. (35) The defence and strengthening of civic rights and freedoms is high on their agenda:

“Particularly in Bulgaria, the most important thing is to inform students about their rights, they just do not know them.”

The school subject “World and person”, which deals directly with citizenship education, should be called “Person and world” according to one of the respondents. He clearly puts the individuality of his students in the limelight. The respondents in this group do not consider the curriculum in its current form to be a big obstacle to educating young people the way they find fit. They find enough room in the books for critique and discussion. (25). It is not that the books *encourage* critical reflection; the teachers have their own agenda and very strong didactic preferences and do not feel easily confined by textbooks and curriculum requirements. Although they do insist on providing correct information and acquiring solid grounds for discussion, the Deliberative Liberals do not see themselves as teaching only a subject.

“I do not feel a teacher or a subject specialist, I am a provocateur, and that’s probably the opposite of what they expect from me as a teacher. They expect me to adhere to norms and standards [...] Generally, teachers are just like civil servants, with the exception of the philosophy teachers, because they are very critical. Within the framework of limitations, we are able, thank God, to establish some kind of freedom.”

The respondents approve, though moderately, of the idea that citizenship education should be of some use to society (36). This approval stems by no means from a particularly great concern about the common good. It is their pragmatism speaking – why do something that has no use? In contrast to all the other factors, they reject statement 39 – “*Students should be helped to realize that they live in a world of growing interdependence. Even though we do not respect each other, we still depend on each other*”. Although it would be tempting to explain this as approval of egoistic self-interest, the interviews reveal a more sophisticated position. Respondents claim that just tolerating the other is not enough, a true liberal society should foster *respect* for every individual. Thus, the statement is rejected on the grounds of not going far enough. The fact that they value democratic inquiry the highest of all (26), is an indication that we are not dealing with individualists in the household sense of the word, concerned with self-interest only. The keyword for this group of respondents is ‘*inquiry*’:

“Students should be made aware of the possibility and the need to enter discussions with lots of other people...”

Because the Deliberative Liberals value discussion and deliberation highly, the teachers reject the idea that citizenship education should not be associated with politics (20) and look for a balance between individual and collective action. They are careful about discussing politics at a more general, theoretical level, *“leaving it to the students to judge”*.

The Deliberative Liberals rank positively the demand to students to learn to take into account the common good, rather than follow only their private interests (17) The key to understanding this position is the rejection of narrowly self-serving behaviour. This makes sense, if we bear in mind that the self-perceived goal of this group of teachers is to provide students with the necessary skills and attitudes to function in the world (15) Note that they do not stress ‘survival,’ in the statement, which would be a fatalist position; they trust their students to be emancipated actors and to give direction to their own lives. This is why the Deliberative Liberals do not feel the need to impose any views on students:

“Political propaganda is forbidden. But even if it were not, my authoritative position would lead to some form of manipulation of the students. I do not want to make them my copies.”

In short, the Deliberative Liberals see civic education mainly as a tool for promoting emancipation. Knowledge of individual rights and freedoms is put at the core of their efforts. They strive to equip their students with the necessary tools to operate in a world seen as increasingly complex, to understand political structures and games and to find their path in society. Although they certainly do not promote reckless egoism, the teachers see their students as individuals with inherent rights and feel compelled to support them in becoming independent, critical citizens who know how to defend and extend their freedom through democratic debate.

2.3 Factor 3. Local social guardians: ‘They need us as a personal example’

The Local Social Guardians see their students as vulnerable and at risk. Their rights could be easily violated because of ignorance, no access to power structures, and lack of resources. The teachers see it as their task to educate students about their rights (sometimes interpreted also as entitlements). Teachers do this both by providing their students with the necessary knowledge, but first and foremost by establishing themselves as role models.

“Knowledge is the basis, but it is isn’t the whole story. Otherwise they just stay home and watch television. You need to prepare, every day, every

lesson, for every group. You don’t know how they would surprise you, you need to be prepared to react, to calm them down and still take the challenge and make them think deeper in a certain direction. To do your job, actually.”

The Local Social Guardians stand out a bit more from the others. Statistically, the group is the least correlated to the other factors, which gives it a distinct place in the force-field. Looking at the features of the respondents, we see that the respondents who define the factor the most clearly, both have a background in history, as opposed to the majority of the other respondents, who are philosophers. Also, the respondents teach at schools with a relatively large number of disadvantaged and minority students. This information can help us explain some of the views expressed by the respondents more clearly.

The respondents strongly emphasize the role of the teacher in the process of upbringing their students. In this they differ from all the other respondents who tend to seek a balance between the role of a professional and the role of a teacher. From this point of view, the comparatively strong rejection of statement 1 *“Students need an environment in which they could discuss the problems of society without anyone pointing a finger at them and correcting them”* is understood not so much as an inclination to indoctrinate. It is an expression of the teachers’ conviction that their students *“need a sense of direction”*. Similarly, the teachers assume great responsibility in countering the influence of the students’ home environment. Although they sometimes feel that at 15 and up, it may be too late to change basic attitudes, the teachers know they should encourage their students, because

“[...] even when they do express their will, the family would tell them it’s not for them [to have these ambitions]”

The Local Social Guardians reject very strongly the suggestion that their students should ignore their private interest in the name of the common good (17). One respondent feels that his students do not share in the common good anyway and therefore should be encouraged to claim their rights. By the same token, the idea that citizenship education would contribute directly to public safety (36) is strongly rejected, because it is seen as an attempt by those in charge to take advantage of the students.

“It is hard for [the students] to take the common good into account, while they see that everything around them is ruled by self-interest and money. This is not cynical, just their reality. [...] for some of them, it is pure survival, how to make ends meet [...] they need us teachers to support them.”

Perhaps surprisingly, the Local Social Guardians do agree with the statement that politics is too abstract for their students (41). One explanation could be, at least partly, that these teachers work with socially disadvantaged students, a large portion of which have a minority background. Still, the respondents are ambivalent in their views, because they see different layers in political education. To begin with, they do think that the textbooks are written in a way that makes them inaccessible to the students, both in style and in price (in one of the schools, kids could not even afford to buy the books and were using syllabi put together by the teacher, instead). From a different angle, the teachers felt that kids were not interested, because they came from families where no one was engaged in politics in any way. The teachers thought it was their duty to show to the students that it matters to get involved. At yet another level, the respondents strongly felt that their students were left out, marginalized and disadvantaged by today's political ruling class in Bulgaria and this is why they were very cynical towards anything political. Again, the teachers saw themselves as an example of a positive way to participate in social life. They were very strongly involved in local politics and felt that their activities could not and should not remain hidden from the students. For the same reason, this group of teachers very strongly rejected the idea that the school is not a democratic institution (27). The Local Social Guardians share this conviction with factors 4 and 5. However, while the latter make a claim on the school as a playground for community involvement, the Local Social Guardian sees the school as a corrective and emancipatory institute in a society seen as grim:

"If the school is not democratic in Bulgaria, I would not know what is!"

The respondents strongly approve of the idea to get students involved in charity and community activities (28). The reason they give it that charity is a low-threshold activity, which students understand, even when they are not interested in politics. The involvement in charitable and community service becomes a way of teaching responsibility, on the one hand, and a means of empowerment, on the other.

At first glance, it might appear that the Local Social Guardians do not believe in the feasibility of the project to educate thinking people through citizenship education. Their (slight) doubts stem from the demand to employ a variety of theories or methods, which they consider indeed a bridge too far (13). This reaction is less unique than it may seem based on the numbers alone, as respondents from other factors have also expressed concerns about the effectiveness of explicitly teaching people to think. Moreover, the joy of discovering structures and regularities to understand the surrounding world (12) is overshadowed by distrust they share with their

students - nothing is the way it looks, the laws in the books are not the same as the laws in real life.

In sum, this group of teachers can be placed in the fatalist corner of the grid-group scheme. Their position is unique among all the other respondents, also the Croatian ones.

2.4 Factor 4. Personal Growth Facilitators: 'We teach them to be happy'

Participation, action, involvement is what this group of teachers is about—practice what you preach, also outside the classroom! Seeking growth and change, through dialogue and self-perfection, these teachers respect their students and attempt to provide for them the right environment to help them in their development. All the respondents defining this factor, and only they, used words like emotions, feelings, growth, and 'the joy of life'. They also expressed concern about such 'overlooked' topics as ecological education and art education.

Participation in real life, as opposed to just teaching during lessons, is the most important for the Personal Growth Facilitators, in contrast to all other respondents (10). Not only should students participate and be engaged in '*attitude building*', they should do this in groups, because

"Personality develops much better in a group than through individual projects".

Because they value personality so much, the Personal Growth Facilitators, together with the Global Future Debaters, are categorically against any hint of instrumental use of citizenship education, by the state or by the students themselves (8, 7):

"Oh no, we are not going to educate self-seeking komsomol snitches any longer!"

They feel very strongly about letting the students free in expressing their opinion, without anyone pushing them in a certain direction (1). In contrast to other factors, the respondents from this group believe that the teacher should be a model of honest behaviour (5). Together with the Local Social Guardians, these respondents agree that teachers should not attempt to stay neutral at any price, as this is a sign of fear by the teacher. Similarly to the Local Social Guardians, the teachers in this group are way too personally engaged to consider withholding their preferences and views from students. (30) For them, citizenship education does not end with just *informing* students about their rights and freedoms (35):

"You can't just come and tell them, we are not the news broadcasting service."

Since the climate of collaboration, which promotes free development and self-growth is a priority to this group, they tend to avoid controversial topics in the



classroom (19). Not every controversy is avoided; teachers seem to make a distinction between political issues and social issues, the latter being less transient. The teachers still seek a solid knowledge base for their work, it goes beyond just practice (18).

“Citizenship education requires high personal erudition, combined with honesty and lack of hypocrisy.”

The respondents in this group tend to sort negatively all statements suggesting that one needs to teach facts and ‘a body of knowledge’ (4, 24, 35, 9, 11) as opposed to the approval of statements stressing particular skills and attitudes (34, 14, 2, 6, 26, 23).

The Personal Growth Facilitators exhibit many features of the egalitarian ideal type, with a twist: personal growth is seen as being facilitated by participation in a group, rather than directed at group preservation. Again, like in factor 1, truly collectivist attitudes are not popular in a country with a communist past and are always countered by a healthy dose of self-interest.

2.5 Factor 5. Global Future Debaters: ‘The street won’t turn them into global citizens’

The Global Future Debaters are the most explicitly concerned with European citizenship. They are divided, however, in their judgment of the value and the success of citizenship education as a European project. One of the high loading respondents is positive and with a cosmopolitan orientation, while the other one, to the contrary, is convinced that citizenship education was implemented under pressure and as an act of compliance – to demonstrate that Bulgaria belongs to the European Union:

“It is just to show off—look, we have that thing—but there is no tradition, nobody takes care that teachers get schooled [...]. The European Union is not a panacea for all problems in Bulgaria.”

The most important task of citizenship education, according to the Global Future Debaters, is to help student develop as thinking citizens (13). The respondents recognize the serious dilemmas young people face and work to equip them with the instruments of analysis, self-reflection, debate and argumentation (1, 23, 14, 6). Similarly to the Personal Growth Facilitators, the teachers in this group adhere to a broad conception of citizenship education: action oriented, including matters as ecological citizenship and global awareness, but with critical thinking skills remaining at the core of teaching citizenship.

This group approves of the necessity to provide students with skills and instruments to advance in society (7, 15), because the future citizens they have in mind will live in a *complex global world* which requires different qualities to understand it and to manage it. In doing so, these teachers always depart from a

strong professional identity, based on subject knowledge (18).

The respondents slightly disagree with statement 10 (1, 0, -3, 4, -1 *It is not enough only to engage in discussions about how to improve the world, it is important to give young people the chance to participate in real life*). The main reason for rejecting the statement is that students should learn both – debate and discussion are also very important.

The Global Future Debaters are not inclined to impose any specific type of action on students; they need to take the lead. This does not mean ‘stirring things up’ however (32), because the teachers find that more suitable for the street; the school has other functions and other rules. This is also why they moderately agree with keeping controversy outside the classroom – an atmosphere of trust and safety is crucial to foster the development of independent thinking. These teachers’ civic engagement is strong, but oriented towards individuals instead of institutions:

“We make the state, the initiative has to come from society, it is not necessary that all measures come from the state.”

The Global Future Debaters share a focus on universal human values. They current political practice corrupt and thus not worthy of discussing in the classroom. (20: -1, -3, -1, -1, 1 *Citizenship education should not be associated with politics, because individual acts of compassion and generosity are more important*):

“For heaven’s sake, do not encourage them to get into politics! [They need to learn what is] good and bad, the human nature, how to become good, but no politics, please! They do not have the social experience yet to engage in politics.”

Instead, students should engage in activities in the school, a suitable environment to learn essential democratic skills (27).

The Global Future Debaters take a pragmatic attitude towards the fashionable patriotic discourse in Bulgaria. They agree that students should know “*what this country has achieved in order to go further*” (40). However, the growing interdependence of people in the world takes precedence and is a far more dominant theme (39). The statement is interpreted at an interpersonal level – students need to learn how to respect each other, to be able to get in the shoes of others and to understand their social experience.

In sum, the Global Future Debaters are more concerned with the future of citizenship education and the future of their students in a global dynamic world than with the current practice, which can be disappointing at times.

3 Croatia – On the verge of change

In Croatia, a similar set of ranking interviews and subsequent factor analysis yielded four distinct factors, presented in figure 3.

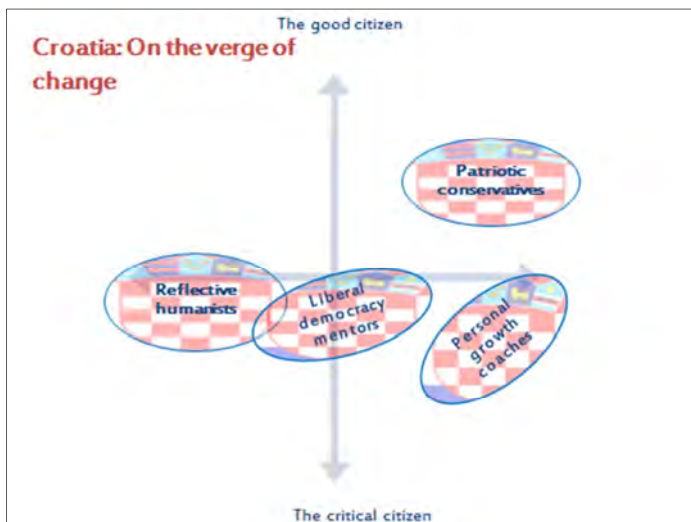


Figure 3. Four factors in Croatia

3.1 Common themes

At the moment of taking the interviews, Croatia was developing a new model for citizenship education.^{viii} As a result, the need for change and the ways to achieve it emerge as a common theme in the whole Croatian sample. Teachers stress the importance of citizenship education in the overall curriculum and do not agree with the suggestion that it might be outdated (37)

The need to shift the focus from passive knowledge transfer to critical thinking competences is addressed by practically all respondents.

„Critical thinking and discussion with arguments should be highly positioned as a content of citizenship education. Therefore I think that only one hour per week in one year for such an important subject is just a terrible choice. The model we have now is just not functioning well as it is all about learning the textbook content...”

All teachers think that too much stress on knowledge transfer leads to uncritical acceptance of the surrounding world (9):

“Discussion on how things should be is an important part of a critical attitude toward reality”....
“We need to discuss and question things and on these grounds to see how they might become better”

Like their Bulgarian colleagues, Croatian teachers perceive the current political reality in Croatia as lacking in many ways and in need for improvement:

“Tell me, where do I find properly working institutions to show them?”; “There is no such thing as separation of powers in Croatia!”

On the surface, Croatian teachers subscribe to the need to focus on democratic inquiry (26) However, the qualitative data reveals a great amount of discontent about the difference between discussion, deliberation, and debate, as well as on the way these should be implemented in everyday teaching. The devil is in the details, so to say. Some of the differences are highlighted in the factor descriptions below.

There is a strong consensus around the idea that all students should be empowered and taught to understand politics. Teachers believe that citizenship education is for all students, not just the elites, including those that ‘*just like adults, are disappointed in politics*’ (41). Croatian teachers, unlike their Bulgarian colleagues, embrace a broad definition of politics and feel obliged to make it clear to their students that “*everything is political.*” Acts of compassion and generosity are also seen as political in nature. (20):

“I keep telling to my students that politics is all around us, it is not just the government and [official] political fights. Acts of compassion and generosity are also political acts, they are not separated.”

Teachers share the view that the school as an institution, even with a non-democratic structure, is a suitable platform to raise democratic citizens. (27) They tend to agree that the content of the school subject is more important than the school-structure.

“There is no democracy in mathematics, there is certainly no democracy in religious education.”

This latter reference to religious education deserves attention. Many respondents mention religion and religious education while discussing norms and values, and particularly ethnic and religious tolerance. The role of the Catholic Church in Croatia is substantial and religious education has a prominent place in the school system (Bobinac & Jerolimov, 2006). This is in contrast to Bulgaria, where religious education has a marginal role at best, and has been largely linked to the emancipation of Muslim minorities.

The role of the church is often seen by Croatian teachers as anti-democratic and as a threat to free thinking:

“The Church cannot impose its views, nor can parents or politicians impose their views on children, not even teachers. They should listen to us, but they should not be afraid.”

I now turn to the descriptions of the four groups of teachers, the four factors yielded by the data.

3.2 Factor 1. Reflective Humanists: 'I am just inviting students to be reflective, nothing more'

The Reflective Humanists emphasize strongly the development of intellectual skills and critical thinking skills of their students. They envision citizenship education mainly as an instrument to help students cope with today's complex world. Bordering on a fatalist worldview, the Reflective Humanists support their students' intellectual growth, but they also focus strongly on 'coping' (15).

"I see teaching as a help for students to become aware how schizophrenic is his/her situation and position and to accept it as it is in order to cope with it the best way possible!"

Yet, the teachers remain pragmatic and emphasize the importance of developing their students' ability to use concepts and methods to analyse and understand the world around them (13). They do this systematically, professionally, based on solid mainstream theory. The teachers recognize the importance of politics as the context of one's life and emphasize the importance of power relations in society. As one respondent puts it:

"We live in a world defined and divided by power".

But it is more about understanding than about participation, after all. The teachers' slightly cynical attitude towards a disappointing political and economic reality leads them to stress thinking and analytic skills more than actual participation. The Reflective Humanists are not particularly concerned with directly fostering students' participation in social and political life (10). As one respondent puts it:

"We simply do not see an alternative to the passivity which results in high distrust in political engagement. I am not a person who can promote any kind of social [community level] action among students. That is absolutely impossible. Only I can do is to try to evoke an act of humanity."

On the same grounds, the Reflective Humanists reject the idea that laws and rules should be at the centre of citizenship education. The respondents' attitude towards any ideology is neutral, but reflective and open (34):

"We are all limited with our ideological positions and other factors, but the intention is to remain open as much is possible... and ability to reflect on our own limitations is therefore extremely important"

With a strong focus on open minded, independent, critical thinking, this group of teachers does not agree that laws and rules should be accepted and followed at face value (4). They consider this approach to be at

odds with the promotion of a basic level of political and social literacy. Also, the idea of promoting values of national loyalty and pride does not fit the individualistic orientation of the Reflective Humanists and is thus rejected (40):

"The fact that I do not preach loyalty to the state does not imply that I preach deviant behaviour. Not at all, I am just inviting students to be reflective, nothing more."

Summing up, the Reflective Humanists exhibit mostly individualist features, with some clear inclinations toward fatalism/cynicism. These are countered, however, with a faith in the inner moral strength of the young people educated by them.

3.3 Factor 2. Patriotic Conservatives: 'The teacher has to be a model of decent behaviour'

The main trait of the Patriotic Conservatives is their loyalty to the state. Statistically, the group stands out from the others and holds distinct positions, particularly concerning the defence of state interest and the endorsement of a patriotic perspective.

With a strong devotion to rules and formal state institutions, the Patriotic Conservatives see themselves as an 'old school' role model for a decent citizen. The knowledge of laws, procedures and institutions is an important aspect of their idea of citizenship education. The main goal is to prepare students to act as good, adapted citizens who are able to function not only within the political community, but also on the labour market (8). The respondents perceive the relationship between the Croatian educational system and the labour market as problematic. Thus, to the extent they value the acquisition of skills, they are interested in more market-oriented skills, as a key to the successful adaptation of young people in the fabric of society:

"The ability to function on the labour market is very important. We do not prepare our students for that enough, and I believe that this subject has the potential to foster employability and even a spirit of entrepreneurship among our students."

Within a clearly hierarchic mind-set, the teachers see market oriented competences and tolerance as two sides of one coin, both promoting order; they believe that tolerance is also a skill that should be taught and that it is a state's responsibility to do so (33). Additionally, a high agreement is expressed with the idea of fostering charity through citizenship education (28), as an additional element of social order:

"Where the market does not succeed, tolerance and humanitarian activities should take place."

Citizenship education is clearly concerned with national identity and the loyalty to the state is highly valued by the Patriotic Conservatives (40).

“This is absolutely OK. It is a matter of identity”

While we could obviously trace the theme of national pride and loyalty in Croatia to post-war focus on independence and state-building, its defining role for the respondents loading on factor 2 is still striking.

The Patriotic Conservatives are the only group that endorses the unquestionable acceptance of procedures and rules (4). Knowledge of procedures and institutions is a key objective of citizenship education, according to them. This is why the Pragmatic Conservative teacher would shy away from discussions on dominant norms and values and from controversial topics (29). Instead, students should be prepared to contribute actively to society and the democratic political community. (note that the word ‘democratic’ here refers to a particular state arrangement, as normally and naturally succeeding ‘socialist’, but where, similarly, a set of rules must be obeyed, not questioned.)

“[It] is a way to provide students with general information on the structures, procedures, and basic concepts. And then, if the time allows, I can focus on the preparation of children for active participation that is aligned with what I was teaching them.”

Thus, there is not much time left to devote to questioning and criticism (6). This group of teachers prefers to work within the rules and within the system (32):

“I do not need to stir up things, if they are OK, acceptable for a majority in a sense of common good. Why should I try to deconstruct things? There are people who do that all the time, always digging; they just cannot stand a peaceful doing. That kind of peaceful approach is in its core constructive one. You just cannot be constructive in stirred, un-peaceful, environment”

The Pragmatic Conservatives do their best to act as a role model that “walks their talk” of a decent citizen (5).

“I believe that a teacher has to be a model of decent behaviour. I belong to the old school, and therefore think that if I teach a certain model of citizen, then professionally, I should not allow myself to be a bad example.”

In sum, the ‘old school’ Patriotic Conservatives fit the hierarchic corner of the force-field. They are not authoritarian in their attitude, but could be called patronizing. The teachers are loyal to the state, to

their country and to their students and expect loyalty and respect in return.

3.4 Factor 3. Liberal Democracy Mentors: ‘We prepare students for the role of democratic citizens’

The respondents in this group hold the values of liberal democracy very high. (22). In the name of propagating democracy, they are not afraid of being biased; as a matter of fact, the Liberal Democracy Mentors believe that liberal-democratic values should be actively promoted (34):

“I agree that students need to be acquainted with all important ideologies, but I am not for relativism. I believe that we can say that at this moment of human development, some ideologies are the closest to the ideal of common good. By that I refer to liberalism, only not in a sense of free market principles, but in a sense of its potential to enable the maximal number of people to achieve their rights and freedoms.”

As a part of establishing a relationship of trust with their pupils, the teachers openly discuss their political preferences. This does not mean that they impose their views on their students. Teaching established facts only also does not make too much sense to them (24). The Liberal Democracy Mentors value their students’ independent thinking and make an effort to teach them to be systematically critical (13). The teachers strongly agree with the statement that young people should be taught to be critical and not to believe everything they see in the media (6). The students need that:

“[in order] To be able to go a step further and to filter the information they receive to develop their own opinion, agreement or disagreement with something”.

Instead of offering ready-made rules, the respondents in this group are inclined to look at the processes and the underlying debates behind the established rules and laws. They strongly reject the idea of taking rules for granted (4). Instead, the teachers emphasize their changing nature and the role of citizens in this change.

“Laws and rules are the human artefacts. [...] The point is not to respect the [existing] rules but to create rules that would be better for most people and for the community. Education thus needs to deconstruct the rules and the laws and improve them. [...] We do not raise children to conserve the world but to change the world so it becomes a better place.”

Because of their conviction that the world is to be made a better place through education, the teachers gladly take the role of empowering mentors. They



actively encourage students to participate in social life in order to improve the world (10). This engagement is a social endeavour and takes the common good into account (17). As one respondent puts it,

“the ultimate purpose of education is human happiness.”

The Liberal Democracy Mentors occupy a hybrid position between egalitarian and individualistic, leaning towards hierarchic, particularly because they are loyal to a Croatian ideal, which they feel should be pursued by all.

3.5 Factor 4. Personal Growth Coaches: ‘We teach independent and responsible young people’

The Personal Growth Coaches are teachers by calling. The pedagogical core of their work takes priority over subject knowledge (18):

“I believe that the pedagogical core is inherent to the teaching profession and for me that represents the feeling for young people...besides giving them knowledge, we are also upbringing them...”

They focus on students’ personal growth, on the development of participatory and intellectual competences, seen in a broader perspective. This group of teachers highly appreciates social and political responsibility and approves strongly of all statements, which emphasize the common good and accountability (28, 38, 17). The importance of high personal standards motivated this group, in contrast to the other three groups, to doubt whether politics should be the primer content of citizenship education (20). While teachers in this group do not downplay the importance and encompassment of politics, they emphasize value aspects such as solidarity among individual citizens:

“I agree that not everything should be tied directly to politics, because politics even in its broad sense is not the only thing that guides us through life. Compassion and generosity is something that needs to be more emphasized in societies... although that should not exclude politics”

The social side of citizenship takes precedence over politics. Compassion and generosity are cherished and encouraged, preferably through taking ‘real life’ action (10). Whereas the Liberal Democracy Mentors see action as derived from political and social theory, the Personal Growth Coaches think that it is increasingly necessary “to teach students how to participate”.

The Personal Growth Coaches tend to pay a lot of attention to the development of participatory skills, and consequently do not stress knowledge-oriented elements in the citizenship education curriculum (11), in contrast to the Liberal Democracy Mentors. Citizenship education, in the eyes of the Personal

Growth Coaches, does not end with just informing students about their rights and freedoms (35).

The teachers make a strong connection between independent thinking and accountability. They provide their students with some guidelines, but let them make independent decisions and encourage them to take responsibility for the consequences, particularly the consequences for others:

“We need to teach young people to think independently[...], always to be autonomous and responsible for their decisions. That implies, when making a decision, to take in account all consequences [it] can have for other people.”

For them, critical reflection also refers to norms “which should be always discussed” (24) It also means to raise up controversial issues (19) and to even personally take a critical stand toward the state or status quo (32) Stirring things up for this group doesn’t imply

“revolutionary acts, but does imply active citizenship that will try to improve situation and foster the achievement of citizens’ rights”.

The Personal Growth coaches occupy the egalitarian quadrant of our force-field, with some hierarchic elements. The most distinguishing feature of this factor is the moral, slightly depoliticized depiction of citizenship and participation and the strongly felt sense of accountability and responsibility to each other. There is less discussion on teaching methods and more of a general direction and spirit of citizenship education.

4 The countries compared: ownership of citizenship education, national divides visible

4.1 Bulgaria and Croatia: similarities and differences

When we look at the distribution of the different factors in both countries, we see that the patterns differ somewhat. In Bulgaria, the factors seem to be distributed predominantly around the fatalist-egalitarian axes, with some individualistic elements. The Croatian sample is very strongly leaning towards hierarchy. The clarification of this difference requires a longer argument beyond the scope of this paper. The pattern observed is in line with a strong felt mistrust towards any official institution in Bulgaria, while in Croatia this is clearly not the case. It is also in line with the most striking difference between both countries: whereas in Bulgaria politics is perceived mainly in the narrow and negatively charged meaning of party politics, in Croatia the respondents tend to highlight the political dimension of everyday life. Political participation is thus seen as something positive in Croatia. But Croatian teachers the aversion of their Bulgarian colleagues towards political careerism, clearly a legacy of the past, where belonging to the *nomenclatura* was required:

“Look, guys, you should join the SDP and you will prosper in life. No way I am teaching this.”

This observation touches upon a broader issue in citizenship education: the attitude towards politics is ambivalent and the negative, ‘messy’ sides of politics are not always easy to incorporate in a constructive teaching environment. (Frazer, 2007)

It should not be a surprise that the consensus of all respondents is only on the negative side: on what teachers do not want to be associated with. There seems to be a *bottom line standard of integrity and professionalism* of a high school teacher engaged in political education, that goes across national borders. None of the teachers see themselves as just a transmitter of information, of some firmly established body of knowledge about rules and laws. Also, none of them think it is enough to teach ‘the established facts’ about society.

The strong rejection of the suggestion that citizenship education would be something for the elites only is hopeful, at first glance. However, there are indications in two of the country-sets, in Bulgaria and in the Netherlands, that the item is far from undisputed. In Bulgaria, the teachers with a relatively large number of disadvantaged students tend to agree with the statement. In the Netherlands, teachers with long experience and a strongly academic approach are also not quick to reject it. The character of this study and the methodology which I have used does not permit to draw conclusions from this observation. However, the questions that occur pertain to general attitudes and expectations towards education and are worth exploring.

One topic that invited different opinions, but revealed a shared concern, was the theme of national unity and loyalty to the nation state. If we resist the temptation to accuse teachers who emphasize the importance of national cohesion in “nationalist” tendencies, we will see a threefold argument:

First, respondents struggled to find a balance between a positive connotation of patriotism (Hacek, 2014) and a more globalist, European oriented attitude. This is because in both countries citizenship is predominantly seen as something that is ‘imported’ from Western Europe, via official policy and through numerous NGO projects. Many teachers refer to various European projects when they talk about citizenship education, sometimes as a contrast to ‘traditional’ ways of teaching.

Second, while the war of independence in Croatia may be sufficient to explain the focus on national identity, in Bulgaria as well, this is a reaction towards the ‘proletarian internationalist’ ideology promoted by Moscow, which pushed for downplaying national identity and culture. The surge of nationalism in Eastern Europe is a serious topic, but I did not see many reasons to worry about it among our respondents.

Third, the theme of national identity is linked to the theme of tolerance. It is a topic that had not been addressed in the past. Cultural differences were underplayed and now they grow in importance. Although they acknowledge the importance of citizenship education for fostering tolerance, teachers realize that education cannot be the only contributing factor in a society they see as largely intolerant, and that a broader effort is needed.

“I am not sure if education can be the only help in it, but in practice we are the only ones doing it”.

In both countries, teachers express concerns about the growing intolerance towards Roma minorities. In almost identical words they refer to the strange tension between ‘hating’ the Roma politically and at the same time being attracted to their music and sometimes ‘dubious taste’, as one teacher puts it.

A substantial number of Bulgarian and Croatian teachers tends to focus more on problems and on the need for a place to discuss and eventually alleviate them and less on participation. The societies they operate in seem to be troubled ones, with normal channels of dialogue frequently blocked, very visibly in Bulgaria and to a lesser extent in Croatia. The teachers’ mission can be seen as directed to emancipation and positive affirmation of the values of nations in transition, still marred by serious corruption scandals, and young and very vulnerable civil society. In this sense, the teachers in both countries are less inclined than their Dutch colleagues to remain neutral towards ideologies they see as harmful. Often, they refer implicitly to a dichotomy Marxism – democracy. Some find an interesting compromise by claiming that they do not defend or reject ideologies, but political regimes:

“I have to be neutral while discussing political parties and I cannot be neutral while talking about political regimes. Therefore, when I talk about totalitarianism, I cannot remain neutral.”

In post-communist countries, the breach between the totalitarian and post-totalitarian generation is so great that teachers often are ready to abdicate from the role of ideological guides for the younger generation, out of fear of contaminating them with what they see as the irreparable damage of being brought up not free. By the same token, the opposite position is also possible: teachers tend to minimize the differences between the two ‘systems’ and by this implicitly accusing their students in rejecting everything from the past, including ‘the good things’.

Current political events, protests throughout Eastern Europe, allow us to revisit some of the findings of the study. Since the beginning of the year, Bulgaria is in a state of a deep political crisis, the signs of which already could be demarcated in this study – mainly the enormous divide between political reality and

ideological aspirations of teachers and schools. In a more cynical version, I have been aware of an undercurrent notion of 'official discourse' and showing off, largely due to the demands of European Union membership in a country, which increasingly exhibits features of 'façade democracy'. Recent events prove how political institutions as a whole are seen as void of content. This makes it even more remarkable to look at the value teachers ascribe to school as an institution and the hopes they have in the positive influence of education as a whole and political education in particular.

Looking back at the initial question of the study, I can formulate two conclusions. First, the data seems to confirm the assumption that views on different aspects of citizenship education, beliefs about education, the role of the teacher and the school, are indeed not randomly combined, but organized around basic core beliefs about politics and society, which could be traced back to the four main biases of the grid-group framework. Second, we see that the way these biases are manifested in the respective countries is indeed influenced by specific historic events, current political climate as well as educational tradition and practice. The most striking differences between the two countries were in the area of their definition of 'political' and 'social', as well the perceived distance to official power. The factor distributions tend to follow the expected general patterns of national political culture of the two countries: a generally fatalist attitude of mistrust towards power in Bulgaria versus a strongly hierarchically oriented around its national ideal in Croatia.

4.2 Implications for curriculum and teacher training

The diversity of positions found in each of the two countries should not conceal one important positive feature – teachers have a strong sense of ownership of the idea of citizenship education and a shared baseline professional standard. However, they differ in the way they conceptualize and execute their tasks, not only from country to country, but from school to school. The research findings demonstrate that 'taking the national context into account' is not enough in adapting curricula from other countries or from European sources. The national context is the common scene where several distinct perspectives coexist, held together by unifying themes. Equally important, a state initiated policy on citizenship education does not automatically ensure promotion of state-imposed objectives. Quite the opposite, as the case of Bulgaria demonstrates, teachers may use the existing state-shaped curriculum context to demonstrate a corrective position towards what they see as serious shortcomings of the current political reality, in an attempt to educate future citizens who would hopefully do better.

Our data shows that no amount of detailed curriculum requirements, specifications of standards,

objectives and evaluation criteria would erase the diversity of perspectives on citizenship education teachers exhibit. In this sense, citizenship education in any given country cannot even be seen as a single policy project without making it void of its most important feature - preparing young people to be citizens in a presumably pluralistic and democratic society.

One of the surprisingly emerging themes concerns the dichotomy of knowledge and attitudes. Although initially most teachers would claim that both were important, later they made a clear choice in one direction or another. Also, though many of them initially would stress the importance of skills and attitudes at the expense of knowledge transfer, eventually they would secede to the idea that knowledge remains important. Two things are worth noticing in this respect. First, there seems to be a shared consensus of a minimum required knowledge that students should acquire in the course of their education, no matter what the teaching style and preference of the teachers. Second, the more experienced the teachers, the less inclined to focus on skills without a solid knowledge base. This could be interpreted as conservatism, but maybe the reasons are elsewhere. Too much stress on innovative teaching methods without taking into account 'no nonsense' teaching may unnecessarily alienate many teachers who derive their sense of professionalism from their subject knowledge. For those eager to introduce yet another innovative competence-oriented teaching method in the area of citizenship education, this outcome from our study may be a warning to take a closer look.

In the field of citizenship education, relatively much attention is paid to the content and quality of teaching materials, e.g. (Zimenkova, 2012). Our data demonstrates that teachers do not put too much weight on the books and materials they work with. They remain neutral towards the idea of too much political correctness or lack of criticism in the books. Most mention that they feel equipped to create the necessary discretionary space to work around whatever limitations the book may have. The explanations they offer may differ from country to country, the important message for curriculum developers is that too much focus on teaching materials, textbooks and official programs, as opposed to supporting teachers to develop their professionalism, may prove to be a waste of resources.

Last but not least, coming back to our initial observation of the different conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education: though the ideal of 'democratic citizenship' (Europe, 2010) may be appealing to many, the majority of teachers do not adhere to this model. Democratic citizenship as promoted by the Council of Europe (as one authoritative example) is strongly associated with the egalitarian bias in our typology and both countries.



The Bulgarian Personal Growth Facilitators and the Croatian Personal Growth Coaches share a lot of common elements, in spite of specific accents. But compared to the factors on the hierarchic-individualist axis, these teachers are certainly not a majority. For those who find it desirable to promote 'democratic citizenship education' through teacher training, the study sheds a light on the different routes they have to follow in order to achieve a substantial shift in teachers' core beliefs.

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Endnotes

ⁱ I use the concept 'beliefs' by referring loosely to the considerably body of research on 'teacher beliefs', which are notoriously difficult to assess. The research unveils the complexity of teachers' work and the constituents of this peculiar mix of core value orientations, of political and ideological convictions, of educational philosophies, various ideas about the nature of learning, about the role of teacher and so forth. (see for an overview (Fives & Gill, 2014))

ⁱⁱ High school teachers in the so-called "Philosophy cycle" and the subject "World and personality" in 6 different cities.

ⁱⁱⁱ High school teachers in "Politics and State" and "Economy" in 8 different cities. With a special thanks to A. K. Kostro, University of Zagreb, Croatia, who organized and conducted the Q-sorting interviews and contributed directly to the preliminary data analysis.

^{iv} In 2013, a set of interviews was also held in the Netherlands, not included in the article. Further in the text I make an occasional reference to this data as a part of the discussion.

^v The number indicates the number of the statement. See appendix 1, where the ranking of each statements by each factor is indicated, ranging from -4 to +4. Similar rankings indicate similar views, however, the comparison between the factors explores the overall patterns of sorting and not only the ranking of individual statements.

^{vi} The quotes in italics are taken from the respondents. The English language translation is by the author and as close as possible to the original.

^{vii} The factor number is important to trace the rankings of particular statements in the appendix.

^{viii} At the moment, the implementation of the new citizenship curriculum is postponed again with one year.

Natalia Potapova

Normativity in Russian History Education: Political Patterns and National History Textbooks

My current research concerns the politics of Russian history education. In this paper, I discuss some of the issues raised by the study of national history textbooks. I analyze the normative implications of sentences and statements about the past and try to define contrary ideological assumptions. How do the authors construct the aim of historical education? In what kind of activities do the typical patterns of textbook questions and instructions try to engage pupils? How do the different textbooks construct the political subject? The article aims to explore the media construction of political actions in Russian school history textbooks.

Keywords:

Politics of history, history textbooks, conservatism, ideology, Russia, history education

1 Introduction

In this paper, I consider the problem of normativity in three different dimensions: a) with respect to “storytelling” and explanation of the facts, how do the textbooks represent the subjects of political action /interaction with all repertoire of motivations, goals, causality, ideas about good and right and so on, based on explicit and implicit normative theorizing, or how is power made visible and represented in historical narration; b) with respect to didactic and legitimate modes of communication with readers, how do the textbooks try to construct the interactions with pupils engaged in study of history? what about building learners’ communicative competence about required, “normal response” and similar context used as a conceptual framework to interpret the ‘normative narratives’ with its conceptions of power; c) with respect to the discipline, as a way to determine how “to practice history” and how it might construct itself through the school textbooks. Thus, this paper is about the rhetoric of power, teaching patterns and disciplinary foundations of history. This view draws on poststructuralist notions of power embedded in and enacted through ideologies, discourses and institutional practices.

I would consider textbook as a channel or recourse for the promotion of political ideas. Teun van Dijk

argues that textbooks allows for the expression of prejudice and generalization in a normative situation in which the expression of prejudices is officially prohibited (van Dijk, 2001). Within this framework, history textbooks are considered in this paper as instruments of ideologies.

2 The state of art in the field

The content of curriculum and school textbooks has been at the focus of political scientists’ analysis since the end of the Cold War and attendant global transformations in world politics. Geoff Whitty mentions that this initial interest, via the analysis of school textbooks and instructional materials, “stemmed from a political concern about their overt censorship during the Cold War era” (Witty, 1985, p. 40). Studies focus upon the patterns of discrimination within school texts, the incidence of stereotyping and the distortion of reality or the ‘absence of realism’. The perspective becomes progressively more complicated and theoretically skilled due to the dialog with critical educational studies. Michael Apple and Jean Anyon in their classical works reveal the detailed field of education, economics, race and class converge and discovered many social problems of school education. They start to not only analyze and criticize the textbooks but took it into different contexts to examine how these textbooks were used and read; Apple and Anyon analyze interactions in the school environment, the culture and micro politics in school classes. Such analysis was based on participant observations and interviews; they attended classes and interviewed students, parents, teachers and administrators (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 1991). In these contexts, texts allow multiple interpretations, though there are always preferred readings and clear ideological messages. The critical educational writers are concerned not only with the ideology itself but with the politics in the classroom, with all its ideological, cultural, economic, and other factors, and were highly politically engaged, as they try to develop a broad program of educational reform. Professors Apple and Anyon were the pioneers of Neo-Marxist thought in critical education studies, inspired by perspectives imported from the new sociology of education in Britain. However, in their works on education policy, they also consider power as knowledge, and the ability to control society by constructing reality; the data analysis is set within a

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framework of dialogue between the theories of Marx, Foucault and Bourdieu (Anyon, 1997; Apple, 2000).

Geoff Witty takes a macro-political perspective of political theorizing and practice of educational program in Britain; he investigates how different educational practices are articulated during discussions between the Labour and Tory parties on governmental policies in school education and how such developments are entangled with the wider economic, political and ideological climate (Whitty, 1985). He investigates how aspects of education are represented in the debate between government and opposition in the press and intra-party discussion, and analyzes the arguments, contradictions and implicit ideology in ministers' speeches, parliament protocols and newspaper articles. Another question is how all these discussions were developed into ministerial documents and were consistent to the school curriculum and textbooks. He also discusses how the developments in education have created concern amongst the teaching profession and local authorities, how they have implied a change in the division of responsibilities between the parties, and tries to determine different kinds of economic, social and ideological pressures that could generate policy initiatives. Witty's research sought to understand the effects of changes in official policy discourse on educational practices. Witty considers English secondary school curricula and textbooks as the product of an ongoing series of compromises between different groups "engaged in political and ideological work in and around the educational arena".

The school historiography is still an actual field for political studies. The trend is to analyze not only ideological implications of narration in textbooks, but also its didactic and other communicative aspects, and especially--in many papers presented at the Annual ISHD Conferences (International Society of History Didactic)--how these textbooks were used and read in different discursive contexts. As Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon mentioned, any textbook is set simultaneously in educational projects and practices, in scholarly and school-related epistemological contexts, under institutional constraints, political and ideological demands, social requirements and representations (recently developed by memory agencies), and it is of course an economic product with an enormous and often captive market (Repoussi, 2010, p. 157). This allows us to examine the textbook from different points of view.

In contrast to research on history textbooks in the United States and United Kingdom, Russia is often spoken about as an example of total state control over education and ideology. Vera Kaplan describes post-Soviet Russian educational reforms, the period of reaction at the end of 1990s and the main changes in history politics in early 2000s. She defines two main trends in post-Soviet educational policy: attempts to include national history education into the multi-cultural perspective and to liberate history from

ideology (Kaplan, 2005, p. 253). Kaplan focuses on political discussion and analyzes ministry circulars and State Standards in History, the articles published in the professional journals affiliated with the Russian Academy of Education and the Ministry of Education, and compares contradictory ideas about the aims, priorities, and methods of history teaching. Like Witty for Britain, Kaplan analyzes the Russian case to understand the effects of changes in official discourse on the curriculum and textbooks. She tries to argue how the new concept of history education was linked to the "formation of the ideological doctrine of Russia". She supposes that government actions under Putin returned the reform of history teaching to its starting point of the stagnation era. She traces the arguments and basic ideas of political discussions, and analyzes the political concepts implied in history textbooks and curriculum. A close reading of textbooks is done for the same project by Alexander Shevyrev. He analyzes the historical narrative in the post-Soviet Russian school and focuses on the representations of some cases in prerevolutionary history of Russia such as the Tatar yoke, oprichnina, and Russian absolutism, which represented the peculiarity of Russia and non-European models of Russian power (Shevyrev, 2005, p. 274). He concludes, "Political changes which took place in Russia at the end of the last millennium have seriously influenced the very process of development of historical narrative"; after Putin historical education turned to the ideas of patriotism and national exceptionalism. He does not describe and analyze other different political ideas implied in the representation of past events. In his own work, Joseph Zajda provides an insight into understanding how the nexus between ideology, the state and nation-building have been depicted in history textbooks. He also underlines ideas of patriotism and nation exceptionalism widespread in Russian history textbooks, and writes of the politicization of increasingly state-controlled history curricula and textbooks by comparing the Russian case to Japan and Greece (Zajda, 2009).

Victor Voronkov and Oksana Karpenko make an analysis of modern Russian nationalist discourse. Taking a Foucauldian perspective, they are concerned with the discursive representations of "people" and "native land" as a part of knowledge, a power which forces a person to discharge an obligation. Patriotic discourse forms strong power relations. Voronkov and Karpenko discover nationalistic roots in the foundation of state patriotic ideology and argue how Soviet discourse has recently become more nationalistic. The propagation of patriotic discourse is opposed to the values of a law-based state, human rights and civil society (Voronkov and Karpenko, 2007). Karpenko traces how by way of the identification in official discourse of the concept of patriotism with the concept of "love", the idea of a citizen subjected to his nation and strong models of power obtained an illusion of humanized justification (Karpenko, 2010,

pp. 81-83). Voronkov and Karpenko consider the textbooks as a state representation of social knowledge. Thus, the textbooks could transform social moods in keeping with the dominant official view. The textbooks represent government attempts to manage social knowledge.

Sergey Soloviev discusses the ideological myths in Russian history textbooks of the 2000s. He analyzes the stereotype patterns in textbook narratives on the twentieth century. Soloviev tries to problematize "social lie" in school socializing. He focuses on crucial falsification of historical facts in new textbooks' representations of wars, revolution, repressions, class struggle, state collapse and other traumatic events and social conflicts (Soloviev, 2009). In Althusserian terms, he considers the education system as part of ideological state apparatus and writes of the impossibility of de-ideologization of history teaching. In Barthes' terms, he considers myths as a way to allay traumatic tension and recreate stability of the social world. He traces how the monarch-nationalist version of the past became dominant in textbooks of the 2000s. Soloviev suggests that the state conservative ideological project and the ideas of state and social consolidation were the result not only of state power but also corresponded to Russian public opinion. Many authors demonstrated their Soviet subjectivities to change ideological tone in accordance to the government's "general line". Not only explicit or implicit state orders, but also the social stereotypes shaped the textbooks' contents. For instance, the theory of totalitarianism was broken down by the strong social mythology that opposed the Soviet to fascist. Soloviev considers the social mythology that turned the trauma of the post-Soviet 1990s into a story of national humiliation to be a factor of imperial revival. The Kremlin's political technologists took into consideration social memory, while textbook authors took into consideration recent government moods. Soloviev presents textbooks of the 2000s to be a product of negotiation between the Kremlin's political technologists and society. Soloviev accentuates different variations, deviations and contradictions to the state's "general line". He mentions how patriotism got along together with patriotism, or how liberal or neoliberal ideological implications were contaminated in the 2000s textbooks with nationalistic discourse.

Philip Tcharkovsky redirects the discussion of Russian history textbooks. Following John Apple, Tcharkovsky proceeds from the assumption that teaching practices and the practices of articulations could transform the ideological implications and political effects of the historical narration and change the understanding of textbook content. A non-democratic discourse could be threatened by democratic practices. Tcharkovsky questions the efficiency of recent ideological communication between the power elites and "ordinary" people. The same radical gap between state ideology and subjective perception of reality existed in the stagnation era of 1970s.

Tcharkovsky's exploration of "history textbook consumption" is based on a number of interviews with pupils, the representations of past in which he compared with textbooks' contents. He argues that the school is a site of resistance and the ideas contained in the textbooks can be transformed through pedagogical practices. Also, in these years the school is far from the only agent of socialization, given the importance of the internet, social media, and local communities. Different discursive fields create different moral reference points and ideological resources for undermining the state "patriotic" interpretation of the past. (Tcharkovsky, 2011)

This perspective seems to me practical and sensible. It should be the theme for further research on how the political ideas presented in the textbooks are accentuated in different discursive situations and internalized by pupils. In this paper, I focus only on the representations. The study sample consisted of ministry-approved textbooks published in 2013. It represents current standards for Russian history education. Here I don't touch upon the issue of textbooks efficiency and don't work with the contexts of learning procedures. The practices involving the textbook in classrooms and the teachers' and students' reception of the textbooks remain beyond the scope of this study. However, government attempts to modify or adjust the normative interpretation of the past could be considered as a symptom of deviation in the articulations of ideological presuppositions. Today history education has moved to the fore of public discussion in different countries. The question of methodology stands at the center; that is, how history should be taught assumes the problem of normativity.

2 National frames of educational politics

The teaching of national history in the Soviet Union was under the control of central power since the times of Joseph Stalin (Banerji, 2008). The criticism of such a totalitarian regime became crucial for post-Soviet national ideology. But in the late 1990s the Russian government once again, as in Soviet times, drew attention to historical education and took new steps toward history policy. The Provisional Compulsory Minimum of the Content of Education for Basic Schools was confirmed by the Ministry of Education in 1998: "in the wake of this decision, the structure of the federal list (komplekt) of textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education was divided into two parts, the first included those texts which 'fulfilled the Compulsory Minimum', the second part listed textbooks which, for various reasons, diverged from" it (Kaplan, 2005, pp. 261-262). From year to year the government restricted the list of approved textbooks, increasing the number of textbooks removed from the market. The main attention of the Russian government was focused on the representations of current policy and the post-Soviet years in the textbooks. Announcing the competition for the writing of new

textbooks, Ministry of Education officials emphasized that textbooks should represent Russia as a multi-ethnic democratic state, and tolerate different conceptions of the past to consolidate society, accentuate local identities and prevent racism. But also the new textbooks should “bringing back patriotism, civic and national virtues and historical optimism”. Once again the task of forming the exemplary citizen and patriotic subjectivity was entrusted to history education. President Putin at a meeting with history teachers in November 2003 made the statement: “Modern textbooks, especially textbooks for schools and institutions of higher education, should not become a platform for a new political and ideological struggle. These textbooks should... inspire, especially among young people, a feeling of pride for their own history and for their country” (Smith, 2008, pp. 1-2). Since 2004 the Russian Ministry of Education has controlled the process of evaluation of all approved history textbooks. Such intentions as strong discipline of mind and paternalism appeared in officials’ claims. Only the government-approved history textbooks could be used in schools. Moreover, officials referred to “teachers’ requests” that there should be only one “single” textbook with a strong “true” interpretation of the past (Kravtsova 2013).

In September 2007, deputy minister of education Isaak Kalina announced that history textbooks should be one of the means to form the Russian citizen. The Russian government initiated the process, which continued to be essentially monolithic and intolerant to alternative views and ideological coloring (Zajda, 2009). The Kremlin’s plan to create a unified series of school history textbooks to replace the existing rival curricula was met with criticism by professional historians (Asmolov et al., 2013) and public discussion protesting the “brainwashing of the nation last seen in Russia in the Soviet era” (Eremenko, 2013). The criticism of these measures from the teaching community and oppositional political circles was quite severe and since this moment the process of rewriting was suspended.

This is an old controversy in public discussion about the history education, whether the school should give pupils so called “factual knowledge” formally presented to them in the historical narration or it should teach them how to construct the facts and explorations by critical work with “sources analysis” and theoretical frames (Ferguson, 2011). The conceptions associated with each of the attitudes could be derived from political agendas. From the position of conservatives, history narration should “give people the chance to be proud of our past”. But such “traditional” instruction seems to train students to passively assimilate knowledge, or, to invoke Foucault, to achieve the “subjectification” of the will to power. The opposition proclaims that such instruction could “mould our pupils into the compliant citizens that the government desires, that instruction should “go

beyond simply glorifying our past, so that students can critically engage with the past and understand how it affects them as individuals in the present. The emphasis on studying history should not be placed on a particular narrative that has merely a political agenda” (Vasagar, 2011). “There is a well-described critical balance between urging students to develop as much as possible into free independent individuals with a strong capacity to form their own opinion and at the same time aiming to promote and secure specific values from a privileged normative standpoint” (Jacobsen, 2007)

My research question is what kinds of competing political patterns are captured by the recent school history textbooks through the representation of the past and through the construction of communicative models with the reader.

3 “Doing history”: Disciplinary frames of history textbooks

In the Russian educational system, history is a “subject” similar not only to such “Arts” (by Common European Research classification) as literature, language, social studies or “art & science” as geography and biology but also with “science” as physics, chemistry, computer science. But in fact contemporary historical education in Russia deprives the normative rules of scientific (research) practices or art criticism. It approaches the art of fiction, media arts, national mythology or even everyday talks. Russian history textbooks promote the normativity of common prejudice as a basis for explanations and justification of political, social or economic realities.

The subject and frame of the discipline are extremely fuzzy. First, history is presented in the textbooks as lessons in patriotism. It is cast as an act of civic solidarity (Izmozik, 2013, p. 3). For example, the textbook edited by Pchelov declares: “*we are all a little part of our Great Motherland*”, of which we should take loving care. They attempt to elicit empathy from the reader and approach to subjectivation: “*We should know our history for a better understanding of our life*”. It should be like an act of interiorisation: history is about of “*our family, our entity and our origins; we should take pride and not repeat any mistakes*” (Pchelov, 2013, p. 3). “*It is about our present and future*” because “*our life in the present is connected with our past*”, just as psychoanalysts suggests. So “*when we know our history, we know what we should do to be a good responsible citizen*” (Danilevsky, 2012, pp. 3-7) And also we should to increase historical achievements of Russian people (Kiselev, 2013, p. 3). At the same time there are no references to everyday human life in the textbooks. As media discourse the textbooks narrate macro-policy. The states and super-heroes (political leaders) are the actors of this drama. In spite of the Marxist heritage, Russian history is not about the people, who are invisible and implicitly passive victims (the super-hero should save somebody in his battle

with the anti-hero) or as recipients of charity (the super-hero should take care of somebody by way of his reforms). And certainly it is not so easy to think about the "Motherland" and "Love" when the textbook narrates, for example, about the trends, forces, system, and so on in physics-like terms. But the textbooks recommend that students participate in special activities. Some of them appeal to family memory and oral stories to accumulate ordinary emotions and ask the students to talk with their relatives (grandparents and parents) about the tragedy of war (Shestakov, 2013, p. 141; Danilov, 2013, pp. 79, 187). But the most popular practice is to ask students to narrate a fictional story from the point of view of a fictional character about his everyday experience as if they were eyewitnesses of "historical events" (Tchernikova, 2008, p. 102; Sakharov, 2012, p. 108; Shestakov, 2013, pp. 42, 81; Danilov, 2013, pp. 31, 156, 164-165, 192, 223; Pchelov, 2013, pp. 24, 146, 206; Danilov, 2013, pp. 79, 93, 14, 228, 255, 260, 315). They create an effect of theatricality by appealing to the imagination: the students are asked to try on another persona – a citizen of ancient republic, or a peasant in times of Stolypin reform, or woman who took part in a protest march, or a congress delegate etc. – and to experience something through his or her point of view. This way the reader connects to the subject represented therein. It seems important that this exercise does not assume to compare and discuss opposing points of views. It should be in keeping with the main ideas of textbook. The role of every historical event is clearly evaluated. It is presumed, for example, that the victory in war elicits only joy, not taking into consideration any probable post-traumatic stress disorder or memory; all the "motivations and fills" are strong in a narratively predictable way. This activity is just an act of interiorisation (subjectivation). The pupils should learn by heart the causality and be able to imagine the inner motivations and feelings of historical personalities, "*imagined ordinary people of the past*". (Tchubarian, 2011, p.16) This practice presumes on control over personal emotional habits and experience.

History in school is posited as tied up with another civic activity. The textbooks invite pupils "*to reflect on the fortunes of Russia*". The textbook authors take this "citizens' duty very seriously: they assert that 'it is natural that every adult citizen reflect on the fortunes of Russia and on the Russian place in world history'" (Sakharov, 2012, p.1). A strong technology is provided for this activity. It is a matter of the "imagined community" (in terms of Benedict Anderson). The native, as the textbook explains, is the land "*where you are born, or live, or just suggest your own*" (Tchernikova, 2008, p. 3). Textbooks suggest that one use the maps of contemporary Russia to imagine "the boundless space of our ancient state" (Danilov, 2013, p. 22; Pchelov 2013, pp. 28, 50, 61, 99, 104, 147). "The nation" depicted by maps has its boundaries and location. It seems predictable that some years ago

Ukraine and Crimea, the Caucasus and even Lithuania were mentioned as "our territory". "*We must know history to have a deliberate and conscious position in the present*" Tchernikova, 2008). As Clifford Geertz ironically mentioned, "almost universally now the familiar paradigm applies: "*I have a social philosophy; you have political opinions; he has an ideology.*" This rule very much corresponds to the case of Russian history textbooks. The editors try to legitimate the ideology by reference to the authority of adults, historians, teachers and parents, or on the contrary try to discredit these groups as bearers of "false consciousness" and affirm their own ideas as clearly "neutral". It is significant that President Putin tries to do the same. In February 2013, Putin called on historians to produce a single history free "*from internal contradictions and ambiguities,*" suggesting that current textbooks offered too many opposing views (The Telegraph, 2013). The study of history has become a political struggle. Each of the sides in public discussion of history textbooks tries to construct an authoritarian political model. This discourse makes it impossible to open history to interpretative practice. In recent years, most Russian history textbooks represent history as the site for training in "policy making". In the Russian common understanding, this means to watch televised political debates and to vote (and to vote for the "good" political leader, the personification of "Russian national interests" and the "common good"). The textbooks' narration is similar to on modern media discourse about politics. And the editors often ask students, who seems to be a good leader? It appears to be training for "correct" vote decision. The students are being cultivated into a good electorate: relying on the information in the textbooks, they should be able to choose a "good" political program. (Tchernikova, 2008, pp. 45, 28, 34, 186; Danilevsky, 2013, p. 56; Volobuev, 2013, p. 29; 275; Pchelov, 2013, p. 50; Kiselev, 2013)

In striking contrast, the textbooks of the 1990s tried to prepare children to be political leaders, to make decisions and defend their positions and actions (Burin, 1996, p. 251; Vedjushkin & Burin, 2000, pp. 46-53). They focused not only on the actions of political elites but on everyday political work and decision making by management, officials and the bureaucracy. But at the same time the textbooks of the 1990s also promoted "common sense" as a basis for decision making and valued the ability to negotiate and come to an agreement other than "political radicalism" (Kuriev, 1998, pp. 28-30).

The newer textbooks occasionally ask students to work with statistics on trade turnover, to estimate income and expenditure, and interpret the structure of GDP. It also invites them to write a legislative project or government statement, and make a discussion (Tchubarian & Revjakin, 2012; Volobuev, 2013, p. 19; Danilov, 2013, pp. 58-59, 172, 315). But as opposed to civic activity training, in the case of

analytical tasks the textbooks do not address methodology or how to do this work.

The textbooks ask students to feel inspired by historical paintings and myths to produce the subjectivity reconstructions and fake histories. Critical methods are replaced by a false sense of history. Only three textbooks (Danilevsky, 2012; Pchelov, 2013; Tchernikova, 2008) give students an introduction to historical criticism and teach them how to work with historical sources, to compare different documents and try to determine their date, creators, addressee and purpose, to evaluate the authenticity and credibility of historical sources and to compare the different argumentation of historians who interpreted these sources. This activity assumes an independent investigation; pupils cannot find the "right answer" in the textbook. But in the case of professional rules, it could turn out to be a misunderstanding of methodology. Critical thinking requires the intellectual discipline based on its own norms.

4 Communicative frames of history textbooks

If we compare late Soviet with early post-Soviet textbooks, a very notable difference is the means of communication with the reader. Stalin-era textbooks were extremely didactic and didn't provide dialog or interaction with children; they substituted knowledge of history with learning the textbook by heart. Under Brezhnev, it was explicated in tasks and questions to control the memory and attention of young "sub-alterns". In contrast, the textbooks of 1990s offered the new models of communication. This was not a universal trend; many authors and editors continued to practice old didactic and narrative forms. But some delegated to the children the role of equal partner who could discover meaning, interpret the historical materials without outside assistance and could argue one's independent point of view. These textbooks not only told stories of political "democratization" and "liberalization" but also practiced it.

The difference between Russian textbooks and European ones or even some Russian textbooks of the 1990s is not only in the way they are controlled by the authorities, but also in their inner discursive power over pupils. For example, the British textbooks required students not to "remember" (*"No specific answer is looked for"*) but to argue, *"identify, explain and assess"* the reasons of past events, and be able to discuss the main factors of events (*"They don't provided the possibility of direct answer"*) or assess *"to what extent the available evidence support the view that"*. At the next stage of school education, students should be able to compare arguments related to past events by contemporary historians (to compare two aspects and two contrary points of view on each case). At this second stage of education, the textbooks present different interpretations of leading historians to the students and ask them to *"assess the view"*. *"Candidates are not expected to demonstrate a detailed understanding of the specification content but*

are expected to know the main developments and turning points relevant to the theme". On contrary most recent Russian textbooks represent the events of war as a chain of victories, focused on the place, date, name, numbers, and position of main characters, cause-and-effect relation, and the author's assessments. And these textbooks ask students to *"learn them by heart"* as in the Soviet era (Sakharov, 2012; Tchernikova, 2008). The textbooks cite only the texts which don't contradict the author's views. They ask students to agree with proposed assessments and to accept "true" understanding. History education basically turns into simple memory training: the pupils should choose a right answer from a list (Sakharov, 2012; Danilov, 2013).

5 Representations of political models

The main paradox inherent to the history education in Soviet Russia was the consideration of protest. How could one glorify the revolution but not endorse protest? The subjectivity of future Soviet citizens should be based on the idea of succession to the revolution. History was structured by the chain of such events as protest movements and revolts against discrimination and exploitation. But since the Stalin era the idea of party discipline displaced the objectification of cultures of protest, dissent and resistance. History textbooks were filled with Marxist critique of oppression and alienation but kept silent about generative, self-organizing or mobilization through the property of social structures and protest cultures. In this formulation, any protest should be organized by the "center". The history of the revolution was transformed into a narrative about subordination to the party and subjection to the mythological "majority". The main actor in this story became the party-like organization, or strong centralized authority (by the familiar model of the old monarchy). As under the old regime, students should learn by heart the narrative of the textbook of strong subordination under and subjection to the authority of the text. After the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991, communist values were replaced in mass media by liberal and democratic discourses that promoted particular values such as freedom and individuality. "European" parliamentarism has been seen as an idealized embodiment of democratic values, as a model that guarantees individual needs by free discussion without strong subordination to centralized impersonal will and without protest disturbances. The idea of impersonal equality was replaced by individual entertainment as a key to the common good. The revolution has been seen as a deconstructive act, in contrast to private enterprise, now cast as *"real constructive labor"*. As Mark Beissinger mentioned, the collapse of Soviet ideology in the late 1980-1990s was also frequently entangled with the revival of nationalist and traditionalist, so-called "patriotic" discourses (Beissinger, 2009, p. 331). In that nationalist perspective, revolution and any forms of

public protest were considered to be alien acts pursued under the pressure of the “other”? *“Who were the revolutionaries by nationality? If the revolution was an attempt to break with traditions could it really be good for Russian culture.”* In general, the political imagination of Soviet and post-Soviet textbooks was not very creative and implied pure repertoire of political action. Most of these actions go back to the political theory of the nineteenth century (or history textbooks of the so-called Old Regime).

The new textbooks represent two main ideological positions – conservative and liberal - both of which consider the revolution as crisis, disorder, violence and the destructive result of war. Alexander Tchubarian is a propagator of global civil society and such concepts as “liberal state”, market economy, parliamentarism and so on. He denounces government involvement in the economy, authoritarianism, colonialism, militarism and suggests that civic consensus, opportune reforms and international organizations could prevent conflicts like revolutions and wars. But he emphasizes that during the October Revolution (which he treats as military coup d'état) the majority of population remained apathetic. The main effects of this “revolution” were, according to Tchubarian’s textbook, industrial stagnation, repressive government and populism (Tchubarian, 2011). Another textbook, edited by Rafael Ganelin and Vladlen Izmozik, promotes the model of democracy as a *“normal way of political progress”*. In Russia, autocracy oppressed society and rejected the claim of the nation to discuss “the main political questions” (the textbook avoids additional specifics; all the textbooks present the schematic and simplified political models). In Ganelin’s textbook, the revolution is treated as a result of oppression and unrest which gave way to populism. Bolshevik leaders promised to “solve difficult vitally important problems for the benefit of the majority”, but from the revolution came only dictatorship, civil war and a much more oppressive regime. The textbook edited by Oleg Volobuev also promoted globalization, industrial society, human rights and liberal values (such as social mobility and integration, private property, liberal economy, reformism, democracy and social consensus). It proceeds from the liberal critique of conservatism and even Marxist criticism of capitalism, imperialism and militarism but is based on Lenin’s idea of strong central authority (it is impossible, according to the textbook, to change technologies, labor laws and modes of production without competent politics, and it presents the taking of state power in a Leninist key as necessary for the benefit of majority). The textbook propagates a centralized state. But only democracy and social consensus could legitimize the new order. The revolution is identical to repression; the revolution led the state to national catastrophe, disintegration, war, criminality and so on (Volobuev, 2013)

Another conservative trend in Russian history textbooks presents the ideal of strong, centralized

state (Pchelov, 2013). It denounces parliamentarism as empty intrigue. Only the competent, experienced and religious tsar (or political leader with full authority) could discipline society and hence serve the common good. Scandalous quotations from the textbook on Russian history of XX century some years ago spread all over the world: *“Stalin was an effective manager”* (Danilov, 2013; Kiselev, 2013). These textbooks propagate such policies as regulatory economics, counter-terrorism and social paternalism. Russian textbooks approved by the conservative government basically deal with the problem of national security and foreign threat (especially from Europe and the United States). These textbooks are premised on the idea that a country’s territory and resources ensure the “power” of state. The political system and structure of administration is considered irrelevant by this model. Political or business elites fight for new territory and “redivision of the world”. This model is based on the Marxist thesis about the power of capital (Zagladin and Simonia, 2013, pp. 290-293). The conservative idea posits that only a strong, centralized state could protect Russia from “American hegemony”. School history textbooks mix the simple ideologies with simple phobias. The relicts of Marxist criticism of state regimes, exploitation, religious propaganda and imperialism are entangled in conservative textbooks with the ideals of a strong centralized state and glorification of empire and Orthodoxy. (Sakharov, 2012; Tchernikova, 2008; Shestakov, 2012; Danilevsky, 2012). They promote the promises of slavery: forced labor is more productive and more beneficial to society.

All of the textbooks (both based on liberal or conservative ideology) concluded with mention of the social and political successes of Putin’s government. It is extremely significant that the public discussion around school history education turns into a struggle for the moral evaluation of a political leader such as Putin, Stalin, or Lenin, and for listing the persons, achievements and events “deserving national pride”. Stephen Greenblatt calls such discursive action “transition”: a display of subjectivation (the opposition is subjectivized by the same power; they demonstrate the same discursive competence in this discussion as officials).

6 Conclusions

Recent history school education in Russia is directed against critical thinking skills and is focused on the techniques to further interiorisation of the official position. The above examples clearly illustrate how the story is constructed. I have shown that these rhetorical features tend to represent readers as politically desubjectivated. “Ordinary people” are constructed as victims calling for care and as passive objects. They are denied active political engagement and rendered incompetent for critical activity; they are placed within the field of passive consumption of official discourse. Public discussion about school

history education demonstrates that such a vision seems “natural” for the propagator of different ideological positions. Most of the participants treat history as a set of “true” facts and “right” rules, as a result but not as an open process of investigation. They dispute and even struggle over the ideas of what is really “true” or “right”, what history students should learn by heart. This discursive position could be attributed to political subjectivity: it is paradoxical that political opponents of authoritative power represent the same vision and do not facilitate an open society (or in this context, deny the student’s right to gain access to the skills and critical thinking and thus become an active and competent political subject).

Russian history textbooks reject parliamentary norms of discussion by strong narration, reducing the opportunity to discuss their statements and do nothing to develop critical thinking skills. The textbooks instruct students to be subordinate to tradition and authority, to rely on official media and support official statements. Foucault presents resistance as the element within power relations. “We can find resistance in struggles over the validity of experience and in struggles over definition, interpretation, and classification. Foucault identifies resistance at work in the transgression and contestation of societal norms; in the disruption of metanarratives...; in the frustration and disruption of power; in the “re-appearance” of ‘local popular,’ ‘disqualified,’ and ‘subjugated knowledge’” (Kulynych, 1997; Pickett, 1996). In our case, there could be resistance against the representations of order, for example, or resistance against school “history” as disciplinary practice. The negation of the logical order and system of school history could be seen in the statistics of Federal Education and Science Supervision Service (Rosobrnadzor): only 23,4% of school students choose history for their final elective exam.

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Economic Citizenship and Socio-Economic Rationality as Foundations of an Appropriate Economic Education

In this article we argue that social science education needs to convey more than operational mechanisms of society. Especially in socio-economic education, questions of business ethics, i.e. phenomena of economics and society need to be integrated and reflected, decidedly focusing on the moral content of economics. With the introduction of economic citizenship as the ideal economic actor to be the purpose of economic education, this paper proposes that economic education needs to connect economic expertise and moral judgment and should also allude to the necessity of every market action's conditional legitimization by society.

We propose to discuss different 'sites' of morality as a heuristic approach to the different areas of economic responsibility. The individual, organizational and political level of responsibility helps to categorize the different moral issues of economic activity and serves as a great pattern to explain economic relations to scholars and students.

Keywords:

Business ethics, economic-ethical education, integrated economic ethics, economic citizen, sites of morality, civic spirit, ethical expertise

1 Introduction: Socio-economic education from a business ethics perspective

Economic and employment systems play an increasingly important role in modern societies; as (re)producers of social disparity, they take accountability for the distribution of economic goods and determine the amount of individual societal participation. Thus, economic operational competence constitutes an invaluable basis for any self-determined lifestyle concerning changes of status as well as everyday life. It is therefore crucial not to reduce these systems to abstracts beyond social reality, but to conceive them as culturally embedded societal subsystems. Such interconnected systems always cause conflicts, dilemmas and structural problems in their interpenetration zones (cf. Göbel 2006, p. 79), i.e., their intersections with adjacent subsystems (e.g., politics, legislation, education, etc.). In the following, we argue that those phenomena—within the scope of school education—need to be reflected from a perspective beyond an analysis of simple operational mechanisms, decidedly focusing on the moral content. Socio-economic education and issues of business ethics are therefore very closely connected. If (conventional) socio-economics wants to apply to imparting economic and social expertise, then business ethics accompanies this via reflecting the development of socio-economic rationality.

The genuine contribution of business ethics is to endow this guidance as a "critical reflection authority"¹ (Ulrich, Maak 1996, p. 15), and to offer explanatory discourses regarding values, purposes, principles and extra-economic framework requirements to both lecturers and learners of socio-economic education. This is meant to include those issues and aspects which are shunned by "pure" economics in order for it to be acknowledged as a value-free, descriptive science. We hold the view that the separation of ethics and economics, of explanatory and applicational discourses, is artificial, and that the two-world-conception of value-free economic rationale on the one hand and "extra-economic" ethics on the other hand can be transcended by a socio-economic education. In this regard, ULRICH (2005a, p. 6) points out: "Thus, we do not have a choice between a value-free or an ethical perspective on economic activity, but only a choice between a reflected or unreflected dealing with the inevitable normativity of every statement concerning issues of reasonable economic activity. Every conceivable notion of economic rationality always includes the normative."²

This essay discusses socio-economic education from a business ethics point of view. Generally speaking, we consider every person involved in economic inter-relations (consumer, investor, entrepreneur, executive or member of an organization) to be a beneficiary of this education. It needs to be embedded into the general school system, since relatively young students already take on the role of economic subjects or develop ideas about economic activity during their occupational orientation or via decisions regarding consumption and saving. During tertiary and quaternary education, socio-economic contents of teaching gain importance along with the increase of potential role models (entrepreneurs, employees, executives, etc.).

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Special attention is given to the location within the theoretical construct of integrative economic ethics (cf. Ulrich 2008, 2010), which ascribes particular advertence to the individual and his or her responsibility—in contrast to rather economic approaches to morality (e.g., Homann, Lütge 2005; Homann, Home-Drees 1992) that focus on the institutional order as the systematic location of morality. Although moral failure of leadership and management—a typical issue of individual ethics—is a noticeable concern in recent public perception³, business ethics as a scientific discipline has not dealt with issues of individual education until recently. However, earlier dealings with integrative economic ethics have led to a systematic introduction to business ethics education for teachers (cf. Ulrich, Maak 1996) as well as socio-economics in general and socio-economic education in particular (cf. Ulrich 2003, 2005a, 2007). We will examine the didactic implementation towards the end of this article.

The following explanations are to shed light on a realm of socio-economic education that has rarely been highlighted so far, namely the normative foundations of every form of economic education.

2 Civic spirit, mythbusting and ethical expertise – conceptualizing the idea of the economic citizen

An orderly society and a beneficial market economy need actors whose unbowed self-conception includes being economically active while conditionally legitimized as part of a surrounding societal system. Under these prerequisites, socio-economic education must not aim for the creation of unconditionally efficient and privatistic economic actors, whose degrees of freedom are only limited by natural and political restrictions. Rather, an understanding of the liberal-republican ethos of an economic citizen is required that ties economic activity to civic virtues and moral faculties of judgment. This notion is legitimized through the well-founded assumption that people have always been growing up within a society—therefore, neither nature nor any thought experiments are necessary to account for moral duties. Instead, regarding discourse ethics, one does well and acts correctly if he puts his actions up for discussion among the parties affected to show his concern about the legitimacy and social approval of his actions. From this point of view, an action is legitimate if it can be potentially identified by everyone as generalizable, i.e., if it is impartially justifiable towards everyone. It is the “basic tenet of discourse ethics” that “[o]nly those norms can claim to be valid that meet (or could meet) with the approval of all affected in their capacity as participants in a practical discourse.” (Habermas 1991, p. 66)

Economic citizens then are “economic subjects who do not separate their business acumen from their civic spirit, i.e., their self-conception as ‘good citizens’, but integrate both” (Ulrich 2005b, p. 14 – cf. Ulrich 2008, p. 283) in a community of free and equal citizen. Here, “business acumen” means the knowledge of the (market)economic system’s rationale. Thus, socio-

economic education necessarily includes the development of economic expertise taught by conventional economics. This expertise does not stand on its own though, but is rather augmented by the civic spirit and the capacity for ethical reflection. Civic spirit – in a broad sense – is the individual responsibility to shape the *res publica* and to implement the *volonté générale* as a social idea of a beneficial economic order. The capacity for ethical reflection is a necessary complement, but never a substitute for a substantiated economic education. It seems essential to investigate basic ethical issues concerning ecological, social and inter- as well as intragenerational justice of economic activities and not to approach the economic pursuit of ideal resource allocation by falling back to unacceptable extremist positions, namely mindless economism (which subordinates every normative consideration to economic calculations and propagates liberal anarchy) and economically naive moralism (which confronts economic activity with unattainable moral postulates) (cf. Röpke 1961, p. 184). This means that ethics and economics are not supposed to be pitted against each other, but to be reconciled by – or at least integrated into – the economic citizen. In order to fulfill this task, a mature economic citizen, being addressee and purpose of any economic education, has to have reflexive and professional competencies: He needs to (a) subordinate his actions to conditions of public welfare, (b) have the expertise and judgment to disenchant economic myths, and (c) develop enough moral judgment and competency to be geared to values, virtues and duties connected to this public welfare in economic and political contexts.

a) The appeal to the term “citizen” constitutes the liberal-republican core of the economic citizen. Business acumen and civic spirit can be viewed as two competing conceptions of the term “citizen”. The bourgeois, following his business acumen, understands economic activity to be primarily a self-involved, quasi-autistic action, only restricted by a state treaty. Aside from a civic-capitalistic corporate ethos and the attendant pursuit of self-interest, the civic virtues of this property-owning bourgeois do not reach beyond observing the law as a sign of good citizenship (cf. Schrader 2011, p. 309 – Ulrich 2008, p. 274). ULRICH contrasts this bourgeois with a conception of the economy being inseparably tied to politics and especially ethics. The politically mature citizen (*citoyen*) subordinates his economic activity to an expanded conditional legitimacy, which is not limited to a conformist behavior geared towards coercive norms—underpinned by sanctions—of the regulatory framework; he rather considers himself as a member of a community. On the one hand, this citizen is characterized by the civic spirit mentioned earlier. This basic point of reference, incorporating the solidary and just social order of free and mature citizens, can be regarded as a republican guideline of the economic actor. Beyond this ethos, civic virtues are the navi-

gation aid of economic activity and form the normative substructure of economic-efficient actions. ULRICH (2008, p. 342) recognizes the following formal minimal requirements for republican civic virtues:

“—firstly, a fundamental willingness of the citizens to reflect on their preferences and attitudes involving a certain degree of self-critical open-mindedness which will enable them, if need be, to change their position;

– secondly, a fundamental willingness to reach an agreement on impartial, fair principles and procedural rules regulating the deliberative process. A particular degree of good will is required for the clarification of this basic consensus, as the participants must be prepared to renounce the use of their power potential in the pursuit of their own interests;

– thirdly, a willingness to compromise in areas of dissent which, beside the good will to arrive at a basic consensus on fair rules for finding compromises, also requires a permanent mutual acceptance of limited areas of disagreement;

– fourthly, a willingness to accept the need for legitimation, i.e. the willingness to submit ‘private’ actions unconditionally to the test of public legitimation. This includes the renunciation of an a priori privatism, adequate forms of ‘publicity’ and accountability for publicly relevant activities.”

Embedded in his particular ‘lifeworld’, the economic citizen is faced with a multitude of possible role conflicts every single day. Thus, his civic spirit is called upon not only concerning political ballots, but also decisions of consumption and investment. It has to be developed in awareness of the fact that purchase decisions and portfolio strategies always imply political and social aspects, too, which can be reflected in substantial externalities like environmental damage, precarious labor conditions or violations of human rights. Moreover, globalization has caused such processes to shift from local events to worldwide chains of interdependence, which an individual can hardly identify and assess without a high level of investment. Later on (cf. chapter 4), further locations of morality shall be addressed, which can (but not necessarily do) support the economic citizen in pursuing the civic spirit. His role as an organizational citizen, i.e., as a member of an enterprise bound by a labor contract, seems particularly demanding. In this case, it is imperative to conciliate—or, in a conflict situation, balance—the legally codified loyalty towards the employer with one’s own ethos and the civic spirit. Clearly confirmed by reality, the conflict situation’s individual solution boils down to a decision between three strategies: “exit” (i.e., annulment of any contractual relations or membership), “voice” (i.e., enunciation of the conflict and attempt to overcome it), or “loyalty” (which often manifests as uncritical loyalty in the face of noticeable

grievance) (cf. Hirschman 1970). Therefore, socio-economic education in light of business ethics not only implies the ability to consider the ethical dimension of economic decisions, but also includes guidance for actions in ethical conflict situations. The phenomenon of whistle-blowing – widely discussed in the media – strikingly shows how moral conflicts in economic, legal, and political contexts can escalate.

b) Beside their ethical expertise, economic citizens also need economic competence, of course. But responsible economic citizens are to be seen as ‘myth-busters’. On the basis of critical-scientific values following Elias (2009, p. 53f), those citizens are versed in the ability of “replacing imagery of event interrelations, myths, belief systems and metaphysical speculations that cannot be confirmed by looking at the facts with theories, i.e., models of interrelations that can be checked, validated and revised by looking at the facts.” From our perspective, this requirement is well-understood if it is sensibly translated to the citizen’s ‘lifeworld’, enabling him to check material logics and functional mechanisms—on whose premises he aligns his economic decisions and actions—for their functionality and normative content. Economics rightfully claims to have contributed to the rationalization of the world by means of a strong formalism and subsequent modeling. Thus, criticism neither applies to economics as a scientific discipline nor to the necessity of imparting classical economic knowledge, but aims at a specific occurrence, which ELIAS (2009, p. 54) also cautions against: the transformation of scientific theories into belief systems, which—though acting as evidence-based sciences—want their own premises to be conceived as socio-scientific analogies to natural laws or metaphysical dogmas. A (compulsory) material logic that is deemed to be without alternative seems especially ominous when it burdens the citizen with moral obligations and operates under the assumption that these can be extracted from real events at the market via the normative force of facts. The principle of profit poses a very characteristic example; it encompasses – as necessarily specified guidance for action (cf. Löhr 1991, 91) – both a systemic functional mechanism of rational economic activity, deduced from reality, and a normative postulate for the individual, conveyed by the capitalistic corporate ethos (cf. Ulrich 1998, p. 2).

Economic citizens embody this kind of ‘mythbuster’ if socio-economic education endows them with the requisite know-how and faculty of judgment required to expose the “natural-law-metaphysics of the market”, (cf. Ulrich 1997, 3ff.) as a cultural artifact, to challenge (compulsory) material logics, and to prevent his own economic actions to be unquestioningly based on laws of the market which seem to have no alternative, but to have these actions conditionally legitimized by society.

c) As we understand it, the normative core of socio-economic education should be to prevent civic virtues and public welfare orientation from being



subordinated to the pure systemic logic of economics or even from being maneuvered into an irresolvable dualism. In this respect, being a mature citizen means embedding the principle of economic rationality into a viable and beneficial context, thus eventually implementing the Aristotelian triad of ethics, politics and economy (cf. Ulrich 2009, p. 8). From that point of view, market actors' individual liberties are not absolute but need to be conditionally legitimized in accordance with third-party entitlements (cf. Beschorner, Schank 2012). In line with these considerations, a socio-economic education that propagates the possibility of value-free economic activities beyond inherent questions of equity, solidarity, and free and equal participation in forming the social and economic order is to be rejected.

So far, the economic citizen has been characterized as receiver and product of a socio-economic education which encompasses both factual competencies and a basic moral attitude, which in turn needs special competencies to be implemented. His factual competence does not only encompass knowledge about economic correlations, but also an understanding of the generation of this knowledge as a cultural product rather than a misconceived analogy of value-free natural laws. With every bit of knowledge about the normative content of economic activity, the orientation towards public spirit and civic virtues approaches the educational core ever closer. Now, the question is not only how values are to be created, but also for what and for whom (cf. Ulrich 2010, p. 31 – Ulrich 2008, p. 90). Special competencies are necessary to answer these significant questions independently. Thus, this last sub-item highlights the development of moral judgment competence and decision-making authority.

The molding of morally upright personalities is a well-developed field of moral psychology and can be connected with considerations regarding a socio-economic education reflecting business ethics. The goal is to support the individual actor in his struggle to integrate moral values and ethical rules of decision-making into his own identity (cf. Windsor 2004 or Jagger 2011). Moral knowledge, moral motivation and moral action cannot be consistently combined until this moral self (cf. Blasi 1984) has been confirmed. In order to enable economic citizens to decide and act with integrity within an economic context, the following competencies have to be supported in their development (cf. Knopf, Brink 2011, p. 20; Maak, Ulrich 2007, p. 480ff):

- 1) Moral knowledge: One has to be informed about general norms, manners and customs in economic contexts as well as expected actions on those bases. (Example: Corruption is to be refused.)
- 2) Moral judgment: One has to have the ability to analyze situations and actions regarding their moral content, i.e., one has to recognize whether a norm or obligation has to be applied due to prevailing morals.

(Example: Accepting precious gifts in certain business relations constitutes corruption.)

3) Moral competence of reflection: This signifies the central ability to justifiably check moral rules for their content, i.e., to reflect them ethically. This may be a matter of consenting to universal ethical principles. (Example: Corruption is immoral because it undermines trust and leads to misallocations of resources. Therefore, an administration and economy based on corruption is undesirable.)

4) Moral courage: Tied to the competence of reflection is the ability to create and keep a skeptical distance from established and implemented norms. This ability is relevant not least because of the pressure of conformity within companies and branches of trade, which may demand non-reflective or uncritical behavior. (Example: The deliberate decision against corrupting actions, even if they are supported or demanded by one's own employer.)

In case these four competencies are combined, the economic citizen gains an unbroken identity—a prerequisite for consistent, upright and legitimate decisions and actions along the lines of public spirit and civic virtues.

If socio-economic education manages to convey economic expertise as well as moral judgment and also to allude to the necessity of every market action's conditional legitimization by society, then the qualification of mature economic citizens succeeds. They then are enabled to act literally with integrity, with unbroken wholeness, since their profit motive is set before a background of civic virtues. Such qualified citizens are less prone to place all social relations under the condition of economics and to regard society as a mere market attachment (cf. Polanyi 1978, p. 88f.).

Equipped to such an extent, the economic citizen is capable of taking political and economic responsibility in mature and self-determined ways. Not only has he been enabled to navigate the economic system via his expertise and his critical examination of economics' doctrines and propositions, but he also submits every economic action to the aspect of everyday life's practical benefits.

3 The economic citizen's responsibility

Beside the requirement to submit one's economic actions to one's own understanding as a citizen and a societal legitimization, the economic citizen is obliged to take responsibility for his actions, particularly in economic contexts. Before being able to discuss the economic citizen's responsibility, the very meaning of the enigmatic term "responsibility" has to be established in the first place.

In this context, "responsibility" is understood as a multidimensional, relational term. At any rate, responsibility means that someone (1) has to account to a certain entity (2) for something (3). In the context of responsibility for economic actions, this entity is not necessarily an individual counterpart, but may be the



citizenry in general (or the *res publica* respectively). This generalization of the entity to which one is accountable gives consideration to the fact that there are two different areas of responsibility in general: On the one hand, the citizens within a society are obviously responsible for their individual, immediate actions (or the neglect thereof). Since economic actions and circumstances are autonomously caused by intelligent individuals, those same individuals bear the responsibility. KANT already “anchors the moral and judicial accountability of actions to freedom” (Heidbrink 2003, p. 63); it is therefore indispensable for a socio-economic education to convey this connection of freedom and responsibility and to show prospective economic citizens the ever-present, essential possibility to take this responsibility, even in the face of alleged “inherent necessities” of economic activities (cf. Lorch 2014, p. 124-126).

Moreover, citizens can also be (co-)responsible for alterable states of society in terms of their civic duties: “People are responsible for all conditions which allow for human intervention and correction”, since “every alterable state needs justification” (Gosepath 2004, p. 57). This means that every citizen can be held co-responsible (by and to every other citizen) for changing unjust states of society, provided he is able to take part. The question is whether this is reasonable in every case, or whether it might be necessary to focus on addressees of accountability aside from the individual economic citizen.

4 ‘Sites’ of morality as a heuristic approach to areas of responsibility

So far, only the individual and his responsibility as a citizen in an economic system – viewed from a socio-economic perspective – have been discussed. But the economic citizen is not the only entity to be addressed with issues of responsibility. Thus, within the scope of a socio-economic education, the interplay and reciprocity between different societal institutional actors and their responsibilities should be broached and conveyed. The reason being that especially in complex situations of decision-making, one cannot assume that all individuals are morally upright and competent regarding the subject; one should always expect to deal “with precisely such average human defects” (Weber 1919, p. 57). In case the burden of responsibility takes individuals out of their depth, other sites of responsibility have to be consulted. Hence, a social “organization of responsibility” (Heidbrink 2003: 187) is required, which manifests in societal institutions that are indeed shaped by and filled with individuals, but whose basic existence is not bound to them.

In addition to the individual, two of those institutional sites are particularly relevant to economic issues and can be burdened with responsibility: the corporations and organizations as economic actors (meso-level) as well as regulatory politics, which institutionalizes economy and provides regulations and laws (macro-level)⁴ (cf. fig. 1).

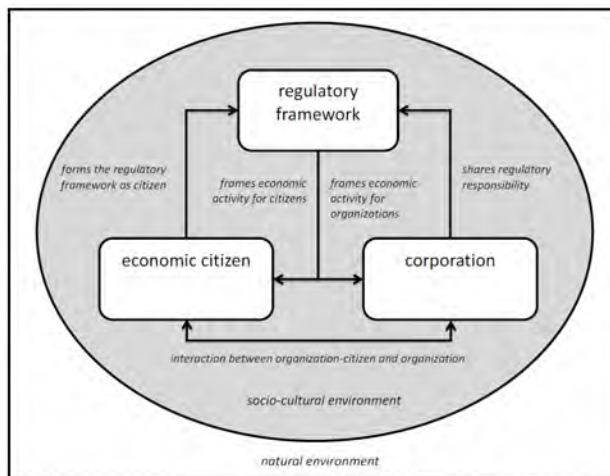


Figure 1: Locations and relations of economic responsibility

Before going into details concerning contexts surrounding the cultural and natural environment, the meso- and macro-level are to be introduced. The economic citizen as an actor on the micro-level of individual ethics has already been discussed.

a) Regulatory politics’ initial problem is the strained relation between ‘lifeworld’-aspects and systemic aspects of the market economy order. Therefore, its pivotal function is first and foremost to determine the role of the market within the societal framework. Regulatory politics has to check in which cases and under which conditions market competition gets permission to be a societal system of coordination. In other words, it has to settle the question of which areas of society are to be governed by the market, i.e. by the principle of profit and economic rationality, and which areas are left to alternate logics. Upon finding those answers, it has to guarantee the establishment of institutional preconditions for a functioning and effective competition wherever – according to the first task – market should prevail (cf. Ulrich 2008, p. 350ff). Before regulatory politics can discuss how competition is to be shaped (second task), the question of the competition’s area of influence has to be decided (first task).

Especially the second task emphasizes the interaction of regulatory politics and the two other locations of responsibility: Because of an increasing economization in many areas of life, economic citizens as well as corporations are faced with problems of reasonability within the field of tension between economic efficiency, personal moral integrity, and societal legitimacy.⁵ In such cases, there is a need for so-called “institutional backings” (Ulrich 2008, 302), which offer the economic citizen an opportunity—via available frameworks—to act upright and take responsibility.

Thus, the duty of regulatory politics should be to not only enable but also promote responsible and upright actions. One criterion for well-understood regulatory



politics is its orientation towards efforts of promoting upright economic actors (instead of individuals maximizing their own benefit, disconnected from any societal attachment). Regulatory politics has to shape the market economy in order to prevent those who take societal responsibility from having to put up with disadvantages; acting upright has to be reasonable, while acting only towards one's own benefit should be illegitimate. Possibilities for individuals to establish these regulations are limited, which is why an institutional backup is needed – which in turn is determined by the commitment of the citizens.

b) In addition to citizens and regulatory politics, corporations and other organizations within economic processes account for the third location of responsibility.

To what extent can corporations (being artificial entities) bear responsibility, and what should be their role in shaping a modern order of society? These questions had been raised even before the experiences of the financial and economic crisis and are extensively discussed in the current debates about Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)⁶. At this point, two areas of corporate responsibility are to be highlighted: On the one hand, corporations bear responsibility for pursuing an upright business strategy, and on the other hand, they also bear responsibility for their part in shaping the regulatory framework, i.e., co-responsibility in the field of regulatory politics (cf. Ulrich 2008, p. 410ff).

1) Upright business strategy (*corporate ethics*): A corporation that is integratively understood is a “pluralistic value-creation-activity” (Ulrich 2008, p. 430), whose actions take public effect. Hence, a legitimate and socially meaningful business strategy is required as a foundation. This calls for integrity within the corporation as well as regarding its external appearance. It is reflected by the corporation's handling of antagonistic claims of different stakeholders (cf. basics by Freeman, Reed 1983; Freeman et al. 2010). Corporations acting with integrity will respect the claims of all their shareholders proportional to their reasonability. This holds true particularly concerning the protection of human rights in a company's sphere of influence.

2) Co-responsibility in branch-specific and regulatory politics (*republican business ethics*): Single corporations, however, are not always in a position to implement a beneficial conception of value creation, since they are again confronted with the issue of reasonability – a situation akin to that on the individual level. It is competition that structurally leads to (alleged) “inherent” or “market necessities”, respectively. If the individual actor abstains (or intends to abstain) from profits for the benefit of an upright management, he has to accept competitive disadvantages and is eventually even more exposed to the pressure of the market. These problems are often to be ascribed to failures of regulatory politics – binding,

institutional backings are missing. However, upright corporations not only have a duty to not exploit those shortcomings, but to step into the breach in terms of the principle of subsidiarity in cases where the state does not intervene yet. An example of this would be so-called soft law initiatives, establishing, inter alia, branch-specific agreements. At the same time, the individual economic citizen in his role as organization-citizen bears an essential co-responsibility for the integrity of business activities. Thus, corporations are also tied to the other two levels of responsibility.

It is the connection of the different levels of responsibility that is to be proposed as a possible heuristic to convey and reflect economic interrelations, forming the basis of a socio-economic education. In terms of a young people's qualification for becoming an economic citizen, it facilitates the means to convey the liabilities on different levels and to uncover and deliberate alleged inherent necessities and dependencies. Aside from these three conventional levels of accountability, there are also contextual levels, which influence the allocation of responsibilities to the three discussed levels significantly. To conclude, these are to be added to the heuristic in order to complete it – the sphere of the natural environment on the one hand, and the sphere of the socio-cultural environment on the other.⁷

Despite the classification provided in the last paragraph, the *sphere of the natural environment* can hardly be viewed as given, objective surroundings. Though natural resources and livelihoods like soil, water, air, and commodities are allegedly intersubjectively determinable, their perception is de facto embedded within social discourse and can vary significantly, depending on times, contexts or groups. In order to determine the areas of responsibility, pivotal aspects of the natural environment are to be considered:

- the basic relation between humans and their environment
- existence and perception of the shortage of natural resources
- significance of quality of life as defined by the condition of the natural environment
- assumptions about the extent of economic growth being a socially and economically desirable factor, in spite of detriments to the environment

The *socio-cultural sphere* is disproportionately more extensive, since it is comprised of every cultural product and every cultural technique. Particularly prominent examples include:

- systems of norms and values within societies and social groups
- socio-demographic distribution of age, sex, education, income, etc.



- culture of political participation and political opinion
- society's cultural dimensions of attitude (cf. Hofstede 2001)
- technological status and availability
- infrastructure regarding education, mobility, bureaucracy, telecommunication and market

These aspects of the spheres of the socio-cultural and the natural environment constitute the backdrop for the actions of the bearers of responsibility as well as for the determination and balancing of their adoption of accountability. This is also an indication of values, duties and virtues neither being unaffected by time nor being intersubjective factors; they are negotiated under different social conditions.

5 Imparting socio-economic education against the Background of an inductive approach and the three-level-model

In our view, the teaching of socio-economic education (general, tertiary and quaternary) has to avail itself of a broad, method-pluralistic canon of didactic instruments which can show the complexity of situations of economic decisions and work out solutions. Not only does it provide a basic knowledge regarding facts, decisions and reflection (as is demanded within general education), but it can also have a share in challenging and correcting objectives that have been identified as problematic in tertiary and quaternary education ("profit first"). To this day, especially the management education is still to be characterized by a lack of empathy concerning ethical issues (cf. Mitroff 2004; Ghoshal 2005). Following the idea of discourse ethics, we particularly accent forms of education which demand and promote its central subjects: dealing with conflict, criticism, dialogue and discourse, i.e., being able to solve problems via reflection and—whenever possible—via reasoning based on discourse. Using the heuristic of the three levels of morality, it has been shown that in such cases, reflection always includes viewing the issue from different standpoints, conducting thought experiments. The learner is to be enabled to contemplate complex circumstances from different perspectives. Thus, the heuristic supports socio-economic education, particularly concerning problems which seem to be ill-defined:

"An ill-defined problem is one that addresses complex issues and thus cannot easily be described in a concise, complete manner, e. g. those with multiple, non-guaranteed solutions. Furthermore, competing factors may suggest several approaches to the problem, requiring careful analysis to determine the best approach. An effective technique for developing problem-solving and critical thinking skills is to expose students early and often to 'ill-defined' problems in their field" (Euler, Seufert 2011, p. 220).

This centrality of complex problems points to two implications concerning the concrete organization of learning units: Although the teaching of purely factual

economic knowledge plays a crucial role, it is not the dominating factor. One should opt for didactic techniques that help to reflect on problems and aid in developing possible actions. We discern two steps:

Socio-economic education has to be (partly) inductive by dealing with the concrete experiences of the students (cf. Ulrich 1996, p. 22). In this regard, a student-centric approach is characterized by illustrating and discussing problems from a student's perspective instead of deductive-abstract teachings. General-education-students as well as quaternary-education-students are to deal with their own role, their logic of action and their dilemmas before venturing forth. The reflection of one's own situation should not be shortened or inhibited by teaching ready-made values and norms.⁸ An inductive approach is successful if it carves out a student's basic awareness of the problems, illustrates dilemmas and points out (previously unperceived) courses of action.

An inductive approach requires a micro-perspective viewpoint, examining the student as consumer, investor, member of an organization, entrepreneur or voter, thereby focusing on intra- and (depending on the complexity of a given situation) interpersonal role conflicts. The particular value of the three-level-heuristic, however, lies in going one step further, prescinding from one's own position to allow for a multi-perspective examination. Per actors' involvement on the meso- and macro-level, relation networks, dependencies and intersectoral conflicts become apparent. The student is supposed to recognize which actors may articulate a legitimate stake or can palpably enforce an effect in a given situation. By aiming for a change of perspective in class and encouraging students to consider the logic of action and target systems from the actor's point of view, one can make a substantiated decision about the actors' inevitable or possible responsibilities (or even actions). At the same time, interdependencies between actions and their respective effects are exposed.

A socio-economic education constituted in this way requires a didactic toolbox that specifically accounts for both dialog-oriented experimental learning and discourses. An exhaustive overview of possible techniques is – within the limitations of this article – neither possible nor meaningful. Conventional conveyance of knowledge should be complemented with *case studies* and *debating*. Case studies allow for the depiction of problematic situations from different perspectives as well as problem-focused learning. Here, a selection of cases either immediately connected to the students' 'lifeworld' or forcing a change of perspective is possible. Various forms of debating – two rivaling teams arguing about a given topic under specified stipulations – hold similar potential. Conducted as a competition in Anglo-Saxon school systems, debating can be used not only as a means of content reflection, but also in order to convey dialogue competence.

The so-called service learning, which combines learning in school or university with real-world experiences and a service to society, offers great potential for the



conception of socio-economic education as outlined in this chapter. It is a form of learning “that meets identified community needs and reflects on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility” (Bringle, Hatcher 1996, p. 2). It outstandingly complies with the need for an inductive approach, since it helps reflecting and scrutinizing values and norms by confronting one’s own ‘lifeworld’ with those of others (cf. Butin 2005, p. 2). It offers pluralistic perspectives – one’s own value system cannot be conceived as isolated since third-party claims and logic of action have to be taken into consideration. Thereby, the teaching of basic economics can be transformed into concrete, real-world experiences by means of any form of school or tuition. Thus, specialized learning, individual experiences and societal actions coincide with each other. American business schools still play a leading role in enabling societal effects of economic actions to be visualized, reflected and experienced during structured service-learning courses (cf. Kreikebaum 2011, p. 158f.).

6 Conclusion and prospects

Socio-economic and economic-ethical education are joined in a common concern. Both strive not primarily for a more intensive, but for a *better* basic economic education that takes effect beyond disciplinary borders and applies to concrete problems. Citizens educated in such a way are not supposed to act – within markets or (allegedly) economized areas of life – more efficiently or with a higher degree of economic rationality, but to be upright, reasonable and responsible.

This article tried to illustrate how portentous terms like integrity, rationality, and responsibility can be fleshed out via the concept of the economic citizen and the heuristic of interlaced areas of responsibility. It should again be stressed that the economic citizen, too, requires a well-founded acquaintance with classic-orthodox as well as heterodox economic theory. The knowledge of economic interrelations cannot be substituted by an exclusive teaching of business ethics. Even if ethics can be viewed as a corrective for uninhibited economism, it cannot replace economics and exchange economic expertise with ignorant moralism. Thus, the economic citizen that is alluded to is versed in economic theory and possesses competence regarding economic actions. But his additional benefit lies in his ability to tie economic rationality to a higher reason – he aspires to a beneficial economic activity whose roadmap is the civic spirit and whose means of navigation are civic virtues and ethical competencies. Moreover, he – as a ‘mythbuster’ – is capable of searching allegedly value-free economic approaches for their normative content. If this major goal can be reached, the socio-economic education can foster economic citizens who understand successful economy to be a means, but never an end to a well-ordered society of free and equal citizens.

Although business ethics can point to an increasing level of activity during the last few years, this path has only been treaded reluctantly. That is no surprise, since business ethics as a genuinely scientific discipline with a high degree of theoretical advancement (especially in the German-speaking world) is still a relatively rare subject, even at universities. Nevertheless, the fact that business ethics is highly relevant when it comes to the very practice of economy provides incentives for school and university education. Various concepts of an experience-based competence learning (cf. Maak, Ulrich 2007, p. 486ff.) have the potential to find their way into education and teaching. Developing these new measures in order to advance economic education can be viewed as a mutual assignment to be taken by socio-economics and business ethics.

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Endnotes

¹ All German quotes in this text were translated analogously by the authors

² See BRODBECK (2011) for an overview of economics as normative science.

³ See LEISINGER (1997, 141ff.).

⁴ By now, the classification of business ethics into a micro-level (individual ethics), meso-level (business ethics), and macro-level (regulatory ethics) is widely agreed upon, although the terms for the three levels may vary (cf. Enderle 1988, citing Göbel 2006, 79).

⁵ Gary S. BECKER (1976) provides an impressive example of the intrusion of economic logic as the dominating explanatory approach to human behavior into areas of life that were once exempt from dominance by the economic logic.

⁶ For an overview of the current state of the debate about Corporate Social Responsibility, see Aguinis/Glavas (2012).

⁷ The new St.Gallen Management-Model follows a similar approach (cf. Rüegg-Stürm 2005).

⁸ Such a risk might, for example, emerge from an (uncritical) adoption of a code of conduct regarding certain occupations or roles, like the manager's oath, which has been propagandized in recent years (cf. Khurana 2009).



Robert Joseph McKee

Encouraging Classroom Discussion

Classroom discussion has the potential to enhance the learning environment and encourages students to become active participants in the educational process. Student participation in classroom discussion has been shown to significantly improve the student learning experience. Research suggests that classroom discussion is an effective method for encouraging student classroom participation and for motivating student learning beyond the classroom. Participation in classroom discussion encourages students to become active collaborators in the learning process, while at the same time providing instructors with a practical method of assessing student learning. Classroom discussion is an effective tool for developing higher-level cognitive skills like critical thinking. Despite the potential discussion holds for student learning, many in academia lament the lack of participation in the classroom. The lack of student participation in classroom discussion is not a recent problem; it is one that has frustrated instructors for decades. Instructors report that some of the more current methods for encouraging classroom discussion can be exasperating and at times non-productive. This two-year study of 510 college and university students provides insight into the reasons why some students do not participate in classroom discussion. This study, which also elicited input from sixteen college and university professors and two high school teachers, offers some suggestions for creating and encouraging an environment conducive to student participation in the classroom.

Keywords:

classroom discussion, student assessment, student engagement, education, social science

1 Introduction

Classroom discussion has the potential to enhance the learning environment by encouraging students to become active participants in the educational process (Dale 2011; Svinicki and McKeachie 2010; Howard, Short and Clark 1996). Svinicki and McKeachie suggest that classroom discussion is an effective method for encouraging student participation and for motivating student learning beyond the classroom. King (1994:174) asserts that students “learn more rapidly and retain knowledge longer when they take an active role in the learning process.” Goldsmid and Wilson (1980) encourage students to become active collaborators in the learning process, while at the same time providing instructors with a practical method of assessing student learning. King (1994:174) argues that classroom discussion is “superior to lectures in developing higher-level cognitive skills (e.g., critical thinking) and in changing students’ attitudes about course topics” (see also Taylor 1992; McKeachie 1978).

Despite the potential classroom discussion holds for student learning, many in academia lament the lack of

student participation in the classroom (Hollander 2002; Eble and McKeachie 1985). The lack of student participation in the classroom is not a recent problem; it has frustrated instructors for decades (Gimenez 1989). Even some of the more current methods for encouraging classroom discussion (e.g. multi-media) can be exasperating and at times non-productive (Magnuson-Martinson 1995).

I have been teaching sociology for over twenty years and I have noticed that my upper division students—most of whom are social science majors—are generally engaged in classroom discussion when compared to my first-year students. One might assume that the diverse and often controversial subject matter that sociologists are concerned with would engender some strong opinions that students would be only too eager to share. Yet, over the years, I have repeatedly heard my fellow colleagues complain about the lack of student participation in classroom discussion.

Four years ago, I was approached by two graduate students who were in their first semester of teaching introduction to sociology. They were frustrated by the lack of student participation in the classroom discussion and came to me seeking advice. After offering a few suggestions, I decided explore the reasons why so many first-year students are reluctant to participate in classroom discussion. For this study, I surveyed 645 college and university students over a three-year period. I also discussed this problem with eighteen college and university sociology and psychology instructors. The single research question for both groups was: “Why do you think some students are reluctant to participate in classroom discussion?” In the process of gathering data,

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several of my colleagues offered techniques they use to increase student engagement, which I will share in this article. While most of the methods are not new or novel (I suspect many instructors are already using a variety of them), it is my desire that some of these techniques will be useful to those who are experiencing problems. I hope this article helps some instructors to recognize the impediments to student participation in their classroom and perhaps assist them in creating a welcoming environment that encourages student participation.

2 The Importance of Classroom Discussion

Some educators question the value of classroom discussion (Kelly 2007); others recognize strong student resistance to the concept despite the instructor's best efforts (McFarland 2004; Yon 2003). However, student engagement in the classroom has been identified as a significant factor in determining student achievement (Kelly 2008). Beyond test scores and grade point averages, classroom discussion provides an opportunity for personal enrichment. Many of our students may have had only limited social interaction with diverse groups prior to entering college (Lopez 2007). The classroom, then, is an excellent setting for students and instructors alike to learn more about the diverse backgrounds and experiences of our students, as they also learn to appreciate and welcome diversity. For our students who may someday find themselves in positions of business ownership or management, learning to appreciate diversity in the classroom has the potential to translate into success in private industry (Herring 2009). According to Herring, both gender and racial diversity are associated with increased sales revenue, and greater relative profits.

As social scientists, we are likely familiar with the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954), which posits that through interpersonal social interaction diverse groups may come to dispel some of their preconceived prejudices (Beitin 2008). Further research also indicates that intergroup conflict may be reduced through positive social interaction (see Forsythe 2009). Diversity also has the potential to enhance a student's social network thereby increasing their access to relationships, including exogamous romantic interethnic relationships (Clark-Ibáñez and Felmler 2004.) Classroom discussion also helps students to see beyond their own preconceived notions on a host of social issues, thereby improving their critical thinking skills and opening them up to new ideas (Takanori 2003).

Participating in classroom discussion can make the course more interesting for our students (Eglitis 2010; Parrini 2005; Unnithan 1994). Classroom discussion is an excellent opportunity for instructors to learn something new and interesting as well (Bernstein-Yamashiro and Noam 2013). Students, particularly those who are a little older than our average students, possess a rich history that includes some wonderfully unique experiences (Howard, Short and Clark 1996). I have learned much from my younger students regarding the latest in urban

slang, fashion, and technology. Sharing these experiences helps to break down some of the barriers of communication between students and faculty.

Encouraging classroom discussion provides educators with alternatives to traditional lecturing as the primary method for conveying course materials. Prolonged lecturing can tend to bore many students, thus reducing the effectiveness of instruction (Augustinien 2004, Brown 1999). One of the main responses I solicited from students was that they were often bored by the instructor's regular insistence on long lectures. By encouraging classroom discussion students become active participants in the learning process (Howard et al. 1996). When students become an integral part of the class a secondary result is usually better attendance (Dale 2011; Forsythe 2009).

3 A Growing Problem

While encouraging classroom discussion has always been a challenge for educators (Alpert 1991), I have heard a steady increase in complaints from my colleagues in recent years. In my conversations with other educators, they cited three sources as potential contributors to this problem: social media, classroom overcrowding; and homeschooling. The increase in social media may be responsible for reducing the number of opportunities for students to engage in meaningful face-to-face conversations, thus increasing the tendency for social isolation (Hampton, Sessions & Her 2011). In the process, they may fail to develop fundamental social interaction skills that lead to bonding with their fellow social actors (Conein 2011).

Some have suggested that the problem may be rooted in the steady increase in classroom overcrowding (McCain, Cox, Paulis, Luke and Abadzi 1985). Because of large class sizes, students may become apathetic or feel lost in the crowd and therefore reluctant to participate in classroom discussion (Unnithan 1994). Others posit that the problem may be related to the quality of classroom teaching and learning (Pedder 2006). Weiner (2003) suggests that the deficit paradigm—the result of the student's negative social environment outside of the classroom—coupled with increasing class sizes, forces teachers to struggle just to maintain orderly classrooms where students come in, sit quietly at their desks and take notes (Schneider 1998).

Several instructors I spoke with suggested that the lack of student participation may be traced to the increasing number of college students who were previously homeschooled. Their argument being that these students are not accustomed to large classrooms. They couple this with the fact that in most cases, homeschooled students are being taught by a well-meaning, but relatively unskilled parent, who lacks the experience of a seasoned professional. When being taught by a parent, students may be reluctant to engage in a discussion with someone who is an authority figure from whom they cannot escape after class is over. While it is true that the number of children being homeschooled



has increased significantly in the last twenty years (Isenberg 2007), I was unable to find any research that supported this suggestion. In contrast, the literature tends to suggest that homeschooled students may actually adjust and succeed quite well in the college environment, even surpassing the non-homeschooled students (Drenovsky and Cohen 2012).

4 Methods and Data

Using convenience sampling (Marshall 1996), I gathered data from August 2011 to May 2014 by asking my introduction to sociology students (n=591) and upper-division students (n=54) one question: "Why do you think some students are reluctant to participate in classroom discussion?" I asked the same question to eighteen experienced college (n=10), and university (n=8) social science instructors. Eight of these respondents have actually taught for more than twenty years. Respondents were encouraged to list as many reasons as they thought appropriate. As a result, some responses were recorded in more than one category.

The data was coded and analyzed using grounded theory (Charmaz 2008, 2006, 2000; see also Glaser and Strauss 1967) and sensitizing concepts (Bowen 2006; Blumer 1969, 1954). While open-ended question are subject to a variety of interpretations based on the context of the response (see LaRossa, Jaret, Gadgil and Wynn 2000), I believe it is possible for me to make reasonable and valid assumptions about the meaning(s) of the responses and to create appropriate categories based on my interpretation of those responses (Fontana and Frey 2000; Ryan and Bernard 2000; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Typologies were constructed from key words or phrases expressed as by the respondents as noted in italics. In many cases the actual category was used by the respondent.

My analysis of the students' responses yielded three general categories: *disengaged instructor*, *intimidation*, and *lack of preparation* by instructor. A disengaged instructor is one whom students feel is boring, lacks passion, or does not care about either the subject matter or whether students learn anything from the course instruction. As one upper-division sociology student remarked:

Half of my professors act like they are just there to talk about themselves. *They don't care about me as a student or if I am learning anything.* It is not uncommon to see students fall asleep in many of my classes while the professor drones on about something.

Intimidation includes those students who feel intimidated in the classroom, either by the instructor or by other students, as these two sociology majors indicate:

I think many students do not speak up in class partly due to *fear of being wrong* and partly because they are

not prepared to have a dialogue with *an authority figure who presumably knows more than they do.*

There are a lot of instructors out there that aren't open to a real discussion. If you are not in agreement with them you open yourself up to ridicule and perhaps a lowered grade.

The category for *lack of preparation* captures those responses where students reported that the instructor was ill-prepared to teach the class. Here is what one upper-division student said:

Many of my instructors are actually graduate students. *Some of them don't even have any notes or PowerPoint slides.* They just read from the book or jump around so often in their lectures that I don't know what they are talking about. Then they get angry when they ask the class to discuss the material and no one speaks up.

Fifty-three percent of student respondents said they feel intimidated in the classroom, either by the instructor or by other students (n=342). In these cases, the instructor has not created a welcoming environment for students to participate in the discussion. Approximately thirty-three percent of student respondents said that the instructor was disengaged (n=213). Thirteen percent of students responded that the instructor was either not properly prepared to teach the class (n=84). One percent (n=6) said that the instructor never offered an opportunity to participate in the classroom discussion. "She would just come in and start talking," one student replied. "If you raised your hand, she would just ignore you and keep on talking."

The instructors' responses were synthesized into three categories: *student apathy*, *intimidation*, *lack of preparation* by student. Approximately forty percent (n=7) of instructors cited student apathy as this instructor noted:

Ambivalence, lack of engagement, *apathy*, disaffection, growing up realizing they could pass classes in school without talking much, disregard for what the professor thinks of them. It also has to do with the declining respect for the profession.

While this response was coded as "apathy" other responses were not coded into a single category. Because respondents were permitted to provide numerous answers, some responses were marked in two or more categories. For example, this response was recorded in all three categories: *apathy*, *intimidation*, and *lack of preparation*.

Fear of saying something dumb or incorrect (*intimidation*). Not paying attention in the first place/don't care (*apathy*). Don't want to give other



students the impression they are a know-it-all (*intimidation*). Can't read and don't understand what we are talking about (*lack of preparation*).

Instructors cited intimidation as the top reason for the lack of student participation (n=12). While two anthropology professors acknowledged that students were most likely intimidated by the instructor, the rest of this group cited intimidation from their fellow students. Only four instructors felt that students failed to participate in the classroom because the student was unprepared, despite many of them offering the opinion that most students were normally unprepared for the day's instruction.

6 Discussion

I found a general reluctance by both groups to take ownership of the problem. Each group tended to blame the other. When I informed instructors that a third of the student respondents said they were bored in the classroom, most reacted with surprise or disdain. One social psychology professor stated: "Hey, I am not here to entertain students. I am here to teach them. I had to put up with some pretty boring instructors when I was in college; it is just part of the college experience." However, another longtime sociology professor likened classroom teaching to stand up comedy. "You have to entertain your students by injecting humor into your lectures," he said. "Get to know your students so you know what things they are interested in and what pushes their buttons." When I pressed students to elaborate on why they found some instructors to be boring, most replied that the instructor lacked passion for the subject or seemed disengaged. Many remarked that the instructors' lectures would drone causing students to lose interest in the subject. Others said that some instructors just don't seem to care whether they pass or fail, or whether students were even learning anything.

More than half of the student respondents reported that they often feel intimidated in the classroom. Many said that there is always at least one student in class who dumps on everyone else's opinions. Others cited the unfortunate experience of having an instructor who force-fed them his or her opinion on social issues and then made students feel stupid for disagreeing with them. A few students complained about the class "know-it-all," who has his or her hand raised at every occasion, thus reducing the opportunity for other students to participate in the classroom. This psychology major's response was fairly typical of those voiced by other students:

Many students don't talk because they feel uncomfortable talking in a public setting. They don't want to come across as "stupid" or say the wrong thing and offend the instructor or another student.

Thirteen-percent of student respondents reported that the instructor did not appear to be prepared to

teach the course. Students stated that some instructors fumble through their notes or jump around between topics so often that they found it difficult to follow the instruction. One student stated: "I had this professor last semester—a graduate student—he would just open the book and start reading from the chapter. He would flip back and forth through the pages without making any sense." Another student replied that she had an introduction to psychology instructor who "would spend the entire class period telling stories about her life and never seemed prepared to teach the class. The bad part was that we all failed her exams because we never knew what to expect."

One surprising response came from two white students, a brother and sister, who stated that they were homeschooled until entering a local high school where they were in the racial minority. They feared participating in classroom discussions involving racial issues because they had several bad experiences as a result of voicing opinions that were contrary to what a black or Hispanic student had said. Now they find themselves in a social science class where topics of race or social class are in the forefront, they carry with them the same fear and trepidation instilled in them from their abusive high school experiences (see Hyde and Ruth 2002).

While intimidation ranked high with instructors, forty percent reported that students are apathetic about their education. As the quote below reflects, some instructors lamented that students are not really interested in getting an education.

They are only there to mark off another box on their required list of courses so they can graduate. *They don't really care about the subject matter; they just want to pass the course and move on.*

Among those instructors who cited intimidation, several suggested that status differentiation may play a role in determining whether or not a student feels comfortable in participating in the classroom discussion, as this psychology instructor notes.

Power/status dynamics between student and peers, and student and teacher are significant. A student with higher status/higher level of acceptance among peers, may be more confident to contribute if contributing is a value in the school culture.

My data suggests that much of the problem with classroom discussion may be the fact that instructors have not created a welcoming environment for student participation. Students are feeling intimidated in the classroom, either by the instructor or their fellow students. Some instructors have failed to recognize the importance of student involvement in the course, while others are frustrated by their attempts to engage students in the classroom discussion.

7 Creating a Welcoming Environment

The study data indicates that if we are to encourage classroom discussion, we must communicate to our students that participation in a social science classroom is an expectation and not an exception. We must create an environment for them to feel safe in expressing their views. We also have to find ways to keep our students interested and engaged in what we are teaching them (Brown 1999; Singleton 1989). If we are not passionate and enthusiastic about what we are teaching our students, how can we expect them to be? Course materials should be introduced in a manner that is both current and relevant to their lives (Rafalovich 2006; Sobieraj and Laube 2001). Students learn best when they can relate a particular concept or idea to their own experiences (McCabe 2013). The following are a few suggestions from me and my colleagues that have proven effective in increasing student participation in the classroom, particularly among first-year students in our social science courses.

One technique is to prepare a discussion question in advance of a lecture. At the appropriate time, present the question to the class and allow them two minutes to discuss the question among themselves. Follow this up by asking students to share their comments regarding the discussion question. For example, in a discussion of race and ethnicity, I like to ask my sociology students to identify the stereotypes commonly associated with their racial or ethnic group. This exercise is an opportunity for minority students to express their frustrations concerning stereotypes and provides a forum for dispelling them as hurtful and false.

Several instructors reported that they show students a funny video clip from one of the many online video sites that relate to the topic of the day. I show students in my social science research methods course a humorous video on breaching. Aside from providing a few minutes of comic relief, the video has spawned numerous breaching exercises for my students to practice on campus. After which, we regroup and spend the remainder of the time discussing their experiences. Another technique is to relate a particular concept to a current event. One of the major advantages social science instructors possess over other instructors is that we are directly involved in current issues of social significance. Recently I spoke to my first-year sociology students about social inequality and how it connects to conflict theory. I related it to the failure of Congress to pass legislation that would lower the interest rates for student loans. I implied that members of Congress are generally wealthy and their children don't need student loans. By making a college education more difficult or unattainable for the lower socioeconomic classes, members of Congress assure themselves that their children will not have to compete with them for the best colleges and jobs, thereby reinforcing social inequality.

A longtime sociology professor told me he likes to play the devil's advocate with his students. He said, "When I am discussing the culture of poverty thesis versus white

privilege, I like to play the video of Bill Cosby talking about how blacks are responsible for their own problems and need to quit blaming whites." He said that this video never fails to get students excited and it provides an opportunity to introduce a host of concepts related to racial and ethnic relations.

The second issue to address is that of classroom intimidation. My research suggests that a large percentage of first-year students do not participate in classroom discussion for a host of reasons: classroom bullies, overly-opinionated instructors, or the fear of being politically incorrect. It is important for instructors to stress upon their students proper classroom etiquette (Emerick 1994; Singleton 1989). I tell students that classroom discussion is not an opportunity to: 1) upstage the instructor; 2) dominate the conversation; 3) denigrate another student's opinion; or 4) for an instructor to embarrass a student.

As social science instructors, controversial topics are an everyday part of our curriculum. We should respect students who may disagree with our personal or political opinions. Regardless of our education and experience, we should never force our personal or political opinions on our students. It is normal for many first-year students to feel a little intimidated by the instructor. When I call attendance on that first day, I ask them to tell the class something interesting about themselves. To get the ball rolling, I tell them that I was once on the old television show *The Newlywed Game*. And in fact, I liked that particular wife so much, that I married her twice. This usually gets a chuckle from the class and it has the effect of humanizing me in their eyes. By being self-effacing, we can lower the pedestal to the point where students feel comfortable expressing their opinions in our presence. Humor in the classroom can be an effective tool for advancing knowledge and increasing student participation (Wunder 1990; Hynes 1989; Korobkin 1988).

The onus for improving student participation, however, does not fall entirely on the instructor. Students have a responsibility to come to class prepared to discuss the course material. One method for ensuring that students have completed the required reading is to have them prepare a one-page summary of the readings for that day. This assignment will prepare them to participate confidently in the classroom discussion.

Another technique I use is to require students to prepare a five minute presentation on the subject of the day, which includes a discussion question. Over the years, former students have told me that this particular exercise helped them overcome their shyness.

8 Conclusion

Encouraging classroom discussion is a positive learning tool for those of us engaged in teaching the social sciences, but it only works when we create a welcoming environment for student participation. If we can help students develop this important skill, it will serve them well throughout their college and professional careers. By engaging in classroom discussion, students and



instructors alike will learn much more than just the course materials. They will also find ways to make those materials and the courses more interesting and more relevant in their everyday social lives.

The college classroom should be a welcoming environment for students to express their opinions and to share their life experiences. Encourage your students to become active participants in the learning process. Assure your students that they are in a safe place to discuss their views on a variety of potentially controversial topics. Discourage dictatorial, dogmatic, or threatening behavior, including that of our own doing. Teach students proper classroom etiquette enforce those rules when it becomes necessary. Remind students that classroom discussion is not only an expectation, it is a requirement. Make it clear that their grade is dependent on their participation. Be specific as to how much class participation is worth in your class. Put it on the syllabus and reinforce this regularly. Develop and implement methods that will assure students are coming to class prepared to discuss the relevant subject matter of the day.

I hope this modest study proves helpful to those of you who may be struggling to get your students to participate in the classroom. If I have overlooked something that has worked well for you in the past, please feel free to pass it along.

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Zafer Kuş, Zihni Merey, Kadir Karatekin

The Value Preferences of the Parents in Turkey towards Their Children¹

The current study aims to determine the values parents in Turkey try to teach their children. Parents from various cities (Ankara, Diyarbakır, Hakkâri, Hatay, Iğdır, İstanbul, Kastamonu, Kırşehir, Muğla) around Turkey were selected through maximum variation sampling, a purposive sampling method. The current study was conducted within the qualitative research methods. Results were obtained through content and descriptive analyses of data collected with open-ended question forms. Parents try to teach the value of honesty as the first priority within family. Other values that families try to teach their children are, respectively, giving importance to family unity, respect, responsibility, affection, industriousness, patriotism, care for health, and tolerance.

Keywords:

Value education, family, parents, children, Turkey, preference

1 Introduction

Various disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, sociology, psychology, and economics deal with values on different theoretical bases. Even though many disciplines have conducted a number of studies on values so far, it is still not clear what exactly values contain. The fact that the concept of value exists in very different disciplines makes it harder to define this concept. Each discipline has chosen and researched the relevant aspect of this concept, ignoring the irrelevant one. Due to these reasons, there is no consensus on a definition that can be generally accepted (Güngör 1993). Shalom Schwartz (1994, 21) has summarized the most widely shared conception of values in social psychology in the following definition: "Values are desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity". Kornblum (1994) emphasizes being societal and defines values as thoughts collectively shared on what is right. An analysis of the definitions of values demonstrates that these basic points are common: Values are abstract concepts. Furthermore, values cannot be regarded as ephemeral emotions or preferences that come to mind at a specific moment. They can be said to be permanent in a certain period of time as their change takes a long time. Values contain an element with regard to comprehension. In addition, values do not have to be completely distinctive.

We unconsciously act according to values. Another point is that values need to become actions. Talking about values does not prove their existence. A value must have a meaning in practice. Its existence cannot be proven otherwise. Finally, a distinctive feature of a value is that it is a desired concept (Firat 2007).

There have been many classifications about values up to now. Of these classifications one of the most accepted is that of Rokeach, and the other is that of Shalom Schwartz. Rokeach (1973) groups values under two main headings, instrumental and terminal values. Terminal values are those that set the purpose of life and serve this. Instrumental values are intermediate values used to achieve a goal. Rokeach (1973) divides instrumental values into two, namely "moral" and "capability" values. Moral values are relevant to behaviour patterns rather than the purpose of life. They particularly contain the social aspect of behaviour, characterized as bad and wrong. Capabilities are individualistic rather than social. Values may arouse excitement in people or a person can feel emotional intimacy or hostility towards a value. A value can prompt an individual in face of a situation. In other words, values have a directing influence on behaviour. Values are influential in an individual's expression of himself or herself to another person. They are also an instrument to evaluate others. Influenced heavily by Rokeach (1973) Schwartz's theory defines desired values, purposes of change, change in importance, and assistance that guides the principles in people's lives. Schwartz describes values, in conscious purposes, as three universal realities related to human existence. These are biological requirements, social coordination requirements, and survival and welfare needs of groups. Examined as universal requirements, 56 values are expressed under 10 main headings, namely power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (Schwartz 1996). According to Schwartz, values form a prioritised value due to both their relations to each other and interactions. Ten values

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given above are grouped under two high dimensions based on the mutual harmony between different motivational targets and basis of contrast. The first of these two prioritised dimensions includes conservation values and openness to change value groups, and the second one includes self-transcendence and self-enhancement groups.

Having different definitions and examined with different classifications, values are directly influential in individuals' daily lives and the harmony of human, a social being, with the society. Values are compasses that direct the way you go. What you wear, where you live, to whom you will get married, what you do to live, and everything else are under the influence of values. Besides, values tell you what to do and what not to do (Robbins 1993). As it is the case all around the world, value education has been given considerable importance in Turkey over the last few years as it is of particular concern to our daily life.

1.1 Value education in Turkey

Tried to be taught through an implicit program for years, values were first included in the renewed programs in 2005. Value education, which has an important place in social sciences classes, are also associated with other classes (Social Studies, Science and Technology, Mathematics, Turkish classes). Aside from values put forwards by Rokeach and Shalom Schwartz and other familiar value theories, 20 values, thought to be suitable for elementary school level, to be directly taught through social sciences classes were determined. These values are "being fair, giving importance to family unity, independence, peace, scientific worldview, industriousness, solidarity, sensitivity, honesty, aesthetics, tolerance, hospitality, giving importance to being healthy, respect, affection, freedom, responsibility, being clean, patriotism, and helpfulness" (M.E.B. 2005; M.E.B. 2011). As these values are tried to be taught in a planned way, these 20 values are used the bases.

In the education system, value education is important, and the child starts to learn values before going to school. As the shaping of personality begins in early ages, the importance of first years is even greater. The child encounters adults, whom he takes as good or bad models, within the family. If the fact that education begins in the family is taken into account, one can say that values a family can or can not instill in children will have a positive or negative effect on social life. This is because family is one of the main institutions making up the social structure. The first place where the socialization of the child begins is the family (Karatekin, Gençtürk, Kılıçoğlu 2013). Parsons, a representative of the functionalist theory, emphasizes the importance of family in human and social life by saying "Families are factories that produce personalities." (Poster 1989). From the very first moment, the family tries to instill the values which it thinks are positive in the child and to keep the child away from those it thinks are negative. Mothers and fathers instill values in their children by

telling them what to say and what not to say, and what to believe and what not to believe (Robbins 1993). Having this mission, the family also performs an important role such as helping the society continue its existence and raising children in parallel with the beliefs and values of the society (ASAGEM 2010).

As in every nation, Turkish families have values they try to teach children. Tezcan (1974) separates Turkish values into 6 parts, which are family, educational, religious, political, and leisure values. In addition, Tezcan (1974) divides Turkish values into two, namely positive and negative values. He thinks the positive values of the Turks are "Heroism, patriotism, chivalry, religiousness, being satisfied with what one has, thriftiness, loyalty to land, hospitality, respect-homage, charitableness, tolerance, honour-gloriousness, seriousness and dignity, modesty and inner being clean." The negative values are "Ignorance, deceitfulness, cunningness, aggression, prurience, dirtiness, being superstitious, selfishness, negligence, (extreme) trust in God (conservativeness and zealotry), being proud (in international relations), laziness, treachery, vengefulness, and cruelty."

A review of studies on values in Turkey showed that in general research on teachers, pre-service teachers, values education at school or textbooks is available (Ulusoy 2007; Tay 2009; Yıldırım 2009; Yalar & Yelken 2011; Acat & Aslan 2011; Yiğittir, Keleş 2011; Meray, Kuş & Karatekin 2012; Kuş, Meray & Karatekin 2013; Yazar & Erkuş 2013). However, values education starts, long before the child goes to school, at birth at home. A value much emphasized by the educators may be a value not taught in the family or vice versa. Then, the child experiences a conflict in gaining this particular value. Therefore, value education at home is as significant as the value education at school by teachers and pre-service teachers. Studies directly investigating value education within family are limited (Yiğittir 2010; Tay & Yıldırım 2009; Balat 2007; Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması 2011). The current study aims to determine values that the families selected from various regions of Turkey try to teach and ask the school to teach their children.

2 Method

2.1 Participants

In the current study, parents from various cities around Turkey were selected through maximum variation sampling, a purposive sampling method, and cultural richness was considered as the source of maximum variation. According to Patton (1987), having a sample with maximum variation provides at least two benefits: 1) defining peculiar dimensions of each group within the sample in details, 2) revealing themes and their emphases among cases with great differences (Yıldırım & Şimşek 2005). Therefore, Hakkari and Iğdır from Eastern Anadolu Region, Kırşehir and Ankara from Central Anadolu Region, Diyarbakir from Southeastern Anadolu Region, Hatay from Mediterranean Region, Muğla from Aegean Region, Istanbul from Marmara Region, and Kastamonu from Black Sea Region were included. 28-30

families on various socio-economic levels from every city mentioned were identified and one of the parents was included in the study on a voluntary basis. Later, not-fully-filled out data collection tools and those with missing data were excluded and data from totally 225 families around Turkey, as 25 families from each city, were included in the analyses.

58% of participants were women (mothers) and 42% were men (fathers). In general, the parents were middle school (29%), high school (38%), and university graduates (26%). In addition, some participants were illiterate and some had post-graduate degrees. Illiterate participants were provided an assistant to fill in the data. 60% of the families lived in a city center; 25% in a town center; and 15% in a village/town. Parents defined their occupations as follows: 22% civil servants, 23% home-makers, 15% business owners, 10% teachers, 7% workers, 7% employees in a private organization, and 6% unemployed. In addition, professions of other parents varied (MD, military personnel, teaching faculty, farmer, and banker).

2.2 Data Collection Tool

Data collected for qualitative research vary. Collected data may be observation notes, interview records, documents, pictures, and other graphic presentations (Cohen et al. 2007; Ritchie & Lewis 2003; Yıldırım & Şimşek 2005). In the current study, parents' written responses in the data collection tool were considered documents. The data collection tool used for the current research purposes was developed by the researchers. The data collection tool has two parts. Parents' personal details are asked for in the first part. In the second part, 20 values (being fair, giving importance to family unity, independence, peace, scientific worldview, industriousness, solidarity, sensitivity, honesty, aesthetics, tolerance, hospitality, giving importance to being healthy, respect, affection, freedom, responsibility, being clean, patriotism, and helpfulness) found within social studies curriculum are listed. Parents were asked two open-ended questions in relation to these twenty values:

- As a parent, which of these values do you try to teach your children as first priority within the family? Please indicate with justification in writing.
- How do you teach your children these values that you consider significant?

2.3 Data Analysis

Qualitative research data were analyzed through descriptive and content analyses. During the data analysis process in the research, first the values that parents want their children to learn within family with priority were entered in Microsoft Office Excel program. Thus, priority of values that parents from each city want taught at home was determined. Later, without distinguishing between cities, parents' own hand-written

documents about values were content-analyzed. Expressions associated with each value in each city were determined separately. Expressions (judgments) were used as analysis unit. Analysis of qualitative data was conducted in accordance with descriptive analyses.

Data were organized within general and sub categories and a conceptual structure was formed for processing. Later, how often each category repeats (frequency) was found. Then, qualitative data were quantified. Quantifying the qualitative data is basically about increasing reliability, reducing bias, and providing comparison between categories (Yıldırım, Şimşek 2005).

We try to teach the value of honesty as the first priority at home. It is very important that my child is honest because an honest person always wins.

Expressions	f
It is very important that my child is honest	1
An honest person always wins	1

Total frequencies were given in the data analysis in order to be able to see total number of expressions uttered. Parents provided more than one expressions for some values but not for other values.

2.4 Researcher's Role

Data collected for the purposes of the current study were coded at different times by two researchers working in the values education area. These processes took approximately three weeks. Inter-coder reliability for the two researchers' qualitative data analyses was calculated as 0.81. This value shows that coders agree on a high level in qualitative data analysis (Şencan 2005).

As can be seen in Table 1, parents from the cities within the study stated that, as first priority, they try to teach their children the value of "honesty", and later, respectively, the values of being fair, giving importance to family unity, respect, responsibility, affection, industriousness, patriotism, giving importance to being healthy, and tolerance.



3 Findings

Table 1: Parents' Views on the Values to be taught as First Priority within Family

	Ankara	Diyarbakır	Hakkâri	Hatay	İğdır	İstanbul	Kastamonu	Kırşehir	Muğla	Σ	
1 st Priority	Honesty	11	11	7	9	5	4	6	16	12	81
	Being fair	3	4	2	2	5	6	4	4	1	31
	Giving importance to family unity	3	2	4	1	4	4	4	1	3	26
	Respect	-	2	5	6	-	2	-	1	1	17
	Responsibility	2	3	-	2	2	3	2	-	3	17
	Affection	2	-	2	1	1	1	6	-	1	14
	Giving importance to being healthy	3	-	-	3	2	3	1	-	-	12
	Ank	Diy	Hak	Hat	İğd	İst	Kas	Kır.	Muğ	Σ	
2 nd Priority	Respect	2	6	5	7	3	6	5	1	3	38
	Honesty	2	5	5	2	7	3	6	3	1	34
	Giving importance to family unity	3	1	-	3	1	5	4	6	3	26
	Responsibility	6	2	3	2	1	-	4	5	3	26
	Being fair	2	2	2	1	4	2	1	2	6	22
	Industriousness	-	2	3	1	5	5	-	2	3	21
	Affection	-	1	4	2	-	1	2	-	-	10
	Ank	Diy	Hak	Hat	İğd	İst	Kas	Kır.	Muğ	Σ	
3 rd Priority	Responsibility	6	2	4	3	3	4	8	3	3	36
	Respect	2	3	4	2	4	2	3	9	5	34
	Honesty	1	2	2	5	2	5	1	-	4	22
	Industriousness	3	6	1	3	3	-	2	-	3	21
	Being clean	1	5	3	1	2	3	3	1	1	20
	Tolerance	-	2	5	3	1	2	-	-	3	16
	Affection	1	1	2	1	-	3	1	3	3	15
	Giving importance to family unity	3	1	-	1	-	-	3	4	1	13
Patriotism	1	-	-	2	4	2	1	3	-	13	
	Ank	Diy	Hak	Hat	İğd	İst	Kas	Kır.	Muğ	Σ	
4 th Priority	Respect	4	2	1	2	2	4	5	4	6	30
	Responsibility	3	1	7	4	3	2	3	3	2	28
	Affection	1	5	-	4	2	1	1	4	2	20
	Being clean	1	4	2	1	3	5	-	2	2	20
	Industriousness	3	-	1	1	4	2	4	1	-	16
	Giving importance to family unity	1	1	-	4	3	2	-	2	1	14
	Being healthy	1	1	4	1	2	5	-	-	-	14
	Helpfulness	2	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	4	11
	Ank	Diy	Hak	Hat	İğd	İst	Kas	Kır.	Muğ	Σ	
5 th Priority	Patriotism	2	-	1	2	9	2	7	1	6	30
	Being clean	5	1	1	3	2	3	2	-	4	21
	Responsibility	1	1	3	2	3	2	3	-	3	18
	Charitableness	1	2	-	3	-	3	1	6	2	18
	Affection	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	-	6	17
	Industriousness	2	1	4	1	2	-	3	1	2	16
	Tolerance	1	3	4	-	1	-	2	5	-	16
Respect	2	4	3	1	-	4	1	1	-	16	



Table 2: Number of Expressions that Parents Told in relation to Values to be taught within Family

	Ankara	Diyarbakır	Hakkâri	Hatay	İğdir	İstanbul	Kastamonu	Kırşehir	Muğla	Σ
Honesty	19	31	18	23	27	14	32	26	20	210
Responsibility	31	20	18	18	11	9	25	11	12	155
Respect	18	16	13	20	14	16	21	11	12	141
Giving importance to family unity	14	10	7	13	14	11	21	18	7	115
Being fair	17	17	8	6	18	8	12	13	9	108
Industriousness	10	10	8	6	25	9	14	8	7	97
Being clean	20	12	6	7	14	16	11	3	7	96
Affection	9	6	9	9	4	7	20	14	9	87
Patriotism	12	-	4	12	22	3	20	8	6	87
Giving importance to being healthy	10	11	3	8	9	11	7	5	-	56
Helpfulness	10	6	-	11	-	4	4	9	8	52
Tolerance	3	8	6	5	8	5	1	8	5	49
Solidarity	2	5	5	-	8	1	2	3	7	33
Sensitivity	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	2	2	24
Scientific worldview	2	2	-	4	1	-	2	3	5	19
Peace	-	5	2	2	4	3	-	2	-	18
Freedom	2	4	2	3	4	-	-	-	-	15
Independence	-	3	2	-	2	1	2	-	3	13
Hospitality	-	4	1	3	1	1	1	1	-	12
Aesthetics	1									1
	184	174	116	152	187	120	199	145	119	1388

As can be seen in Table 2, the highest number of expressions (judgments) by parents on why they wanted to teach values to their children was about the value of honesty. Concepts associated with responsibility, respect, giving importance to family unity, and being fair

followed. The least number of expressions was about hospitality and independence. The highest number of concepts about the values to be taught within family was found from Kastamonu whereas the lowest number was from Hakkari.

Table 3: Distribution of Statements Generated in relation to the Value of “Honesty”

Value	Concepts Generated
Honesty (210)	Never tell lies to anyone (30), it is important for my child to be honest (22), those who are honest always win (15), honest person gains everyone’s trust (14), honest is before anything (8), the most important virtue (8), Be honest towards people (8), it earns respect in the society (7), to be a fair individual (6), honest person is affectioned (6), honesty brings value (6), honest person is successful anywhere (5), honest person does not harm those around (4), honest people maintain order within the society (4), life’s key word (4), must advocate for the truth (4), honest person is on the right path (3), the honest person is honest to himself (3), people must be honest regardless of return (3), the dishonest will face problems (3), one must be honest to the family (3), it is the basic in order to be a good man (3), honest person is good person (3), honesty is the meaning of life (3), everyone affections the honest man (3), to respect others’ rights (3), must learn to be honest without return (2), always gains (2), the first characteristic that an individual should possess (2), must not leave in a lifetime (2), his being honest will affect all his life (2), will benefit himself and others (2), must never leave honesty (2), to be good to the nation (1), to be a man of success and faith (1), man will speak of his character (1), the honest man will be respected (1), lies will impair a person (1), in order for his future to be saved (1), if s/he is not honest, s/he will face problems (1), it is the value that makes a man a man (1), s/he will not support society if s/he is dishonest (1), must wear his heart on his sleeve (1), to be as Allah orders (1), must be taught in early ages (1), the most needed thing (1), it supports other values (1), for a world without lies (1), to keep away from bad habits (1), it is very hard to be honest in the age we live (1).

As can be seen in Table 3, parents explained why they try to teach the value of honesty, by stating that *their children must not lies*. Then, parents stated that *it is important for their children to be honest, those who are honest always win, honesty is before anything, and it is an important virtue*.



Table 4: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Responsibility”

Value	Generated Concepts
Responsibility (155)	Responsible man will achieve (27), must recognize his own responsibility (22) , must recognize that he is responsible towards himself, his environment, and the society (18), to be a responsible person in his future life (12), must fulfill the responsibility (10), will face problems in case of no responsibility (7), it is important for them to be responsible (6), in order for him to be responsible at home, at school, in future in his workplace (5), responsible person has self-trust (5), it is important for himself and his family to recognize responsibility (4), responsible man is good to those around (4), no responsibility means nothing (3), knows where to behave how (3), in order for him to complete assigned tasks on time (3), must be taught in early ages (3), the most significant element of personal development (2), to grow up as an aware child (2), to be happy (2), will be ostracized if s/he is irresponsible (2), responsible person will not bore those around (1), directly impact’s one’s life (1), it is important to be a child of organization (1), responsible person affections the country (1), respects others’ rights (1), in roder for individual to self-develop (1), to be respectable in the society (1), will have better relations with family (1), I do not want him/her to be an irresponsible child (1), to take life seriously (1), we need to fulfill responsibility in order to have rights (1), the most needed value (1), knowing h’s/her responsibility saves from being dependent (1), will be planned and organized (1), will impact society if s/he does not recognize responsibilities (1).

Parents explained why they wanted to teach the value of responsibility mostly through success. Then, parents explained that their children *need to recognize responsibilities toward themselves, those around them, and the society; they need to be responsible in their future lives; they need to fulfill their responsibilities; and if they do not recognize their responsibilities, they will face problems.*

Table 5: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Respect”

Value	Concepts Generated
Respect (141)	Respectful man is respected (19), it is important to respect elders (18), must respect everyone (15), nothing makes sense without respect (10), respectful is affectiond by all (8), in order for him/her to respect society (8), respect must be prevalent everywhere (7), the most important behavior that a child must demonstrate (6), all depend on respect (5), must first respect self and then others (4), respect to others must be taught (4), respect generates affection (4), respect brings along many values (3), very important for human relations (3), those who respect themselves respect all (3), must respect teachers (3), in order for them to maintain a respected position in the society (2), kindness is everywhere respect prevails (2), respect starts at home (2), will be successful as long as s/he is respectful (2), without respect s/he will be worthless (2), respect shows one’s personality (2), in order for him/her to be respectful child (1), it is a historically national value (1), in order for him/her to respect the country (1), in order for us not to lose our culture (1), disrespectful will face disrespect (1), must obey life’s hierarchical rules (1), respect increases trust (1), place of respect in Turkish tradition is major (1), it is our the most basic value (1).

As can be seen in Table 5, in relation to the value of respect, parents mostly stated that respectful man will be respected; it is important to respect elders; one must respect all; and without respect, nothing will make sense.

Table 6: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Giving importance to family unity”

Value	Generated Concepts
Giving importance to family unity (115)	Family is the foundation of society (15), if there is unity within family, everything is organized (11), family unity means societal unity (9), everything begins with family (7), will be successful if s/he depends on family (6), if s/he cares for the family now, s/he will care for his/her own family in future (6), in order for him/her to care more for his/her own family (5), will learn other values within family (5), learns respect and affection within family (5), if there is family unity all problems will be solved (4), if there is family unity, s/he will be happy and peaceful (4), if s/he cares for family, s/he will care for the society (4), there must be unity and togetherness within family (3), education begins within family (3), dedication to family comes before anything (3), s/he learns to affection and be affectiond (2), will reflect those learned within family to society (2), respect to parents is important (2), the one who is not dedicated to family will not be dedicated to anything (2), the most important value for me (2), learns many values within the family first (2), it is hard to trust people in this age (2), the tree needs its roots (1), for a happy future (1), peace in family will foster happy generations (1), within-family disorder will impact the child (1), if there is no unity, s/he will lose self-confidence (1), must be committed to the family (1), his/her family must be with him/her in good and bad times (1), in order for a healthy individual to grow (1), the one who does not care for the family will always lose (1), the only point of reference in life (1), the child will repeat whatever s/he experiences within family (1).

As can be seen in table 6, parents mostly used the following statements in relation to family unity: family is the foundation of society, all will be organized if there is unity in the family, unity within the family means societal unity, all begin within the family, and s/he will be successful if s/he is dedicated to the family.



Table 7: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Being Fair”

Value	Generated Concepts
Being Fair (108)	Must not be unfair to anyone (16), in order for him/her to treat others fair (9), will be ostracized if not fair (8), will treat people equally (7), justice is foundation of everything (7), in order to advocate for truth and justice (4), must be fair to people (4), needed for social life (3), cannot trust anyone without justice (3), must behave within rights (3), it is very hard to be fair in this age (3), in order for him/her to be of service to society (3), foundation upon which the society is built (2), to act right (2), unrest is where there is no justice (2), it provides them with success and happiness (2), in order for him/her to be fair in future (2), fairness must prevail within family (2), must be against injustice (2), it is a must for being a good person (2), never must deviate from justice, even for those in the immediate surroundings (2), must not be selfish (2), just person is not selfish (1), for I have daughters (1), just person has conscience (1), greatest virtue of life (1), those unfair will lose (1) will earn respect from people (1), people around are not fair (1), every decision goes through fairness (1), for I have daughters (1), just person has conscience (1), greatest virtue of life (1), it is easy to be good but it is more important to be just (1), if s/he is fair, s/he will acquire most other values (1), the unjust will lose (1), just man is trustworthy (1), those without mercy in heart cannot be fair (1), just person will win in this world and the hereafter (1), will earn respect from people (1).

As can be seen in Table 7, in relation to the value of being fair, families stated the following: their children should be fair to anyone, they should treat anyone equally, they will be ostracized if they are not just, and they will treat people equally if they are fair.

Table 8. Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Industriousness”

Value	Generated Concepts
Industriousness (97)	Needed for being successful (37), in order for him/her to have a profession in future (9), for a good position (career) (6), s/he can only obtain whatever s/he wants by working (5), I want my child to be diligent (5), important for the child’s future life (4), in order for him/her to have a respected position (3), in order for him/her to overcome hardships faced (3), no achievement without working (2), in order for him/her to have a good profession (2), added value in life (2), must earn by working (2), working uplifts man (2), in order for him/her to contribute in production (1), life requirement (1), the best thing in the world is to be diligent (1), can achieve everything by working (1), I would like to be proud of his/her industriousness (1), must be diligent everywhere (1), a rolling stone gathers no moss (1), diligent person makes a model (1), industriousness brings along other values (1), laziness is foundation to all evil (1), I did not have the opportunity to study, s/he must (1) will be organized (1), will be helpful towards society (1), those who work will earn (1), an indispensable value (1), those who work will be self-confident (1).

As can be seen in Table 8, in relation to the value of industriousness, parents stated the following: children need to work in order to be successful, they need to work in order to do a profession in future, they need to work in order to maintain a good position, and they need to work in order to obtain the things that they want.

Table 9: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Being clean”

Value	Generated Concepts
Being clean (96)	In order for him/her to be healthy (26), being clean is of faith (a must) (14), being clean comes before anything (9), the environment that s/he lives in must be clean (9), very important for man (8), in order to find acceptance in the society (6), a clean person is organized (5), in order to avoid illness (4), let him/her be sensitive towards his/her surroundings (3), must be clean both at home and outside home (2), must be taught at early ages (2), let him/her affection environment (1), it is very important to be clean (1), a messy man is not affectioned (1), it brings along other values (1), in order to be aesthetic (1), people are careful about being clean in public (1), clean man contributes in the neighborhood (1), respected by the society (1).

As can be seen in Table 9, in relation to being clean, parents stated the following: children need to be clean in order to be healthy, being clean is of faith or is a must in faith, and one must be clean in order to find acceptance in the society.

Table 10: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of “Affection”

Value	Generated Concepts
Affection (87)	Nothing makes sense without affection (15), affection comes before anything (12), all values can be taught through affection (7), those who affection are affectioned (6) everything in life must be achieved with affection (5), everything turns out to be beautiful when seen with affectioned ones (5), those who affection are happy (4), must treat people with affection (4), the child grown with affection will know how to affection (4), first prerequisite to be human (2), affection is very important in family (2), one can achieve only through affection of profession (2), affection takes one to better positions (2), affection is the source of life (2), when there is affection, s/he will not be disrespectful (2), no communication without affection (2), when there is affection, there is peace, solidarity (2), it is important to affection the family and the country (1), we need loving people (1), s/he will feel lonely without affection (1), a loving person will not harm (1), in order for him/her to be a loving person (1), affection discards all evil (1), affection is the one to open all doors (1), a loving person will not harm nature (1), will be a sensitive person (1)

As can be seen in Table 10, in relation to the value of affection, parents mostly used the following statements: nothing makes sense without affection, affection comes before anything, all values can be taught through affection, and those who affection will be affected.



Table 11: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of "Patriotism"

Value	Generated Concepts
Patriotism (87)	In order for him/her to appreciate the country that s/he lives in (12), no country, no other values (11), must be dedicated to his/her own country (7), a person must protect the land where s/he was born and raised on (5), must know that thousands died for the country (5), the person who affection the country will affection living things, the nature, and everything (3), no country, no freedom (3), must affection the land, the nation, and the flag (3), affection of country is very important (3), the person who affection the country will work properly (2), can pay back to country only by working (2), provides with the guarantee to live in freedom (2), country means honor (2), will work as much as the affection of country (2), for the land is full of martyrs beneath (2), the one who affection the country will do anything for it (2), all work done is for the country (1), for unity and togetherness (1), those who are not independent have no state (1), those who affection the country will sacrifice anything for it (1), we must teach the children our history (1), the country is as significant as the family is (1), this land was earned with difficulty (1), everyone must protect the country (1), in order for him/her to keep freedom and independence in hand (1), we can be happy through the affection of country and by working (1), those who do not know their country have an unclear past (1), it is my most important task to teach this (1), we need to teach our children to appreciate this country (1), we cannot live without the country and the independence (1), in order for the flag to always wave (1), Turkey is the heaven on earth (1), must affection this country without discriminating against anyone (1), harms no one (1), no achievement without affection of country (1), will step into future with confidence (1), those who affection the country will protect their values (1).

In relation to the value of patriotism, parents stated the following: children need to know how to appreciate the country where they live in, other values will not be experienced if there is no country, children need to be dedicated to the country, and they need to protect the land where they were born and raised.

Table 12: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of "Giving importance to being healthy"

Value	Generated Concepts
Giving importance to being healthy (56)	Health comes before anything (21), those without good health will achieve nothing (16), healthy man is happy man (4), must know what to do for good health (3), will be sick if not healthy (3), dental health is very important (1), healthy man does healthy thinking (1), healthy man raises healthy individuals (1), must be clean and healthy (1), a healthy life is important (1), in order for him/her not to smoke like I do (1), if healthy, s/he will achieve all (1), healthy body, healthy brains (1), can make healthy decisions (1).

The statements that were mostly uttered by families in relation to giving importance to being healthy are as follows: *health comes before anything, unhealthy man will not achieve anything, and health will make one happy.*

Table 13: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of "Charitableness"

Value	Generated Concepts
Helpfulness(52)	In order for him/her to help the needy (11), must help his/her surrounding (9), each person needs another (3), brings along solidarity (3), charity provides man with moral peace (2), helping not only people but also all living things (2), s/he will find goodness from Allah (2), all affection those that help (2), in order for him/her to help people in difficulty (1), we must not ignore people who need help (1), we may also need help one day (1), we must learn to help (1), man must share (1), those who are not charitable become selfish (1), those who are not charitable will die lonely (1), mercy will prevail (1), in order for him/her to be useful in society (1), our religion tells us to help others (1), charity is our tradition (1), must not be a selfish person (1), it brings along unity and togetherness (1), healthy societies will develop (1), it gives moral peace (1), must share everything with friends (1), will be merciful (1), all problems will be solved through help (1).

As can be seen in Table 13, in relation to charitableness, the most frequently emphasized expressions by the families were as follows: *in order for him/her to help those in need, in order for him/her to help his/her surroundings, and for each man needs another man.*

Table 14: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the Value of "Tolerance"

Value	Generated Concepts
Tolerance (49)	Must accept everyone as they are (7), will be tolerant towards those around and friends (6), in order for him/her to be tolerant (4), his/her being tolerant will solve problems (4), in order for him/her to be happy (3), no affection and respect without tolerance (3), in order for him/her to obey social rules (2), needed in order for him/her to affection and to be affectiond (2), must be tolerant towards diversity (2), tolerant man will behave well (2), tolerance intakes many values (2), s/he accepts all the people as they are (1), tolerant person will not harm people (1), tolerance is the basic for the society (1), must not discriminate among people (1), must be raised with principles of Mevlana, Hacibektaş, and Ahi Evran (1), the tolerant will meet tolerance (1), must not seek evil in any place (1), if I teach him/her tolerance, s/he will be tolerant towards those around (1), intolerant person will be criticized (1), must not have prejudice (1), fights will end (1), will complete the emotional side of a person (1)

As can be seen in Table 14, in relation to the value of tolerance, the families stated that their children must accept everyone as they are; that they think that their children will be tolerant towards friends and those around; and that they appreciate this value in order for their children to be tolerant individuals.



Table 15: Distribution of Concepts Generated in relation to the How Parents Teach Values

Value	Generated Values
Methods of Teaching Values (352)	By talking to my children and explaining (91), by experience, hands on (74), I explain through examples (70), by trying to be an example (model) (45), I teach through affection (13), by having them read books associated with these values (7), we use reward and punishment (6), by being calm and patient (5), I teach through tolerance (5), by having them watch movies (3), through media (3), I give him/her responsibility (3), I teach through religious and national days (3), I explain through conversation (2), by having time with them (2), by listening to them (2), by helping them (2), with advice (2), by valuing my children (2), through public and religious celebrations (1), whole family being together (1), by treating my child as an individual (1), by first teaching affection and respect (1), we respect his/her opinion (1), I teach in the way I was taught (1), through an organized family life (1), through religious programs (1), I try to explain through stories (1), as my parents taught me (1), by keeping my promises (1), I teach by supporting him/her (1)

As can be seen in table 15, parents mostly emphasized that they try to teach the values that they consider important by talking to their children and explaining; they teach by examples; and they try to be examples (models).

4 Results

This study, in which values that parents try to teach their children are tried to be determined, comes up with these results:

- In all cities within the scope of the study, parents primarily try to teach their children the honesty value. An analysis of parents' statements shows that the highest number of concepts that arise is related to the honesty value. Parents stressed that their children should not lie, being honest is crucial, everything depends on this, and honesty is an important virtue.
- The first value parents try to teach their children is giving importance to family unity. Parents emphasized in their statements that family is the foundation of society, everything can be organized if the family is united, and everything starts in the family.
- The other prioritised values parents try to teach their children are respect, responsibility, affection, industriousness, patriotism, giving importance to being healthy, and tolerance, all in order.
- An analysis of parents' statements reveals that most statements include the honesty value. It was detected that concepts related to values such as responsibility, respect, giving importance to family unity, and being fair followed the honesty value.
- It was seen that the non-priority values of parents are aesthetic, hospitality, and independence values.
- An analysis of parents' statements indicates that there is only one statement about the aesthetic value and the number of statements about values such as independence, freedom, and peace is few.
- It was determined that families do not make a special effort to teach values and try to teach them during the course of the daily life. Parents expressed that they try to teach values they think are important through talking or explanation. They stated that they put values into practice in daily life, tell their children through examples, try to become examples (models), and teach these values through affection.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Parents primarily try to teach the honesty value within a family. Other domestic studies also demonstrate that the honesty value is important and prioritised (Acun, Yücel, Önder ve Tarman 2013; Karatekin, Gençtürk ve Kılıçoğlu 2013; Tay ve Yıldırım 2009; Özdemir, Ünsal, Yüksel, ve Cemaloğlu 2010). Parents' insistent emphasis on the fact that a child should not lie is in Güngör (1993)'s moral values group, and it is considered a social value rather than an individual one. According to the study of family structure in Turkey (2011), the most important feature that men and women look for in the person whom they will get married to is "not lying." Türk-Smith (2006) studied which qualifications the definition of a good person includes in seven different cultures including Turkish culture. These cultures are Chamorro, Philippine, Palauan, Taiwanese, American, and Venezuelan cultures. In Turkish people, features such as industriousness and intimacy exceeded those such as tenderness and affection.

There might be two reasons as to why families try to teach honesty as the priority value. The first might be caused by the fact that honesty is regarded as a very important value in Turkish society. The honesty value is the primary value accepted by Turkish society and the social approval of which is common (Karatekin, Gençtürk, Kılıçoğlu 2013). Immense importance has been given to honesty throughout Turkish history. The main principles of the Ahi institution, an economic organization established in Anatolia in the 13th century, are righteousness, not lying, and honesty (Arslanoğlu 1997). There are many idioms and proverbs in Turkish that are about honesty. The second important reason why families try to teach honesty is that there has been a longing for the honesty value in the society over the last few years. Particularly today, the fact that many things are rigged, these are published in media and public believes that the number of honest people has decreased can be another reason for the emphasis on the honesty value. Families stated that the number of honest people has decreased in recent years and children must be equipped with this value again. Families expressed that they try to teach the value of being fair aside from the honesty value.



The first value parents try to teach their children is giving importance to family unity. The value of giving importance to family unity has been regarded as a crucial value throughout Turkish history. In general terms, family is an institution in which regenerating population, conveyance of culture, socialization of children, and economic, biological, and psychological satisfaction functions are performed (Aydın 2000). It is thought that the most important duty of a family, rather than a school, is to teach beliefs besides these functions. A number of parents in this study stated that the precondition for teaching other values is the presence of family unity. The other prioritised values parents try to teach their children are respect, responsibility, and affection in order.

In a study by Hines (2008), the world was separated on the basis of economic development level into three, namely the first, second and third worlds. According to this study, the values of the third world are vital needs, loyalty to authority, religious loyalty, business ethics, extended family and strong family ties, limits of the good and bad, and respect for parents. The second world is based on modern values. These are success, overreliance on science and technology, loyalty to bureaucracy, business life, making use of money, determination, and the child and parents' need for each other. The values of the first world are expression of oneself, personal responsibility and decision-making, tolerance, imagination, biological equilibrium, healthy life and free will (Hines, 2008). If the value preferences of Turkish families are taken into consideration, it is seen that they are within the third world group based on Hines (2008)'s classification.

Socio-economic factors are what determine the change in values from a society to another (Inglehart 1999; Schwartz 1999, 2006). As modernization and welfare increases, the main value of "conservatism", which is composed of "safety", "harmony", and "traditionalism" values that are usually highly important in traditional societies, will be given less importance. Thus, there will be a "reconciliation of social values" on the social level as to the fact that these value types are less important (Schwartz ve Bardi 2001: 487).

Turkey is in the category of Traditional Values ve Survival Values in the Cultural Map of the World Values Survey (Inglehart and Welzel 2010). Countries such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany are in Secular-rational values and Self-expression values sections.

Both in this study and other studies conducted in Turkey, it was observed that the aesthetic value, not present in Survival Values, is the last one among the value preferences of parents (Acun, Yücel, Önder ve Tarman 2013; Güngör 1993; Sarı 2005; Karatekin, Gençtürk ve Kılıçoğlu 2013). Also, values such as independence, freedom, and peace are not among the priority values of parents. Family's dependence on individual and individual's dependence on family, which is among the traditional values, is among the first. In the USA and Germany, where the "Value of Children" study

was conducted, personal independence is given immense importance, and a person completely rejects the idea of depending on his or her child (Cited Kağıtçıbaşı 1984). However, value perception has changed due to Turkey's socio-economic changes and development in recent years. Values that have gained importance in Turkish culture over time are self-respect especially for women, Individual autonomy, Independence for self and children, Psychological Value of Children. The ones that lose importance are Importance of minding parents, Parent authoritarian control, Distinction of gender roles, Economic interdependence between parents and children and Equality (Akyl 2012). Besides, values that remain stable over times are Significance of family, Relatedness, Good manners, Responsibility, Loving, Discouragement of expression of negative emotions.

The results of the current study showed that families did not make special efforts to teach values but they wanted to teach them in the daily life. Families stated that they taught the values considered significant by them to their children by talking and explaining. In addition, parents stated that they taught the children values by hands-on methods, experiencing, through examples, modeling, and through affection. In general, other studies investigated the methods that teachers used to teach values at school. Not many studies in the literature looked into how families taught values.

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Endnotes

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Review of the Book:

Hedtke, Reinhold; Zimenkova, Tatjana. 2013 (eds.). Education for Civic and Political Participation. A Critical Approach. New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 276 pp., 84.00 GBP.

The active promotion of citizens' participation in public life has become a prominent target for European and national education policies. Many European schools work with institutionalized programs of a participatory citizenship education (PCE). The critical approach of the reviewed anthology fundamentally questions the objective of this program. It is not enough, as Reinhold Hedtke and Tatjana Zimenkova (University of Bielefeld, Germany) argue, to work towards the acceptance of democratic structures. Rather the encouragement of critical reflection should be the base to actively participate in real political decision-making processes.

The common focus of the articles is on:

- a) a sound criticism of the presumptions of existing PCE-concepts as regards democratic theory
- b) an analysis of the political context of the educational concepts and specific PCE lesson practices
- c) the officially expected educational progress of the learners as compared to a more realistic estimation of learning outcomes that can in fact be expected.

The starting point of the editors is the assumption that especially the participatory philosophy of the EU and the Council of Europe is based on premises that are too optimistic and harmonised. This either leads to uncritical, affirmative democrats or to an instrumentalisation of citizens for state purposes. The actual aim of a truly political and more controversial PCE that is also oriented towards the subjective interests of the citizens should rather be the common clarification of questions like: Which form of political participation privileges which interests? How can political influence be achieved? How can the reflection on one's own political power or political powerlessness in respective political systems be supported?

Detlev Sack argues to impart a realistic conception of democracy, so that citizens can deal with the likely failure of an active democratic participation more easily. This implies citizens with a reflected individual perspective on politics who have developed a professional, or in Sack's term ironic distance from over-enthusiastic participation philosophies. Tatjana Zimenkova emphasizes the theoretical distinction between the political and the non-political aspects of PCE. She develops a highly differentiated categorization to analytically approach the concepts of democracy, participation and state-citizen-relations in comparative perspective. Only then can the great variety of European societies and democratic cultures be perceived adequately. Reinhold Hedtke sees

education policies in Europe stemming from governments unhappy with the participatory performance of their citizens. Hedtke thus argues that the responsibility for weaknesses of existing democracies is strategically shoved onto the citizens. In his view, this concept of Citizenship Education implies a functionalist rationality as young people are misused as a resource for the political system. Ideally, as he writes, students should be "entangled in diversity and controversy and, thus, personally embody pluralism, controversy and debate in the classroom" (p. 74).

Hermann Josef Abs und Sarah Werth analyse the education policies of the Council of Europe and the EU that are meant to influence PCE in member states. Interesting differences between the two educational actors include a stronger focus on human rights (CoE) and the attempt to foster a stronger European identity and supportive acceptance of EU institutions (EU). Anu Toots carefully contextualises a competence-oriented concept of Civic Education into country specific historical and political contexts and presents first results with regard to possible links between political knowledge and political action. Avril Keating und David Kerr show how the English government's plan to establish an obligatory curriculum for secondary schools has developed since the 1990s. Challenges seem to have appeared on three levels: policy-design, policy implementation and changes in the policy context. Tristan McCowan und Elaine Unterhalter discuss in detail the problem of how to enable young people to an active political participation with the same rights, especially in poorer countries. Maria Olson conceives the hypothetical figure of a migrant to critically demonstrate that there are many people living on European territory, who, as a group, are hard to reach with PCE programs. Tatjana Zimenkova analyses to what extent Service Learning can generally imply political participation or political learning. She questions the functionality of such an approach on system level and critically asks whom the participants in Service Learning programs actually serve? Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski develops an interactive analytical tool called relational citizenship to explain citizens' roles, citizenship education and participation in democratic as well as in authoritarian systems. Pedro D. Ferreira et al. examine present Spanish and Portuguese PCE learning material asking whether and how the preceding Iberian dictatorships are viewed in retrospect.

The exceptional value of this anthology results from the embedment of the editors' committed plea to a truly political participation (Chapters 2, 3 and 9) into a remarkable framework of articles that mirror the many facets of PCE-research: Theoretical foundations,



objective and well-informed analyses as well as innovative comparative methods. The question of which politico-educational constellations rather distract citizens from real political problems - thereby reducing them to social, even individual challenges - is thoroughly probed. Furthermore the work offers detailed criteria for analysis: The options of compliance or insubordination, the differentiation between participation and non-participation as a matter of personal freedom and the differentiation between political and non-political participation as a matter of how extensive individual personal influence shows itself. Education for Civic and Political Participation distinguishes itself by the interplay between political theory, comparative politics and civic education. Future debates on political participation and respective educational programs will orientate towards this anthology.

Future international research could take teacher training more into account. Reinhold Hedtke's demand for more controversy and classroom debate pre-supposes well-qualified teachers in the respective nation states. Then European educational programs would not meet learners unfiltered to such a degree. The relevance of a critical and reflective translation task by good teachers as the central actors in education should also be considered more when evaluating the European educational programs. In reference to the special pre-requisites/requirements of supranational educational programs, the Critical Approach could be seen in relative terms. The Council of Europe's focus on common values such as human rights or tolerance results from its politically restricted mandate that is aimed for long-term convincing. Also its rather heterogeneous membership structure needs to be taken into account. The theoretical pre-suppositions of PCE-concepts need to be rather vague. Putting them into a more concrete or politicized form could have counterproductive effects in some member states.

The anthology concludes with a fascinating spectrum of further research questions – an encouragement to follow-up the impetus of this rich work in educational theory and practice.

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