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Multiperspectivity, Values and Criticism in Economic and Civic Education

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Birgit Weber

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What's Wrong With Secondary School Economics and How Teachers Can Make it Right - Methodological Critique and Pedagogical Possibilities

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Why We Need to Question the Democratic Engagement of Adolescents in Europe

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Editorial: Multiperspectivity, Values and Criticism in Economic and Civic Education

Keywords

Crises, economic education, civic education, multiperspectivity, values, criticism

1 Introduction: Facing multiple and multipolar crises

Until last year the European Union was overshadowed by severe economic crises including various ordeals by the referendum on the United Kingdom's membership and the Grexit option and the troubled debates in national parliaments about help for the most affected countries. In issue 2013-2 about Crisis and Economic Education in Europe we still characterized that with multiple crises.

Even if these crises would not have been really mastered, additional crises appear. Wars developed at the edge of the EU and raised the question of support or intervention. At the risk of life nearly a million persons flee 2015 from Zones of war, crises and poverty to the affluent societies in the EU, that seem to be safe, with the exception of raising terrorist attacks. While European countries differ between welcoming culture and separation, anxiety about social decline creates the rise of xenophobic groups. Even if those groups use democratic forms, threats to democracy are developed. However, the freedom to migrate is also used by others, who do not flee out of fear for their lives, but want to secure their own capital in safe havens before nationalization.

As long as capital finds the means to migrate to avoid taxes, only economic growth seems to be the panacea against national and global poverty. But as the rates of growth are narrowing in OECD countries, the high rates of emerging markets reached their peak recently. With the evidence, that social inequality rises with economic growth, because capital income grows stronger, the French economist Thomas Piketty also warns about dangers for democracy and economy, as inherited assets concentration causes power imbalances and the lack of host-economic growth affects the economic base. Meanwhile, the world is trying to compensate for the lack of growth and global inequality through free trade. In Bali 2013, a new free trade agreement was agreed, that should allow better access to the markets of the industrialized and emerging countries, pledging financial and development aid and agreeing on eliminating agricultural subsidies.

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Even if the poor countries as well as the countries with emerging markets are not really content, the strong economic areas continue forcing free trade by bilateral negotiations. NGOs demonstrate their concern, that the fight against protectionism could undermine future democratic self-determination of nations by independent arbitration courts and regulatory councils that create extended space for lobbyism. At the end of 2015, the countries of the world committed to climate protection in Paris in order to keep global warming "far below" two degrees. This historic agreement was possible because national targets have not been set, voluntarily climate targets were allowed, while the agreement should be realized within five years and the balance of greenhouse gases by mid-century.

2 Interdependence of crises versus narrowing perspectives

These global entanglements of social, economic, political and environmental challenges as well as regional, national and global crises can be mastered by confrontation and decoupling, or by cooperation. Facing such crises shows, how strong economic, political and social developments on the one side, regional, national and global developments on the other side are intertwined. Economic and civic education should enable students for a better understanding of the world in its social, politic and economic dimensions and prepare them to take part in creating a world they want to live in. It has also to deal with such intertwinements that ask for different perspectives, dealing with values and critique.

In contrast in Germany, the results of international comparative studies such as Pisa led to contradictory developments in economic and civic education. The orientation towards competences on the one side went hand in hand with loosing content but favouring competencies for problem solving, while the stronger focus to a domain narrows the perspective and limits didactical orientation. Already, some German states offer for lower secondary schools two separate subjects for Economics on one side and Civics on the other. Since both subjects have scarce hours for studying, they need to focus on their own essentials. Functional mechanisms of the political and economic system gain supremacy, while issues of social inequality or a critical view are marginalized. Taking a stronger focus on economic topics leads to dominance of finance education before a broader consumer education, leading to an entrepreneurship education more dominant than labour view. Based on one single discipline, households are quickly reduced to suppliers and demanders in markets coupled to others by the flow of money and goods. By focusing by different subjects either the political systems or the market system gains the dominant role, which reveals - by intention or not - a significant leaning to neoclassical consideration within those economic subjects.



Looking at the discussion in Europe and its individual countries, we see that the discussion about narrowing perspectives in subjects is not just a German phenomenon. European debates on economic education - such as the Joint declaration of AEEE 2015 -, as well as the contributions from Jacek Brant (UK) and Hervé Blanchard/Yves Coleno (France) show the demand for different perspectives, inclusion of values and a critical focus of real world phenomena.

3 Limiting interpretation and explanation to a mainstream perspective

Also on the sovereignty of interpretation and explanation of social, economic and social phenomena, exist different views, as clearly presented this year by a conflict over a teaching material called "Economy and Society", which was edited by Bettina Zurstrassen, university of Bielefeld, and published by the German Federal Agency for Political Education. Employers' organizations had lobbied, with the support of the Ministry of the interior, that this publication should not be distributed. The employers association found themselves denounced in one of twelve articles which was about lobbying. Unintentionally, they delivered with their attempt, simultaneously an authentic lesson for lobbying. The publication did not strive to conduct a comprehensive economic education basic set, but offered socio-economic issues by way of example, in a critical, pluralistic way that does not use only economics, but also the approaches of other social sciences to analyze economic reality. In addition to the claim of other social sciences to deal with economic phenomena and contribute additional perspectives, the question arises, about how far critical perspectives are sacrificed on the altar of functionalism even in democratic systems, if the approaches are problem-oriented and controversial. (see Case Study: Controversy versus Unilateralism or Lobbying against Interdisciplinary)

4 Pluralism, values and criticisms in science

Long time calls for pluralistic economic perspectives for the analysis of real-world phenomena seem to be unique to heterodox and pluralist economists, who have doubts about the liberalization of markets as a last resort panacea. Nowadays even liberal economists emphasize more strongly the social relevance of liberal values. As the former chairwoman of the Hayek Society, Karen Horn confirmed strongly to liberal values in order to defend liberal position against right-wing-movements. She stressed the fundamental humanitarianism of liberalism, which derives from the fundamental value of liberty also values of openness, pluralism, tolerance and respect for those who think differently. As a result of an escalating dispute about liberalism vis-a-vis national fundamentalism and conservatism, liberal economists, politicians and managers left the society in solidarity with Horn, while actually opposing the narrowing of the debate culture, and the lack of attention on unconventional positions in a scientific association. With this step the liberals have taken a position against sim-

plification, intolerance, dogmatism and they want to distinguish themselves against inhuman positions (see Case Study: Liberalist against Liberalist or Liberal Humanism against Right-wing-Inhumanism).

5 Contributions of this issue

Originally the issue was planned as "Teaching Economics in a Europe in Crisis". With the multipolarity of crises associated with confrontation and segregation, as well as cooperation and compromise with regard to common values entangled between regional, national and global issues we decided to expand the focus. On first sight this issue is gathering quite heterogeneous contributions. An in-depth examination presents a lot of similarities, which can be characterized by the fact that a special importance is attached to multiple perspectives, to the consideration of values and to the role of a critical approach. In many conceptions of civic and economic education those principles have become self-evident, but their actual implementation seems to be anything else than self-evident.

Jacek Brant, Senior Lecturer in Business and Economics Education at the Institute of Education at the University College London calls for a new conception of Economics Education in order to understand the world's historical and political relations involving criticism as well as the moral and social dimensions. The scientific claim of neo-classism with its over-reliance on mathematical methods, especially leads to a neglect of important issues such as those of an inclusive capitalism. Referring to the philosopher Roy Bhaskar, Jacek Brant suggests a transcendental realism with access to the world by way of structures and mechanisms, and a critical realism perceiving human beings not only as passive sensors, but also by their different approaches. Thus, he recommends the DREIC model of Bhaskar to economic education: First a description is needed, then the 'retroduction' of hypotheses, wherein the unrealistic has to be eliminated, the realistic has to be identified and at least the model has to be corrected. Even if the economic contribution to the understanding of the economic and social environment has to be appreciated, an inquiring, critical and reflected approach to studying economic behaviour from multiple perspectives and a consideration of alternative approaches is necessary. Brant shows, that a new curriculum in the United Kingdom allows teachers and students to reflect about business and economy, and assess their impacts on social systems using an experience-based approach, considering values, interests and purpose of economic activity equally. Economic Models should not be taught as if they were real, instead concepts should be distilled by experience. Explanation opportunities should be checked as well as social or political embedment.

Hervé Blanchard and Yves-Patrick Coleno examine the integration of market in French curricula and textbooks. While the market first found it's place in the Curriculum in 1981, twenty years later, the market coordination has developed into a major part of the curriculum, whereas the adjective political view disappears in favour of the

concept of market. This favouring leads to the dominance of microeconomic models, which seems to be the main approach, even the notion of market did not appear in need of explanation. Looking to academic economic encyclopedias they present the normative neoclassical market as modelled for efficiency and optimization, whereas the values have been abolished. While the market is not doubted as a means of social regulation, the value of freedom presides over equality. They criticize the attempts of educational policy, to address the lack of economic culture by glorifying the virtues of the market. The authors show the lexicon of capitalism as a combination of market and capital: Markets are an indisputable reality, welfare is justified by human capital, Money is not even mentioned, and the concept of man is not clarified, whereas work as a decisive word disappears and a labour market is nothing more than another market. Blanchard and Coleno criticize the depletion of economics and demand in accordance with their English colleague, that the subject of economic education has to look for goals and be associated with values as well.

As the prior contributions analyse and conceptualize problems in economic education in different countries, Isolde de Groot and Wiel Veugelers relate to democratic deficits and gaps in democratic commitment. While social scientists explain those problems with a depolarization of the political debate, a lack of appreciation of opposing positions, and the decline in the importance of civil institutions promoted by the dramatization of the media, the educationalist complain, that democracy is presented as a neutral political system, whereas the attention for values decreases with the decline of religious education, and a technical rationality overwhelms the confrontation of power and social justice. Their own democratic model is composed upon a democratic theory viewing a political system under construction, whose deficits are never completely overcome, but recognized, reduced and refined. From 27 narratives of 16-20-year-old Students, de Groot and Veugelers developed a typology, in which they characterize 'passive, thin and thick' democratic commitment types. They are distinguished according to their perception and appreciation of democracy and diversity, and in their sense of effectiveness of citizenship and responsibility. According to this, it is difficult to the passive and thin type to develop an appreciation for democracy, if they just perceive the system as a legal one. Instead they should get chances to develop deliberative and critical participation skills and investigate their ideals. With this innovation of the typology regarded by the more complex conception of imagination and the consideration of democracy as ethos, the authors want to formulate facets, how a strong commitment to democracy could be cultivated. Looking at this we can conclude that acceptance is based on understanding as well as on critiques.

Parvin Safari and Nasser Rashadi show in their contribution that the promotion of critical thinking is not limited to social science education. In their case,

language teaching can include critical pedagogy as well, that should enable students to critical thinking about oppressive power relations, inequality and lack of freedom. Referring to Paolo Freire they contrasted his critique on the banking model of education with his central concepts of critical Pedagogy (practice of dialogue, critical consciousness). In focus interviews with language teachers in private institutions in Iran the authors try to identify obstacles, frustrations and problems, which resist an integration of critical pedagogy. According to their findings the teachers complain about the many lacking issues (background knowledge, competence, appropriate resources), but they also find an avoidance of controversial issues that could conflict with traditions, ethnic cultures and religion and the habituation of the banking model. The teachers also anticipate a reserved image of their students because of their lack of knowledge about critical thinking and democratic freedoms, a familiarity with the banking model, and also a resistance to the changes in attitudes, values and identity. They conclude that an education that will empower marginalized students and minorities against oppression and subordination, must overcome the bank model by broader forms of civic education, but it also cannot disregard sociocultural and socio-political conditions.

From the viewpoint of Sociology and Education Science, Martin Tolich, Bonny Scarth and Kerry Shephard evaluate how sociology students in research internships train their identity as qualitative researchers. These internships are placed in local community projects according to specific clients. Studying the role of fear, support, feedback, teamwork, use of research methods, and project benefits, the authors observe a significant development of self-confidence by experiential learning in real situations, whilst the students have to deal with the challenges of limited research planning in a non-linear world. The development of students has been interpreted by way of different educational theories, model of experiential learning, high-impact learning, the self-efficacy approach, social constructionism, communities in practice, affective learning model. Remarkable is the demand for a public sociology that uses qualitative research to improve communities and the quality of life – and allows at the same time, the creation of research competence and promotes employability.

Julia Prieß-Buchheit presents a project in teacher training at the University of Kiel, where student learn to analyze standardized tests, regarding their function and consequences as instruments of New Public Management. They also study the underlying values in order to develop their own point of view. In a final examination carried out as a simulation beyond colleagues, students discuss the test application. Prieß-Buchheit also points out, that the lack of sociological and political knowledge especially complicates the understanding of interdisciplinary relationships.

All these specific examples of heated debate are related to the importance of multiple perspectives, the relevance of values and the necessity of criticism and

discourse about the problems of real life world, in science as well as in school. All of the contributions in this issue, regardless of whether they come from France, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Iran or the New Zealand claim the role of multiple perspectives, the debate about values, the relevance of criticism in regard to the phenomena and challenges of the real social, economic and political world.

Finally the two congress reports of the Association of Economics Education 2014 in Aix en Provence, France,

and the Nordic Conference of civics and citizenship education 2015 in Helsinki, Finland, represent a vivid impression in the multi-perspective, interdisciplinary and critical debates in the Social Science Education fields. At least Jennifer Bruen discuss the manual of Stephen McCloskey on Development Education in Policy and Practice. We appreciate also those formats, which inform the international audience about interesting debates and publications in the field of social science education.

Case study I: Controversy versus Unilateralism or Lobbying against Interdisciplinary

The case is about the recent teaching material "Ökonomie und Gesellschaft" [Economy and Society], edited by Bettina Zurstrassen, professor at Bielefeld university and distributed by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (BPB) (Federal Agency for Political Education, in Bonn). The 12 lesson units were written by academics from economic and civic education. The units are about such different topics as lobbying, financial crises, social balance in an economic order, development and continuance of markets, money in modern societies, responsible action in consumer societies, sustainable economies with or without economic growth, labor-relations, subject and society, discrimination in the workplace, the EU and the world economy (1).

Peter Clever, vice president of the German employer organization (BDA), worries especially about an article about lobbying that does not deliver arguments about the engagement of enterprises for vocational education of the youth. As a very few additional sentences in two other units did not meet his pleasure, he asked the agency and the ministry above to stop the distribution of the publication (2).

Comparing the criticized quotations with the publication the editor Bettina Zurstrassen found fundamental reductions and content isolations in the criticized citations (3).

According to the freedom of information act, the government has to provide clarity about the whole process (4). Mass media criticized the lobbying (5/6), and scientific organizations of civic education (GPJE, DVPB) as well as the Association of Sociology (DGS) were outraged against this act against freedom of science and the option to offer students more than just standard economic views. The scientific association of economists (Verein für Sozialpolitik) did not really take attention, but their officer for young academics Rüdiger Bachmann wondered that there were not only economists among the authors (10). Pressured, Peter Clever does not take the chance to glorify his name, but needs to confirm his critique against unilateralism (11). The public may use the chance to form their own impressions about Unilateralism, controversy, interdisciplinary and lobbying.

The controversial book and the attempt to stop his distribution

1. Zurstrassen, Bettina (ed.) 2015: *Ökonomie und Gesellschaft* [Economy and Society], Bonn
<https://www.bpb.de/shop/lernen/themen-und-materialien/200345/oekonomie-und-gesellschaft>
2. Letter of Peter Clever (BDA) addressed to agency and ministry
[http://www.arbeitgeber.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/res/Brief-PC.pdf/\\$file/Brief-PC.pdf](http://www.arbeitgeber.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/res/Brief-PC.pdf/$file/Brief-PC.pdf)
3. Zurstrassen, Bettina 2015: Comparison of the BDA citation with the original publication
http://www.iboeb.org/aktuelles/detail/iboeb/bundesinnenminister_verbietet_oekonomie_und_gesellschaft.html
4. The blog for freedom of information portal: Ask the state: Sales Ban on BPB Publication.
<http://blog.fragdenstaat.de/2015/bpb-bda-okonomie-publikation/>

Critique against Lobbying by massmedia and against freedom of Science by Social Science organisations

5. Oppel, Max: Wie Lobbyisten ein Schulbuch stoppten [As Lobbyists stopped a textbook]
http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/arbeitgeberverband-gegen-bundeszentrale-wie-lobbyisten-ein.2156.de.html?dram:article_id=335876
6. Scheloske, Marc: Auf Zuruf eines Interessenverbands. [On acclamation of an interest group] In Spektrum 29.10.2015
http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/arbeitgeberverband-gegen-bundeszentrale-wie-lobbyisten-ein.2156.de.html?dram:article_id=335876
7. Gesellschaft für Politikdidaktik und politische Jugend- und Erwachsenenbildung (GPJE) [Society for Civic Education Didactics and Civic Youth and Adult Education] http://www.gpje.de/Stellungnahme_BMI-BDA_2015.pdf
8. Deutsche Vereinigung für politische Bildung (DVPB) [German Association of political education]
<http://dvpb.de/wir-ueber-uns/positionen/stellungnahme-der-dvpb-zur-unabhaengigkeit-der-bundeszentrale-fuer-politische-bildung/>
9. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie (DGS) [German Association of Sociology]
<http://www.soziologie.de/de/nc/aktuell/meldungen-archiv/aktuelles-singleview/archive/2015/10/23/article/vorlaeufiges-vertriebsverbot-der-sammelpublikation-oekonomie-und-gesellschaft-bundeszentrale-fuer-politische-bildung-durch-das-bundesministerium-des-innern.html>

Criticism of Criticism

10. Rüdiger Bachmann, Verein für Sozialpolitik, (officer for young academics at the Economic Association)
<https://www.socialpolitik.de/De/die-bundeszentrale-f%C3%BCr-politische-bildung-bpb-antwortet>
11. Final Statement of the employer associations vice president Peter Clever
<http://www.arbeitgeber.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/id/BECOC1AE8494AFB1C1257EEB0054D771?open&ccm=200025>

Case Study II: Liberalist against Liberalist or Liberal Humanism against Right-wing-Inhumanism

In an article the former chairwoman of the Hayek Society, Karen Horn, discuss the foundation of liberalism and warns against reactionary infiltration. She criticizes xenophobic attempts as well as the glorification of discrimination and the call for authority in the name of liberalism. Instead of those occupations of the liberalism through to the right wing, she confirms the beginning of liberal thinking from the individual and not from a collective with never ending truths. From this appreciation of the individual results the respect for the individual themselves and for his appreciated forms of living and his personality. From this deeper moral of liberalism are the values of openness, pluralism and respect for those who think differently derived, and from this point of view she argues strongly against any kind of discrimination against different sexual orientation, against feminism, atheism, pluralism and other cultures, and gives according to the fundamental principles of humanism within liberalism, a passionate plea to openness, pluralism and tolerance (1, as well in 2).

As a result of an escalating dispute about the values of liberalism against national fundamentalism and conservatism (3;4,5) a lot of liberal economists, politicians and managers left the society in solidarity with her former chairwoman Horn, and the attacks against her (6). Those Liberals actually oppose against the narrowing of the debate culture and the lack of attention to unconventional positions in a scientific association. With this step the liberals took a position against simplification, intolerance, dogmatism and wish to distinguish themselves against inhuman positions.

1. Horn, Karen (2015): Die rechte Flanke der Liberalen [The right wing of the liberals],
In: Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung 17. Mai 2015
<https://www.dropbox.com/s/sgbtg854wx9w8br/Liberalreaktion%C3%A4r-1.docx?dl=0>
2. Horn, Karen (2015): Auf dem rechten Auge blind [Being blind to the right]?
Schweizer Monat Ausgabe 2018 / Juli 2015
<http://www.schweizermonat.ch/artikel/auf-dem-rechten-auge-blind>
3. Göbel, Heike (2015): Streitbare Geister der Freiheit [Disputatious Spirit auf Freedom].
In: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 26.06.2015
<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/hayek-gesellschaft-streitbare-geister-der-freiheit-13668202.html>
4. Neuerer, Dietmar (2015): [Hateful subjects and fatal conspiracy]. In Handelsblatt 15.7.2015
<http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/liberale-hayek-gesellschaft-hassenswerte-subjekte-und-fatale-verschwuerung/12060936.html>
5. Blum, Eggert (2015): [Conflict in the Hayek-Society: Liberals contra Rightwing-Conservatists]
<http://www.swr.de/swr2/programm/sendungen/journal/eggert-blum-ueber-den-streit-in-der-friedrich-a-liberale-gegen-rechtskonservative>
6. Declaration from Leipzig. [Withdrawals from the Hayek Society] <http://www.erklaerung-leipzig.de/>

What's Wrong With Secondary School Economics and How Teachers Can Make it Right - Methodological Critique and Pedagogical Possibilitiesⁱ

In the wake of current world financial crisis serious efforts are being made to rethink the dominant economic assumptions. There is a growing movement in universities to make economics more relevant and to embrace an understanding of diverse models. Additionally, philosophical schools such as critical realism have provided new tools for thinking about economics. However, not much attention has been paid to relate these developments to school economics and this paper aims to respond to this need. It is about economics as a discipline, school economics and issues pertaining to the teaching and learning of school economics. Mainstream economists focus predominately on static neo-classical models that are poor predictors of the future and do not even adequately explain current states of affairs. I argue that conceptualised differently, economics can be seen as a social science, concerned with understanding the often conflicting values, interests, and capacities of large numbers of individuals operating within the constraints of limited resources. In line with this orientation, I recommend that economics teachers start engaging in exploring the purpose of economics and adopt an interactive pedagogy that seeks to explain the world in which we live.

Im Zuge der jüngsten weltweiten Finanzkrise wurden ernsthafte Bemühungen unternommen, die Annahmen der herrschenden Ökonomik neu zu überdenken. In den Universitäten gibt es eine wachsende Bewegung, die die Bedeutung der Wirtschaftswissenschaft stärken will, auch durch ein Verständnis unterschiedlicher Modelle. Zusätzlich bieten philosophischen Denkrichtungen wie der Kritische Realismus neue Werkzeuge über Ökonomik nachzudenken. Die schulische Wirtschaftslehre hat dieser Entwicklung noch wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, wozu dieser Artikel beitragen möchte. Er behandelt Ökonomik als Wissenschaft, als Schulfach und als Gegenstand des Lehrens und Lernens im Unterricht. Mainstream Ökonomen konzentrieren sich vorrangig auf statische neoklassische Modelle, die die Zukunft nur schwach vorhersagen können und noch nicht einmal angemessen die derzeitige Situation erklären können. Der Verfasser begründet, dass die Wirtschaftswissenschaft als eine Sozialwissenschaft verstanden werden kann, die sich auch gegensätzliche Grundwerte, Interessen und Kapazitäten einer Vielzahl von Individuen widmet, die mit der Begrenzung beschränkter Ressourcen umgehen müssen. Im Einklang mit dieser Orientierung wird empfohlen, dass Wirtschaftslehrkräfte mit der Erkundung des Zwecks der Wirtschaft im Rahmen einer interaktiven Pädagogik starten sollten und danach zu trachten, die Welt, in der wir leben, zu erklären.

Suite à la crise financière mondiale, des efforts sérieux ont été entrepris pour repenser les hypothèses économiques dominantes. Il y a un mouvement croissant au sein des universités pour rendre la discipline économique plus pertinente et apte à rendre compte des modèles variés existants. De plus, les écoles philosophiques, comme par exemple le réalisme critique, ont offert des nouveaux outils pour penser l'économie. Cependant, peu de ces développements se sont préoccupés de relier leurs avancées à l'enseignement de l'économie dans les écoles, un besoin auquel ce papier propose de répondre. Ce papier traite de l'économie comme discipline, de l'économie à l'école et des questions qu'elle pose en termes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage. Les économistes des courants principaux s'intéressent de manière prédominante aux modèles néoclassiques qui s'avèrent très limités en termes de prédictions du futur ou même d'explications du présent. J'argumente dans ce papier pour une conceptualisation différente de l'économie en tant que sciences sociales qui s'attacherait à la compréhension des valeurs, intérêts et capacités (souvent en conflits) d'un grand nombre d'individus opérant sous la contrainte de ressources limitées. Conformément à cette orientation, je recommande les enseignants de l'économie commencent à s'engager à explorer le but de l'économie et adoptent une pédagogie interactive qui s'attache à expliquer le monde dans lequel nous vivons.

Keywords:

economics, methodology, pedagogy, curriculum, critical realism, financial crisis, moral philosophy

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1 Introduction

This paper explores the nature of the discipline of economics, the teaching of economics in secondary schools and the opportunities that economics teachers have in England following curriculum reforms that took effect in September 2015 (first assessments in 2016 and 2017). A decade ago, economics education was in crisis. In England, for example, economics as a school subject suffered a serious decline in the 1990s and into the 2000s. In the early 1990s there were some 30,000 entries a year at advanced levelⁱⁱ but by 2004 the economics A-level examination was only sat by 17,762 candidates (www.jcq.org.uk). This rapid decline resulted in the almost complete abandonment of economics teacher

preparation and a dearth of exciting economics texts for the Secondary school student. This decline was not just an English phenomenon but was observed globally, with fewer students taking up the subject worldwide (Abelson, 1996; Pisanie, 1997; Hahn & Jang, 2010; Round & Shanahan, 2010; Watts & Walstad, 2010 and Yamaoka et al, 2010). This apparently universal decline in the study of economics suggests a common explanation and a number of hypotheses have been proposed to explain it. One is that the subject is inherently difficult and overly conceptual and that this has led to a substitution effect towards related subjects such as business studies (Hurd et al, 1998). Another is that “this is a reflection of dissatisfaction with the subject, brought about by the feeling that economics is largely irrelevant to the values and development of the young people at whom it is aimed” (Lines, 2000 page 249).

The global financial crisis of 2008 and subsequent crisis of the Euro-zone have contributed to a resurgence of economics as a discipline and many writers have written about the opportunity this presents for the teaching of economics at Secondary school level; for example Mittelstädt et al (2013, p. 11) describe this as an “ideal teaching moment” and Lofstrom & van den Berg (2013, p53) a “golden opportunity”. In England, 27,576 students sat the A-level examination in June 2015 (compared to 17,762 eleven years before) and 46,245 sat the advanced subsidiary (AS) level compared to 21,076 in 2004 (www.jcq.org.uk). It is evident that the number of pupils studying economics is approaching its peak of twenty years ago and the high numbers taking the AS examination suggest that A-level entries still have potential for further growth. It is not good enough, however, to rely on financial crises to achieve good student numbers; the fundamental reasons for the subject’s decline in the 1990s and 2000s should be addressed and the mistakes of the past should not be repeated. This paper attempts to make a contribution to this end.

2 Economics and economics teaching at school

The belief of many economists (and economics teachers) that the discipline is a value-free ‘positive’ subject leads to an acceptance of the status quo and a type of hegemony exists in which theories are accepted as facts and often taught that way. From my professional experience I have observed that both teachers and students fail to challenge this orthodoxy and as a consequence, students’ learning is often passive with a tendency for teachers to be overly didactic. On the other hand, by challenging out-dated theory and critiquing unrealistic economic models, teachers can create dynamic learning environments where students’ understanding of the economy can be developed. Far from jeopardising performance in traditional examinations such as the English Advanced-level General Certificate of Education (GCE), such deeper understanding is likely to have positive benefits on examination grades.

There is a further problem with school economics: there is evidence that studying the subject may make students more selfish – an outcome which goes against

the grain of the values of liberal western education. Research by Marwell & Ames (1981) of American graduates supports this hypothesis but their study findings are complex. They noted that comparing non-economics graduates with economics graduates was difficult: “more than one-third of the economists either refused to answer the question regarding what is fair, or gave very complex, uncodable responses. It seems that the meaning of ‘fairness’ in this context was somewhat alien for this group” (p. 309). Wang et al’s (2011) research of Australian graduates found that studying economics leads to more self-interested and potentially greedy action (compared to students in an education class). As explained in Brant and Panjwani (2015), there appear to be a number of mechanisms working together. First, the neo-classical assumption of self-interest maximisation appears to be pervasive and seen to be ‘natural’ with other human motivations being over-looked. Secondly, game theory adopts a clinical analytical approach to interpersonal behaviour with an implication that intelligent people will analyse their behaviours rationally and only focus on their own outcomes. Thirdly, the relationship between economics education and the belief that others also pursue self-interest creates a false consensus. If studying economics at school makes young people more selfish and greedy then perhaps economics should not be on the school curriculum? Yet I assert that economics *should* be taught in schools, but not necessarily as it presently is. The changes in examination specifications in England (teaching from 2015) give teachers scope to approach the subject in a more critical and relevant way.

As evidenced by the global financial crisis of 2008 which manifested itself and developed in various ways (e.g. the ‘Sovereign debt crisis’, ‘bank crisis’ and ‘Euro crisis’), all is not well with economics as a discipline. As commented in the English Guardian newspaper, economists are struggling to explain contradictory economic signals in what is an artificially low interest rate environment:

The message from the Bank of England was clear. As clear as mud, that is. The economy is a mystery to the best brains of Threadneedle Street, scratching their heads at figures showing unemployment and earnings growth are both heading south at a rapid pace. This really shouldn’t be happening as far as the Bank is concerned, which is why its quarterly inflation report was riddled with uncertainty. The Bank’s monetary policy committee is at odds about how much spare capacity remains after the Great Recession. Policy-makers are unsure what is happening to the housing market. Some of them think wage growth is about to pick up; some of them don’t.

<http://www.theguardian.com/business/economics-blog/2014/aug/13/pay-puzzle-bank-of-england-inflation-report-mark-carney> Accessed 14/8/14

This paper has three key arguments. One is that we need a new conceptualisation for economics: to see the

subject as providing an explanatory function to help us understand the world in which we live (and perhaps to suggest ways of improving it). A second argument is one of content: economics should be conceptualised as a social science which must be contextualised historically and politically. The third argument is one of pedagogy: by exploring reality first and then using economic theory as an explanatory tool, lessons will prove more interesting and more relevant to students with the result that more of them may wish to study economics and continue that study beyond school leaving age.

3 What's wrong with economics?

There is a long history of economic thought that is different in nature to contemporary orthodox economics. As early as the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (1274) wrote about just price in relations to financial transactions, the Catholic Church taking a view that consumers should be protected against unscrupulous traders. Similar ideas were prevalent throughout Europe in the middle ages and economics was de facto a branch of moral philosophy. As Thompson (1991) discusses, eighteenth century Britain saw the moral economy of the poor and modern popular discourse include the widely accepted concept of a “fair price” (p. 336). For Adam Smith too, economics was a branch of moral philosophy (Smith, 1759). Smith saw capitalism as an ethical project (Brant and Panjwani, 2015) whose success required political commitment to justice and freedom, not merely an understanding of economic logistics. He stressed the necessity of motives other than the pursuit of one's own gain and he cared particularly that the poor benefited from the prosperity created by markets (ibid). I note how neo-classical economists extol *The Wealth of Nations* (Smith, 1776), reducing Smith to “a one-idea man propagating only the excellence and self-sufficiency of the market” (Sen, p. 52) while ignoring his earlier written *A Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Smith, 1759). In Smith, and in history of economic thought generally, we see that a vision of what a human being is and what are his or her purposes is central to economic thought. He and many others did not see economics as an end in itself, but a means to achieve other purposes of life arrived through philosophical, religious or ethical reflections.

Yet despite these roots in moral philosophy, economics took a mathematical turn in the twentieth century and one can see the reliance on mathematical modelling as evidence of mainstream economists aspiring to the certainties of the sciences. The methodology of mathematics allows economists to make testable propositions and then to make generalizable claims and the adoption of such methodological approaches gives economics apparent scientific respectability. In this paper, I critique this approach and present alternative conceptualisations which I argue are more fit-for-purpose. Robbins (1935) defined economics as a science that studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses. This definition, or variations of it, has become a standard starting point for learning economics at school throughout

the world (Brant, 2011). Furthermore, most standard economics text books distinguish positive from normative economics, the latter observed to be dealing with values and value judgments whereas the former is extolled for being value free and scientific. So both in the definition of the subject and its methodology, there is a claim of science and scientific method.

I now explore the methodology of neoclassical economics further. Friedman (1953) asserts that economics is a pure and objective science and that it is in principle independent of any particular ethical position or normative judgements. He states that the task of economics “is to provide a system of generalizations that can be used to make correct predictions about the consequences of any change in circumstance. Its performance is to be judged by the precision, scope, and conformity with the experience of the predictions it yields. In short, economics is, or can be, an objective science, in precisely the same sense as any of the physical sciences” (p. 4). Friedman asserts that the only important criterion for judging a theory is if it works and that “realism of the assumptions is not important” (p. 16). Friedman offers the example of a minimum wage as a case in point, stating that arguing for such a minimum wage is a value call (i.e. to protect employees who do not have strong wage-bargaining possibilities to ensure a minimum socially acceptable wage). Friedman then states that a minimum wage would increase unemployment and claims this to be an objective statement. Now this is an assertion that I challenge for the objectivity of this statement rests on accepting a neo-classical model of the economy as fact and I do not – it is a theory based on closed model underpinned by unrealistic assumptions. In contrast, a Keynesian analysis may conclude that under certain conditions, a minimum wage may stimulate aggregate demand which may actually lower unemployment (this analysis is based on a different model underpinned by different assumptions). My point is not to arbitrate between Keynes and Friedman but to challenge Friedman's epistemological claim of objectivity.

I now probe deeper into the positivistic assumptions of neoclassical economics and its naturalistic aspirations. Blaug (1992), like Friedman, describes science as the ‘received view’. He states that science is about observing the world around us and from observational data formulating universal laws that explain and predict our world. Furthermore Blaug asserts that offering understanding without prediction ‘short-changes’ the reader. Friedman's and Blaug's assertions are that economics should emulate the natural sciences and adopt the methods of the natural sciences as far as practically possible. Their fundamental argument is that economics should be a positive subject and it should be objective in its methodology. The primary ontological and epistemological assumption of positivism, as espoused by Friedman and Blaug, is that the world is objective in the sense that it is independent of its knowers and by using scientific method it is possible to discover universal laws. However, there are fundamental differences between

social and natural sciences. Whereas natural scientists can isolate variables, economists must rely on uncontrolled experiences and here the problem lies with the number of variables in consideration. Furthermore, in social sciences the deterministic relationships assumed in the natural sciences are not possible because of human free will. So the objects of social science are not just much more complicated than those of natural science but also qualitatively different. For social sciences such as economics, this makes objectivity almost impossible in practice.

And what is the problem of maintaining a neo-classical position for economics? A number of heterodox economists have offered arguments against the orthodoxy of neo-classical economics. Donaldson (1984) argues that the discipline is becoming irrelevant and furthermore that economists are not good at dealing with real problems. Houseman & McPherson (1996) suggest that economics should subscribe to a descriptive methodology, McCloskey (1983) argues that economics is a historical rather than predictive science while Thomas (1992) criticises the abstract nature, complexity of modeling, lack of application and the positivist methodology of economics. Lawson (1997) also suggests that contemporary academic economics is not in a healthy state and he doubts the capacity of many of its strands to explain real world events or to facilitate policy evaluation. He further states that contemporary economics is marked by a neglect of ontology and an uncritical application of formulistic methods and systems to conditions for which they are obviously unsuited. Aldred (2009) states that economics is not what it appears to be and is an odd kind of science, if a science at all and that many of those who call themselves economists peddle a narrow or simplistic view of economics to serve vested interests and political ends.

It is not often that a book on the 'dismal science' becomes a 'bestseller', but that has been the case with Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*. Piketty (2014) explains that an over-reliance on simple mathematical models and unrepresentative agents in economics has led to a neglect of important issues such as the distribution of wealth. While Piketty does not challenge the orthodoxy of economics in terms of methodology, his understanding and analysis of data present a direct challenge to the neo-liberal economic consensus. Piketty studied data of twenty countries, examining historic trends of wealth and income. He observes that there is nothing natural in the distribution of wealth and income and he notes the inherent weakness of orthodox economics because of its refusal to see the world in its social and political context. Piketty notes that in an economy where the rate of return on capital outstrips the rate of growth, inherited wealth will always grow faster than earned wealth and that eventually wealth will concentrate to levels that are incompatible with democracy, in other words, capitalism creates levels of inequity that are politically unsustainable. Piketty sees the 2008 world financial meltdown as no accident, simply the system working normally. He notes that if growth is

high and returns on capital can be suppressed, there can be a more equal capitalism and he states that the redistribution of wealth (as well as income) may be necessary for capitalism to survive. There are of course different forms of capitalism, American capitalism being very different say from a Scandinavian version. It is beyond the scope of this paper to speculate on the demise of capitalism per se, but I note comments from Mark Carney, Governor of the Bank of England and Christine Lagarde, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund at a recent conference on inclusive capitalismⁱⁱⁱ. Carney warns that there is a growing sense that the basic social contract at the heart of capitalism is breaking down amid rising inequality and states that capitalism is at risk of destroying itself unless bankers realise they had an obligation to create a fairer society. He explains that market radicalism and light-touch regulation have eroded fair capitalism, while scandals such as the rigging of Libor markets have undermined trust in the financial system (Carney, 2014). He states that "All ideologies are prone to extremes. Capitalism loses its sense of moderation when the belief in the power of the market enters the realm of faith. In the decades prior to the crisis such radicalism came to dominate economic ideas and became a pattern of social behaviour." (p. 3). Lagarde (2014) informs us that the world's richest 85 people control the same wealth as the poorest half of the global population of 3.5 billion people and worries that rising inequality may be a barrier to growth which could undermine democracy and human rights. She states that if we want capitalism to do its job – enabling as many people as possible to participate and benefit from the economy – then it needs to be more inclusive and that means addressing extreme income disparity. Lagarde's and Carney's thoughts are in harmony with Adam Smith's sentiments that "no society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable" (1776, p. 230) and the need for economics to have a moral and social dimension.

Of course neo-classical economics is not the only economics taught in schools in England. Keynesian ideas are engaged with during the study of the macro economy and there is now a requirement by some of the awarding bodies to cover the ideas of Adam Smith, Friedrich Hayek and Karl Marx. Nevertheless, the specifications are still dominated by neo-classical thinking with an implicit assumption that economics is a positive science. In the next section I offer a methodological critique of neo-classical economics from a critical realist perspective and I go on to argue that critical realism as a philosophy offers a better ontological, epistemological and methodological underpinning than does positivism.

4 Critical realism as a conceptual framework for economics

Critical realism is a philosophy created in the 1970s by Roy Bhaskar and developed over the following four decades; the term is derived from two connected philosophical ideas, transcendental realism and critical naturalism. Transcendental Realism is a philosophy of

science; its underpinning argument is that the world is real, but not necessarily directly accessible and therefore needs to be understood through the structures and mechanisms at play (Bhaskar, 1978). Critical naturalism is a theory of social science and for Bhaskar (1979), its key question is to what extent society can be studied in the same way as nature. The naturalistic tradition, based on the Humean notion of law, is based on a belief that there is an essential unity of method between natural and social sciences. In contrast, hermeneutics offers a radical distinction in method between the natural and social sciences. Bhaskar's argument is that the error that unites these opposing traditions is the acceptance of an essentially positivist account of natural science; he argues for a qualified anti-positivistic naturalism (*ibid*).

Positivism arose out of the Enlightenment where science was seen to have the answers to the problems of the universe and it was believed that truth could be discovered through observation and experimentation (Scott and Usher, 1996). Bhaskar (2011) notes that Humean theory, which forms the lynchpin of the positivist system, presupposes an ontology of closed systems and atomistic events and it presumes a conception of people as passive sensors of given facts. In contrast, critical realism offers an understanding of the world that is real but which may be differently experienced and interpreted by different observers.

For positivists such as Milton Friedman and Mark Blaug, the world is objective in the sense that it is independent of its knowers and thus by using scientific method it is possible to discover universal laws. Positivists believe that it is possible to have intersubjective validation where different observers exposed to the same data come to the same conclusions. This may be possible in a science such as physics, but it is not possible for social sciences as they operate in open systems with many variables that are subject to change (Bhaskar, 2008). There are alternative methodologies to positivism which are of particular value to economics. Critical realism accepts the hermeneutical starting point; a need for empathy and an understanding of social life and people's subjectivity. But critical realists argue that there is more to the social world, for there are material realities to contend with too.

Bhaskar (1979) suggests that (just as in the natural sciences) a retroductive approach can be followed by seeking plausible mechanisms that would account for the phenomenon in question. These mechanisms can then be used to explain the concrete phenomena observed. So for a critical realist, to explain economic phenomena it is necessary to determine a hypothesis of mechanism. I now apply critical realism to a specific example in economics. Working backwards, people experience phenomena we call 'prices' and these 'prices' are generated by processes that we do not directly experience but which we can model or imagine through our reasoning. We may, for example, refer to these processes as 'supply' or 'demand' but we do not directly experience a 'demand curve', a 'supply curve' or indeed an 'equilibrium'. The actual reality that gives rise to these

processes lies a step further removed from our experience, essentially unreachable, but that does not mean that we are not influenced by its nature (Davies and Brant, 2006). To illustrate this, I now borrow an example from physics: magnetic forces may not be seen or experienced directly, but can be evidenced by moving a magnet under a piece of paper sprinkled with iron filings (*ibid*). For the social sciences, Bhaskar (1979) advocates following a 'DREIC' model of enquiry. When trying to understand a phenomenon the first step is Description (as in hermeneutics) followed by Retroduction, the process of generating explanatory hypotheses. The next stage is to Eliminate unlikely hypotheses and by doing so Identify the ones that seem to best explain the phenomenon. The final process is an iterative one where Corrections are made and the phenomenon is examined again to see if the explanatory mechanism has been identified. The critical realist DREIC approach applied to economics offers the subject a powerful explanatory function in contrast to the dubious claims of accurate predictions. My argument is that economics should be seen as an explanatory social science that attempts to address highly complex financial and social issues that face the world in which we live.

5 Economics and changes to the school economics curriculum

Orthodox economics, in its current manifestation, is individualistic and lacks a social context; the neo-classical 'rational economic man' is purported to behave selfishly and in pursuit of self-interest. Indeed, Adam Smith famously wrote in favour of the pursuit of selfish behaviour: "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest" (Smith, 1994 [1776] p15). Wang et al (2011) explain that the language of economics makes it especially difficult to differentiate between self-interest and greed. Neo-classical economics see people as 'rational self-maximisers' with an assumption of self-interest embodied in the desire to 'maximise gains'. The notion of 'rational economic man' implies pursuit of unlimited and un-relented consumption. While individual greed benefits one person at the expense of others; systemic greed can damage an entire system and there are many examples we could draw upon to illustrate this^{iv}. University economics as taught around the world reflects this orthodoxy and school economics offers a simplified version of university economics (Brant, 2011).

It is current UK government policy to reform curriculum and assessment in England. From the summer of 2017, A-level economics will be assessed through linear examinations taken at the end of the normal two-year course (first teaching of the new specifications started in September 2015). I have compared the new content requirements published by the Department of Education (DfE) in April 2014 with existing OfQual (Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation) requirements and there are relatively few changes and on first reading it appears to be 'more of the same' and hence a

missed opportunity to address the issues raised in this paper. Nevertheless, there are changes and I see a significant improvement on current requirements. For the sake of brevity, I will not compare and contrast existing and new specifications, rather I will signal significant changes.

The DfE aims and objectives are as follows:

1. develop an interest in and enthusiasm for the study of the subject
2. appreciate the contribution of economics to the understanding of the wider economic and social environment
3. develop an understanding of a range of concepts and an ability to use these concepts in a variety of different contexts
4. use an enquiring, critical and thoughtful approach to the study of economics and an ability to think as an economist
5. understand that economic behaviour can be studied from a range of perspectives
6. develop analytical and quantitative skills, together with qualities and attitudes which will equip them for the challenges, opportunities and responsibilities of adult and working life

Source: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/302106/A_level_economics_subject_content.pdf Accessed 09/07/14

These specifications require economics to be relevant and analytical. The significant addition from the earlier specifications is in point 5 “understand that economic behaviour can be studied from a range of perspectives”. While the syllabus is still broadly neo-classical in its approach, there is clear scope for engaging with alternative conceptualisations and with critiquing established models. The DfE document continues with a requirement of the Knowledge, understanding and skills that specifications in economics must:

1. provide a coherent combination of micro-economic and macro-economic content, drawing on local, national and global contexts
 2. foster the appreciation of economic concepts and theories in a range of contexts and develop a critical consideration of their value and limitations in explaining real-world phenomena
- (Ibid)

Both these requirements are highly significant, there is now a requirement to contextualise economics in the real world in local, national and international contexts and furthermore for students to understand the limitations of neo-classical models and concepts. The DfE document further states that specifications must require students to:

1. develop an understanding of economic concepts and theories through a critical consideration of current

economic issues, problems and institutions that affect everyday life

2. develop analytical and quantitative skills in selecting, interpreting and using appropriate data from a range of sources, including those indicated in the Annex
 3. explain, analyse and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the market economy and the role of government within it
 4. develop a critical approach to economic models of enquiry, recognising the limitations of economic models
- (Ibid)

While retaining a neo-classical underpinning, the new specifications now allow teachers to ‘test’ models and to ground economics in the real world rather than in abstracted a priori models. In terms of specified content, the normal orthodox economics content is present such as the margin, opportunity cost, wage determination, inflation and the circular flow of income, but there is an added requirement of criticality. So for example in the study of supply and demand, students are required to “be aware of the assumptions of the model of supply and demand; explain the way it works using a range of techniques; and use the model to describe, predict and analyse economic behaviour” (ibid). Teachers are now required to teach economic models (more) critically and they have the scope to explore alternative conceptualisations. For the sake of clarity and illustration, I now offer an example of how teachers may approach the teaching of ‘price’ (see box 1).

The English education system is characterised by a regulatory body, the Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation (OfQual), setting broad requirements and competing awarding bodies offering detailed specifications and sample assessment questions; individual schools then decide which awarding bodies to choose for each subject and teachers follow that specification. I have studied the proposals from the largest three awarding bodies (Edexcel^v, OCR^{vi} and AQA^{vii}). Their stated aims and objectives reflect the DfE/OfQual requirements stated above and consequently I will not repeat them here. Drawing from the Edexcel draft specification, I note a number of interesting inclusions:

Economics as a social science: a) Thinking like an economist: the process of developing models in economics, including the need to make assumptions b) The use of the ceteris paribus assumption in building models c) The inability in economics to make scientific experiments

Positive and normative economic statements: a) Distinction between positive and normative economic statements b) The role of value judgements in influencing economic decision making and policy

Free market economies, mixed economy and command economy: a) The distinction between free market, mixed and command economies: reference to Adam Smith, Friedrich Hayek and Karl Marx b) The

advantages and disadvantages of a free market economy and a command economy c) The role of the state in a mixed economy

Rational decision making: a) The underlying assumptions of rational economic decision making: b) consumers aim to maximise utility c) firms aim to maximise profits

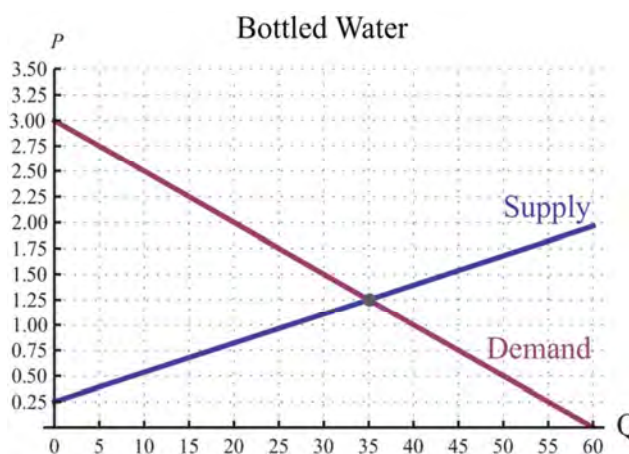
Source; Pearson Edexcel Level 3 Advanced GCE in Economics A (9EC0) Specification, First certification 2017

The Edexcel specification will allow teachers to teach economics in a more critical and more balanced way.

Nevertheless the sample examination questions (Pearson Edexcel, 2014b) are still traditional with a strong neo-classical underpinning. So while teachers will still have to cover a neo-classical syllabus, at least they can do so honestly and critically. A strength of the new specifications and sample examinations questions is that they appear to reclaim reality from abstract models with questions in all three awarding bodies contextualised with relevant examples (AQA 2014a, 2014b, Pearson Edexcel, 2014a, 2014b, OCR, 2014a, 2014b). Teaching for these courses started in September 2015 with first examination of the AS level in June 2016 and the full A-level in June 2017.

Box 1: teaching about price

In 'traditional' secondary school economics lessons, teaching is often theory-led. As described earlier in this paper, theories are often accepted as facts and taught that way and learning is often passive due to a (false) acceptance that knowledge is a static collection of facts to impart on learners. Typically, teachers will explain theory, present a diagrammatical conceptualisation on the whiteboard and students will copy (or be given as handout). Examples from the real world often follow, 'validating' or exemplifying the theory. So in the teaching of 'price', students may learn about 'supply' and about 'demand' and a graphical representation may look something as follows:



The diagram implies an equilibrium price of €1.25 with 35 units being bought and sold. Teachers rarely label in more detail (than my construction above) and it is often left for the student to assume additional information. Are we to assume 35 *bottles* are exchanged? How large are the bottles? Perhaps they are half-litre ones? How often does this exchange happen? Perhaps it is daily? Where does the exchange take place? Perhaps it takes place in a convenience store? Such a graph implies a degree of certainty and it would not be unreasonable for a learner to assume that a supply curve 'exists' and that likewise a demand curve is 'real'. It would also be fair to assume that the learner may consider €1.25 as the 'correct' price for a (half-litre) bottle of water, especially after a teacher asserting that the price *is* €1.25. I suggest that such a teaching approach is deficient in that it presents certainty where certainty does not exist and that it is likely to lead to misunderstandings and misconceptions in the learners that may be hard to correct.

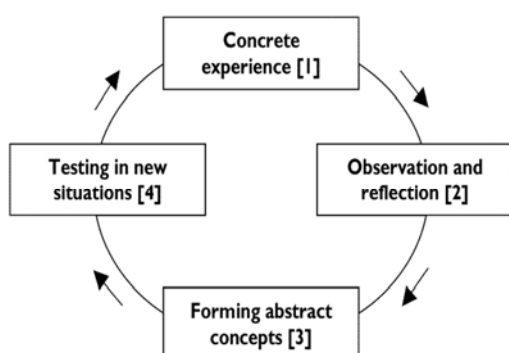
I advocate what I call a 'back-to-front' approach (in contrast to usual economics teaching methodology). Students could be given a scenario where a half-litre bottle of branded water has a price of €1 in a supermarket, €1.25 in a convenience store, €2 in a restaurant and €5 in an exclusive club. Students, working in groups (of say 4), could then discuss explanations for the price differences. Working in groups allows students to articulate their reasoning aloud and it allows the teacher to address misconceptions in a sensitive way. A formal whole-class plenary session may consolidate learning and explore the various mechanisms at work that influence price, price differentials of the same product and possible forces at work that may influence a changes in prices. A supply and demand diagram may follow for the model is a powerful and useful one (and one that must be taught for it is a specified requirement), but it will be predicated on reality and taught as an explanatory device rather than a real entity.

6 An opportunity for teachers to reflect on their teaching of economics

The new economics curriculum in England is an opportunity for teachers to reflect on the way students learn economics and the way economics might be taught. It is my recommendation that students are taught to

see that economics doesn't exist in isolation from society, but is embedded in the social system and relates to many spheres. Decisions made by individuals, firms and governments will affect other individual, society and the environment. One approach might be to take a historical view in trying to understand why the world

looks as it does. For example, 250 years ago there was not much difference in living standards between England, Germany, and India and yet today there are enormous differences. A starting point might be to examine empirical data (a la Piketty) and trying to make sense of that data. Starting with real world evidence should keep economics fresh and relevant. One powerful way of learning economics is through experience and I recommend that economics teachers consider Kolb's (1984) learning cycle as a useful tool. Kolb suggests that learning is a cyclical process that begins from students' experiences and these concrete experiences are the basis for observations and reflections which in turn are assimilated and distilled into abstract concepts.



Source: Davies and Brant, 2006 p. 148

If what students learn in school is to have any impact on their thinking outside school then students must be taught to reappraise their existing knowledge and understanding in the light of what is presented in class. For example, students may have experience of a payment system (piece rates, hourly rates, overtime, bonus payments) through part-time work. Through this experience they will have some awareness of how a payment system operates, some awareness of motivation at work and some awareness of the organisation which employed them. Through reflection on their experience, students can bring each of these aspects of their experience into their current consciousness. A natural way in which students may reflect on payment systems is by comparing their experience with others (Davies and Brant, 2006). This type of approach also has clear implications for teachers in schools who are working with groups of students in classrooms. In these circumstances the teacher could ask: "What experiences do the students have that are relevant to the topic I am about to teach?" The example of payment systems illustrates how this question may be answered. However, 14-19 year-old students' experience of business and commerce is necessarily limited (ibid). Using real data, real-life case studies and scenarios that frame an economics problem, will go some way in addressing relevance.

Another point of reflection for Secondary school economics teachers is on the need to make explicit methodological assumptions as a central part of a more pluralist teaching of economics. This can be achieved by

starting the course with an overview of the history of economic thought and later to reflect on conceptualisations as they arise during the year. Dow (2009) argues that this would address the concerns that "only one general approach is currently emphasised in economics teaching and that instead students should be exposed to a range of approaches" (P41).

I end this section by recommending that teachers reflect on how they teach the use of economic models. Due to the ubiquity of supply and demand (S+D) diagrams in micro-economics, I will use this as an example. Most standard texts explain 'the law of demand' and the 'law of supply' and the resulting formation of price and consequently many students will accept these 'laws' uncritically, influenced by the 'certainty' in which they are presented. The implication of the texts is that it is reasonable to assume that shifts in demand or shifts in supply will lead to changes in price, but in the real world this is dependent on the nature of markets and often prices are surprisingly 'sticky'. I offer four examples that test the model. (1) Demand factors. If one takes the example of ice-cream, it is reasonable to expect the price to rise on hot sunny days as demand increases and yet in ice-cream parlours, cafes and supermarkets, prices normally remain constant (and similarly, adverse weather does not lead to price reductions). Take motor-cars as another example, over a number of years, prices of a manufacturers' models remain remarkably stable, even though there may be long term fluctuations in demand. (2) Supply factors. If wages fall in a particular industry, S+D theory leads us to expect employees to contract the supply of labour (as the price of labour has fallen). Yet employees who have mortgages or have rents to pay on their apartments may need to work more in order to meet their financial obligations. Taking the example of Cross-rail^{vii} in London, the £2.3b expansion of public rail transport across London, S+D theory leads us to expect a price reduction due to an increase in supply, yet there are plans to raise the price of public transport in line with inflation so it is likely that more journeys will take place at a higher price. I am not suggesting that the models are intrinsically wrong, rather that they are inappropriately used in many texts and by many teachers. What the models can represent are the unseen forces and mechanisms at work. In the case of S+D analysis, there are forces of both supply and demand at work and they may influence prices and business decisions. The S+D model can be used as a powerful explanatory device and this is how I suggest it should be used. I assert that models should not be taught as if they are real in themselves.

7 Discussion

In the nineteenth century, a new understanding of economics emerged, whereby economics reflected the technical issues of the time, rather than being a theorisation of the morality of the market, exchange and distribution. Over time the approach gained many adherents and became the main understanding of what economics is about. As a result, one no longer asks: maxi-

mization of profit for what purpose? Efficiency of market to what end? Growth of wealth to achieve what goal? (Brant and Panjwani, 2015). So while orthodox economics typically just looks at individuals acting solely for self-interest, abstracts from social relations and assumes the ubiquity of the market, what is absent is any notion of a compassionate human being who operates on a level of values and who cares about other human beings, human justice and the environment. While the market is an effective mechanism for coordinating complex economic activities across numerous economic agents, it is no more than that, it is a mechanism (ibid).

The discourse of modernity is riveted by two fundamental assumptions. First, that human beings have revolved around atomistic egocentricity (positivism offers a diminutive model of the human being). Secondly, the world can be described in terms of abstract universality (the positivist philosophy of science has assumed a reductionist ontology and by implication an unchanging world). These two assumptions give rise to a critical realist critique of form and of content of economics. To understand economics, both ontology (there is a world of independent phenomena) and epistemology (knowledge is a social process) are needed. Orthodox economics as it stands is individualistic and lacks a social context and it is characterised by an over-use of theoretical models that are based on unrealistic and/or dubious assumptions. Because of its reductionist nature, orthodox economics has no opening to other social sciences; in particular, it allows no place for social structures and human agency. Due to its positivistic assumptions and over-use of modelling, economics sees the world in terms of closed systems. Consequently there is an overuse of the term *ceteris paribus* but of course in the real world variables do not remain the same. It is my argument that it is essential to see economics as part of an open system as the real world is complex, with a multiplicity of mechanisms, structures and agencies at play. Moreover, for any meaningful understanding, it is important to take social and political context into account.

The economics teacher is faced with the content of specifications as a given and the nature of examination questions also as a given. But the way that economics can be taught is open to the teacher. Following Kolb's learning cycle, my recommendation is for economics teachers to start with what is known and to move from the 'concrete to the abstract'. Economic models should be used to explain rather than to suggest they exist in any meaningful way as entities themselves. Teaching in an interactive way to seek meaning and explanation is sound economics teaching. But more than that, teaching with values and the interests of the students at heart will maintain relevance and purpose in economics education.

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Endotes:

ⁱ I dedicate this paper to Roy Bhaskar (1944-2014), Philosopher and dear friend.

ⁱⁱ AS and A2 examinations are typically taken by 17 and 18 year olds in England

ⁱⁱⁱ On 27 May 2014 global business leaders gathered at the Mansion House and Guildhall in London to attend a conference on inclusive capitalism. See: <http://www.inc-cap.com/>

^{iv} a) Bernie Madoff's long-running Ponzi scheme conned investors of over \$60 billion; b) the American sub-prime mortgage crisis where there was a financial incentive for lenders to loan to customers who did not have the ability to pay them back; c) the LIBOR rigging scandal of 2012 etc.

^v Edexcel, is a multinational education and examination body. Edexcel is the UK's largest awarding body that sets examinations and awards qualifications (including GCSEs and A-levels).

^{vi} Oxford, Cambridge and RSA Examinations is an awarding body that sets examinations and awards qualifications (including GCSEs and A-levels).

^{vii} AQA (formally known as Assessment and Qualifications Alliance) is an awarding body that sets examinations and awards qualifications (including GCSEs and A-levels).

^{viii} <http://www.crossrail.co.uk/>

About the Use of the Word “Market” in the Teaching of Economics: The Lexicon at Work at the High School and at the University

In France, syllabuses and teachings of economics have changed a lot in first degrees and at the high school as well since their creation. Wondering whether this imperceptible transformation does not lead finally the subject towards a regression as for its ambitions, by impoverishing it, we analyse these evolutions. Concentrating our work on the word “market”, which has got a considerable place so much in the syllabuses of the high school and Bachelor's degree today, we show that this whole transformation is a lexicon effect. We support our reflection by analysing syllabuses and textbooks.

We show that market has become a keyword in the lexicon of our society ; that is the reason why its use is obvious at the present time, and does not need an accurate definition. That is what we call a lexicon effect. But it poses questions about the impoverishment of the teaching of economics at high school and university, as many controversies testify.

It would be necessary to make sure of a true “knowledge growth in teaching” (Shulman, 1986), by questioning content and relationships to knowledge such as ways of teaching. The involvement of teachers in this kind of approach should be encouraged. In other words, research on dynamics of knowledge should be initiated. On which conditions is it possible?

En France, les programmes et l'enseignement de l'économie ont beaucoup changé au niveau des licences universitaires comme au lycée depuis leur création. Face à la question de savoir si cette lente transformation ne conduit pas finalement la discipline vers une régression quant à ses ambitions, en l'appauvrissant, nous cherchons à expliquer ces changements. Concentrant notre travail sur le terme « *marché* », qui a aujourd'hui une place considérable tant dans les programmes de SES que de licence d'économie, nous montrons que toute cette transformation est un effet de lexique. Nous appuyons notre réflexion sur l'analyse des programmes et l'étude des manuels.

Nous montrons ainsi que « *marché* » est devenu un mot-clé du lexique de notre société, c'est pourquoi son usage va de soi aujourd'hui, et ne nécessite pas de définition précise. C'est ce que nous appelons un effet de lexique. Mais cela pose des questions sur l'appauvrissement de l'enseignement de l'économie au lycée et à l'université, comme en témoignent de nombreuses controverses.

Il serait nécessaire de s'assurer d'un véritable « développement de la connaissance dans l'enseignement » (Shulman, 1986), en interrogeant les contenus et les rapports à la connaissance ainsi que les façons d'enseigner. L'implication des enseignants dans ce type d'approche devrait être encouragée. En d'autres termes, une recherche sur la dynamique de la connaissance est à initier. À quelles conditions est-ce possible?

Keywords:

Economics, didactics, syllabuses, subject matter contents, cultural dynamics.

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1 Introduction

The teaching of economics is the object of numerous debates at present. Movements such as “*Autism in economics*”, “*the French Association of Political Economics*”, “*the appalled economists*”, “*PEPS-Économie*” plead for other ways of teaching the subject matter. These debates are not new. They have already shaken the profession at the end of the 60s when first degrees in economics, at the university, and the teaching of “*Sciences Économiques et Sociales*” (Economics and Social Sciences, from now on called SES), at the high school, (Le Merrer, 1995) have been set up. At the end of the second world war, questions relating to the teaching of economics have been subject to deep controversies (Aréna, 2000).

Beyond these debates, we must underline that syllabuses and the teaching of economics have changed greatly at first degree and at high school level since their creation. Wondering whether this imperceptible transformation may lead the subject to regress by impoverishing its ambitions, we attempt to explain this evolutionary process. Which elements, as regards high school or university syllabuses, justify the process and

explain its direction? We are going to show that this whole transformation is a lexicon effect.

To do this, we shall concentrate on the word "*market*", which has considerable importance in the syllabuses of SES and Bachelor degrees today.

In support of our argument we shall use two materials. At the level of the high school, we support our reflection by analysing syllabuses as defined by the ministry but also by examining textbooks, which refer to the implementation of these syllabuses. We cover the period from the beginning of the teaching of SES at the high school, at the end of the 60s, until today.

At the university level, we have based our work on the textbooks in the title of which the expression "*principle of economics*" appears, in French editions. This choice is guided by two elements. First, works of economics exist for a very long time. Simply, and it is not a detail, the first authors spoke about "*political economy*". Without going back inevitably to Montesquieu, Say's works (1803), Ricardo's (1817) and Malthus' (1820) marked the discipline - economics - and were very often referred to during teaching. This former existence allows us to make comparisons, in particular in the changes in subject content. In other words, it will allow us at the same time to see the consequences of deleting the adjective "*political*" but also to see more recent transformations. Then, the works concerning "*principles of economics*" have sufficient ambition to correspond with those of SES textbooks, that is to say they try to grasp the economy in all its dimensions.

2 The place of the notion of market in the teaching of economics

Considering both school and university textbooks, the use of the term "*market*" seems to be obvious today. Let us start with observing it in SES, at the high school, from the 80s, before considering the evolution at the university.

2.1 An enhanced place at the high school

It should be established at the outset that the notion of market is missing in the early syllabuses. Furthermore, even after its introduction in 1981, its place remains quite small during the period 1981-1990, as shown by a careful reading of three fifth-form textbooks.

In one textbook (Echaudemaison, 1981) 'market' does not appear in any title or subtitle and the index contains only a single cross-reference. It does not concern enterprise, as expected from the syllabus, but "*prices*", and more exactly "*inflation*". We could expect indeed the reference to the market in the treatment of the theme of "*enterprise*", as much as in that of the theme of "*national economy*".

It is nevertheless the study of enterprise that is supposed to involve recourse to the notion of market. This recourse turns out to be marginal, on examination.

This textbook places the market in a marginal place, leaving the professors, and the pupils, to define it, if need be.

In another textbook (Brémond, 1984), which deals with the same syllabus, "*market*" appears in the index. The

notion is introduced into the study of "*price formation*", within the theme of "*national economy*". The chapter contains a double page (Brémond, 1984, pp. 282-283) entitled "*Marks for analysis*", which begins with an extract from Jevons (1888), under the title "*What is a market?*". But this text does remind us of the historical origin of the market concept, speaking of "*any body of persons who are in intimate business relations and carry on extensive transactions in any commodity.*"

Afterwards in this textbook the Ministry of Economy explains that "*market is the meeting place between supply and demand*". This definition, frequently quoted in particular by the pupils, reminds us that in the reality of teaching, and especially in the models, other meanings of the term are usually mobilized.

In 1990 the new edition of the first textbook (Echaudemaison, 1990), places the market concept at the heart of the study of enterprise even though the syllabus does not require it at that time. Indeed to treat the theme "*enterprise*", file n°4 is entitled "*Enterprises and markets*". From the introduction we learn that the second part will be dedicated to "*markets*" and the "*law of supply and demand*", presented as an axis of study, whereas the market is defined as "*meeting place between supply and demand of a good which results in price formation and in the determination of the exchanged quantity.*"

The market concept seems to have become essential. But we must note that in the chapter of this textbook the part dedicated to it is reduced compared with the earlier edition, and the synthesis of the chapter, the page 98, reflects that, by granting more or less six times less place to the second part, that it summarizes under the title "*The necessity of competition in the market economy*". Among five documents – five to be compared with 26 dedicated to the previous part - only one can be considered as extract of an academic work, - in this particular case Chevalier (1984) -. Under the title "*What is a market ?*", this extract so begins : "*To qualify the functioning of the capitalist economies, we use frequently the term of market economy.*".

The end of the synthesis shows well that the semantic sliding still meets obstacles:

"(...) *We should not forget however that in capitalist countries the competition is also at the origin of economic crises which are translated into unemployment and poverty.*"

Today's approach is quite different: "*market*" is from now on at the heart of the SES lexicon.

Let us remind ourselves that neither the initial programs nor the Official Instructions which accompany them mention the notion of market.

The history of SES reminds us of the five stages of the adoption of this notion in the subject matter content:

1. The notion of market was put on the fifth form syllabus in 1981;

2. It was put on the sixth form syllabus in 1987, but still stays descriptive: "*Exchanges: markets, price formation, role of the outside world*";

3. It is put on the same syllabus, in a theoretical sense this time (market, supply and demand, pure and perfect competition);

4. The key-stage of the sixth-form syllabus, in 2001: at the same time as the treatment of the financing of the economy introduces the notion of "*market financing*", the "*coordination by the market*" becomes a main title within the syllabus. Also registered are the notions of "*market institutionalization and market relationships*". For the final year of high school, the notion of market was put on the syllabus in 2002.

Finally the new, current, syllabuses integrate the strengthened single notion as a core notion: in the fifth-form there appears, for the first time, a theme entitled "*markets and prices*"; in particular, the theme "*coordination by the market*" is placed in the centre of the syllabus of the sixth-form, involving the study of "*market institutions, property rights*", alongside a set of notions stemming from microeconomic models, of perfect or imperfect competition.

The effect is perceptible in the current textbooks we examined. What is talked about, concerning the market?

- Exchange in its normal form, and a regulation mechanism at the economy-wide level, more often than not described as a market economy, because the criterion accepted in order to speak in such a way is the form of exchange.
- Conditions of existence and working of this market: institutions such as right of property – and sometimes money – « *principle* » of competition, often reduced to its « *perfect* » form. Possibly the market is called « *embedded* » in social relations, but without consequence on the theoretical plane, and even more on the semantic one.

This approach to the economy via the notion of the market, relatively recent in SES textbooks, can be compared with that of the evolution of academic textbooks dealing with principles of economics.

2.2 The place of the notion of market in university textbooks

In all the studied university textbooks, the notion appears on numerous occasions and is frequently mobilized as a basis of explanation for the phenomena being considered. The counterpart of this use is the notion of "*market economy*".

The market economy is very often presented in opposition to the economies described as managed or planned, such as the USSR and Eastern European countries experienced. We find it in the textbooks of Samuelson and Nordhaus (2005) and Mankiw (1998). This approach to the various types of economic organization is not new. As a reminder, until the 8th

edition (1970), Paul Samuelson predicted a possible overtaking of the American GDP by the GDP of the USSR in the period 1990-2000; that implies that he considered this model as more successful at the economic level, and he was not the only one at that time.

If our society functioned according to market forces, we would be in a "*market economy*". For Sloman and Wride (2012), "*the market economy refers, according to the French economist Guesnerie, to a context of the economy where a substantial part of the activity is organized around markets*" (p. 21).

We can observe how obvious the use of "*market*" is on three levels.

In the first place, the notion is frequently used without preliminary definition in these textbooks. The forewords of the works testify to such a practice. So, Samuelson and Nordhaus (2005, p. 11), assert "*dozens of countries rejected the socialist and collectivist approach to adopt the system of the market*". Let us pass, for the moment, on the aspect a priori unique to this system, to underline that the recourse to this term of market does not seem to require any prior clarification. The absence of an initial definition of the concept does not mean that this one will not be proposed later. It proves that for these authors, the term is supposed to be known by everybody and that its use does not raise any questions. Thus on the site of Insee (French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies), it is possible to find a set of definitions concerning the concepts used in the various measures and the publications of this institute. The internet site www.insee.fr provides no definition of the term "*market*", nevertheless using it freely.

Secondly, the accurate definition of the term "*market*", namely the definition which people must understand, is not found in all the textbooks. For some, it is necessary to give it, while others do not seem to require it (Sloman and Wride, 2012).

Thirdly, the definition of the concept is quite difficult. Examining textbooks, it is possible to find perceptible differences, without reference to alternative definitions. The following table illustrates this.

Table 1: About the definition of market in economic literature

Author's name(s)	Definition of market
Sloman and Wride (2012)	None
Stiglitz, Walsh (2006)	Economists consider there is a market every time there is exchange. (p. 11)
Mankiw (1996)	A group of buyers or sellers for a particular good or service (p. 960).
Samuelson and Nordhaus (2001)	A device which leads buyers and sellers to meet to fix the price and the exchanged quantity of a good (p. 749).

Reading these few definitions shows that the market is either an exchange – Stiglitz (2006, p. 15) warns the reader that the term "*market*" has a specific meaning which is not the one of the ordinary language and that "*strictly speaking places where are exchanged goods and*

services" do not exist. -, or a group, or a device, but no author indicates the three ones at once.

The comparison of Malthus's (1820), Heertje's (1982) and Mankiw's (1996) work confirms the general evolution previously evoked for SES textbooks and especially allows us to measure how much the notion of market seems to have become really essential.

The comparison between SES textbooks and past and present main works in economics reveals a similar evolution, in particular in the systematic recourse to the notion of market and in the disappearance of some concepts such as *value* and *money*. Does theoretical knowledge justify this evolution?

3 Theoretical knowledge does not bear out this evolution

The examination of two dictionaries suitable for the teaching of economics, both at the high school and the university, Beitone's (2007) and Guerrien and Gun's (2012), helps us to consider more carefully this use of the notion of market and this recourse to the expression "*market economy*".

Beitone's dictionary proposes an entry word "*market*", where we learn that:

"In the economic sense, a market is an abstract place, where supply meets demand, resulting in exchanges at market prices. There are markets for all saleable goods and every market gives rise to the formation of a price."

The French economist, François Perroux, complements this by connecting the market to enterprise, making it the SES program for the fifth form, at the beginning of the 80s. The text refers back to other terms: markets and price, the market economy, the economics of organizations, market equilibrium, competitive equilibrium.

Let us consider two elements of this definition:

1. The market is an "*abstract*" place;
2. Every market gives rise to the formation of a "*price*".

Both terms must be clarified. "*Abstract place*" means, in contrast to a "*concrete*" place, the idea of a "*place*", on which are conferred such characters, by an abstract work. It is thus important to keep in mind this epistemological status and the characters which define this "*place*".

The concept of the market, so defined, involves the one of price, which is consequently to define. We read that the entry word "*price*" is, for the good or the service, "*the monetary expression of its exchange value*", which confirms that we cannot speak about the market without speaking about money or about value.

If we follow the cross-reference in the entry word "*markets and prices*" (Beitone, 2007, p. 307), the introduction is significant there:

"The market economies are the object of a global consensus today and the planned economies have become exceptions. (...)".

The absence of reference to the abstraction, this time, creates confusion, between the expression "*market economy*", and this reality that it is supposed to refer to, which would be "*the subject of a consensus*", and it creates some doubt as to what is, exactly, the subject of a consensus.

From then on, in the continuation of the text, this confusion recurs. When this introduction ends by indicating that "*other ways were explored by the heterodox analyses*", we stay on the idea that these analyses conform to the initial assertion. Having returned to the classical school, which "*tried to demonstrate the superiority of an economic organization based on competitive markets*", then in the neo-classical theory which, "*with other concepts and other hypotheses*", "*extends the work of the classics*", the text holds as "*heterodox*" analyses – which is eloquent – those of Marx, Keynes, the school of the Regulation, the neo-institutionalists – what is also very significant – and the socioeconomics (implicitly spared by the differences of analysis).

It is then advisable to go to the entry word "*market economy*". We find there a distinction between two meanings:

"On the theoretical plane, (...) a model where the regulation takes place by the confrontation of supply and demand in a market or a set of markets. (...) On the historical plane, (...) economies which work mainly on the basis of the regulation by the market. (...)".

The market economies are thus complex economic systems where the logic of the market is certainly dominant, but where exist other forms of regulation."

Without developing here the criticisms of epistemological order which this presentation raises, let us hold a particular conception, which maintains us on the "*theoretical*" plane, whatever the presentation suggests, even in going on the "*historical plane*", by favouring the criterion of the trade regulation to characterize "*economic systems*".

It is moreover confirmed, implicitly, in the same dictionary, in the entry word "*capitalism*", to which sends back the entry word "*market economy*". It is told that the market is thus "*the procedure which provides the coordination of these individual decisions by the mechanism of prices*", contrary to what takes place in the non-market economies where the coordination – is it nevertheless a problem in these societies? – "*is provided by the tradition, the social standards, the relations of power or kinship.*"

At the entry word "*capitalism*" we learn that:

"Capitalism is an economic system which rests on the relationship between wage-earners and owners. It is characterized by a logic of accumulation of capital."

And anticipating logically the raised questions, this entry word proposes a further clarification:

"You should not confuse capitalism and market economy. A market economy can work on the basis of

exchanges between independent producers. In practice, certain authors use the term "market economy" referring to the capitalist economies, because they consider that the term "capitalism" has a too Marxist connotation."

It is necessary to avoid the denounced confusion, obviously, but the confusion is already epistemological, in the last sentence quoted at the moment: "*market economy*" is recognized as a way of speaking about "*capitalism*" without referring to it. Oscillating, as the entry word "*market economy*", between definition, theoretical, and historical description given for syncretic, this presentation ends in the description of "*various forms of capitalism*" in the history. Yet this one does not fail to indicate that the "*trade and banking capitalism*" supposed to have developed from the end of the Middle Ages, "*only represents, according to the historian Fernand Braudel, a limited aspect of economic life.*" Yet everything contributes, in the various entries, to underline that the central criterion of definition of a "*system*" is the mode of regulation (Baschet 2004).

If we link now the beginning of the entry word "*markets and prices*", quoted above, and the latter statement, it appears that today the lexicon tends to impose a representation of economies as "*market economies*". In spite of efforts to prevent the confusion between "*capitalism and market economy*", this last expression, the use of which developed for a recognized ideological reason above, stands out as the way of referring to these "*complex economic systems*". To summarize, it follows that:

1) The notion of market remains to specify: place, process ? The relation with the value, and money, must be clarified to think about equivalence. As Guerrien and Gun remind it, "*Models [neo-classical, in this particular case] have difficulty taking money into account in its role of means of transaction, insofar as it is the expression of a social relationship, based in particular on confidence.*"

2) Its reach exceeds the only theoretical stake. Since at this level it is a question of conceiving and explaining the regulation of economies, conceived as "*systems*", appears a stake clearly identified as ideological, without conclusions being drawn, for lack of epistemological clarification.

Let us focus on the stake. Considering Guerrien and Gun (2012, pp. 320-322), in their dictionary, as the recent SES syllabuses, we find that speaking about market involves recognition of the necessity of the right to property, individual, on the object of any "*market*", but also the monetary character of the exchange. Yet, as soon as it becomes possible for an individual at the same time to alienate something which is his "*own*" and to exchange it for money, the accumulation of capital, and its development, also become possible for the same movement. So for example the transformation of natural elements into goods for the increase in value of capital, involving the use of wage-earning manpower, brings

labour exploitation at the same time as private enrichment.

But everything will depend on the way we recognize, exactly, the necessity of the right to property. The place taken by "*New Institutional Economics*" in SES references has facilitated the presentation of this right as a necessity, without going out of the neo-classical frame. The same applies to the monetary character of market exchange: it can go no further than the evocation of money there "*as facilitator of the exchanges*".

Guerrien's text (2003) confirms at the same time the normative stake in the neo-classical conception of the market and the confusion that it creates around this word. He reminds us that the neo-classical economists chose to abandon any reflection on value, without which the price formation remains inexplicable, for the benefit of a model which imposes a system of markets, organized by a central authority, as the only conceivable representation, thanks to the efficiency and the optimality which this theory attributes to it.

In spite of the absence of results that match the claims of the model, this double quality turns the market into an ideal figure of the economy, favouring the tendency to treat new things or activities as market goods, even though it would involve, ultimately, such an organization that market procedure loses its *raison d'être* (Guerrien, 2003). And the confusion established between the market and perfect competition eventually filled most of the speeches which aim to be critical, as shown by a close scrutiny of SES textbooks.

The example of the "*market*" in CO2 emissions (Harribey, 2013, p. 294 and following ones) shows in fact the weakness of the thesis of market regulation: the aforementioned market, provided that it "*works*", involves the collective intervention, and not only the "*interactions between individuals*".

This scrutiny of academic and school textbooks highlights the following features:

1) The political economy does not need to speak of market: the classics - and Marx - did without, and everything depends on the approach since;

2) Speaking of the market seems to have become imperative with the hegemony of microeconomics, in other words the neo-classical approach, in its diversity;

3) But the given definition remains rather vague to underpin rather loose use;

4) Especially as the question of the price formation is not investigated more deeply;

5) Which is understandable, given the difficulty of doing it in this theoretical frame, without reflection on the value;

6) The claim to do with market the heart of regulation of contemporary economies has got no theoretical ground;

7) The neo-classical economists are even obliged to integrate notions from alternative approaches, such as "*institution*", without avoiding criticism.

Beyond the differences in the definitions of the notion of market, we have to admit that in universities and high

schools, its teaching does not seem to create difficulty. Although this is obvious, it is nevertheless a source of some questioning, in particular as to hidden meanings connected to this use.

4 What interpretation on these evolutions?

It is undeniably true that the contents of textbooks and syllabuses in SES at the high school and those of textbooks at the university have changed.

The evolution of textbook content at the university and at the high school can give rise to several interpretations. Some do not totally exclude others.

First of all, it is possible to conceive that the object of economics has changed. Its definition does not make for unanimity among economists. This is true in both the past and the present. There is nothing new in this point of view. Many former authors are quoted in approaching this question. This reference confirms that, contrary to what could be put forward, the object of the subject has not changed.

Another argument could be found in the field of current events. They are changeable, so that textbooks must be brought up to date. However, the writing and the publishing of textbooks takes time. Topical questions can change considerably. Besides, one of the virtues of an academic textbook - in particular of principles of economics - is to free itself from topical questions, in order to deal with all questions. It is the same for SES textbooks. They aim not only to throw light on topical questions. They also aim to train pupils in economic reflection generally. Both kinds of textbooks try in reality to train more economists than specialists in the topical questions of a certain time, especially as the latter change regularly. As for syllabuses, the knowledge of the process of their elaboration (Coléno, 2005) allows to minimize strongly the place of this issue.

An argument in favour of the excessive use of the notion of market is the principle of reality. So, in his reflection on the teaching of economics in higher education, Jean-Paul Fitoussi (2001, p. 19) noticed :

" *We live in a market economy which we should try to understand, even if we "do not love" markets.* " Without talking any longer about our "love" for markets, let us stress what Fitoussi means : the world changes and thus it is necessary to develop our tools to become aware of it. This position raises two questions. First of all, as we noticed previously, the world did not change to a great extent - at least in the global functioning - even though it evolved. For some economists, and not inevitably Marxists, we live in a social system which we can always call capitalism. Thomas Piketty (2013, p.16) in his study on the evolution of the disparities for the XIXth century and on their perspectives for XXIst century does not hesitate to write: "*Capitalism produces mechanically unbearable, arbitrary disparities, questioning the meritocratic values on which our democratic societies develop.*". So, according to him, the current system differs little from the one that prevailed in previous centuries. Finally, the model that supports current textbooks dates from the XIXth century. It is far from

new and refers back to a singular economic approach: the neo-classical one.

Another argument - in particular in the words of some - focuses on advances in the subject. Sweeping and generalizing speeches like "*economists say*", "*economists think*", can suggest that today there would be a relatively unified discipline, in particular for the concepts to be mobilized. According to this logic, it would be advisable to draw the following conclusion: teaching economics as a science consists in teaching only the current theories because they would "be the best". Nevertheless, this position may be strongly contested, especially because it remains a large plurality of theories (Solans, 2005).

A last argument is put forward which could be summarized in the following way: the dominant ideas are the object of a fight and today some of a certain category of the population would prevail. So, Joseph Stiglitz (2012), in order to explain the evolution of the disparities, evokes the fact that political decisions, taken in recent years in the United States, mainly benefited the richest 1%. This was possible, always according to him, because this group won the "*battle of the ideas*" and this victory can be perceived in particular at the level of education.

Our position is different. Subject matter contents must be conceived as the product of a dual process of didacticisation and of axiologisation of reference knowledge, in particular scientific, (Dévelay, 1995). Speaking of axiologisation of contents means that the latter are linked with a value system, and it leads us to consider the determining factors of the dynamics of this one, to explain how this dynamics acts in turn on the contents.

It leads to analyse the evolution of contents not only as the product of an evolution of the reference knowledge, in this particular case those of economics, but at the same time and inextricably as a product of the evolution of the value system at work in the studied society. More exactly, the evolution of subject content is analysed as a "*mark of the sense*" (Solans, 2005), by referring these contents to a determined lexicon, that of the social form, the capitalism in this particular case, at a certain point of its trajectory. With this end in view we look in particular for the explanation of the evolution of this lexicon in the dynamics of the circulation of work, at the origin of this trajectory. We also refer to Raymond William's works which agree with the precedents by "*historical semantics*".

These contents carry thus the "*mark of the sense*" of capitalism at a point of its trajectory. But where does this sense come from?

A social form is an ordered set of places. What we call sense is the axis of the system, which gives it direction: set of values and collective ways of thinking and behaving. In other words, sense is culture, sense informs every being, saying what to do and how to get it right. And it does it through words: sense becomes *lexicon*, that is to say the set of words by which people think about the world, in a society at some point in its history. (Solans, 2005).

Today the lexicon of the social form is based on a central value, which is comfort. Alexis de Tocqueville

(1835) witnesses the change of the central value, from the glory – central value of the feudalism – to the comfort, or material well-being :

"If it seems useful to you to lead the intellectual and moral activity towards the necessities of material life, and to use it for producing comfort ; (...) if, at last, in your opinion, the main object of government is not giving the whole nation as much force or much glory as possible, but providing everyone with the most comfort, and sparing him the most poverty ; so make conditions equal, and set up the government of democracy."

This lexicon consists of registers, according to an order which varies throughout the trajectory of the capitalism, hence the necessity of linking the analysis of the lexicon to that of the dynamics of social relationships.

4.1 At the heart of the "economic culture": a society of individuals connected by markets

Analyses of socioeconomic dynamics (Canry, 2005; Solans, 2008), show us that the interplay of the behaviour of wage-earners and capital owners led capitalism from one stage to another, on its trajectory, and thus made the lexicon change. While previously the position of strength of wage-earners had made first the register of equality, we went to a stage where the registers of freedom and distinction, in a variable order, took its place. The renewal of the lexicon appears in some keywords, the first of which is "market".

The superiority of the market as a regulator - through the notion of coordination - is then understandable in subject matter content by the strength of this word in the current lexicon: it is indeed the keyword of the register of freedom, from now on first in front of the register of equality. The reality of 'market' as means of social regulation is never questioned, it is obvious. The following quotation shows this, extracted from the speech given February 23rd of 2010 to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Paris by Michel Pébereau, also a member of the High Council of Education, and the committee Guesnerie which had worked in 2008 on the teaching of SES:

"By this time when some people talk about a French cultural exception, we had better do a pedagogical work with our students, similar to that made by companies for 20 years with their employees, to make them feel the constraints of liberalism and improve their competitiveness, by subscribing to the project of their company. Therefore I stand up today for teaching where competition is the rule of the game, where creating wealth is a prerequisite for distributing wealth, and where the market provides the regulation of the economy every day. These are easy concepts, that young French people must learn and understand, as well as now the billion of Chinese people and the billion of Indian people."

Closely akin seem words of Luc Chatel, former French minister of Education, evoking an "obvious lack of

economic culture". Therefore the new subject matter of "Fundamental Principles of Economics and Management" - in fifth-form – had to "show the enterprise in its role of economic player, creator of wealth, in all its dimensions, including the social one." It is worth noting that Jean-Paul Fitoussi, besides producing in 2001 a report to the government on the teaching of economics at the university, disputes that "the population does not understand economics", and doubts that "if the French people became reconciled with the market economy, the economy would get better. (...) It is a rather flimsy reasoning." (Interview of Jean-Paul Fitoussi and Sylvain David (president of the APSES), in the newspaper Libération, on February 2nd, 2008). Our idea of an influence of socioeconomic dynamics on the lexicon of the society, and through it on the scientific speeches seems to converge with the words of Gilles Dostaler (2009) on the marginalist "revolution" of the XIXth century:

"We could [also] put forward the hypothesis that it is the rise of Marxism and the first electoral successes of the socialist parties which led, after the birth of what some [economists] called a new paradigm, to the hardening of the latter, and a withdrawal into the exalting of market virtues."

Even putting the creation of money on the SES syllabus – as the last question of the economic part for sixth-form - seems "framed" in terms of market issues. Not only is this question treated after that of the coordination by the market, but also the study of credit and financing of the economy precedes it: money creation seems thus secondary in this financing. The so-called Complementary Indications of the syllabus confirm it: "We shall show the central role of the money market." The Keynesian issues, in particular, appear clearly "out of season" as to the syllabus, in other words "out of season" as to the so-called "economic culture".

The examination of textbooks confirms what we call a "lexicon effect". That is to say a process by which, related to the combined dynamics of capitalist relationships and value systems, the ways of speaking and representing the world, in other words the lexicon of the social form, integrate a word or an expression, initially a concept, by taking it away and then by separating it from its theoretical matrix - abandoning any reference, shifting the meaning - until it becomes the only way of speaking, relegating all the others to the unspeakable and thus the inaudible.

The strength of the lexicon, through the assertion of market as an indisputable reality, also finds a way in presenting the notion of "human capital" on the fifth-form SES syllabus, and its introduction into the syllabus of final year of high school among the "types of capital" at the origin of economic growth.

The introduction of this notion shows a lexicon effect, according to our examination of textbooks, from the oldest ones up to the current editions :

1) Before any additions to the syllabus, the notion of human capital appeared recently in two fifth-form SES textbooks (Cohen 2000 ; Nivière 2008), and one sixth-

form (Revol et Silem 2001). It is worth noting nevertheless that the textbook of Belin publishers – for sixth-form – presents a reference to the notion of human capital at the end of the chapter dealing with "market failures". It appears however at the end of the chapter in a page entitled "Meeting point: SES and English", and consists of the picture of the cover of a OECD publication entitled "*Human capital*" and accompanied with questions in English such as « *Why is the picture of a baby associated with the idea of Human Capital?* ». The definition of the notion appears in a box entitled «*Going further*»: it «*refers to the stock of competences, knowledge and personality attributes embodied in the ability to perform labour so as to produce economic value. It is the attributes gained by a worker through education and experience.*»

2) In final year of high school, in the same scenario, it appeared from 1995 in four collections (Belin, Bordas, Bréal et Hachette), in 1999 in two others (La Découverte et Nathan), and in 2003 in two others more (Hatier et Magnard);

A lexicon effect is conceivable in the references we found, seen the given definitions and the use of the notion, as well as the frequent origin of the documents, extracted from OECD publications.

The use of the notion seems to be obvious, so much so that it exempts the authors from clarifying theoretical points, and all the more from the slightest putting in debate.

A striking example appears in the fifth-form textbook of Nathan publishers (Echaudemaison, 2010), dealing with the current program.

We find a new definition, compared with the one of the previous editions, but it is not the one the authors (Schultz, Becker) of this concept have given:

"According to the OECD, the human capital covers "all the knowledge, the qualifications, the skills, and the individual characteristics which facilitate the creation of the personal, social and economic well-being" (Loiseau, 2010, quoted by Echaudemaison, 2010, p.106).

Besides the reference to OECD, frequently found in the examination, this definition takes away the reflection from its first object, while this one is exactly in the centre of the issue put on the syllabus: labour.

No reference to the initial conception, anyway. Choosing OECD seems at the same time to consolidate the presentation of this notion as "common knowledge" on one hand - no reference to its theoretical genesis, supposed useless - and as indisputable. Ultimately, the given definition evokes the magic thought: "*human capital*" is the new philosopher's stone.

In the same sense we have already shown in previous research how much the idea of labour market is meaningful in the syllabuses, in the final year in particular : the labour market, according to the lexicon of our time, has become a reality, "natural". And the lexicon effect appears clearly in the examination which we have been widening to the currently used textbooks:

1. Some of them confuse downright the "*labour market*" with the standard model established by the neo-classical theory;

2. The aforementioned market being a reality, it is most of the time all about studying the way it "works";

3. When a textbook evokes the position of Keynes, it never goes as far as reminding that the latter does not speak of labour market; at the most it is written (Échaudemaison 2012) that Keynes was "*among the first economists to argue with the existence of a market such as described by the neo-classical economists.*"

4. Even in a school textbook we can find the expression "*employment market*" (Cohen 2012, p. 350). Pupils are asked: "*Why can some economists use Schumpeter's works to analyse the employment market?*"

Combining both keywords of market and capital, the lexicon of capitalism imposes its order at the heart of teaching content: every one is a capitalist, every-one a market partner. Can we content ourselves with these categories? And is the world confined to these relationships?

The term market, as used by many economists as a place of confrontation between supply and demand, sends back a certain vision of humanity. This one is implicit: its meaning is never reviewed in textbooks. Men and women are considered as calculators who try to maximize their satisfaction. They do it rationally. They are "*homo œconomicus*". Is this what we must teach? Do we all agree with such a narrow conception? In his work on the price of inequality, Joseph Stiglitz (2012, p. 389) sees two possible outcomes for the United States. They have become a "*two-tier economy*", that is to say two societies – the rich and the poor - which "*live side by side but which do not practically know each other*". If the "1%" eventually remembers that its fate is linked to the "99 %", then inequality will be reduced because it is in "*their own interest*" for dominant classes. Should only interest guide social choices?

Finally, a well known experiment in the field of game theory (Ventelou, 2001) shows that the behaviour adopted by the participants results from rules. It is about a game similar to the prisoner's dilemma (collectively each one should be cooperative but individually he should rather avoid being cooperative). This experiment showed that it did not lead to the same strategies according to the players. The students of economics adopt at once the non-cooperative strategy – the expected one. On the contrary, those of languages cooperate. However, the repetition of the game leads the latter to adopt the non-cooperative strategy. They finally behave as the model had planned it.

For Émile Durkheim (quoted by Laval, 1995, p.38) there is always, "*in the teaching of man*", an offer of an idealized image of humanity. Which humanity takes shape around the market ?

4 Conclusion

The terms used today in economic teaching are not the same as those used yesterday. This is especially true for the term 'market'. But we have shown that the sense of this term varies between authors. It should pose questions, but as we see this is not the case. Market is a keyword of the actual lexicon ; that is the reason why its use is obvious at the present time, and does not need an accurate definition. That is what we call a lexicon effect. But it poses questions about the impoverishment of the teaching of economics at high school and university, as many controversies testify.

From then on the reflections must be developed about the teaching of economics, as said Alain Legardez at the end of the 20th AEEE conference in Aix en Provence (2014). It would be necessary to make sure of a true "knowledge growth in teaching" (Shulman, 1986), by questioning content and relationships to knowledge such as ways of teaching. The involvement of teachers in this kind of approach should be encouraged. In other words, research on dynamics of knowledge should be initiated. On which conditions is it possible?

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Endnote

¹ "Pour un Enseignement Pluraliste dans le Supérieur en Économie", which means "For a Pluralistic Higher Education in Economics".

Why We Need to Question the Democratic Engagement of Adolescents in Europe

Since the beginning of the 21st century, academics in various disciplines have stressed the need to address democratic deficits in Europe as well as lacunae in the citizenship development of European youth. In this article we explore the value of various types of democratic engagement for strengthening the democratic character of local and international communities throughout Europe. To this end, we present our democratic engagement typology and its derivation from empirical and conceptual research, and discuss several strengths and limitations of each type of engagement. We also explain the additive value of our typology in relation to existing engagement typologies, and conclude that in order to vitalize democratic communities, local and (inter)national communities and institutions also need to cultivate a thick type of democratic engagement among European youth.

Keywords:

Democratic engagement, thick democracy, adolescents, citizenship education

1 Introduction

In the last decade, academics in various disciplines have stressed the need to address democratic deficits in Western democracies as well as lacunae in the democratic citizenship development of their citizens. In the Netherlands for example, De Winter (2004, p. 61) identified three types of attitudes towards democracy that might pose a threat to the continuity and vitality of democracy: when people do not develop a democratic commitment; when they consider democracy as self-evident; or when they want to fight against it. In Canada, Tully (2010) criticized the (intended) democratic participation of citizens and their sense of civic and political efficacy. He argued that, since modern citizens in Canada have been raised with the idea that one should participate in the political domain in order to address issues or claim one's rights, they feel unable to address issues that are not put on the agenda by current political parties. Moreover, they have not learned how to address issues outside the political domain. As a consequence, those who refrain from politics tend to withdraw from the civic domain as well. The critiques posed by these and other researchers on the democratic attitudes of citizens, and their limited sense of civic and political efficacy and participation, led us to question further the democratic engagement of adolescents in Western democracies. In this study, we focus on the citizenship development of adolescents in Western Europe. Previous studies, like the International Civic and Citizenship Studies (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, Burge & IEA, 2010) and the Participatory Citizenship Research Project (Hoskins, Abs, Han, Kerr & Veugelers, 2012) have already provided

insights into patterns and discrepancies among countries and among student groups in Europe. Slightly earlier research by Grever and Ribbens (2007), Lister, Smith, Middleton and Cox (2003) and Osler and Starkey (2005) has generated knowledge about adolescents' identification with the local, national and European community. Until today however, few studies have scrutinized adolescents' perceptions of what good, or democratic, citizenship entails, and their understandings of the ways in which they already (can) contribute to democracy as young citizens. A second omission in existing research concerns inquiries into components of democratic citizenship that resonate with a thicker conception of democracy which envisions democracy as a political system and a way of living (Dewey, 1916). Apart from Haste and Hogan (2006), few researchers have investigated European adolescents' perceptions of the moral and political components of political and civic participation, and their perceptions of democratic deficits. Our research is directed towards addressing these knowledge gaps.

In this article, we theorize about the types of democratic engagement that European youth can currently develop, and the types that they would need to develop in order for democratic communities to thrive. In this context, we first present our democratic engagement typology, and explain how this typology was constructed based on the findings of a narrative inquiry into Dutch adolescents' democratic engagement and related conceptual inquiries into thick democracy and thick citizenship efficacy. We then discuss several strengths and limitations of the thick, thin and passive types of democratic engagement in relation to the vitality of democratic communities. To conclude, we explain the additive value of our typology in relation to existing typologies, and argue that in order to support the vitality of democratic communities on a local, national and international level, European communities also need to cultivate a thick type of democratic engagement.

2 The political and civic context

Before we can present our typology and explain the steps that were taken in its construction, we need to further contextualize our research. To this end, the present section sketches some of the concerns that social and political scholars have expressed regarding the quality of current democratic practices and procedures,

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educational scholars' critiques of current (citizenship) education policies and practices in Western Europe, the Netherlands in particular, and their possible impact on adolescents' democratic citizenship development.

2.1 Lacunae as identified by scholars in social and political sciences

With regard to the quality of political debate in Europe, Mouffe (2005) has critiqued the tendency of representatives in European democracies to depolarize politics which, according to her, has led to the emergence of fascist movements throughout Europe. She mentions that in order to address this deficit, democracies need to instil an appreciation of agonist positions among their citizens. In line with Mouffe's critique, Schuyt (2009) warns against the tendency of the Dutch society to build a national community without appreciating and acknowledging the necessity of discussions about different value systems within nation states and the communities involved.

With regard to the quality of the representative system, empirical studies (e.g. Bovens, 2006) have revealed that the role and power of traditional political parties and labour unions in the Netherlands has declined with the rise of professional lobbyists, the decline of civic institutions, and the fragmentation of civic initiatives. To address some of the issues on democratic representation, Bovens (2006) has stressed the need to reaffirm the principles of representative democracy in new arenas of decision-making: in the deliberative field in professional arenas and in international organizations. Interesting in this regard is that an inquiry into interactive government and deliberative platforms and forums in the Netherlands (Michels, 2011) has revealed how different types of participation promote different types of democratic principles, and how government officials and policy makers, through choosing certain kinds of participation over other, let certain democratic principles prevail over others.

A third critique concerns the role of the media and politicians in guarding the quality of the election system and political debate. In his book *The dramatized democracy*, Elchardus (2004) has argued that Belgium and other countries alike have become 'symbolic societies' in which the media negatively affect the quality of the political system: in order to be elected, candidates now need to be good media performers rather than good politicians; the media make and break politicians; and campaigning processes never stop. Furthermore, he has argued that in a dramatized democracy, it's not the public but the faces of a party that shape the message of political parties. As a result, the 'dramatic democracy' risks 'crises' that are generated by the media, and that strongly play at feelings of distrust and discontent. According to Elchardus, such mechanisms endanger the quality and stability of Western democracies.

2.2 Lacunae as identified by educational scholars

In the education system in the Netherlands, adolescents are required to attend one year of Social Studies. In current Social Studies textbooks, democracy is presented

as a neutral political and legal system (Nieuwelink, 2008). Building on a thicker conception of democracy, Veugelers (2011) has expressed several critiques on Dutch (citizenship) education policies and practices, and the dominant, technical-instrumental education discourse. One critique concerns the decline of explicit attention to value and moral development in Dutch education, which, in his view, can be traced back to the declining influence of religious organisations on the content of education over the last sixty years, and to "the rejection of a more political content oriented to collective emancipation and the dominance of a technical-instrumental rationality" (Veugelers, 2011, p. 30). A second critique concerns the student-centred learning concept ("het Studiehuis"): a new structure for the upper grades in secondary education in the Netherlands that was launched by the Ministry of Education in the last decade of the 20th century. According to Leenders and Veugelers (2004), this concept stimulated individualist rather than cooperative learning strategies, and, as such, constrained possibilities to "learn to engage in joint critical examination and participation in social contexts" (p. 372). Similar to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typology of three types of citizens in the US, Veugelers (2007) also came to distinguish three types of citizens in the Netherlands: the adaptive, the individualist, and the critical democratic type. A representative survey by Leenders, Veugelers, & De Kat (2008) among secondary schoolteachers revealed that about 30 % of the teachers preferred the adaptive type of citizen, 20 % an individualist type and 50 % a critical democratic type. Despite teacher sympathy for a critical democratic type of citizenship, Veugelers (2011) found that this type receives little attention in educational practice. As a result, he concluded that Dutch schools in general cultivate a-political citizens: citizens who have not studied power inequalities and who have not been introduced to a school culture that teaches students how they can address social justice issues. In the same vein, and in sync with a broader understanding of the pedagogical task of teachers, Dutch scholars have critiqued the lack of positive attention to ideals at different education levels (Sieckelinck & De Ruyter, 2009), and the lack in guidance for young people for the development of values and civic ideals that resonate with a thicker conception of democracy (De Winter, 2012; Miedema, Veugelers & Bertram-Troost, 2013).

With the introduction of a legal obligation for schools to foster "active participation and social integration" (Ministerie van OC&W, 2006) the Dutch government does acknowledge its role as well as the role of formal education, in preparing young people in a pluralist democratic society to engage with different cultures and religions. Nevertheless, till today, students receive little guidance in their value orientation and identity development in classroom settings. The designated courses for discussing religious and cultural frameworks, dominant and alternative narratives, and practices of citizenship and democracy are worldview education courses and (facultative) citizenship projects. Interestingly, for various reasons, worldview education is rarely offered in secular

public schools in the Netherlands, which make up one-third of the public schools. This means that, despite the recommendations of the Council of Europe with regard to “fostering adolescents’ understanding of religious and non-religious convictions”, (Council of Europe 2008, 2014), about one-third of the Dutch adolescents do not receive education in religious and non-religious convictions. Moreover, when projects are offered in secular public schools, they often seem to be developed and taught by teachers who have not been trained to guide adolescents’ religious, identity and citizenship development in an ethical manner. Future evaluations of teacher training programmes in the Netherlands will have to reveal the extent to which teacher-students are trained to facilitate classroom discussions on controversial issues (Hess, 2009) and foster intercultural and interreligious understanding (Council of Europe, 2014). Furthermore, on the meso-level, school boards themselves do not seem to be stimulated to engage with different cultures and religions. Cooperation amongst schools with different (denominational) backgrounds, for instance, is not stimulated. Further, even though the Dutch government has been encouraging projects in which students from different schools engage with each other, policies and practices that maintain segregation in education are not addressed in a structural way (Veugelers, 2008).

Together, these concerns of social, political and educational scholars give an impression of the democratic deficits that adolescents might worry about, and that they might seek to address. Furthermore, they help to envision how certain democratic deficits and educational policies and practices might restrain the development of adolescents’ democratic engagement in the Netherlands and in Western Europe. Against this backdrop, we will now introduce the main conceptions in our study.

3 Conceptualising democratic engagement and democracy

Our theoretical framework draws from research in critical pedagogy and educational and political philosophy. The rationale for focusing on democratic engagement is that it enables us to examine and further theorize about participatory *and* subjective elements of democratic citizenship, like one’s appreciation of democracy, one’s sense of commitment to democracy and to people who suffer from practices of exclusion, and one’s willingness to further develop one’s participatory competences. As such, our conception of democratic engagement resembles Biesta’s concept of “engagement to the experiment of democracy” (2011), which distinguishes between a participatory component, supported by a certain set of skills and competences, and a motivational component: “a desire for the particular mode of political existence called democracy” (Biesta, 2011, p. 9). In our research we focus on the motivational component of engagement. In the theoretical framework that follows, we refer to this second component as “commitment”, covering various psychological and subjective elements like one’s motivation, one’s

commitment to democracy and various communities, and one’s sense of citizenship efficacy.

Democracy in Biesta’s (2011) concept of “engagement to the experiment of democracy” is presented as an ongoing process in which different stakeholders contribute to the development of public spaces where people can engage in political participation. In our research (De Groot, 2013) we have further theorized about key components of democratic engagement in the context of various conceptions of democracy. In particular, we sought to define key components of democratic engagement when perceived from a thick democracy framework: a type where the citizen, besides engaging in political participation, is also willing to and capable of strengthening the democratic character of local and (inter)national communities and organizations.

Thicker conceptions of democracy typically envision democracy as a political system and a way of life (Dewey, 1916). Our conception of thick democracy was constructed based on a comparative study on thin and thick democracy as identified by four scholars who have conducted empirical and conceptual studies on democratic citizenship education in Western democracies (Carr, 2010; Parker, 2003; Thayer-Bacon, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Building on their conceptions of thick democracy, which in turn build on pluralist, deliberative and radical democracy theory, we came to envision democracy as a political system that is always under construction, as a culture that seeks to enhance respectful relations and social justice, and as an ethos that implies examining and co-constructing hegemonies and underlying normative frameworks in a multipolar society (De Groot, 2013). A thin conception of democracy on the other hand, typically envisions democracy as an accomplishment and as a neutral political system: a system that treats all adult citizens with legal status as equal before the law and that highlights the value and need for protecting both itself and individual citizens from the threats that certain religious or cultural traditions and frameworks might offer to their (negative) freedom. Such an understanding of democracy, which resonates in several notions of classical liberal theory that have been criticized by pluralist liberal scholars (Mouffe, 2005; Thayer-Bacon, 2008), is widespread among citizens.

In the previous paragraphs, we introduced the concepts of “normative framework” and “democratic ethos”. Since these concepts are central to our discussion of the strengths and limitations of the three democratic engagement types delineated in this study, we will elaborate here on our understanding of these concepts and their interrelatedness. Our *normative framework* concept draws on Taylor’s (1989) work on “moral horizons”. Whereas Taylor has discussed the religious frameworks that influence civic and political developments in each society, the term “normative framework” in our research also refers to political and/or scientific normative frameworks immanent in corporate, financial cultures, institutions and movements, and it encompasses both ideological and more implicit frameworks. In our view, each society hosts various normative frame-

works, all of which are embedded, accepted and appreciated in the society in different ways, depending on numerous factors. Some normative frameworks, in particular the “exclusive” branches of these frameworks are designed to serve the interest of a specific group, like the “Dutch value-system” (Schuyt, 2009). A limitation of these frameworks is that they do not provide a normative framework and language through which members of a political community, together with those affected by the practices of this community, can discuss the possible value of elements from alternative frameworks for the further development of local and (inter)national democratic communities. Of course a *democratic ethos* is also limited and contingent, and might be judged as incompatible with a number of principles and norms that are key to other frameworks. Yet, we argue that, compared to community-specific cultural and religious frameworks, a democratic ethos offers a more inclusive language to deliberate about how to enhance democratic practices and procedures.

A last key concept in our research that needs clarification is that of *democratic deficits*. Referring to Peonidis (2013), for instance, one might define a democratic deficit as the discrepancy between the democratic ideal and the democratic reality. Our conception of democratic deficits, however, is inspired by the work of scholars who envision democracy as an outlook (Parker, 2003) and a never-ending process (Thayer-Bacon, 2008), and who claim that a “radical and plural democracy [...] will always be a democracy ‘to come’, as conflict and antagonism are at the same time its condition of possibility and the condition of impossibility of its full realization” (Mouffe, 2005, p.8). In line with this understanding of democracy, we argue that democratic deficits cannot be overcome: power inequalities cannot be ruled out in any society, and even when democracies are “functioning well”, there will always be people whose voices are less represented and who are prohibited from participating in the political and civil domain. This does not mean however, that we recommend taking existing democratic deficits for granted. In our view, detecting, challenging and mini-mizing deficits, as well as the continuous development of and reflection on multiple existing democratic ideals and theories, lies at the heart of democratic life.

4 Constructing our democratic engagement typology

Since our typology was constructed based on the findings of an explorative narrative inquiry and related conceptual inquiries, we will first briefly summarise the design of the empirical study and the research process here. In this inquiry, which aimed to gain an insight into the democratic engagement of Dutch adolescents, we collected the narratives of 27 adolescents on five dimensions that influence their willingness to develop their democratic citizenship: an elaborate understanding of democracy and diversity; a sense of efficacy; an active commitment to groups of people whose voice is less represented in political procedures; active relations; and dialogical competences (De Groot, 2011). Due to our interest in the democratic engagement that adolescents

develop near the end of their socialisation through formal education, students from eleventh grade pre-university education and secondary vocational education were recruited for this study. Selection amongst the students who applied was based on creating a sample with an adequate mix of ethnic, gender, and professional backgrounds. 27 students were selected in total, all from the age group 16-20. 14 of these were students following vocational education and 13 were pre-university students. This proportion is also representative of the Dutch student population in general, where both types of schools attract about the same number of students. The respondents participated in an interview research cycle that comprised four focus groups and two individual interviews, all semi-structured. On average, four adolescents participated in each focus group. The interviews were conducted in school during or after school hours. Data were analysed in Atlas-ti using a combination of inductive and deductive analyses (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and tools from narrative and thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008).

After a primary analysis of the adolescents’ narratives, four themes were selected for further analysis: their perceptions and appreciation of democracy, of diversity, their sense of citizenship efficacy, and their sense of their citizenship responsibilities. Detailed reports of the separate studies on each of these themes can be found in our previous publications (De Groot, 2013; De Groot, Goodson & Veugelers, 2014a; De Groot, Goodson & Veugelers, 2014b). The analytic frameworks and findings from these narratives on the four themes were then merged into one overall framework which distinguishes between a thick, a thin, and a passive democratic engagement (see Table 1 in the attachment). The distinction of a thinner and thicker engagement type in this framework stems from our theoretical analysis of thinner and thicker conceptions of democracy and our empirical analysis of students’ narratives about democracy. The third, passive type of democratic engagement was added because several students in our study appeared to have few narratives about democracy and could be categorized as the passive-efficacy type.

5 Three types of democratic engagement

In this section, we present the main characteristics of each type of engagement: thick, thin and passive, and describe its prevalence among the students in our research. We then point to several strengths and limitations of each type in terms of its contribution to the vitality of (inter)national and local democratic communities.

5.1 Thick democratic engagement

Characteristic of this type of engagement is that the associated perception and appreciation of democracy and sense of citizenship efficacy and responsibility resonate a thicker conception of democracy. Our narrative inquiry revealed that relatively few students developed a predominantly thick type of democratic engagement. As our analysis of their narratives about democracy revealed, only a limited number of students

had developed predominantly thick conceptions of democracy. Students only incidentally referred to democracy as a normative framework (ethos) and their narratives on democracy as a way of life were often fragmented. Most students took democracy for granted and had limited perceptions about how a democracy might be threatened or how it could be vitalised. Also, students only occasionally referred to the merits of democracy in terms of its impact on how civic issues are addressed and its impact on the quality of international relations. While students did identify various democratic deficits that resonate with our thick conception of democracy, only few thick concerns were expressed frequently. Likewise, the fragmented nature of most students' narratives on diversity issues and their nebulous understanding of policy measures in this regard indicate that few students had the aspiration to contribute to the democratic process in this context. Our analysis of students' sense of their citizenship efficacy revealed that only few students could be categorized as this type, i.e. the type who feels inclined and confident that they can invoke change in the civic domain. This means that only few of the students aspired to contribute to equity and to respectful relations beyond their personal environment.

There are three benefits of a thick engagement type that can be explained in terms of their contribution to the vitality of democratic communities, each relating to one of the three key aspects of our thick conception of democracy: democracy as a continuously evolving political system, as a culture that seeks to enhance respectful relations and social justice, and as an ethos that implies co-constructing a democratic ethos. The first advantage is that people with a deeper understanding of deficits in current democratic narratives, practices and procedures are more inclined to address these deficits or support initiatives from fellow citizens in this regard. Whereas for the passive and thin types of democratic engagement, a lack of political efficacy will most likely result in a withdrawal from engagement in civic and political issues (Tully, 2010), a thick type of democratic engagement will seek for spaces in society where one can generate and strengthen counter-narratives and 'counter force' (RMO, 2011). The second advantage concerns the interrelatedness of this type of engagement with the quality of a democratic culture. Because this type co-creates institutional, corporate and public cultures that foster 'shared authority' and 'shared responsibility' (Thayer-Bacon, 2008) and advocate fairness rather than equal opportunities or outcomes for all, these 'democratic' cultures, in their turn, can provide (young) citizens with the necessary critical thinking and participatory competences to guard and strengthen such cultures. The third advantage relates to the ethos of challenging and co-creating hegemonies in multipolar societies. Citizens with a thick type of engagement contribute to such an ethos in several ways, such as engaging in conversations about civic and political issues and the different ways in which these issues are interpreted within and among religious, cultural and political communities and by corporations. In this way,

citizens with a thick type of democratic engagement contribute to the co-construction of a normative framework and language that surpasses these specific communities. In addition, through engaging in such conversations, citizens belonging to this type also develop the necessary capacities to recognize multiple normative frameworks and deliberate about their possible value for the vitality of the democratic character of their local and (inter)national communities. In our discussion of the strengths and limitations in section 6, we further elaborate on this third advantage.

5.2 Thin democratic engagement

A thin type of democratic engagement implies that one understands democracy as a political system in which the people rule and where people's rights are protected by the constitution. It most likely also implies that one participates in accordance with this thin perception of democracy: one might vote, become a member of a political party, and/or participate in deliberative platforms. In this way, thin types support one of the basic principles of the political system, that of 'popular sovereignty' (Dahl, 1989; Peonidis, 2013). Citizens with a thin type of engagement might also be aware of the complexity of negotiating interests, and as a consequence, have realistic expectations of the possible outcomes of deliberation processes. They might have an understanding of past and present accomplishments of politicians in addressing economic and cultural issues, and they might be cautious about judging politicians based on media reports broadcasting malfunctioning politicians and snapshots of political debate primarily for their entertainment value. In our study of adolescents' narratives about democracy, most students were categorized as thin and 'mixed' types: types whose meaning narratives contained both thin and thick elements. Frequently made 'thin' critiques related to the declining voting rate. Students also regularly mocked, in their view, the unreasonably high penalties for ignoring a red light when cycling, high tax fees, legislation that forbids people under the age of eighteen from buying alcohol and the lack of firm action against criminal behaviour. The more 'mixed' types would also, for example, mention a responsibility towards enhancing respectful relations. Yet, they did not identify a responsibility towards addressing social justice issues or democratic deficits. Our study of adolescents' citizenship efficacy revealed that several of the students felt that they could make an impact in the political domain and also felt a responsibility towards participating in this domain.

The disadvantages of this type relate, amongst others, to limitations with respect to the understanding of democracy. Since citizens falling within this type envision democracy as a political and legal system, their reflections about democracy also do not transcend the political domain. They are also less inclined to reflect on deficits in the current democratic narratives and procedures, since they tend to perceive democracy as an accomplishment; a system where every citizen has an equal say, rather than as a continuously evolving set of

practices and procedures which is constantly shaped and challenged by economic and environmental developments as well as existing and emerging normative frameworks. A third disadvantage relates to their rather dichotomous image of the separation of the church and the state. Because of this image, citizens with a thin type of democratic engagement believe that religious and other normative frames have, and should have, little impact on political deliberation processes and on the development and implementation of legislations and policies. In line with their neutral stance and their interpretation of the equality principle, thin types are also inclined to supporting policies that treat all religions and cultural frames in the same manner.

5.3 Passive democratic engagement

Typical to citizens with a passive type of democratic engagement, is their lack of democratic commitment. They have few narratives about what democracy entails and how they (might) benefit from living in a democratic society. Their understanding of current democratic narratives and procedures and subsequent deficits is superfluous and largely based on personal/second-hand experiences. They do not inspire to contribute to the democratic process and they are rather ignorant about how democracy evolves. The findings of our empirical study indicated that several of the students developed a very limited democratic engagement: several students had limited images about democracy and the possible merits of democratic practices and several fell under the 'passive citizenship efficacy' category. Our findings on students' appreciation of democracy could not, however, be easily translated into conclusions about a certain type of democratic engagement. Having a neutral attitude towards democracy, for instance, does not automatically imply that one has a passive type of engagement; one can judge one's attitude towards democracy as neutral and simultaneously have a thick understanding of democratic deficits and participate in ways that resonate a thick conception of democracy.

That lack of a sense of democratic commitment amongst this type does not mean that they do not contribute to democracy. Contributions to democracy, for instance, through engaging in political deliberation practices in their communities, can also be inspired by a Christian interpretation of good citizenship (and images of good citizenship vary widely among Christians as well). However, the contribution to democracy of this engagement type is not a conscious act. Furthermore, citizens who fall under the passive engagement category are probably unaware of how their contributions might frustrate or contribute to the vitality of democratic practices and narratives.

Educational researchers who depart from a thick conception of democracy have expressed several critiques that relate to this type of engagement. De Winter (2012), for instance, argued that democracies risk implosion when a growing number of citizens are ignorant about the democratic process or have not learned how to actively relate to democracy and guard the democratic process. Likewise, political researchers

(Macedo, 2005; Bovens, 2006) have pointed to the negative impact of a decline in political participation, especially among lower educated citizens, on the representativeness of parliamentary political parties and labour unions. It is important to note that these scholars do not primarily blame citizens for this lack of engagement. In their view, government officials and citizens have a shared responsibility towards shaping political bodies and procedures in which all citizens can and *want* to participate.

6 Analysing strengths and limitations of thin and passive types of engagement

Passive and thin types of democratic engagement can both also comprise caring and actively participating members of local communities, who can be critical about a whole range of issues, and like the thicker types, might commit to addressing hegemonies within their own communities. While the cultivation of such types of engagement is certainly valuable for democratic societies, several scholars have argued that these practices alone will not make democratic societies thrive. Kahne and Westheimer (2003) and Parker (2003), for instance, have claimed that citizens also need to (learn to) address civic and political issues beyond their local communities. Further, Nussbaum (2002) has stressed that in a globalised world, one should actively seek to foster the Socratic ability to criticise one's own traditions; the ability to think as a citizen of the whole world; and 'narrative imagination': "the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 299). Narrative imagination, Nussbaum states, enables people to develop a critical and emphatic understanding of the judgement and actions made by people from different historical and socio-cultural backgrounds.

Building on our typology, we point here to three additional limitations that passive and thin types of engagement have in common with regard to their contribution to the vitality of the democratic character of (inter)national societies (See also table 2). The first limitation concerns the fact that both types have *limited possibilities to develop a strong appreciation of democracy*. This stems from the perception of democracy as a political and legal system. Several students in our study who envisioned democracy as a political system, for example, explained that they did not have an interest in politics, and that they had little or no idea of the impact that democracy has, or might have, on their own well-being and on how a society addresses economic, cultural and sustainability issues at the local and (inter)national level. If these students had also been introduced to the idea of democracy as a culture that seeks to stimulate shared authority and shared responsibility at home, at school and at work, and if they would have had the opportunity to participate in such cultures, they might have developed a more sophisticated and embodied appreciation of democracy than the appreciation they developed from just learning about

democratic institutions and participating in school elections.

Table 2 - Limitations of the passive and the thin types of engagement

	Passive type	Thin type
Unique Limitations	<p>Understanding of current democratic narratives, practices and procedures and subsequent deficits is superfluous (if present) and largely based on personal/second hand experiences</p> <p>Unawareness about how their (unintended) contributions influence democratic practices and narratives</p>	<p>Understanding of democratic current democratic narratives, practices and procedures limited to the political and legal domain</p> <p>Limited reflection on deficits of current democratic narratives, practices and procedures</p> <p>Awareness of contribution limited to participation in the political domain</p>
Common limitations	<p>Limited possibilities to develop a strong appreciation of democracy</p> <p>(Relative) blindness to the normative frames that underlie current democratic narratives and practices</p> <p>Limited understanding of the possible value of (elements from) community specific normative frameworks for the continuous development of democratic narratives and practices</p> <p>Limited contribution to co-construction of (democratic) outlooks that people envision for their societies</p>	

The second limitation concerns the *blindness to the normative frames* underlying current democratic narratives, practices and procedures that is typical for passive and thin democratic engagement types. When talking about the democratic political system as a system in which the majority wins, Daisy, one of the adolescents in our study, remarked, “Actually, when I think of it, this is not really fair”. If she and other students in our study would have had a broader understanding of the checks and balances that democratic systems might set in place, of the theoretical and political background of current hegemonies, and of processes of power preservation, they might have been better equipped to imagine ways to address current deficits in these areas. In addition, they would probably be more inclined to improve the ‘citizenship situation’ (Biesta & Lawy, 2006) of groups of people whose lives are strongly affected by government policies, but whose voice has limited weight in policy development processes.

The third limitation concerns the *limited contribution of passive and thin types to the co-construction of a democratic ethos*: a normative framework that underlies and provides directions for the further development of a democratic culture and political system. Contributing to the development of a democratic ethos implies that people learn to challenge their images of a) what makes a good citizen; b) what makes a good society; c) alternative images of good citizenship and the good society; and d) the theoretical and normative frameworks that these images (might) build on. It also implies that people reflect on e) their own interpretation of democratic values like freedom, equality, brotherhood, representation and accountability, and f) on the interpretations of such values that underlie current policies in different areas, like healthcare and education.

Additionally, it implies that they de- and reconstruct each other’s understandings of g) the quality of the conceptions of representation and participation that underlie current policies; h) aspects of current conceptions, and the actual policies and practices themselves that need improvement, i) the direction in which the conception or policy in question would need to improve, and j) fair ways to proceed in this direction. In short, people would have to engage in the continuous process of developing their ‘located’ narratives (Goodson, 2012) on good citizenship, on the good society and on existing and alternative democratic outlooks. The modifier ‘located’ stresses that these narratives, other than individualist accounts of (good) citizenship, will take into account how one’s images of good citizenship, the good society and key democratic values are influenced by economic and socio-cultural developments and the theoretical and normative frameworks present in society.

How are passive and thin types of democratic engagement doing in this respect? Do they reflect on the interpretations of democratic values that underlie current policies and practices? Are they aware of the interrelatedness of their personal views and outlooks and the numerous theoretical and normative frameworks present in their community? And do these types entail conversations in which people probe into their own and other’s democratic literacy and civic or democratic outlooks? Since the passive types focus on shaping and protecting their personal freedom and interests and the freedom and interests of their own communities, they most likely develop few images about the kind of society that they want to live in, and what it takes to sustain and vitalise a democratic society. They probably also have few conversations with people inside or outside their own environment in which current

understandings and views are probed. Thin types on the other hand, do engage in conversations about political issues. They will, for instance, engage in discussions about the desirability of replacing a student grant system for a student loan system in higher education. However, in contrast to the thick types, citizens adhering to the thin type of democratic engagement are less inclined to scrutinise the normative positions that they depart from, and their understandings of key values in such a debate, like 'high quality', 'high accessibility' and 'affordable education'. In the same vein, thin types will, for instance, claim that they foster a certain democratic value like freedom rather than question their interpretation of these values.

We illustrate this limitation, and its possible consequences, with the following example from the field of education in the Netherlands: The Dutch State Secretary of Education, Sander Dekker, who is a member of the Neo-liberal party (VVD), recently agreed with the plea of the National Education Council (Onderwijsraad, 2012) to adopt 'participating in a democratic community' as the main aim of citizenship education. More specifically, in his letter to the parliament, Dekker (2013, p. 2) defined the essence of citizenship education as, "Transmitting knowledge about the Dutch legal and political system and expressing the (democratic) values in classes [...] (and) stimulating the appropriate behaviour in class". One might argue that Dekker's stance resonates a thick conception of democracy, since, rather than taking a neutral position, he advocates inculcating certain types of values (democratic ones) among students. Yet, whereas Dekker considers citizenship education as an enterprise directed at instilling certain values, a thicker engagement type would emphasise the need to stimulate students' engagement in the processes of co-constructing a democratic ethos, and the need for students to learn how they can challenge their interpretations of democratic principles, and how they can scrutinize which principles are actually supported in current democratic procedures and practices (in accordance with whose interpretations). From an educational perspective, one might also critique Dekker's call for imposing democratic values which, though well-intended, risk generating an authoritarian type of citizenship education; a type of education that seeks to meet fixed ends, rather than a world-centred education; a type of education that seeks to bring children into the world (Biesta, 2013).

Besides illustrating how thin democratic engagement types will act upon rather fixed and under-reflected images of what good democratic citizenship and what a good society entails, the example above also exemplifies possible implications of this limitation for the provision of spaces and platforms where youth can engage in the (de)construction of a democratic ethos. Overall, we can expect passive and thin types of involvement in the de- and reconstruction of conceptions of democratic principles, as well as their understanding and appreciation of the possible contribution of multiple normative frameworks to this process, to be limited.

7 Theoretical and practical value of the typology

In this article we presented a democratic engagement typology that was developed based on a narrative inquiry into the democratic engagement of Dutch adolescents, and that distinguishes between a thick, thin and passive type of democratic engagement. We also discussed three limitations of passive and thinner democratic engagement types in terms of their possible contribution to the vitality of democratic communities: that they are less inclined to question current democratic policies and practices; that they have limited insight into *the normative frames* underlying current democratic narratives practices and procedures; and that their contribution to co-construction of (democratic) outlooks is limited. Based on these limitations, we argue that in order for democracy to thrive and in order to strengthen the quality of young citizens' commitment to 'the democratic experiment' (Biesta, 2011), European societies need to cultivate a thick type of democratic engagement.

Our plea resides with and adds to the work of educational scholars who have argued that democratic societies need to provide (young) citizens with the *opportunity* to gain the necessary deliberative and critical participatory competences to detect and address civic and political issues (Parker, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004); acquire the necessary skills to examine and practice their ideals in a 'reasonable passionate' way (Sieckelink & De Ruyter, 2009); generate the narrative imagination competence that enables them to bond with people outside their own community (Nussbaum 2002); and reflect on and strengthen their (inter)religious and democratic citizenship (Miedema et al., 2013). For instance, in this article we argued that, apart from providing spaces where adolescents can practice participation in discussions and deliberations about civic and political issues in a reasonable passionate way, and guiding adolescents with the development of their personal worldview and ideals, European communities also need to introduce adolescents to the practice of reconstructing their images of good citizenship, good society and their interpretations of democratic values. It is through such practices that one can learn to engage in fruitful conversations about the viability of dominant conceptions of democratic values and about the value of different normative frameworks and democratic outlooks for the further evolvement of democratic practices and narratives.

Our typology also contributes to existing engagement typologies. While De Winter (2012) critiqued people with an anti-democratic and passive attitude towards democracy for their lack of participation in democratic practices in general, our typology also discusses additional limitations of passive and thin engagement types. In line with our discussion of these types, we for example argue that the threat that such citizens pose to the vitality of democratic communities also relates to their lack of understanding about how their participation impacts the continuous evolvement of democratic practices, procedures and outlooks. Whereas Veugelers'

(2007) critical democratic type of citizen and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) social justice type of citizen emphasise which types of commitment and participation are detrimental for democracies to thrive, our typology theorises about the interrelatedness of one's participation and one's perception and appreciation of democracy. For instance, it envisions how one's conception of democracy will affect one's contribution to addressing a discriminatory practice: where a thin type will probably push for a solution that embodies a certain conception of equality and respect, a thick type will try to address this practice in relation to the various conceptions of equality involved. Finally, our typology stresses the narrative dimension of democratic engagement: how one's democratic participation, one's democratic attitudes and one's sense of citizenship efficacy and responsibility is –or can be– strengthened in the continuous process of narrating about democracy and one's sense of efficacy and responsibilities as a democratic citizen. Apart from combining various components of previous typologies, our typology thus builds on a more elaborate conception of democracy (envisioning democracy also as an ethos) and evaluates citizens on a broader range of components (apart from evaluating one's type of (intended) participation it also evaluates one's narratives about democracy; one's sense of efficacy; and one's narratives about one's democratic citizenship responsibility). Furthermore, it allows for a more systematic analysis of strengths and weaknesses of the various engagement types.

8 Outlook

To conclude, we explain how our typology can be helpful to envision how European societies, through their educational institutions amongst others can also cultivate a thick type of engagement, and how it might inspire further research and discussion among educational professionals and politicians in this area. Preparing young generations for their role in sustaining and vitalising democratic cultures and co-constructing a democratic ethos, we argue, requires that educational professionals go beyond teaching about democracy and organising participatory experiences in existing democratic practices and procedures. It means that teachers also need to guide students in the process of giving meaning to their citizenship in a high-modern democratic and pluralist society and challenging their understanding of, and commitment with, civic and political issues on the macro- and meso-level that affect the daily lives of different groups of citizens. This guidance can be offered, for example, through facilitating the development of adolescents' narratives about good citizenship and democracy and through facilitating critical examination of the interrelatedness of their own narratives and the dominant and counter-narratives and theories on democracy and democratic citizenship in local and international communities. On a meso-level, this implies that educational institutions also need to offer the necessary provisions for participatory and narrative teaching and learning. In general, we argue that

education for democracy and democratic citizenship implies that educational professionals teach students how they can explore and challenge their images about democracy and democratic citizenship; their understanding of strengths and limitations of current deliberation practices and procedures in their daily lives, in school and in the political domain; the impact of socio-economic and political conditions on the extent to which different groups of citizens can, and do, participate with voice (Warwick Cremin, Harrison & Mason, 2012; Jover, Beando-Mortoro & Guio, 2014; Macedo & Araujo, 2014); their images of possible small and structural gains of their participation as citizens; their knowledge about 'good practices' of citizenship participation in different contexts; and their understanding of their current contributions.

Our typology as well as our understanding of the societal prevalence of each of the three types it delineates, stem from an inquiry into the democratic engagement of a certain group of Dutch students at a certain moment in time. Further comparative studies will need to provide insight into the type of democratic engagement that prevails among larger groups of adolescents, across Europe, and into commonalities and discrepancies among different student groups in different circumstances. Given the lack of knowledge about thicker components of the democratic citizenship of European adolescents, we specifically recommend further comparative studies into adolescents' narratives about democratic deficits, which could include narratives about the lack of deliberative arenas in professional areas and organisations (Bovens, 2006), or the impact of the interplay between media and politicians on the quality and stability of Western democracies (Elchardus, 2004). We further recommend comparative studies of adolescents' narratives about their democratic citizenship responsibilities in relation to these democratic deficits, more specifically, about conditions that preserve the current situation, and about their participatory and narrative competences in this context. Overall, we hope that our democratic engagement typology will instigate further research and discussion among educational professionals and politicians about the extent to which (inter)national and local educational institutions (can) provide the necessary spaces, infrastructure, narratives and teacher competences for young citizens to also develop a thick type of democratic engagement.

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Appendix: Table 1 - Main features of the three types of democratic engagement

	Passive type	Thin type	Thick type
Images & narratives about democracy	Has few narratives about what democracy means and how one (might) benefit from living in democratic society	Understands democracy as a political and legal system in which the people rule and where their rights are protected by the constitution	Understands democracy as a political system under construction; a culture that aims for interpersonal respect and social justice; and an ethos that implies co-creating and challenging hegemonies in multipolar societies
Sense of efficacy	Is ignorant about one's sense of efficacy in the civic and political domain	Focuses on one's sense of efficacy in the current political domain	Focuses on strengthening one's sense of efficacy in the civic and political domain
Contribution	Has no aspiration to contribute to consolidation or vitalisation of democratic narratives, practices or procedures at the local or (inter)national domain	Engages in local and/or (inter)national election processes; (sometimes also) participates in deliberative platforms and/or works for a political party	Challenges deficits in current democratic narratives and practices; Generates counter narratives and counter force Co-creates institutional, corporate and public cultures that foster shared authority and responsibility Questions current hegemonies and underlying normative frameworks and contributes to the co-construction of democratic outlooks

Iranian EFL Teachers' Voices on the Pedagogy of Word and World

Critical pedagogy (CP) with the eventual aim of creating changes in society towards the socially just world rests upon the premise that language learning is understood as a sociopolitical event. Schools and classrooms are not merely seen as the neutral and apolitical sites or oxymoron of transmitting taken-for-granted knowledge and common sense to students but rather as the political and democratic sites in which teachers, through praxis-oriented activities, furnish opportunities for students to critically question oppressive systems, hierarchies, and sociopolitical inequalities. Through the connection of word to the world, or the relationship between classroom learning and students' lived experiences and worlds, teachers can create social transformation and empowerment in the marginalized students' lives. However, teachers as the transformative intellectuals can facilitate this transformative process only if they are equipped with the critical theories, theoretical underpinnings and practical implications of CP. A brief look at the CP literature reveals that most of the researches center on its theories and conceptual dimensions without presenting any pragmatic discourse or practical realizations to critical pedagogues. In fact, this study intends to investigate the problems, concerns, and frustrations that Iranian EFL teachers encounter while enacting this alternative pedagogy. So, the researchers adopted purposive sampling to choose thirty-four EFL teachers from private English language institutes in Tehran, Yazd and Shiraz, Iran; and focused interview as the appropriate data gathering instrument of qualitative research. Finally, the researchers unearthed the relevant themes concerning the practical dimensions as the supplementary components of CP in EFL context of Iran.

Keywords:

Critical pedagogy; transformation; praxis-oriented activities; transformative intellectuals; Iranian EFL teachers

1 Introduction

During the last three decades, due to the absence of a critical view in the ELT profession previously fraught with a large number of monolithic methods, theories, and approaches as the products of the "evangelical zeal" of centers (Pennycook, 1994), many scholars (Auerbach, 1991; Judd, 1987; Peirce, 1989; Pennycook, 1994, 1995; Phillipson, 1992) commenced debates attempting to question and challenge the field of ELT. The discussion centered on the issue of the detachment of language teaching and learning from the cultural and sociopolitical dynamics of language use and wider society. Further, it was argued that some SLA researches saw the language classroom as a self-contained minisociety unable to capture the socialization complexity, sociocultural

perspectives of language learning, and learners' multiple identities. Indeed, none of the SLA theories of language learning suggested an optimum multi-variety approach demanded by various learning conditions (Lantolf, 2000).

These arguments, thus, led to the critical movement in the language teaching profession so that language learning was no longer recognized merely as the acquisition of language systems and communicative competence. This critical shift stressed the necessity of connecting the word to the world and looking at the ideological nature of language. It was also associated with the extension and creation of educational spaces to relate classroom activities to the sociopolitical aspects of students' lived experiences and worlds. Critical Pedagogy (CP), then, as the consequence of this critical shift emerged on the scene of the ELT profession and became the focus of attention of practitioners, educators, and teachers who strived for an alternative approach to create huge change in the language learning atmosphere of classrooms. According to Aghagolzadeh and Davari (2012), the appearance of the critical intellectual movement both challenged the mainstream ELT and introduced CP as an alternative approach to mainstream applied linguistics especially in periphery countries such as Iran where English is used as the second or foreign language in different contexts.

With regard to the sociocultural and political facets of language learning and teaching, many researchers propose the insertion of CP into language teaching as an indispensable essence of language teaching (Sadeghi, 2008). Critical pedagogy, indeed, maintains that both language learning and teaching are regarded as political processes and language learning is not naively taken as a means of communication and expression rather "a practice that constructs the ways learners understand themselves, their sociohistorical surrounding, and their possibility for the future" (Norton & Toohy, 2004, p. 1). McLaren (1993, 1995) defined CP as a mode of thinking, negotiating and transforming the relationship that exists

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among classroom teaching, knowledge production, the institutional schooling structures, and the sociopolitical relationships of the wider society. Kincheloe (2005) also states that the main concern of CP is transformation of power relationships that are oppressive and give rise to the oppression of humans. It means that CP looks at education as a political action in order to uproot inequality from the society and offer the oppressed freedom (Kincheloe, 2004; McLaren, 1995, 1998).

In fact, CP as an educational-political tool seeks to unoppress the subjugated people, and end the different forms of human suffering (Kanpol, 1999). Its most crucial theme is the centrality of politics and power in understanding of how schooling system works (Shakouri & RonaghiFard Abkenar, 2012). CP, thus, attempts to struggle against the power relations and institutional processes circulating in the school system and classrooms. Hence, classrooms are not seen as an oxymoron or "pure pedagogy" within the critical perspective rather as sites of committed social and political encounter between the people struggling for empowerment or emancipation. Riasati and Mollaei (2012) also stated, no education is considered to be neutral, as it should aim at empowering students with a model of critical behavior that can be manifested in students' outside community behaviors and real lived experiences.

In addition, in Sadeghi and Ketabi's sense (2009), CP also seeks the enhancement of students' critical consciousness to challenge the oppression and domination that may constrain or distort their modes of thinking and acting. In other words, according to Riasati and Mollaei (2012), CP requires people to become independent learners, critical thinkers, and doers. As Apple (1999) states, this critical consciousness means the repositioning of a person in the eyes of the dispossessed to struggle against the ideological and institutional processes which reproduce oppressive practices.

Heras (1999) believes that the successes and failures of any educational system rely on the linguistic and sociocultural interaction that people have to challenge the dominant ideology, institutional practice, and social relations. In other words, this process of questioning and challenging the power and oppression in the forms of taken-for-granted facts and commonsense facilitates the path towards social and political transformation leading to emancipation and liberation (Safari & Pourhashemi, 2012). Further, according to Shakouri and RonaghiFard Abkenar (2012), a perfect education should strive for political transformation in order to bring about justice and human liberation.

2 A review of related literature: history and core concepts

Through a cursory look at the literature of CP, one confronts a smorgasbord of different terms and concepts associated with critical pedagogy such as critical theory, critical literacy, critical reflection, critical language awareness, liberatory education, education of equity, empowerment, praxis, and social justice. Historically, CP gained its life in the thinking, works, and pedagogical

practices of Gramsci (Norooziasam & Soozandefar, 2011) and the key figures from the Frankfurt school of critical theory established in 1923 (Gur-ze'ev, Kincheloe, & Lather, 1998; McLaren, 2003). In fact, Marx was recognized as the major thinker of this school whose views and ideas increasingly influenced the critical theory developed by this school. According to Marx, the most crucial problem of each society was socioeconomic inequality emanating from socioeconomic conditions. In his view, social justice relied on economic conditions in the society (Eisner, 2002). Marx's views and theories concerning schools and education were embraced by a number of critical theorists of Frankfurt school such as Horkheimer, Theodor, Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse. All these critical theorists who paved the way for the development of critical theory believed that schools reproduced and promoted the hierarchical power relationship, dependency, taken-for-granted truths, and a distorted vision of the society operating as an obstacle for transformation and social change (Eisner, 2002).

The concept of CP can be seen in the works of a number of critical pedagogues including Freire (1972), Apple (1995; 2003; 2004), Giroux (1988; 1999), Darder (1991), Bellhooks (1994; 2003), Kincheloe (2004), and Zinn (1995). However, in reality, CP was rooted in the seminal works and groundbreaking writings of Paulo Freire who was a Brazilian educator and the inaugural philosopher of CP, also known as the father of critical pedagogy (McLaren, 2000). In his significant publication, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* which was centered on literacy of education, he asserted that schools and educational institutions were oppressive and dehumanizing and reproduced unequal status quo. The publication of his book was actually the result of the critical projects and personal experiences that he had with the Brazilian impoverished people, seeking to emancipate and empower them to challenge the oppressive and unfair conditions in their lives.

The term *critical* which is central in CP refers to how dominant ideologies drive the construction of meanings and understandings so that certain groups of people are privileged whereas others remain marginalized (Hawkins & Norton, 2009). Researchers and scholars have examined this reality of how language can shape and reproduce the power relationships in society. As Fairclough (1995, p. 219) states "It is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt." It means that texts and language use are shaped and reshaped by discursive practices and relationships that lead to the advantage of some individuals over other humans. It is through this process that unequal power relationships are produced and reproduced in the society, interactions, social relationships, and learning practices.

One of the central tenets associated with Freire's work was the concept of *praxis* which means the locus at which theory and practice are connected to lead social and political transformation and change. In other words, it refers to a give-and-take relationship occurring between theory and practice (Shakouri & RonaghiFard

Abkenar, 2012). Freire (1985) alerted us about the fact that where theory is cut off from practice, it simply becomes rhetoric. Thus, separation from theory leads to nothing but blind activism. Monchinski (2008) highlighted that it is perceived as a complicated activity through which people construct culture and society and change into critically conscious human beings. He also stated that rationality and self-determination are taken as the features of praxis.

Freire (1973, 1974) also advocated *dialogue* by which students in a dialogic process make visible the ideologies, power relationships, and the ways through which individuals are situated. As Kincheloe (2005, p. 21) puts it, "all knowledge is socially constructed in a dialogue between the world and human consciousness". Freire (1988) holds that dialogism is the foundation of critical education since it is a tool of actively engaging students in their own education. He also believes that no communication exists without dialogue, and when there is no communication, no true education exists. According to Shakouri and RonaghiFard Abkenar (2012), dialogue restricts teacher's talk, provides opportunities for both teacher and students in that teacher listens more while students question oppression, social inequalities and a myriad of sociopolitical injustices in society. Thus, through the process of dialogism, a rapport is created between students and teacher through which each side is freely able to interpret and negotiate the other side's intentions and purposes.

For Freire (1970), CP is linked to the development of *conscientisation*, translated as "*critical consciousness*". A central goal of CP is, thus, to enhance people's *critical consciousness* by which individuals are given a voice to challenge the unfair status quo of a society. Freire acknowledged the significance of a dialogic method of learning and teaching in that both students and teacher are mutually engaged in the production of knowledge leading to the development of their critical consciousness. From Freire's perspective, the task of CP is to bring the oppressed group to a critical consciousness of the situation as the initiation of liberatory. As highlighted by Aliakbari and Faraji (2011), educators can also help students to engage in critical consciousness through empowering them to reflect on their own worlds which is defined as self-evaluation in reality.

Another concept used in Freire's critical pedagogy, is *banking model of education* which locates at a stark contrast to *problem posing*, *dialogical theory of education*, or *transformative education*. Based on banking education, predetermined information and deposits of knowledge are transmitted from teacher as the transmitter to students as the receivers who have not found any chance in their lives to engage, challenge, and question this futile and irrelevant knowledge. Drawing on problem posing education, teacher's and students' lived experiences are shared in a non-hierarchical way leading to their sociopolitical development. Actually, through this non-authoritarian process of shaping and reshaping of meanings and understandings based on participatory interaction, learners can find the opportunity to express their own voices and

liberate themselves from the oppressive sociopolitical inequalities and injustices. So, teacher's role is not a transmitter but a transformative intellectual or a reflective scholar who helps students develop critical consciousness and become the social agents of change through transformation. Each student becomes a critical thinker who does not simply accept the common sense rather he or she attempts to interrogate and investigate the nature of truth.

2.1 Purpose and significance of the study

Over the past dozen years, the issue of CP as an alternative approach has been hotly debated and discussed among scholars in the academic settings. Drawing upon the main figures in this area (Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1994, 2003b; Giroux, 2001; hooks, 1994; Darder, 1991; Kincheloe, 2004; Shor, 1992), its advocates argue for its fruitfulness as a panacea for language education. Thus, to justify it as an honorable and attainable pedagogy in EFL contexts, they bring so many various reasons. It is argued that CP is grounded in the experiences of the marginalized and oppressed people; it is on the basis of a critique of economic and social oppression; it has a focus on empowering the people to become the agents of social transformation; and it uses dialogue as a way of emancipating people from the oppressive chains.

These are a few reasons among a vast amount of justification for the use of CP as the best choice to salvage the marginalized groups in society. However, when it is put into practice, its realities become much more complex and are associated with concerns, frustrations, and challenges. Some critical thinkers (Bowers, 1987) believe that the so called critical pedagogy has been articulated with abstract critical theories and political vision; hence, it should be called "*critical educational theory*" rather than "*critical pedagogy*". In this regard, Keesing-Syles (2003) contends that a central issue is that the potential for application of CP in educational settings has not been considered in its literature so that it has not yet found a convenient home.

According to Akbari (2009), the practical realizations of CP have not been explored and most of the references to the concept of CP have been restricted to the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings. In the same vein, Gore (1992) expressed concerns about its realities for practitioners and the tendency of many critical pedagogues such as Giroux and McLaren to produce abstract theories that were devoid of any applicability. They believed that the most important issue was the failure of CP to prescribe practical implications for use in language classrooms. The consequence of this deficiency would lead to the limited number of its audience having time, energy, and tendency to struggle with it. Accordingly, Johnson (1999) also states that in ESL contexts, CP is criticized due to its limited work on tangible educational practices.

Thus, with respect to the fact that CP is highly saturated with critical implications, theories, and concepts but a dearth of applicable knowledge and pragmatic discourse for teachers, the present study makes an attempt to shed light on the practicality of CP

in the EFL context of Iran. It is intended that the insights gained through this study should assist EFL teachers, educators, textbook developers, and higher order policy makers. It is further hoped that the study contributes to the process started by highly prominent figures like Paulo Freire who spent invaluable time and inexhaustible efforts to create a revolution in the EFL profession.

3 Method

This qualitative study which is interpretive in nature aims to investigate the constraints, problems, and frustrations faced by EFL teachers when putting critical pedagogy into practice.

3.1 Context

Teaching English in the EFL context of Iran happens in two different settings, as public schools and private language institutes. On the one hand, in public schools, language program is totally under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The English teachers as the employees of the ministry work in one or many schools in order to teach English on the basis of the pre-determined textbooks provided by the ministry. The nature of the system is banking education through which the passive students receive information transmitted from the teacher as the authority in the classroom. The teachers themselves pursue the principles and orders dictated from the principals of schools or the education organizations located in each city of Iran. In fact, this authoritarian relationship which exists in the system does not allow English teachers to have any autonomy or creativity since they are obliged to stick to the textbooks and foisted syllabi on them to cover the materials.

On the other hand, in language institutes which have recently mushroomed in each city of Iran, students can gain communicative skills and hence they can compensate for the deficiency of the public educational system to be competent and fluent users of English language. The EFL instruction in most private language institutes is based on CLT which is claimed as the best method for teaching English to students. Although the traces of banking education are somehow seen in these institutes, the roles of teachers and students seem to be much more flexible than their rigid roles in public schools. This can be due to the further participation of students in classroom activities, the interactive nature of the classes, a variety of activities and tasks used by the teacher, and the nature of the textbooks and materials including audio- and visual materials.

To investigate the problems and constraints associated with the application of critical pedagogy in the EFL context of Iran, the researchers chose language institutes in Tehran (11 participants), Yazd (12 participants) and Shiraz (11 participants). The reason for this choice was the nature of the instructional system in the institutes which fundamentally differed from that of the public schools.

3.2 Participants

One of the researchers who was working as the supervisor in EFL institutes selected thirty-four (twelve

males and twenty-two females) teachers as the participants based on purposive sampling or judgment sampling. This method is a nonprobability sampling by which the researcher selects participants on the basis of his or her experience. According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003a, p.713), purposive sampling involves the selection of cases or units "based on a specific purpose rather than randomly". In fact, this method which includes homogenous selection counts as a method of sampling in qualitative research (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorenson, 2010). Thus, the participants of the study were selected based on the main purpose of the research which was teachers' views about the applicability of CP. Their EFL experiences and familiarity with the EFL theories and teaching methodology in addition to their willingness for participation were the researchers' criteria for selecting the participants of current research. In English language institutes, these thirty-four EFL teachers were all teaching English to the adults at the advanced level and had the experience of English teaching with the average of five years. Ten of these teachers held M.A in TEFL, five were M.A students in TEFL, four M.A. in English literature, and the rest were B.A graduates in English literature. At the outset of the project, the researcher assured all the participants that ethics would be observed and confidentiality ensured. Name and identities were not revealed.

3.3 Instrument

The researchers used focused interview as the appropriate method of collecting the qualitative data for this research study. Participants who were free to respond in their own words briefly or at length, interacted not only with the researchers but also with their colleagues. The interaction in focused interview revealed much more about participants' points of view and understandings than a researcher-dominated interview (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorenson, 2010).

In this qualitative study, although the researchers had less control over the interview in the focus group and it was much more difficult than the individual interview to analyze the data, the researchers preferred it to the individual interview. The reason behind its use was the socially oriented nature of the activity which provided this chance for the researchers to hear their different ideas, thoughts, experiences, and voices on the topic at the same time and how the participants incorporated other participant' viewpoints to restructure their own perspectives.

3.4 Procedure

As previously highlighted in the beginning sections of the text, the main theme of current research was to find the practicality of CP in educational system of Iran as an EFL context. The teacher participants were already aware of the main underpinnings of CP (they have passed courses on CP in their graduate studies, and those whom we found might have not be acquainted with the pertinent ideologies of CP were asked to read some textbooks prior to the research, and take notes of some lectures by scholars of the field available on YouTube, such as *Critical*

Pedagogy and Revolutionary Praxis in the Age of Imperialism by Peter McLaren; *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: A Conversation with Profs. Noam Chomsky, Howard Gardner, & Bruno della Chiesa*; *Occupying Critical Pedagogy: Reclaiming the Legacy of Freire* by Peter McLaren; and *The End of Education Schooling: Late Capitalism & New Directions* by Peter McLaren), meantime, they had the chance of correspondence with researchers of the study. So, they were completely aware of the CP and its pertinent ideologies needed for current theme of research to talk and provide feedback on the raised issues in our interviews. As illuminated in the introduction and literature review, CP is used to empower students and language users with a tool to learn the hidden ideologies of society and read between the lines, they are also supposed to learn not to be just the users of teachers' and practitioners thinking and they need to unravel the inequalities. Therefore, students are considered as members of society that political and cultural issues will affect their lives and experiences. Therefore, the participant teachers were not supposed to talk about current controversial topics and issues, though they were given the chance to voice their inner thoughts concerning implementation of CP in their classes, students' feedback, the textbooks, policies of the government, and their experiences of pre-service and in-service courses.

As mentioned earlier, teachers were all acquainted with the principles of CP and how it can be implemented in the EFL classes, based on their prior undergraduate/graduate courses, study of textbooks, and their notes based on the above mentioned lectures. The researchers formed two focus groups in each institute involving both male and female participants who were selected according to purposive sampling. The researchers in the first focus group session familiarized the participants with the critical pedagogy, its history, concepts, and theoretical underpinnings. During this two hour session, the participants had an opportunity to dialogically interact with the researchers and other participants. In case any ambiguity was raised, the researchers would clarify the issue with further explanations, illustrations, and examples. Then, each teacher was supposed to devote two sessions of his or her class to teaching English on the bases of the principles of critical pedagogy. As teaching cycle in public schools has its own rigid structure and all taught policies of Ministry of Education in pre-service and in-service should be observed, these two sessions will provide insightful hints and clues emanating from students' feedback and teachers' comments on implementation of CP in the classes.

The teachers already had some classes in English language institutes where they tried principles of CP, as policies of Ministry of Education are not taken into account. It means, materials are selected based on the policies of institute, students' needs and their current language proficiency, and available updated textbooks, so they can freely engage students in class activities. However, teachers' previous experiences of teaching in public schools, implementation of CP principles in English

language institutes, and their current experience of teaching two sessions in public schools in accordance with CP principles are acknowledged to find teaching barriers and obstacles teachers might have in implementing CP in classes where materials, teaching syllabi and curricula are prescribed and foisted on teachers by Ministry of Education.

The next focus group which took place two weeks after the first session concentrated on teachers' voices about the implementation of CP in their classes. The researcher used a cell-phone and field notes to accurately keep the record of voices. All the participants took part in the discussion triggered by the researchers' opening questions. Through dialogic and interactive discussion with all participants, the researchers attempted to fully gain their ideas, opinions, and understandings of the issue. There were some other four brown bag meetings, each for two hours in a week after the interview session. So, each participant had the chance to elaborate and illuminate the points they might have missed to point out during the interviews. The process of data collection was stopped when it reached the level of data saturation and no new information was forthcoming.

3.5 Data analysis

The process of transcribing and analyzing the data immediately began after the researcher collected the saturated data. Drawing on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) constant comparative model, the researcher pursued three steps of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to analyze the data. During the first stage, the data were chunked into small units. Then, the codes or core categories were attached to the units. Axial coding as the subsequent step was used to develop concepts and categories around the core. Finally, through the use of selective coding, the researchers could develop and find the themes which expressed the content of the groups and categories. As desired data were collected through interview session and four meetings we had with participants, the researchers applied member checking as a method of triangulation to establish the credibility of the data at the end of data analysis to gain further clarification, meaning, and accuracy from the participants. The emerged themes highlighted the problems, constraints and obstacles that the Iranian EFL teachers were faced while applying critical pedagogy approach in their classes.

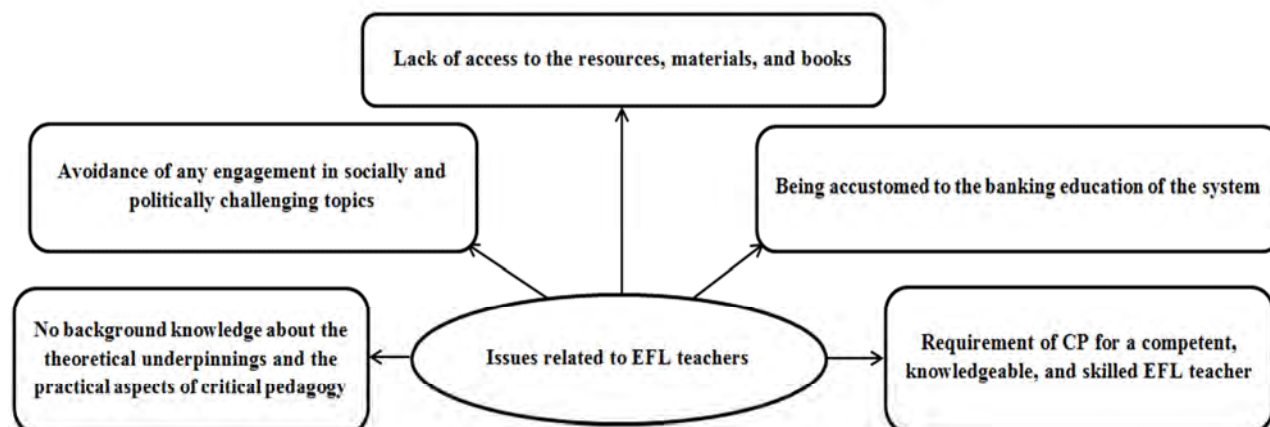
4 Key findings

The researchers could disclose the relevant concepts after the process of transcription and codification of the data in the current research. The emergent themes concentrate on the practical realization of CP in the EFL context of Iran. The themes are sorted into two categories. The first assortment of concepts deals with the practical considerations, constraints or problems related to Iranian EFL teachers. The second deals with the practical problems of CP related to the students when EFL teachers attempted to implement such principles in classes.

4.1 Issues related to EFL teachers

Each of the following themes has a focus on Iranian EFL teachers' practical problems or constraints of implementing CP in their English classrooms.

Fig 1: Issues related to Iranian EFL teachers in CP classes



4.1.1. No background knowledge about the theoretical underpinnings and the practical aspects of critical pedagogy

To effectively apply CP, EFL teachers are in an urgent need of possessing the knowledge base of this alternative approach concerning the theoretical and conceptual aspects of CP as well as its practical considerations. In fact, teachers cannot become agents of social change unless they have an idea about what a transformative intellectual is, what goal CP pursues, how the ordinary classroom activities can be changed into transformative social activities through which students achieve emancipation and liberation, and how the classroom site can be a democratic space leading to the liberative transformation of both teacher and students. The development of students' critical perspectives to interrogate and act upon the sociopolitical inequalities, undemocratic injustices and oppressive control is gained when teachers themselves possess the necessary critical skills to challenge the unfair status quo, deep-seated knowledge and assertions transmitted through an oppressive schooling system, reproduction practices, and the hegemony of education. It means lack of foundational theoretical knowledge, essential practical skills, and information pose challenges and problems for teachers who attempt to introduce and incorporate CP in their classes. In this project, a teacher explained this issue as:

I think I can't use CP perfectly in my class because I have no basic knowledge about it. The satisfactory outcome from the application of CP is gained when I participate in teaching training programs concerning CP teaching. Or at least I'm supposed to read many papers and books to have an idea about it.

Based on this teacher's view point, the possession of conceptual and practical knowledge is necessary for a critical practitioner. According to Aliakbari and Allahmoradi (2012), Iranian EFL teachers are in need of a breath of information and knowledge on CP, critical skills, content

and the pedagogical guidelines to teach on the basis of principles of CP. As Safari and Pourhashemi (2012) also stated, this deficiency can be compensated through universities, private language institutes, pre-service and in-service programs in which teachers can obtain the necessary knowledge and skills regarding the theoretical and practical aspects of CP. However, these researchers also assert that in EFL context of Iran, there exist a few universities in which CP as a component of the course syllabus is taught and researched. Meanwhile, few university instructors and lecturers showed interest in the theme of critical pedagogy.

4.1.2. Avoidance of any engagement in socially and politically challenging topics

The issues addressed through CP should be the ones that are directly linked to students' cultural and sociopolitical lives and experiences. That is, teachers as the transformative agents are required to use the challenging hot topics in order to connect language class to the social community outside the walls of the classroom. In effect, the teachers' mission in the journey of creating the transformative and liberating education is to shift students' attention to the sociopolitical and economic inequalities and injustices hidden in the form of taken-for-granted knowledge and assumptions which are central in students' lives. Further, to foster spaces in classrooms in which learning as the social activity is not artificially distinct from the society, teachers should engage students with the broader society in a dialectic and transformative manner. Hence, the pursuit of transformation, social emancipation, and justice in the lives of marginalized students depends on teachers' investigation of those topics and materials which Freire and Macedo (1999) conceptualized as the relationship of word to the world. Thus, through the use of controversial issues and activities, students' minds and awareness are exploited towards the social change and transformation.

However, in regard to our EFL context, these questions might be posed that whether the discourse produced

through the pedagogy can be as liberatory as possible. In countries with traditions, ethnic cultures, and religious principles, at what cost the social change gained? Is it at the expense of losing and jeopardizing teachers' professional lives? Are teachers able to blindly apply the principles of CP without taking into account the risks endangering their lives and jobs? A teacher referred to this problem as the following:

Oh, I didn't know CP involves working through socially and politically challenging topics. If I knew before, I would never ever like to apply it in my classroom. I don't like to lose everything at the cost of CP. Let's continue with the CLT that I worked with before, at least, my life would be safe and sound.

Another teacher said:

Actually, while teachers apply CP principles in the classroom, they should consider the traditional society, too. We live in a country with the ethnic traditions, local customs, and religious culture. It is not easy to use the social and political topics in classroom. I think it leads to a lot of resistance and disagreement. In my opinion, CP cannot be applicable in our society due to the political, cultural, and social limitations.

These teachers believe that as there are risky situations for the application of CP, nobody dares to put it into practice. As Sadeghi and Ketabi (2009) claim, most Iranian EFL teachers do not exhibit any interest towards the politically and socially challenging issues. They consider it as something taboo jeopardizing their personal and professional lives. It does not mean Iranian EFL teachers are ignorant of political and social issues of their lives, but according to Safari and Pourhashemi (2012), they do not want to involve themselves with such matters. Thus, the movement from the theoretical principles of CP towards practice is not feasible. In this regard, Aliakbari and Allahmoradi (2012) state that CP can be embedded into the EFL context of Iran if it does not contradict with the tradition and culture of our society. Accordingly, based on the present study, it is suggested that EFL teachers be wary of the political, social, and cultural constraints and limitations of their own context before doing any critical activities.

4.1.3 Lack of access to the resources, materials, and books

Teachers' awareness can be enhanced if they have access to the books and materials whose contents include introduction to CP, theoretical cornerstones, and practical dimensions. The availability of books on CP and internet can be greatly helpful leading to the development of teachers' critical understandings and perspectives. Through a simple searching on a modern search engine like Google or Google advanced search, teachers can find a huge amount of information on the issue of CP. Accordingly, one of the Iranian EFL teachers explained:

Nobody can find the books on critical pedagogy in the Iranian bookstores. I visited some bookstores in the city to find a book but I didn't find any. Maybe, publishers have no interest in such books or maybe this issue is not appealing even for the academic people. However, luckily, I could find so many papers and books on the internet which gave me a lot of insights on CP.

According to this teacher, although the books and materials are not available on the market, teachers can surf the internet to find sufficient information. Regarding the issue of the ELT materials, whereas CP suffers from poor materials, it discourages the use of commercially published instructional materials and textbooks (Rashidi & Safari, 2011). In the context of Iran, one can hear EFL teachers' complaints and concerns about the kinds of textbooks used in the institutes since the topics and contents of such textbooks are not appropriate for CP. One teacher commented as:

In my opinion, the topics and issues in the EFL textbooks that we use to teach are not suitable at all. I think they are socio-politically and culturally unbiased so that they do not make any connection between students' social experiences and the learning in the classroom. Maybe, there have been some deliberate attempts to make them neutralized.

In this regard, Akbari (2008a) states that many of the textbook materials used in the EFL settings of Iran are neutralized and sanitized in order not to lose the market potential. Thus, in this process, many topics of the instructional textbooks are eliminated. He believes that the textbook materials available on the market include safe topics which do not allow for political consciousness raising and social transformation. According to Safari and Pourhashemi (2012), most of the instructional course books accessible on the markets of Iran are politically and socially neutral including topics not relating to students' social lives and larger society. They are also saturated with a great amount of taken-for-granted knowledge and assumptions which are irrelevant to Iranian students' sociopolitical worlds and experiences. Actually, this type of information embedded in the textbooks prepares the grounds for teaching English based on the banking model of education. Thus, in this process, teachers become just the transmitter of the futile information and sterile knowledge to students who are treated as the passive objects.

Based on this study, topics and contents of the textbooks should be meaningful and locally situated relating to students' sociopolitical lives in the society. Therefore, Iranian materials developers and textbooks writers are suggested to include challenging and controversial topics in the instructional materials to furnish opportunities and life chances for students to "read world" before "read word" (Freire & Macedo, 1999). Norooziasiam and Soozandefar (2011) also indicated that such concepts emphasized that teachers

are required to relate the language classroom to the community and consequently, activate their minds in order to go towards solving problems and transformation. In sum, raising challenging hot topics can change the atmosphere of the classroom towards students' further socializing and transformation through which they can gain consciousness awareness of the power relationships, sociopolitical inequalities and oppressive injustices covered in the taken-for-granted reproducing practices.

4.1.4 Being accustomed to the banking education of the system

Critical pedagogy as a new approach to language teaching and learning assumes an equal relationship between teacher and students according to democratic principles and social justice. Actually, as Kanpol (1999) puts it, CP challenges those views and disciplines which presume conventional relationships between these two parties and convey an oppressive authority in the form of a master and a slave or in Freire's (1970) sense the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Further, CP promotes a broad academic role; in addition, it depicts teachers as liberating and transformative intellectuals (Giroux, 2004). The teachers as the transformative agents struggle for the promotion of students' social agency, voice, and change through creating democratic spaces for dialoguing and open communication.

Hence, a teacher working through CP which is dialogic, liberatory or interactive in nature in Freire's (1999) terms not only teaches but also is taught through the dialogue with students who not only are taught but teach in this process of dialogic interaction. According to Freire (1972), all the people are at the same time learners and teachers. It means their roles are continuously shaped and reshaped in a process that leads to the growth of both sides. In a dialogic approach, the transformative role of the teacher and the democratic space of language learning classrooms as the sites of dialogue contribute to learners' emancipation from any negative consequences of the authoritarian structure and the institutionalized schooling system which has oppressively imposed on them. In a nutshell, as Hones (2002) states, teacher and students through interactive dialogue can exchange ideas and views about their lives, different social, political, economic, and cultural issues, and a chance is also provided to challenge the power relationships in the community.

Dialogic or liberatory education is opposed to the banking model of education or ant-dialogical method suggested by Freire (1970). Based on the banking education, students in the classroom are assumed to be passive objects receiving knowledge and information transmitted from an authority figure into their empty accounts. Indeed, the asymmetrical power relationship between teacher and students which is of undemocratic nature leads to students' further passivity, oppression, and the perpetuation of authoritarian structure of the education. In this dehumanizing process, learners blindly

obey whatever is dictated from the authority in the form of predetermined facts and knowledge without having a chance to question, challenge or reconstruct the practically irrelevant information and unproductive knowledge.

As Safari and Pourhashemi (2012) say, in the EFL context of Iran, English teachers seem to unlikely give up their authority figure to pursue the principles of CP since they are so accustomed to being the sole authority and the main source of knowledge and information in the traditional schooling system as these features have become the basic components of a good teacher. Actually, these taken-for-granted role relationships are so deeply ingrained in the texture of our education that any abandonment of the presumed roles looks peculiar and counts as the weakness of the teacher in managing and controlling the class. Students are also obliged to unquestioningly and submissively accept their roles since any disobedience causes punishment and dismissal from the class for several days. This issue is described by a teacher as:

Teaching based on CP demands the change of teacher role and the atmosphere of the class. I'm supposed to be like a student, to create each opportunity for students to hear their voices, to do my best not to be the authority who decides on everything. I do my best to do so but it is impossible. What strategy I use, I can't... Because I've been used to having this role and activities for so many years, it has become a part of my personality. It is 'I' who decides, teaches, assigns homework, and gives tests. I can't allow students to interfere in my job. I think abandoning all these things is impossible.

Reflecting on the statements of this teacher makes it clear that the education system in Iran is bound up with the banking model in which one authority figure decides on everything, silencing is an indispensable part of the classrooms, passivity is not regarded as something unusual, and no voices can be heard behind the doors of the classrooms. Students in this kind of system, as Shor (1992) believes, are seen as the passive recipients of teacher's knowledge having no sense of agency to transform their lives. Thus, the consequence of this banking education is nothing but the maintenance of the status quo and silencing atmosphere which in turn legitimate the perpetuation of the existing system. In sum, a hurdle standing in the way of applying CP is attributed to the teachers' instinctive habit of sticking to the banking model.

4.1.5 Requirement of CP for a competent, knowledgeable, and skilled EFL teacher

One of the major demands of CP is EFL teachers' competence and knowledge in order to handle an interactively and dialogically based language classroom. Unless teachers are equipped with fluency, interactive-based skills, language competency, and the knowledge of CP and its implementation procedures, they are

incapable of tackling demanding and challenging language teaching situations created in CP classes. In effect, a teacher can persuade learners to interactively participate in dialogue and praxis-oriented activities when he or she possesses professional skills and expert knowledge bases including competency in fluent speaking, knowledge of CP terms and concepts, the ability to guide students in problem solving dialogue and discussions emanating from learners' lived experiences, managing the class in the case of raising any provocative topics, the ability to build rapport with students, the awareness of sociopolitical, historical, and economic aspects of students' lives, and the ability to adeptly connect the language classroom to the wider social milieu.

In addition, teachers cannot provide any assistance for students to perceive the sociopolitical inequity in the society if they have not developed "political clarity" (Bartolomé, 1996; Freire & Macedo, 1987). By this term, Bartolomé (1996) means that the "process by which individuals achieve a deepening awareness of the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape their lives and their capacity to recreate them" (p. 235). According to Degener (2001), the achievement of political clarity is gained when teachers understand what happens in the larger community has a crucial impact on what happens in school. Schools are not distinct from sociocultural realities, and, thus the subordinated students' achievement can be seen as a by-product of what occurs at the societal level. Teachers who are armed with political clarity possess the knowledge that the sociopolitical and cultural atmosphere of their classrooms must be transformed so that schools do not reflect the inequalities of the society.

Hence, open communication and critic dialoguing can perfectly smooth if teachers ensure that their teaching is embellished with such vital characteristics; otherwise,

language class becomes sterile to integrate critical reflection and action of the outside world or praxis towards social transformation. Thus, a language teacher who wishes to run the class based on CP is necessarily required to devote time and energy in order to enhance his or her essential professional skills, personal abilities, competency, and knowledge demanded by CP. A teacher explained this issue as:

Before the class, I really didn't know how demanding CP class was. But when I experienced this class, I understood that teaching based CP is not something each teacher is able to handle so. I think, to teach well, a teacher should know a wide range of skills and knowledge. For instance, fluent speaking, vocabulary knowledge, the ability to manage the class, general information about political and social issues and students' lives seem to be the most important characteristics of a good CP teacher.

Thus, this study suggests that EFL teachers who aim at teaching on the bases of the principles of CP should develop a mastery of the professional qualifications, skills, knowledge of language, and general information of daily based events related to the sociopolitical and cultural issues of students' profound experiences, lives, and worlds. As a result, to appropriately undertake critical curriculum choices, construct language teaching liberatory practices and democratic activities, facilitate students' critically understandings of their worlds and lives, teachers should take the possession of the above-cited features into account.

4.2 Issues related to Iranian students

In the pursuing figure, the issues related to Iranian students in CP classes have been raised by EFL teachers.

Fig 2: Issues related to Iranian students in CP classes



4.2.1 No knowledge about how to think critically

A democratic space in schools which fights any subordination, subjugation, and suppression can be feasibly created if critical thought has been shaped among students. That is, critical thinking as the vital element of CP helps students become critical in thought and action, liberate them from any forms of oppression, and enables them to operate on social inequalities and injustices. Equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge for critical thought, students can open-mindedly question

any unfair status quo, taken-for-granted common sense, and myths. Hence, students need to develop critical thinking in order to meet up the growing challenges in the world (Siddiqui, 2007).

With respect to the characteristics of a critical person, Burbules and Burk (1999) believe that a critical thinker becomes empowered to investigate justice and emancipation. The person who has internalized critical thinking not only is adept to recognize injustices but is also moved to change them in real life experiences and

society. In other words, the critical person is so perceptive that he or she can recognize hasty arguments, faulty generalizations, inauthentic assertions, unreliable truth which underpin everyday actions and practices.

As Patry (1996) claims critical thinking is not advocated and instructed in the classrooms and schools. He presents some main reasons for this deficiency which include: (a) teachers have not been educated in critical thinking, (b) there exist few books available on market based on critical thinking, and (c) teachers' lack of time and other instructional resources to integrate critical thinking into their daily teaching (Astleitner, 2002 & Petri, 2002). Regarding the inclusion of critical thinking into language classrooms, Mirman and Tishman (1988) and Scanlan (2006) propose that critical thinking skills should be integrated into the subject matter and woven into the language curriculum.

With regard to the EFL context of Iran, critical thinking has not yet found its way into the education system. The absence of critical thinking in Iranian educational settings, in spite of teachers' support, may be linked to the features of the education system and negligence of critical thinking in teacher education programs in Iran (Aliakbari & Allahmoradi, 2012). A teacher referred to this issue as the following:

My students don't know how to think critically. I think it is natural because any development begins from school, instruction and teaching. I myself have no idea about critical thinking. I'm sure most teachers don't know. When I myself as a teacher don't know what critical thinking is, how it is developed, how can I expect my students to be critical thinkers? Actually, in my opinion, this process should begin through the instruction of teachers in teacher training programs then should be taught to students in school. But another problem is that in teacher training programs, everything is taught but critical thinking. We are just exposed to a great amount of knowledge about grammar and how to teach it.

As this comment suggests, Iranian students are ignorant of critical thinking since its culture has not been promoted among the people in our education. In the education system of Iran, critical thinking and the culture of critique have not developed yet since the system of our education is on the basis of banking model in which critique is accepted as a rude behavior. The teacher in the banking model makes an attempt to control and manage the class in order to bring about silencing atmosphere. When students criticize about some aspects of teaching or instruction, teachers adopt defensive positions defensive positions to protect their selves against this disruptive behavior. This can be seen in one of teachers' words:

I think the main reason that our students don't know how to think critically is that we as teachers do not allow this behavior to develop among them. Because

we think it is an impolite behavior which needs to be managed.

Thus, as Safari and Pourhashemi (2012) state, it is a futile effort to operationalize CP without any realization of creating the culture of critical thinking and critique in our education.

4.2.2. Resistance against any challenges to their beliefs, identities, and values

One of the roadblocks that restricts the application of CP and the development of critical consciousness is the critical language teacher's confrontation with students' dissent and resistance against any challenges to their religious beliefs, national identities, and values. Actually, the necessary condition for emancipatory engagement and praxis is to create spaces for students to critically examine their own life stories. But is it possible to do so if there exist eyes in classroom looking at you as if you committed a great sin? In an EFL country like Iran, students possess strong religious beliefs and culture, hence, any issue or discussion which counters their own identities and values cannot be tolerated at all. Even students show severe reactions towards such provocative issues. A teacher who had this experience in her EFL class during this critical project said:

Sometimes raising some issues led to demanding situations that even I myself was not able to manage it appropriately. Students showed no interest in issues and topics which challenged their identity and beliefs. The experience of this class taught me not to choose any topic for discussion. Next time, I should choose the topics which have no contradiction with my students' identity and cultural and national backgrounds.

Accordingly, another teacher explained:

I don't like to apply CP any more in my class because each time I raise the topic for discussion, I confront with negative reactions on the part of students. Sometimes, the discussion is changed to the clash of ideas and a great amount of struggle which I don't like at all. I think CP and the hot topics have no place in our context. I myself prefer to choose another pedagogy which does not deal with my students' beliefs and ideologies".

What is understood from these teachers' statements is that pushing CP from theory to practice is so demanding that many teachers may even dismiss it midway. Perhaps those developing the theoretical underpinnings of CP have never thought about its practicality in different contexts with students with students who have different cultures, identities, ideologies, and values. In fact, in the EFL context of Iran with its totally different and distinctive national identity, religious ideologies, cultural issues, and value systems among other EFL contexts, it seems implementing CP is associated with impediments

that Iranian EFL teachers should meticulously consider prior to taking any action towards the critical practice.

4.2.3 Lack of foundational knowledge, information, and interest in the topics

Another noteworthy consideration is that critical language pedagogues as the social agents of change and liberating intellectuals can critically engage students in the sociocultural and political practices if students have the foundational knowledge, information, and interest in the raised critical issues in class discussions. When students are not aware of the topic, vocabulary, and the content of the discussion, how are they expected to interactively participate in collaborative dialogue to submit their own lived stories, histories, and experiences? How are they able to be liberated from the oppression imposed by the oppressively traditional structure of the classroom and school? And how can they take an active role towards political and social inequalities in the society through the process of transformation when they are devoid of any critical information about the praxis-related issues and activities?

Therefore, to strive for “democratic dreaming” (Giroux, 2006) in language classrooms as democratic political sites, critical teachers should cultivate and enhance students’ awareness about the topics, issues, and discussion of CP classes. This can indeed be achieved through assigning different projects or researches to students. The act of researching and looking for the relevant materials and information not only highlights the level of their knowledge and understandings but also increases their interests towards the critical issues. A teacher opined as:

I chose a socially based issue to engage students in the discussion. However, when I began introducing the issue, I felt most of the students didn’t have the related knowledge to contribute to the discussion. I think we’d better get students to do some projects to investigate about the issue if we want to have a lively class based on interaction. Actually, this kind of information and knowledge about the topic, the related vocabulary, and the language of the issue is very important.

4.2.4 Preconceptions, long-held Expectations and Beliefs

While experiencing the new pedagogy, teachers sometimes face with students’ false-shaped expectations and beliefs on the bases of the banking education of their previous language classes. In fact, most Iranian students expect to passively sit in rows, see and listen to the teacher at the front of the class writing on the board, holding the textbooks in hands, and transmitting knowledge and information. That is, they expect teachers to be the same as technicians or in Sadeghi’s (2008) sense, *ignis fatuus* who places information in students’ minds. Thus, in this scenario, teachers operate as the sole authority through this drab mechanism that controls everything from students’ learning to classroom management while students as the passive objects play

the role of robots that are submissively obedient of teachers’ orders. According to Safari and Pourhashemi (2012), this can be due to the fossilized roles of people which are hardly changeable in our education. They are so accustomed to possessing such roles that even the imagination of adopting new roles seems to be awkward. A teacher said:

When I wanted to teach based on CP, my students expected me to follow the principles of the previous classes such as to have a teacher who controls them, teaches them based on the textbooks, assigns them homework; to have textbooks to follow and do the exercises, to sit silently and note down what I say.

This teacher believes that Iranian students bring the bitter experiences of the banking education into CP classes which seem to be highly demanding for teachers to deal with in their teaching cycles. Another teacher stated:

Most of my class time wastes because I should justify some students who expect me to teach them as much the same as the previous classes. If they are not appropriately convinced, they do not take the issues raised in class seriously, or do not follow the lesson.

According to this teacher, while meeting students’ false expectations in CP classes, teachers are required to convince them that CP is totally different from the kind of education they have ever encountered. However, CP teachers require a great amount of time and energy to change students’ expectations towards the right orientations of critical pedagogy to effectively implement CP in English language classes.

5 Conclusion

Critical pedagogy or transformative education was commenced in the realm of language learning and teaching due to the urgent requirement for a reforming education characterized by the influence of socio-political, historical, and economic elements of educational contexts. Education, thus, was not regarded as apolitical rather as a sociopolitical process to empower and liberate the marginalized students and the minorities from any dehumanizing oppression and subordination of their everyday lives. The individuals through this ongoing dialogic process bestowed by liberatory education challenge the sociopolitical actions to (re)produce and reflect power dynamics, ideological assumptions, and the hierarchical system transmitted from the wider society to education.

Further, CP in fact looks at teachers and learners as the social agents of change who can take critical actions towards their liberation, emancipation, and salvage. In this liberatory process, teachers can create democratic spaces in language classrooms through the provision of praxis-oriented activities and problem posing liberative dialogues in which students’ voices are feasibly heard, giving rise to their social transformation. They are, no

more, seen as individuals or automatons who blindly accept anything, but as the transformative agents who challenge the unequal status quo, information, and orders no matter who dictates them. This challenging behavior that is the result of their critical consciousness also provides the grounds for their transformative role in the wider society. Thus, the ultimate aim rests upon social justice, liberation, and a democratic society removed from any unfair oppression and power domination, as it is illuminated in different research studies conducted around the world. For example, Bruen (2013, p. 43) concludes that narrower forms of civic education result in more passive citizens rather than empowering them to critically analyze and transform the status quo. Her study highlights the importance of broader forms of civic education for more democratic socialization. In a second study concerning the interwoven effects of cosmopolitanism on higher education, Crosbie (2014) finds that they

...lie in a desire to have students critically engage with their social worlds, being able to critique different social discourses and practices and to envision a life of flourishing based on notions of hospitality and social translation; challenging, partial and provisional though these may be. (p. 37)

Bryan and Bracken (2012) investigate the features of development education as a tool to empower learners to change the social, cultural, economic, and political structures of their lives to identify the strengths and weaknesses of implementation of such a theme in post-primary education levels in Ireland. Such transformative education counters the banking model of education which is the characteristic of the traditional educational systems of many countries across the world. This model assumes a passive role for students who are not taken as living creatures capable of thinking, acting, and, doing. Knowledge as a commodity which students take for granted is then transferred as efficiently as possible from sender to receivers. Students simply take in the common sense and deep-seated information without being given any chance of interrogating the oppressive system and sociopolitical and economic inequities of the society. Thus, through this process, the status quo remains which in turn leads to further marginalization of the oppressed people.

With respect to the characteristics of CP as an alternative pedagogy, any teacher might tend to operationalize its principles and concepts to benefit its outcomes. However, when reviewing most of the literature, one can gain a great amount of theories and concepts without any practical considerations and guidelines. In fact, this project suggests insightful findings regarding the applicability of this new approach in the EFL context of Iran which is currently dominated by the banking education. The findings of this study derived from Iranian EFL teachers' voices show that the implementation of CP is not a simple job since, due to the sociocultural context of Iran, it is associated with

certain concerns required to be appropriately met. It does not mean it can be inapplicable in the EFL classrooms of Iran; rather, teachers are required to cautiously know all the practical aspects of CP prior to its enacting and implementation in educational contexts. In case of full awareness, they can be well-prepared to accost the problems and handle the classes based on CP principles. They can also avoid those aspects whose applications are associated with various risks. For instance, in the case of discussing the political issues which jeopardize their professional lives or topics which challenge the religious culture of the students, Iranian EFL teachers are advised to cautiously behave in order not to become socio-politically and economically disadvantaged.

In sum, CP cannot have fruitful outcomes for the education of countries unless the sociopolitical constraints related to the different contexts are meticulously taken into account. Although CP should be contextualized regarding its applicability, it has valuable benefits for students, teachers and society which cannot easily be ignored. The critical consciousness of CP grants our students critical power to enhance and broaden their level of thinking and acting. Thus, this educative process produces a generation of individuals who looks at everything with acutely critical eyes which attempt to change the outside community into a socially just society. In the case of our teachers, although it is somehow difficult to operationalize CP in our EFL context due to the shadowing of banking education over the system of education and its epidemic nature, teachers can make any efforts to apply the principles of CP associated with other pedagogic practices. Actually, the change of teachers' role from a mere technician towards the transformative intellectual, the critical consciousness and the reflective nature of CP, in addition to the sort of pedagogic practices in the form of praxis or the amalgam of reflection and action all go hand in hand to lead to the teachers' professional development and growth.

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Teaching Sociology Students to Become Qualitative-Researchers Using an Internship Model of Learner-Support

This article examines the experiences of final year undergraduate sociology students enrolled in an internship course where they researched a local community project, mostly in small groups, for a client. A sociology lecturer supervised their projects. Course-related outcomes were assessed using conventional university procedures but a research process was used to evaluate the extent to which the cohort developed characteristics, or identities, of qualitative researchers. The research demonstrates that the students made many false starts but through processes of trial and error, and with effective support, they considered that they had increased their confidence and became capable of planning and carrying out research. For the students, this internship was not just another class. Their stories reflect on their abilities as researchers and adoption of attitudes towards appropriate research approaches, processes and outputs typical of professional qualitative researchers.

Keywords:

Sociology, qualitative research, experiential learning, New Zealand

1 Introduction

This research article brings together a university lecturer (MT) in sociology with an educational researcher (KS) and an experienced research assistant (BS). Together they examine the impact of an internship class for sociology students in the Sociology Department at the University of Otago, New Zealand. Our key research question is: does participation in research-focused internship help students see themselves as qualitative-researchers? Specifically, do students undergo an affective change in their self-conception, or for them, is the internship just another typical class?

The lecturer devised the course in response to a concern that sociology students were being systematically disadvantaged in comparison with students in more vocational degrees such as education or social work. The latter subjects have a clear career path whereas sociology students are promised destinations (Author, 2012) but no clear pathway to get there. Additionally, parents would telephone the lecturer in his role as sociology programme coordinator at the University of Otago asking him how a BA in Sociology could translate into meaningful employment. Parents do not see the conversion from learning about society to being employed by society. They are not alone. Sociology undergraduates typically ask similar questions: what can you do with sociology beyond its emphasis on

an academic critique of sociological research and society? (Finkelstein, 2009). This uncertainty may be the nature of a Bachelor of Arts degree (Spalter-Roth, Scheuer, Senter, Stone & Wood, 2010). English, Geography and Anthropology BA graduates experience uncharted pathways to employment. This situation is not ideal in an economic environment where education is accompanied by significant cost, which often leaves students and their families in debt (Finkelstein, 2009).

Social work and education students do not ask where their degrees lead to, as their pathways are prescribed for them. These students, subject to demand, will be employed as social workers or teachers. Moreover, academic institutions place undergraduates in vocational settings, immersing them in the 'real' world, which allows them to quickly discover if this vocation is for them and if they are for it. Social work students at the University of Otago spend 60 days on placement in each of their third and fourth years of study (900 hours in total). Trainee teachers also spend multiple hours in situ. Sociology students do not typically spend time on placement, and are socialised by the vagaries of the "promise of sociology" (Mills, 2000) or "sociology as a humanistic perspective" (Berger, 1963) or more recently, "sociology as a martial art" (Bourdieu 2010). These promises and perspectives do not necessarily translate into an employment pathway (Finkelstein 2009, p. 93). Sociology does not provide evidence that a degree in sociology can leap the "gigantic chasm between what they had learned in class and what they actually experienced on the job" (Finkelstein 2009, p. 99). A similar case was made by Eitzen, Zinn and Gold (1999) with respect to sociology education in the USA.

An aspirational outcome of the internship was to support students' experiential learning to enable them to provide convincing and professional answers to the 'job interview question': *Tell me about the research design of a project you were involved in, its outcomes, and explain what your contribution was to the project.* Although there is no universally accepted description of the attributes of an undergraduate researcher, they ought to be able to answer this question, using appropriate research language, with conviction and self-awareness of both their abilities and limitations. A challenge for the

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research has been to find appropriate approaches to gather data pertinent to this outcome and to situate this analysis within the rich theoretical landscape of higher education learning and teaching. Our discussion uses several theoretical approaches for this purpose and emphasises the complexity of evaluating the attainment of professional identity.

2 University of Otago's sociology internship

Otago University's sociology internship is unique in New Zealand but may be more common internationally (Eitzen, Zinn & Gold, 1999). It serves as a bridge for students who are completing their degrees by providing them with specific experience to prepare them for entry-level policy analyst positions in government ministries or NGOs. In effect, it gives students who have previously passed two research methods courses (all but two in this particular course) the opportunity to road-test their book learning in the field. The six community organisations that had chosen to be involved in this internship in 2013 were all based within Dunedin City. They were:

1. *South Dunedin Pride*: This project involved a history of the people, places and events of South Dunedin. Based on a similar project that MT had seen in an Ottawa Museum, the students had to create a photo image and then a story about persons, places and events in South Dunedin. The primary client was the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

2. *GrowSouth*: This project, sponsored by a local Member of Parliament, documented an organisation's drive to create a community garden in a low-income area of the city. The organisation comprised a mix of Rotary people, local residents, the University of Otago and the MP. The organisation asked the students to produce a video to document this process.

3. *Access Ability*: Access Ability is an organisation that assists people in the community who have intellectual disabilities. One of its directors asked to research and develop a pamphlet to bring together resources for people with intellectual disabilities.

4. *Wriggle and Rhyme*: In the previous year (2012) internship students worked with the Dunedin City Library on its mobile library. The project in 2013 extended the relationship with the city's library, this time researching a parents and babies group called Wriggle and Rhyme that meets within the library. The Library identified the output as either a video of the group or a written project report.

5. The University of Otago's *Marine Science Outreach for Gifted and Talented School Children*: This project studied high school students who took part in the 2010 Gifted and Talented program. The director of the programme wanted to know how the high school students experienced the course and what impact it had on their subsequent learning and social networks. She

especially wanted to know what it was like being among students with similar abilities and returning to the regular classroom afterwards.

6. *Dunedin City Farmers' Market*: One student who joined the course in week three of a thirteen-week semester took this project. Unlike the other sites, MT did not initiate this project and the student worked relatively independently. The student met with the organiser of the Farmers' Market and together they determined the research question.

For their final output the Farmers' Market student, Wriggle and Rhyme, and Gifted and Talented groups all produced written reports for their clients. GrowSouth produced a video of the community garden and people involved, while the Access Ability group developed an information pamphlet for school-leavers who have intellectual disabilities currently - being distributed to appropriate organisations such as schools. Finally, the South Dunedin Pride group made a computer-based visual presentation of thirty events, places, and people, which they presented to their clients.

The six projects and the research described in this article were subject to University of Otago ethical approval, although one key task for each group was to rework the participant's information sheet (initially developed by MT as part of the ethical approval process) as part of assignment two. Each project involved the students meeting their particular community group to plan and discuss research objectives and questions, interviewing clients at intervals, analysing data and producing reports or resources for the community groups.

The formal part of the course included four assignments designed to add structure to the students' research programme. At an early stage, groups wrote a research protocol inclusive of a literature review, an outline of the research problem and the rationale for choosing the methodology. Soon after, they designed their research instrument (i.e. survey, interview guide) and rewrote the participant information-sheet. Approximately two thirds of the way through they wrote a preliminary report on how their data was collected and analysed. Towards the end of the semester they completed a final written report on the project. The course met weekly allowing students to update the class with their progress. For most students, this course was at the end of their final undergraduate year.

The course had seven learning objectives:

1. To work cooperatively and effectively within a small research team
2. To use methodological skills and theoretical insights to define an iterative research topic that should be negotiated with the client
3. To design a single or a mixed methods research instrument that meets the needs of the research question
4. To present the findings as a written report or another resource for the client

5. To gain experience working within a community agency and conducting oneself as a professional researcher
6. To conduct the research adhering to key ethical principles
7. To experience the highs and frustrations of conducting a research project

The key activities at the heart of this work were students' first experiences with practical qualitative community-based research. Many of the learning objectives were open to conventional and formal assessment within the course like writing a multi-staged research report. Some aspects of the course were anticipated to be more challenging in this context such as the students' ability to meet the client and comprehend the research problem or question they wanted studied and to translate that into a recognised research design. Learning objective five, 'conducting oneself as a professional researcher' for example, relates to professional identity rather than to more easily assessable personal attributes. The internship course was designed to enable a range of anticipated research and ethical complexities to be addressed. Students developed a personal safety plan to address possible dangers thought through in advance. (For example, the female student conducting intercept interviews in the Farmers' Market planned what to wear, who to tell she was on site and what to do if she felt unsafe). The seventh objective, 'to experience the highs and frustrations of conducting a research project' represents MT's aspiration for formative experiences for his students, rather than aspects to be assessed, but nonetheless with anticipated effects on the development of these new professional researchers. (For example, the Gifted and Talented group were in an almost constant state of frustration. It was not until their third recruitment drive in the second to last week of class that they generated their sample allowing resolution to the project).

The students' ability to describe a qualitative research project using research language, with conviction and self-awareness, is potentially a very good test for a new qualitative researcher, but a challenging outcome to formally describe and assess. Simon and Brown (2005 p. 9) describe "the difficulty of clearly conceptualizing some aspects of learning that are seen as highly desirable (e.g., attitudes, dispositions, values, identities), but do not have a common interpretation in the way that straightforward practical or cognitive skills do". Bloom, Hastings and Madaus (1971) and Knight and Page (2007) emphasise the difficulties of assessing these complex outcomes on an individual basis and they advise that evaluation can be achieved on a cohort, or programme, basis. This article describes a research-based evaluation of these hard-to-assess outcomes in the second cohort of this new course. Two other articles described broadly based research on the first cohort of this course (Author et al 2013; Author et al in press) that led to the current format of the course and the in depth evaluation described here.

3 Methods and Ethics

There were ethical challenges to be addressed in researching this internship. The authors attempted to produce and maintain a clear line between teaching the students who were taking the course and researching their development. The lecturer (MT) was both the supervisor and assessor for the students and took no part in the data collection, until after the students' final assessment. All 15 students enrolled in the course were invited to take part in this research project, with a guarantee that if they did not, it would make no difference to their course or grade. Taking part in the project involved being available for interviews at the end of the course. Ten students volunteered. Students had the option of being interviewed either by themselves or as a group. At least one member was interviewed from each of the six groups and for three of the groups all members were interviewed.

The research assistant also asked to interview MT after interviewing the students, as all of them reflected a great deal on the impact of what some described as his 'mentoring' role.

The educational researcher (KS) and the research assistant (BS) were the primary researchers and KS contributed to research design, data analysis and reporting. BS conducted interviews with participants at the conclusion of their projects. In addition, during the course she established rapport with the students by giving a guest lecture outlining her many high-risk research projects and later conducting a tutorial for the students.

Interviews with individuals, at the end of the course, were semi-structured and allowed students to contribute what they thought were important views on their experiences. But the interviewer also invited students to respond to three questions on pre-determined themes. One of these questions we called the "job interview question" as we asked the students to describe their research project, as if they had been asked to in a job interview. Another question was "what would you do differently next time?" This question elucidated how critically the students were able to reflect on their work and what they had learned. And finally, students were always asked the open ended questions, "what did you find difficult about the course?", "what helped you along the way?" how did they experience working in a group for the first time in their university career? All interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using both inductive and deductive approaches to draw out and to exemplify common themes of interest that arose from within the data.

4 Results

Results are presented here as themes of interest and each of the themes is described and illustrated using quotations under student pseudonyms. Overall, the themes are of student perceptions of transformation and include: overcoming fears, sources of advice, working in teams, learning about methods, situating the projects beyond the students and experiential learning. This

section ends with an analysis of responses to the job interview question.

4.1 Overcoming Fears, one at a time

MT knew the demands that independent research would have on the students. In a post-course interview he said he deliberately designed the course so that students had to overcome real-world fears that occur in research jobs:

I wanted to challenge the students and create a number of challenges. I saw that the fears actually went step by step with the research project itself. So it was sort of an experiential type learning style that one has at Outward Bound – that you overcome one fear and then take that learning to the next one.

At all stages of the projects, as the student interviews demonstrate, MT guided and supported the students through each challenge so that they were able to overcome obstacles and develop increased confidence from the experience. Learning to 'break down' the project into manageable steps was beneficial, and Nellie said that MT deliberately designed the course outputs in a manageable way:

It helps just so much (knowing your topic and research question). Like I like the way the internals [assignments] were set up kind of like in your steps of your project because yeah it really does help, kind of like having goals to work towards. When you look at it as just having one big project it's like oh gosh, how am I going to get any of it done?

For nearly all the students, meeting the client and conducting the literature review were two of the first fears they had to confront. Many students found the literature review to be a difficult process that frequently did not initially yield useful results, yet some of them, like Toni in the GrowSouth project, found it to assist in framing their research from the beginning:

Starting off with the literature review, right from the start was pretty good, probably the most helpful thing, it gave us some pretty good ideas.

For most groups the literature review preceded their first meeting with the client, allowing the students to present the client with some background information. Unfortunately meeting the client was not always straightforward and was complicated by various factors such as the time constraints on the client or student. All students found this a 'nerve-racking' encounter. This was compounded by the fact that this was the students' first experience where they themselves had to conceive of their own research question. Even though most of them had carried out a literature review by the first client meeting, most students expected the client to frame the project even to the point of stipulating the output, be it a written report, a pamphlet or a video.

In hindsight this issue could be addressed better, to some extent. Next year the lecturer will provide more support for this stage of the project. However, this planning cannot foresee the possibility of the students having multiple clients, each with different aspirations. Mid-way through the South Dunedin Pride project, the local Member of Parliament took an interest in the project, suggesting it move beyond its historic focus to highlight South Dunedin's history with a tourism focus. MT intervened and suggested students from the next internship cohort conduct this focus in 2014. The Wriggle and Rhyme group, as detailed below, were beset with a number of novel research impediments. They also found they had multiple clients. The first client - the public library - was interested in whether the music group alleviates the parents' social isolation. As Sport Otago sponsored the music group, they too met with the students and expressed an interest in how the music group enhanced child development.

The Gifted and Talented had a different initial challenge. They met with their client's assistant as the client was overseas and this delayed the commencement of the project. Students' impediments to carrying out research were sometimes idiosyncratic. The Wriggle and Rhyme group had an adverse reaction to being identified by others as researchers. This excerpt demonstrates their anxieties around simply 'being in the space' and their legitimacy in being there:

Amber – It's just sort of really intimidating when there's all these sort of mothers there wondering what you're doing invading their space kind of thing and just worried that they aren't going to want to talk to us and help us out so....

Another theme of legitimacy in 'being in the space' required courage from the student working alone. Nellie undertook intercept interviewing at the Farmer's Market:

Approaching people is real scary at first, because you kind of look at people as big and scary and like 'it's my down time I'll do what I want' and like you realise that they're just like you and you think about it, if someone approached you you're not going to....so yeah it's not as scary anymore.

The survey researcher overcame her fear through 'imagining how she would feel' if she were them. Other students employed a variety of methods and resources to overcome their fears. They cited being in a group as helpful (for those in groups), having MT as a support and guide, and simply *having* to overcome the fear in order to complete their project. All students cited the fact that this project was not just being completed for their lecturer and a final grade - but was in fact for a community organization - as being one of the most motivating factors in conquering fear in order to *get the job done*. Nellie who did the intercept interviewing at the Farmer's Market describes this below:

I think like the main thing that caused me to get over those fears and anxieties, was like I actually had to, like I wouldn't be able to get my final output if I didn't get over it. So you kind of wake up and realise right, I'm just going to put myself in there and go for it...

By overcoming their fears and anxieties, students like Susan from the South Dunedin Pride project, developed confidence; this confidence was directly related to *just getting out there and doing it*:

I think this [course] gives you more confidence as a person, because like I'm quite a shy person. So it makes you grow, it makes you more confident I think because you have to like go into the meetings. It's just like getting out there and doing it.

As students' comments elucidate, their confidence grew 'as a whole' and affected them as 'a person' not just in their course work, and this creates transferable skills. Amber said:

I think it's changed us as people, like I'm a lot more confident in myself because it was a hard task to overcome, especially when you're not exactly outgoing before you do it.

4.2 Sources of advice and feedback

When asked what helped them overcome difficulties, all students cited MT. Susan described him as 'more like a mentor' than lecturer:

Being able to contact [MT] whenever you wanted was really helpful. Like I emailed him all the time I swear and he always replied like straight away. And he gave us his home phone number like in case you were in an emergency. It wasn't like a lecturer situation it was more like a mentor situation, which I liked more. Than like a lecturer who just gives you things and says yeah just work it out yourself."

When interviewing MT after the student interviews, he described himself as a "coach" to the students and justified his decision to make himself available to his students 24/7 as self-preservation. He wanted to know about any ethical blunders that may have happened and to be available to help to address them.

Many students mentioned the fact that MT was 'always available on email' (he would reply almost immediately) as reassuring, as was the fact they could drop by his office any time. He also assisted many of them with their research interviewing skills, helping extend the four-minute phone interviews into rich twenty-minute dialogues. Hilda from the Gifted and Talented group describes the improvement:

I was so nervous for the first [interview], but we did it and we felt it went okay but then listening back on it, it was very short and like not very detailed like when we

transcribed it there wasn't really any information there and we reckon that's because we were hand feeding them the answers and like I was doing all the talking and I don't know that carried on happening for the next three interviews but then for the next one [MT] listened in and he told us like the big thing is to pause. So we did that, and they went from like four minutes to like twenty-minute interviews, it was so good.

The four-minute interviews were not data-rich but they were experience-rich. First they rewrote the interview guide, focusing more on open-ended questions and moving away from yes and no answers. The second learning was how to use silence.

In his self-described 'coaching' role a number of students described the lecturer as helping them 'not to stress' or as being a 'calming influence' in the face of a looming crisis when the group studying the Gifted and Talented students failed to recruit students. At first, as Richard describes, the project recruitment had received few participants:

I think [MT] was a pretty calming influence especially when we hadn't had much progress in our report and he kind of said just calm down and guided us on how to do it pretty much. We hadn't received much interest from the students, and we couldn't start writing our report until we had interviewed the students, but we ended up getting over that by just emailing the organisers and asking if we could just ring them, so that was good.

Fifty per cent of the course grade was allotted to the four assignments and the grade was given to the group. Additionally, students wrote a reflective journal that was graded individually. This allowed MT to monitor the internal workings of each of the projects, and if a student described anxiety then this could be addressed. It was through this that he learned about the Gifted and Talented fear of interviewing high school students. In response he sat in on one interview and taught them about silence. Ask a question, pause and listen, and the four-minute interviews became twenty-minute dialogues.

The reflective journals also proved to be useful for a number of students, as often aspects of their project did not become clear until they reflected upon it (the weekly updates were similarly useful for this process) Hilda said:

I think the reflective journals that we have done have been quite good, they've just given us a chance to think of what we've been doing and like the problems that we've had and stuff like that. It just made me thought about what to do better next time.

4.3 Working in teams

To work cooperatively and effectively within a small research team was a key-learning objective, as many entry-level policy-analyst positions involve working in team environments. We felt that it would be important

to explore the extent to which students - particularly those new to teamwork at a tertiary level - are able to negotiate the various challenges that teamwork involves. For many of the students, it was the first time in their university career that they had worked in teams (particularly in the case of sociology-major students). While some groups had minor difficulties with team dynamics, most of them found being in a group to be reassuring and a positive learning experience. Hilda and Richard's Gifted and Talented group conducted all of their telephone interviews as a team:

Hilda – I think I would have been way too terrified to do the interviews if I had been working on my own, and yeah the others just brought in so much more knowledge than I could.

Richard – I think the work load would have been too much for a semester anyway.”

While time management is not a skill unique to research, it is a critical aspect of carrying out quality research for a client, and all students mentioned how their time management skills had improved due to the necessity of the project being completed within the thirteen-week semester. Moreover, when asked what advice they would give to future students, most stated time management and organisational skills as being critical. For Amber this was her first teamwork project:

Yeah we realised we didn't have much time so we set ourselves a deadline and got it done. Like we should have done that earlier as well. Setting ourselves deadlines helped, like we set ourselves a deadline not long ago and we were fantastic like we kept it in time.”

4.4 What students learned about research methods

Students talked at length about how their views on research had changed, and what a positive impact applying their theoretical knowledge from other methods papers had on their understanding of research. Many students discussed their significant improvement in understanding research interviewing skills. Christine said:

People take for granted the question process, because we thought oh yeah, we'll draw up a couple of questions and what do we want to know, that's easy, but what we found out was you had to actually really think about what we wanted to know, what questions are going to assist with our final output....And sometimes it's really hard to not ask closed questions, because you forget that people can just say yes or no. So just learning to word it differently, that's all it took was just changing the wording of the questions, yes or no, agree or disagree, but you want to know why as well. And even if it's just following the question up with 'why do you think that?' Yeah.

Helen found learning to use silence could not be taught in the classroom or out of a textbook.

I guess the interviewing was the hardest thing, and getting the participants to participate, that was really hard. And kind of frustrating. But I guess for me personally, just learning that silence thing where you just sit there and don't say anything was really hard to do but I managed to get it sorted, so that was really good, it totally worked though.”

Coding and transcribing the interviews were other research skills frequently mentioned as being enhanced by the course. Helen said:

I guess a few things as simple as team work right through to the skills of coding and transcribing and interviewing and stuff like that and writing the final paper as well, because I'd never done that before.

The course exposed some basic gaps in the students' research skills. The Gifted and Talented group report revealed that they had never used academic search engines until this paper, despite having taken methods courses prior to this third year course:

Richard – I think my ability to look for relevant literature, that's also improved.

Hilda – Yeah and just like writing skills too.

Richard – Yeah because this was the first time I used Google Scholar, and the key words helped refine my search. So yeah that skill has improved too.

Unexpected complications in communication impeded the research. Group members were frustrated to find teammates did not have Wi-Fi in the flats or insufficient funds to preload their phones. The Grow South team had weather related complications. Much of the Grow South video footage was filmed outside and suffered from poor sound quality so was not used in the final film.

4.5 This project is more than me

While completing projects on time is something students have to learn through all levels of education, the students mentioned that it was the fact that they were doing this project for community organisations that made it 'matter more' in terms of timeliness. Nellie outlined her commitment:

You know you're actually working towards something that's going to benefit a group of people, it's not just this abstract thing that you're doing and getting a grade on yeah. I think you put more thought into it because it does matter, it's not just you that you're letting down if you do a bad job you know, there's heaps of people relying on you, and you actually want to do well.

The students' projects were bigger than themselves. Given that students were out in the community and representing the University, they were very aware of the need to be professional, and became conscious of what this means. Beverley claimed:

Like ultimately I knew we were representing the Uni, so I knew we had to be like quite like a person someone could come and talk to, like professional and approachable, like we had to be like kind of reserved and just watch what we were doing, but I don't think any of us were prepared..."

The Wriggle and Rhyme group learned the value of professional detachment as emotional labour (Hochschild 1983) when they found some potential informants less than hospitable. Beverley and then Amber said:

Beverley - I guess you were quite self-conscious about how you came across, like you couldn't be too far to one side, just like neutral and kind of almost like put on a face but not take anything too to heart, like kind of.

Amber – Especially when you get the rude mothers, you can't take it too to heart, like it's not against you.

This perception further highlights how intimidating these students found getting in and getting along in the research site.

4.6 On the virtues of experiential learning

This internship was described as 'real' by Nellie, and that made a significant impact on her learning:

Hands on experience is definitely better than just reading and writing and having something to relate it to helps, because it's not just something that you've read, or just something you've heard, like context, you've been there and applied it and I think like you realise like things you need to do in research that you hadn't even thought about before, just simple things like approaching people politely and you know being a bit more open with people and like thinking about the safety plan. Like I thought all of these things seem silly, but they are really necessary at the same time. And I think like if I was just doing a paper that was just reading a whole lot of information telling you how to do it, it wouldn't stick, and then when you went to actually do it, you'd be like 'God what do I need to do?' yeah.

Susan's South Dunedin Pride group experienced great learning:

Definitely a big learning experience for me, I think it was really good.

I'd never conducted an interview, I'd never coded before, I'd never done anything so like hands on, all I'd ever done is like readings texts oh this is how you do it, I'll just write that into my essay and just hand in my

essay and out the information goes. But while you're actually doing it I feel like you retain it more. It's like, I like applying things to real world situations, and that's something I definitely did in the paper which I really liked."

The students not only learned how to do a research project, they learned how to do the next project. All interviewees said they would make a point to meet with the client more frequently and plan more time for the end of the project creation of the report, the pamphlet or the video.

Students' positive views on their experiences during this course were reflected in their responses to an anonymous feedback survey taken at the end of the course, which all 18 in the class participated in. For example, 80% of the students felt that they had improved their ability to solve real problems in the field.

4.7 On the job interview question

We end with one example of students (from the Wriggle and Rhyme group) answering the job interview question. This is a typical representation of how students answered this question; in detail, and with an awareness of why they did what they did, how they overcame obstacles, and what they would do differently next time. Beverley and Amber told this story finishing each other's sentences:

B-Initially we got put into groups and then we got given our project, but we were only given the context or title of our project, we weren't given any idea on what we were supposed to be researching, and then, so we had to go to Wriggle and Rhyme.

A – and meet our clients, and set up a meeting, and meet them and find out what they wanted from us and expected from us and what we thought we could do.

B – And from there we kind of formed a topic surrounding developmental stages for the babies, and then we also had another topic, which was...

B - Initially [the client] wanted us to study social isolation but we didn't feel that was strongly coming across, so we thought why force that if it's not really a key aspect. So our other little topic was key benefits for the mothers but then we kind of merged the two decided we'd focus on benefits for mothers *and* babies. And from there we had to familiarise ourselves with the topic.

A – Then we had to do the lit review, find out the research and come up with a question.

B – Yeah it was after the lit review that we decided to merge the topics, because the lit review didn't really relate to anything we would be doing.

A – Yeah we had to do a lot of changes throughout the process, the more we got into the group, the more we knew nothing was going to work, so we had to re-evaluate the situation. And then went from there and we had to decide on our methodology; like qualitative, quantitative, mixed. And we decided to do mixed.

B – Mixed is definitely most appropriate for us because like the mothers were really the source of information that we needed to use.

A – Because you can't really ask a baby questions.

B – So yeah we had to organise how we were going to go about doing that, and so that's when we got to know one of the mothers and then..

A – She told us it would be hard to do any individual interviews.

B – Yeah she said individual interviews would probably be a no go, so then we decided, well we talked to [MT], and decided that focus groups would be the best way to go with two groups of five.

A – And we had a meeting at the library to let them know where we were going, what was happening.

B – Yeah that we were going to hold those groups and stuff. And [MT] also told us about Survey Monkey so yeah we set up the surveys.

A – So that we didn't break any ethical guidelines, we asked the librarian to send out the surveys from her database, so that we didn't have to get everyone's email address and we could be ethical.

B – Yeah and then we conducted the focus groups, after telling the mothers that we were going to be holding these groups in the next following weeks..

A – Between the focus groups we transcribed

B – and coded the information.

A – So it was all fresh in our mind at the time.

B – And when you do go through the interview again, you do pick up, you just naturally themes and key ideas that you kind of forgot about in the interview.

A – And sort of doing the surveys, waiting for them, because we didn't send out the surveys until after we'd done the focus groups, so that got mothers coming to the focus groups, instead of just answering the surveys.

B – In hindsight we probably should have sent out surveys a bit earlier but we didn't really know that we were going to be doing that as well.

A – It was sort of last minute decision. Cos we did think of just handing out paper ones and getting them to fill them out there, but then most mothers up and leave straight after so that wouldn't work.

B – Yeah, they tied up just feeding and getting the babies organised.

A – And now we're just at that analysing stage, going through step by step.

B – And we're going to put the report together!

There were variations on this job interview answer but a theme that is remarkably absent in them is description of fear. In the case of the three Wriggle and Rhyme students, as we detail elsewhere, their initial fear was being in the room where the music group took place. Their first task was to observe the group for thirty minutes. The students found the task overwhelming. The fact that this part of their story is absent above highlights their ability to look back and focus on the tasks and their achievement, not the fear.

Variations on this job interview included justifying decisions around final outputs (e.g. video versus write-up), differing decisions and justifications regarding methodology (e.g. quantitative versus qualitative versus mixed methods, and focus groups, surveys or one on one interviews), and many groups emphasised the importance of defining their research question, the difficulty some had with this, and the process of the literature review.

In general the overall theme was coming to terms with the responsibility of doing an independent project for a client while being exposed to scary circumstances and expectations. Many favourably contrasted the internship with the prerequisite research methods courses by saying the practical nature of the course was more educational than theory-based classroom learning. Christine from the group studying resources for intellectual disabilities said:

It's just not the same as any other paper I have ever done because you're actually doing stuff, you're learning about all this stuff in the other papers but when you're applying it you're actually understanding why you're learning it and it's fine to say, write a bunch of questions about a study you're not actually going to do, but when you're actually doing it you see that you actually do have to change your questions throughout the process, you do actually have to change your topic at some point because it's got to be defined, re-defined, all that sort of thing and also how you're going to just lay out the final project as well. All those things you actually learn how to do in this which is really cool...it is an actual research project and it's just really good experience because with other papers you don't get interaction like you do with this paper, it's just like a real project. It's just like something that is offered to people at higher levels, or like an introduction to that, and also people that want to go on to do Honours and all that sort of thing. So it's just real research and really understanding what you're learning."

All of the groups went beyond the requirements of the paper for their final outputs. After they had completed their last assignment and exam, they all maintained contact with the community organisations they had been working with, to continue their work or put significant finishing touches on their projects. The reasons they gave for this extra work were varied, such as members of the Wriggle and Rhyme Group thinking that the relationships they had built were important:

Beverley – I feel like we've built up relationships you can't just chuck out, like you have to keep in contact with them, yeah, because otherwise it would just be rude.

Others simply wanted to do the best possible job for their client:

Hilda - I wanted it to be as perfect as possible for our client.

Regardless of their reasons, all groups went beyond the requirements of the project and continued their work and connection with the community organisations. This demonstrates the impact of the project on their sense of responsibility and professionalism that they developed.

5 Discussion

The results suggest that these students conceptualised that they had developed their self-confidence as researchers during these projects as well as considerable empathy with the approaches and values of professional qualitative research. In their minds they came to accept: the inevitability of limited research-planning in the messy and non-linear world of qualitative research; the great benefits and opportunities, and challenges, afforded by teamwork; the certainty of public speaking; and they took pride in their achievements as measured by the outputs from their research and their commitment to their clients.

It is possible to interpret the increase in confidence and the development of 'identities' as qualitative researchers, using more than one educational theory or framework. Indeed several may be necessary to fully engage with the complexity of the changes that may be happening here.

The experiential learning model assumes that 'students who are involved in educationally productive activities in college are developing habits of the mind and heart that enlarge their capacity for continuous learning and personal development (Kuh, Schneider, & Association of American Colleges and Universities 2008, p. 25). Community engagement, for Kuh, is high-impact learning and teaching and the students in this course confidently assert the significant, and positive, impact that the course has had on them and their ability to cope with similar challenges in the future.

Self-efficacy and social-cognitive theory (Bandura 1977) provides insights about how individuals' confidence and abilities grow together in social settings. Bandura asserts that experience of mastery, or achieving a significant and challenging outcome, is an important factor determining a person's self-efficacy. All of these students achieved significant outcomes and their confidence was palpable to their lecturer.

Social constructivism (Vygotsky 1978) suggests that learners advance by learning and problem solving at the edges of their understanding with the support of teachers and peers. Lave and Wenger's (1991) extension of these ideas into the model of 'communities of practice' provides an excellent framework within which to interpret the roles of individual students, their peers, their academic supervisor and their community contacts, and the impact of all of these things on student development. The internship course could in this context be interpreted as supporting the development of identity within a professional socialisation process.

The learning domains described by Krathwohl, Bloom and others (see for example Bloom et al., 1971) in the middle of the last century helps us to recognise that these students have learned, to a degree and in a cognitive sense, how to be qualitative researchers. They are clearly developing the knowledge and skills identified in the course's intended learning outcomes and formally assessed within its operation. But these students also self-identified and exhibited to the researchers a range of attributes that are not easily ascribed to cognitive learning. Some learned how to listen to others and many expressed, as a revelation, the need to, and benefits of, understanding the perspectives of others in their team. Many of the interviews expressed participants' increased motivation to undertake research and their excitement about undertaking a research project in a team setting and talking with team members. Most apparent is the sense of extended confidence in themselves, in their abilities to put research processes into operation and to appreciate the nature of qualitative research. The affective learning domain of Krathwohl, Bloom and Bertram (1973) puts these outcomes clearly within the lower four levels of learning in this domain (listening, responding, valuing, organising values). In the students' own words, it is clear that these students have progressed through the affective learning domain, perhaps to different degrees and perhaps without structured support with affect in mind, but progressed nonetheless.

As early as 1993, Davis claimed that internship projects have great potential to draw together theoretical work from disparate areas of sociology to serve as a bridge to postgraduate study and help students assume more active lives as citizens and consumers of knowledge (Davis 1993). Finklestein (2009 p. 90), however, argues that 'the field of applied sociology and teaching and learning sociological practice has struggled to develop in the discipline.' Michael Burawoy (2005), president of the International Sociological Association, has revived these questions by noting that there is a 'growing gap between the sociological ethos and the world we study' (Burawoy 2005 p. 7). Burawoy (2005) calls for a 'public sociology' to close the gap. Cook (2011) goes one step further by invoking 'public sociology' itself as a public good: "By taking the knowledge, skills, and techniques of good qualitative research, we can improve our communities and help generate a stronger foundation and enhance everyone's quality of life". We thank an anonymous reviewer who suggested we tease out the synergy between public sociology and internship. The anonymous reviewer correctly pointed out that "public sociology should be regarded as a sub-discipline of sociology while introductions to internships refer to the way sociology is taught." To that end, Bach and Weinzimmer (2011) argue that sociology students who participate in community-based research (i.e. internships) gain a greater proficiency in undertaking the entire research process, from creating and implementing research plans to making data-derived client recommendations; the core elements of this internship

course. New research on experiential learning/research-based learning and teaching has started to identify various benefits to students. This research does need to focus on issues such as students' personal and professional growth, how learning occurs, how students' intellectual or cognitive development runs alongside their affective development, and how communities of practice encourage students' cognitive, affective, epistemological, inter and intrapersonal development. These questions cannot readily be answered using conventional and individual assessment processes. It seems likely that internship models of teaching provide one way to encourage the complex learning that Knight & York identify as essential to employability (Knight & York, 2003). And that research-based evaluative-approaches, like that described in this article, hold the key to getting to grips with how university teaching relates to student learning. The authors suggest that that even relatively short community-engaged internship courses offer students the opportunity to grow in terms of confidence and to enhance their learning in both a professional and personal capacity.

6 Conclusions

The research demonstrates that these students considered that their abilities as qualitative researchers had improved as a result of their experiences and that they had adopted attitudes towards appropriate research approaches, processes and outputs typical of professional researchers. The authors suggest that more than one educational theory or framework is necessary to interpret the changes observed in these students, but that providing students with a community-based internship course prior to graduation with a sociology degree, addresses many of the discipline's concerns about sociology degrees in the 21st Century. The lecturer involved started this project in a disillusioned state, about the prospects and abilities of sociology graduates, but ended with a substantial sense of pride in what had been achieved by his students. His own unexpected transformation was how this project immersed him within his community and opened doors for his own research.

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Economics from a Different Point of View – Good Practice in Teacher Training: How to Handle, Use and Judge External Standardized Tests in Schools

The Economic Actions in Education training module (EAE) teaches how to handle, use and judge external standardized tests in schools. The EAE programme was implemented in teacher training at the University of Kiel, because teachers are increasingly under external scrutiny and are being held accountable for student and school achievements. The EAE programme includes a reader (in English), through which prospective teachers understand and analyze core terms of the field. Furthermore, different didactical methods such as think-pair-share, role play and short lectures provide a group dynamic in which students gain an insight into standardized tests at a macro level. Students learn what is involved in standardized tests and they develop the ability to make a critical judgement about how they will use or refuse standardized tests in schools. EAE enables teachers to use standardized tests for curriculum and instruction improvement as well as refuse standardized tests to highlight autonomous teaching and decline governance from outside.

Das Modul Economic Actions in Education (EAE) lehrt zukünftige Lehrer und Lehrerinnen die Bewertung von externen standardisierten Tests, den Umgang damit, sowie deren Nutzen. Das EAE-Modul wurde an der Universität zu Kiel im Studiengang Handelslehramt eingeführt, weil Lehrende immer häufiger extern kontrolliert und für die Schüler- und Schulleistungen verantwortlich gemacht werden. Das EAE-Modul arbeitet mit einem Reader und 20 Experteninterviews. Mit verschiedenen didaktischen Methoden (wie zum Beispiel think-pair-share, Rollenspiel und Kurzvorträgen) wird eine Gruppendynamik initiiert, die es den Studierenden ermöglicht, sich einen Überblick innerhalb der Makroebene des standardisierten Testens zu verschaffen. Die Studierenden lernen, welche Handlungen das standardisierte Testen beinhaltet und eignen sich ein differenziertes Urteil darüber an, wann sie an standardisierten Tests teilnehmen sollen und wann nicht. Durch das EAE-Modul können die Studierenden sich standardisierte Tests zu Eigen machen. Sie lernen, die geeigneten Tests für Curriculum- oder Unterrichtsverbesserung zu nutzen. Dadurch heben sie ihre autonome Profession für den Unterricht hervor und treten der Governance von außen entgegen.

Keywords:

training module, standardized testing, collaborative learning

1 Introduction

The University of Kiel drafted the Economic Actions in Education training module (EAE) for teacher training in order to educate teachers in how to handle, use and judge external standardized tests in schools. In the following paper I will outline this special training programme as an example for good practice, which was developed and applied at the University of Kiel. In detail I will explain what the EAE module is and why the topic standardized testing should be included in economics teacher training. The EAE training programme is an answer to changes in the teaching profession (in Germany).

The EAE training programme contains training units that teach how to handle, use and judge external standardized tests in schools. The training is for students (trainee teachers of economics or trainee vocational teachers) or economics teachers in further education and

was designed to be completed in (at least) eight training units of 90 minutes each.

2 Why teach the EAE module?

In the past 20 years (large scale) standardized tests have come to be a widespread tool in the field of education. For example international surveys such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), PIAAC (Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies) or PIRLS (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study) have been conducted. The number of national and international tests administered in schools in Germany has increased considerably (Zedler & Döbert, 2009, p. 29 et seq.). Standardized tests are either used to diagnose learning and teaching conditions or aim to optimize educational processes by coordinating, regulating and governing. Whereas diagnosis for instructional improvement has a long tradition, accountability testing in this form is a new phenomenon in the education system. The developments of the last 20 years demonstrate how strongly standardized testing is often linked to economic aims.

A common principle in society is cost-benefit appropriateness. How much something costs and what it monetarily benefits are substantial arguments in decision-making processes. Standardized tests are a tool to bring forward such arguments. When circumstances are unknown, commodification and quantification through standardized tests subserve rational decision-making.

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An increased socio-political demand for rational governance (Stockmann & Meyer, 2015) explains the growth of standardized testing. *New Public Management* techniques, evolvement of *Globalisation* and appearance of *Governance* structures are important key moments of this rational governance in the educational system.

Standardized tests are used by neoliberal nations as a *New Public Management* technique in every area of society. In the educational system these tests are often administered to overturn the imbalance of information between different stakeholder. The obtained value of public and individual choice in democratic systems causes the need of transparency and therefor information. In combination with tight interactions of the nations on the international level, standardized tests became nationally and internationally the first source for public information.

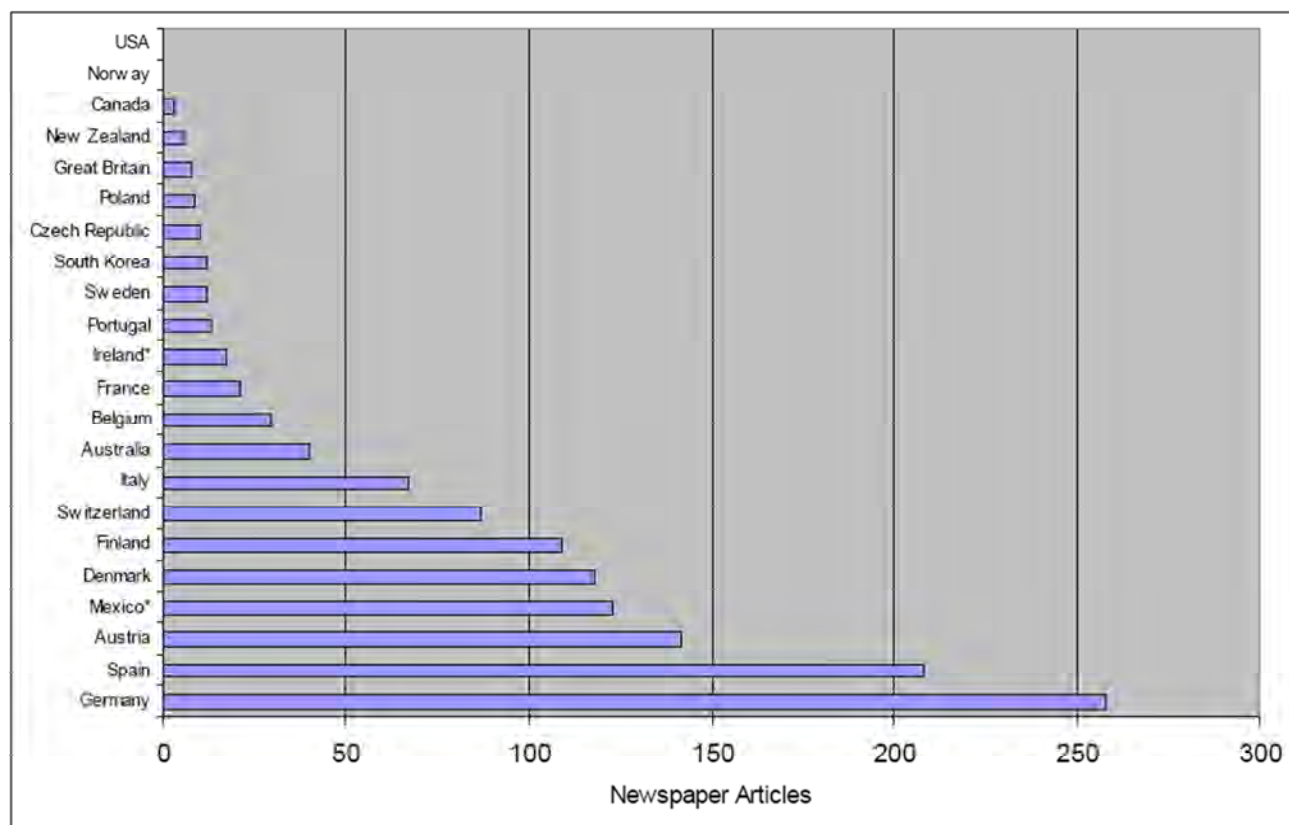
The former perception that national or subnational institutions coordinate procedures in the educational sectors has been overcome. Since standardized tests have been used to inform and depict, these procedures interacted with procedures to coordinate, regulate and govern educational systems. In fact, it shows that even standardized tests which are administered by corporations with no official mandate to govern the system, have an impact – or better say regulate procedures in the educational system (Cussò & D’Amico 2005, S. 211). In present times teachers are faced to acknowledge and dispute these different governance structures through standardized tests.

In a workshop at the AEEE conference (Aix en Provence, 2014) I presented the EAE training programme and I explained the relevance of standardized tests in Germany and therefore why it is important to educate prospective teachers. Participants from different European countries explained to me, that external standardized testing in other European countries has not the same public relevance as in Germany. Surprisingly even PISA – in which every European country participates – seems to be more or less unknown and seems to have different roles in different countries. Whereas the PISA results are highly discussed in Germany, other European countries take little notice of the results. For clarification figure 1 displays how often reporters wrote about the PISA study in the most important newspapers in different countries. The figures explicitly show how important the role of PISA is in some European countries (Germany, Spain, Austria, Denmark, Finland Switzerland and Italy).

PISA is one example of external testing. In contrast to other countries Germany is forcefully implementing this evidenced-based regulatory tool in the education system. This is why many teachers in German schools are experiencing external standardized tests first hand, as they are repeatedly asked to administer these tests. Sometimes they receive results either from their school’s administration or from the newspapers. Thus they become acquainted with external standardized tests as a tool that governs their workplace from outside.

During the EAE training module, students discover that standardized tests can be used as a tool to coordinate education. They become familiar with management

Figure 1: Number of articles reporting on PISA in selected quality newspapers [Anzahl der Artikel zu PISA in ausgewählten Qualitätszeitungen] (Knodel et al. (2010) S. 17).



strategies and they develop their own views on how to handle difficult decisions, in which standardized tests are used to govern their own teaching habits and their student's or their school's performance.

3 What is the EAE training programme?

The EAE training programme aims to professionalize teachers with regard to testing procedures and prepares them to join the school's quality control team; it also aims to sensitize economics teachers to rational governance in general. The EAE training programme increases knowledge of economics and at the same time aims to teach economics teachers how to handle and value economic patterns while working as a teacher. Both economic theory and economic action patterns are covered in the EAE training module. On the one hand the EAE training module educates teachers how to teach economics by presenting economy theories such as property rights theory and principal agent theory, on the other hand it trains teachers how to react autonomously and reasonably when they are externally tested in school. The main topic of the programme: *standardized testing in schools* enables teachers to develop their own strategies for how to use or refuse economic systems in the form of external tests in the school system.

The EAE training programme uses up-to-date expert interviews to develop holistic views on standardized testing in schools. Because the use of standardized tests in schools is developing fast and the reasons why they are implemented are shifting rapidly, the EAE training programme delivers the most current views on this topic by providing up-to-date interviews. The interviews enable the students to recognize contemporary trends, to analyze the criticism of governance by standardized tests, to learn the functions of standardized tests and to develop their own viewpoint on how standardized tests (results) should be used in practice.

In addition the EAE training programme also provides a reader (in English), through which students understand and analyze core terms of the field. Different didactical methods such as think-pair-share, role play and short lectures provide a group dynamic in which students can gain an insight into standardized tests at a macro level. Students learn what is involved in standardized tests and they develop the ability to make a critical judgement about how they will use or refuse standardized tests in schools.

The training programme is content based and includes suggestions on how the following topics can be taught successfully. The main topics are: Standardized tests (divided into internal and external tests), the cost-benefit equations of tests, outcome-orientation, controlling and accountability, liberalism, neoliberalism, teacher professionalization, educational governance, principal-agent relationship, public-choice decisions, and transactional costs. The topics are from different disciplines, thus students are required to change their perspectives continually between sociological, political, educational and economic ways of thinking.

In order to illustrate the EAE training module in detail, below I describe my experiences from the semester 2014, in which the EAE training was taught for the first time in this form. I begin with how to teach the EAE training programme. Then I explain its purpose and finally I explain the impact and limitations of the programme.

4 How can the EAE training programme be taught?

The EAE training programme aims to provide students with an overview of standardized testing in schools. This aim is achieved through different learning paths. The students should learn how to a) classify different test consequences, b) explain the rise in external testing and c) model a systematic overview of test consequences. To teach such a new and changing topic the EAE training programme provides an active learning environment. It offers the students different teaching materials so that they can develop up-to-date perspectives on the topic. The training materials are comprised of two parts. Firstly, there are three different articles to enhance basic knowledge on standardized testing in schools. Secondly, there are 20 up-to-date interviews on standardized testing, to give current insights into this ever-changing topic.

To gain a foundation of knowledge on standardized tests the students read and discuss three different focus articles. With Haertels: "How is testing supposed to improve schooling?" the students become acquainted with diverse test uses (Haertel, 2013). To comprehend, why standardized testing is becoming a common method, they read Olssens and Peters: "Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy" (Olssen & Peters, 2005). To sharpen the students' awareness of governance structures through tests, the training includes Dales article: "Globalisation, knowledge economy and comparative education" (Dale, 2005). During training the students are instructed to use the think-pair-share method, so that they successfully work through the text material. To understand these articles students first consider the new content on their own, later they discuss it with one or two other students and finally share their thoughts with the class as part of a formal discussion. During this step teachers can add their opinions and clarify misunderstandings. To revise students' basic knowledge collaborative study groups are used. In small groups students prepare talks on key terms such as Educational Governance, Measurement Driven Instructions, New Public Management, Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and so on.

To enable broader insights the programme includes 20 interviews from well-known experts in the field of educational testing. With the up-to-date opinions of these 20 experts from universities and the testing industry the students actively develop a systematic overview of standardized testing. The interviews are excellent teaching aids to encounter and analyze the field of standardized testing.

In the interviews the interviewees answer the following questions:

1. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word educational testing?
2. What do you think about state or nation-wide testing in secondary schools?
3. What do you think is the main purpose of standardized testing in the US (other country)?
4. Is there a difference between how standardized tests are supposed to work in theory and how they actually work in practice? (If yes: Why is there a difference?)
5. What do you think is the main purpose of a comparison or a ranking of student scores?
6. In an ideal world, how would you like to see standardization and testing in education used?
7. Why do you think experts conduct international comparisons like PISA or TIMMS?

The interviews are informative and diverse. The students are instructed to work in three steps through these interviews. In step 1 every student receives an interview. Using the interview worksheet they analyze the opinion of their expert. In step 2 students compare the opinions of the experts they listened to and analyse the opinion their expert gave in comparison to other experts. At the end of this step they should be able to discuss questions on different levels from their experts' point of view. In step 3 the students work together to design a systematic overview (cf. appendix). They understand, analyze and synthesize the views and explanations of the term *standardized testing* in schools as expressed by the experts.

For example interviewee 1 explains:

"Well standardized testing in schools is really an American adventure. It it became popular in the United States oh 60 years ago or more in the middle of the last century. And at that point the purpose was to help teachers and administrators diagnose what students knew ... Now the main purpose of testing is to hold people accountable and to to to pressure teachers to to to to improve students to to supposedly improve students."

And interviewee 7 clarifies:

"So the first thing I'd like to see with testing is less attention to it in general. Second I think there is a serious imbalance between external-standardized testing and ahm ... and classroom-level-testing, testing for instructional improvement. A test that can be used by teachers to inform the date-to-date decisions and can be used by students themselves to see, where are meaningful expectations. So in an ideal world, I would see ... less formal classroom-tests ... And ahm the most important thing would be, the tests to be used for improvement".

And interviewee 15 highlights:

"Ahm, there is a great deal of interest in trying to learn from successes of, ah, of other nations, and, PISA and TIMMS are a way of comparing the performance of students across nations that then is a starting point for looking at what, how education is organized in different countries."

In the middle of the EAE training programme the didactical course shifts from instructional teaching to teaching through cooperative design. At the beginning the training is very article-based and concentrates on important key words such as test mechanisms, educational governance, measurement driven instruction, New Public Management and so on. After entering the subject through these methods the programme enables the students to study the field collaboratively. Arising from discussions about the experts' views in class, students work together to design a systematic, up-to-date overview of standardized testing in schools. To initiate the class discussions three key questions are asked: Which causes and consequences do your expert mention? What should standardized testing be used for? And what else does you expert emphasize?

To design these overviews students analyze and synthesize the experts' interviews. The experience shows that students identify themselves with their expert and collect different perspectives on standardized testing. They arrange their reflections in diverse headings or phrases. Together they arrange these headings in rubrics. Some results are presented in the appendix. Figure 2 shows (an example of the training) a systematic overview in progress and figure 3 (as well an example of the training) represents a final systematic overview from an EAE training module.

5 Why should the EAE training programme be taught?

Sociological analysts argue that neoliberal actions in the form of New Public Management techniques will remain and foster in the educational system (Dale, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005). Rational governance will become more meaningful in Europe and external standardized testing will occur more frequently. Therefore external standardized tests will play an important role in the teaching profession. With this development in mind the faculty of education at the University of Kiel implemented the EAE training module as part of their training programme for economics teachers, so that future teachers can handle, use and judge external standardized tests in schools.

In the last few years *New Public Management*, *Globalisation* and *Governance* changed educational procedures and in these processes many teachers in Germany faced external standardized tests. Teachers experienced different external testing processes, for example international surveys such as PISA, PIAAC, PIRLS and so on, or national tests (in Germany) such as VERA, LAU etc. or even local or state wide tests. As evaluation procedures with standardized tests are now relatively common, teachers tell diverse stories about how they experienced participating in such procedures.

They report, that sometimes these tests pass by without being noticed. Others report that test results occasionally provoked discussions between colleagues, making some teachers feel uncomfortable or others feel proud depending on how successful their students were. Occasionally teachers state that school administrations were overwhelmed by the impact of external testing on their school system. Some school administrations started to implement internal quality control groups to handle these testing processes and to evaluate the testing results and their consequences. In many cases the school administrations asked economics teachers because of their knowledge to join the quality control groups. Quantification and commodification is a core element of the economic science. What impact standardized tests should have on the educational system, is in contrary a question of value. Especially in the educational system it is a question of interpersonal value. The training attempts to provide learning opportunities how to achieve cooperative value judgments.

Although there is no standardized test specifically designed to measure economic literacy in Germany, many economics teachers are requested to lead, handle and judge external quality controls in their schools. But until now there has been no training within teacher training in the field of standardized testing. Economics teacher have an interesting position in the field of standardized testing. They are actively made participant in rational governance procedures.

6 Impacts and limitations of the EAE training programme

The EAE training programme ends with an oral examination as it is of interest to see whether students can actively use their new knowledge or not. The oral examination simulates the pro and contra arguments for standardized testing in a school. The students are asked to imagine being part of this discussion and to evaluate and argue their standpoint and ultimate decision. The experience shows that students can give reasonable arguments why they chose to cooperate with a standardized test or why they refused to participate. The exam simulates situations, in which colleagues argue for standardized tests. Students have to evaluate the situation and to reason about why they choose to participate in or refuse this test. Thus far these examinations have substantiated, that most students from the EAE training module can give reasons why they either choose to take part in and use an external standardized test or why they choose to refuse to participate in it. The EAE training module enables students to learn to make well-founded decisions.

The training module professionalizes students so that they can decide autonomously. The module aims to empower prospective teachers to overcome the constraining principal-agent relationship between external test-authorities and internal test-takers. Thus, the EAE training module will enable teachers to act autonomously in situations involving compliance, monitoring and accountability.

The practical experience to date also displays the limitations of the module. As the teaching materials contain diverse perspectives on the subject, it was difficult for the students to assimilate such differing perspectives in such a short time. Due to the fact that many of the students were not well grounded in sociology and political science it was very challenging for them to understand the interdisciplinary relationships, which shape the field of standardized testing.

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Appendix:

Figure 2: Overview in progress (students' additions are in script print)

Effects / Function	Causes	Non intended consequences	conflicts	Concepts (also causes)
Efficiency	Principal-Agent Theorie	Selection	Globalization	Neoliberalism
Diagnosis <i>Single diagnostics</i>	Selection as aim of tests	Control	Governance	Property-Rights-Theory
Selection	Globalization → Technical progress allows big studies	Outcome control (without prior intention)	Lobbying	Globalization
Feedback	Governance	Standardizing of curricula / material	Standardized vs. holistic education	Federalism
Measurement driven instruction	New Public Management	Competition	Misuse	
Information <i>Competition arises</i>	International actors	Teaching to the test		
	Control	Narrowing the curriculum		
	Efficiency as aim	imperfect personal selection		
	Checking standardized curricula / material	<i>Evaluation deficit</i>		
	Lobbying	<i>Cheating to the test</i>		
	Information deficit	<i>Learning to the test</i>		
	<i>Accountability</i> <i>Creating competition</i>			

Figure 3: Systematic overview of standardized testing

Causes	Consequences	Test mechanism	Ideal test-attributes	Currents	Criticism
impact through globalization	justification on discourse	selection	school-specific support student specific support	globalization	no comparability in secondary schools (different Input)
government decision	providing teaching practices improves concentration	information function: school, government, teachers, researchers, institution Educational level	restraints on purposes	neoliberalism	government uses test to
justification discourse	comparability	sorting mechanism	single diagnosis as opposed to large-scale test	new public management	doubts on test purpose
design for objectivity	teaching to the test narrowing of the curriculum	out come-control	fairness idea (observation of subgroups 1. Same test for all 2. Same design /implementation	foster research culture	fraud
cost-benefit balance	new standards (also lead to new tests)	quality assurance efficiency control		governance (?)	lobbyism of test industries
	- fraud (administrators/ teachers / students)	- incentive function			power on educational system (OECD) governance power
	- improves concentration				what are competencies?

Congress Report:

20ème Conférence de l'AEEE et 1er Colloque ENSECOSS Université d'Aix-Marseille, 27-29 août 2014 : Éléments de bilan et perspectives

La 20^e conférence de l'AEEE (Association pour l'Enseignement Économique en Europe) et le colloque ENSECOSS (Enseigner l'économie et les sciences sociales), - organisés principalement par une équipe de l'Ecole Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Education (ESPE) et du laboratoire de recherche « Apprentissage, Didactiques, Evaluation, Formation » (ADEF) de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille (AMU) -, se sont tenus à la Maison de la Recherche d'AMU à Aix-en-Provence les 27, 28 et 29 août 2014 sur le thème « Enseigner la crise en Europe ». Cette double manifestation a réuni environ 150 chercheurs et enseignants des enseignements Secondaires et du Supérieurs, principalement des ressortissants de plusieurs pays européens. Parmi les partenaires français, et en plus des institutions déjà citées, on trouve l'Ecole Nationale de Formation Agronomique (ENFA) de Toulouse, ainsi que les associations d'enseignants : APSES (Association des Professeurs de Sciences Économiques et Sociales) et APEG (Association des Professeurs d'Économie-Gestion). Les participants étaient majoritairement des enseignants et des chercheurs en économie, mais aussi d'autres sciences sociales comme la sociologie, l'histoire et la géographie. Les langues du colloque étaient l'anglais et le français.

Les allocutions d'ouverture ont montré l'intérêt suscité par cette manifestation, aussi bien pour AMU - représentée par le professeur Jacques Ginestier (aux titres de directeur du laboratoire ADEF et de l'ESPE-AMU) et le professeur Pierre Granier (doyen de la Faculté d'Économie et de Gestion d'AMU) - ainsi que pour les représentants des collectivités régionales et locales françaises qui ont contribué à ce colloque international, enfin, évidemment, pour l'AEEE - représentée par son président, le professeur Hans-Jürgen Schloesser - qui n'avait pas tenu de Conférence en France depuis plus de 20 ans.

Le programme était très riche et varié, puisqu'il a débuté par une série de six conférences, - six « regards croisés » sur la crise en Europe -, proposées par des chercheurs reconnus internationalement, comme les professeurs Philipp Hartmann (directeur de la recherche à la Banque Centrale Européenne), les économistes français Jean-Luc Gaffard et Dominique Plihon, Jacek Brant (directeur de la formation des enseignants de l'université de Londres), ainsi qu'Yves Alpe et Renato Di Ruzza d'AMU. Il est impossible de nommer ici la vingtaine d'autres intervenants dans les cinq tables rondes qui ont scandé la suite du colloque, parmi lesquels on trouve des

chercheurs en didactique des sciences sociales, des formateurs d'enseignants, des spécialistes de la diffusion de la culture économique (journalistes, responsables de la Cité de l'Économie et de la Monnaie à Paris, etc.). Trois sessions d'ateliers ont permis des échanges et des débats sur l'enseignement et la formation en économie et dans les sciences sociales : communications théoriques, présentations-discussions de pratiques, comparaisons internationales, propositions-démonstrations d'outils pédagogiques et de diffusion de la culture économique ... Il a été alors précisé qu'un dossier spécial de la revue JSSE (Journal of Social Science Education) serait consacré à des contributions issues du colloque.

Ces multiples échanges entre enseignants ont permis notamment de mettre en place un projet de base de données pour recenser de manière exploitable les enseignements de l'économie et des sciences sociales en Europe. Par ailleurs, une déclaration commune a été adoptée par les membres de l'AEEE pour demander le renforcement de ces enseignements, dans le respect de la diversité des expériences nationales.

En conclusion de ces trois journées bien remplies, les professeurs Hans-Jürgen Schloesser (président de l'AEEE) et Alain Legardez (ESPE-ADEF, responsable de l'organisation) ont exprimé leur satisfaction pour la réussite de cette conférence et de ce colloque, aussi bien sur le plan des échanges scientifiques que professionnels qui se sont déroulés dans un esprit ouvert, constructif et convivial. Ils ont enfin proposé quelques perspectives, d'une part pour la 21^e Conférence de l'AEEE de 2016, et d'autre part pour l'organisation d'un second colloque ENSECOSS. Les deux orateurs ont aussi insisté sur le nécessaire développement de recherches sur les enseignements de l'économie et des autres sciences sociales, avec un objectif d'éclairage des réflexions et des pratiques des enseignants et des formateurs, mais aussi à vocation d'éducation citoyenne et éco-citoyenne. Enfin, ils ont appelé à l'établissement ou au renforcement de réseaux nationaux et internationaux ... notamment par des recherches et des projets européens.

Les quelques textes proposés par des participants à cette manifestation et qui ont été retenus par JSSE illustrent quelques-unes des questions débattues au cours de cette manifestation.

Alain Legardez, Université d'Aix-Marseille, responsable
de l'organisation
Hans-Jürgen Schloesser, président de l'AEEE

20th AEEE Conference and 1st ENSECASS Symposium Aix-Marseille University, 27-29 August 2014: Summary and Perspectives

The 20th conference of the AEEE (Association for Economic Education in Europe) and ENSECASS conference (Teaching economics and social sciences), - organized mainly by a team from the School of the Teaching and Education (ESPE) and the research laboratory "Learning, Didactics, Evaluation and Training" (ADEF) of the Aix-Marseille University (AMU) - were held at the House of Research of AMU in Aix-en-Provence 27, 28 and 29 August 2014 on the theme "Teaching the crisis in Europe." This double event brought together about 150 researchers and teachers of Secondary and Higher teachings, mainly nationals from several European countries. Among the French partners, in addition to the institutions already mentioned, we find the National School for Agricultural Training (ENFA) Toulouse and teacher associations: APSES (Association of Professors of Economic and Social Sciences) and APEG (Association of Professors of Economics-Management). Participants were mostly teachers and researchers in economics, but also other social sciences such as sociology, history and geography. The conference languages were English and French.

The opening speeches have shown the interest in this event, both for AMU - represented by Professor Jacques Ginestíé (the laboratory director of ADEF and ESPE-AMU) and Professor Pierre Granier the director of the Faculty of Economics and Management of AMU) - as well as representatives of French regional and local authorities who contributed to this international symposium, and finally, of course, for the AEEE - represented by its President, Professor Hans-Jürgen Schloesser - this AEEE who had not held conference in France for over 20 years. The program was very rich and varied, since it began with a series of six conferences - six "viewpoints" on the crisis in Europe - proposed by internationally recognized researchers, like Philipp Hartmann (Director of Research the European Central Bank), the French economists Jean-Luc and Dominique Plihon Gaffard, Jacek Brant (director of teacher training at the University of London), Yves Alpe and Renato Di Ruzza professors of AMU. It is impossible to name here twenties others in the five round tables chanted after the conference, which include the teaching of social sciences researchers, teacher trainers, dissemination of specialists economic culture

(journalists, officials of the City of Economy and Money in Paris, etc.). Three sessions of workshops allowed exchanges and debates on education and training in economics and social sciences: theoretical papers, presentations, discussion practices, international comparisons, proposals, demonstrations of educational tools and disseminating economic culture ... It was then clarified that a special feature of JSSE journal (Journal of Social Science Education) would be spent on contributions from the conference.

These multiple exchanges between teachers in particular helped to establish a database project to identify teachings of economics and social sciences in Europe. In addition, a joint declaration was adopted by the members of the EEAA to request the strengthening of these teachings, while respecting the diversity of national experiences.

In conclusion of the three full days, professors Hans-Jürgen Schloesser (President of the AEEE) and Alain Legardez (ESPE-ADEF, responsible for the organization) expressed their satisfaction for the success of this conference and symposium both in terms of scientific and professional exchanges that took place in an open, constructive and friendly. They finally proposed some perspectives on the one hand for the 21st Conference of the EEAA in 2016, and secondly to organize a second symposium ENSECASS. Both speakers also stressed the necessary development of research on the teachings of economics and other social sciences, with a lighting objective reflections and practices of teachers and trainers, but also involved in education citizen and eco-citizen. Finally, they called for the establishment or strengthening of national and international networks ... including through research and European projects.

The few texts proposed by participants at the event, which was retained by JSSE illustrate some of the issues discussed during this event.

Alain Legardez, Aix-Marseille University, responsible for
organizing
Hans-Jürgen Schloesser, President of the AEEE

COMMON DECLARATION

At the conference in Aix-en-Provence, August 29th 2014, we have agreed on the following Common Declaration.

The economic, social, political and environmental crisis we have been experiencing for several years has highlighted the need to adapt the education of school pupils. We believe that the dissemination of economics education is essential to help the young to engage with the issues at stake. Yet, in most of our countries, Economics Education is open to a minority of pupils. Furthermore, some organizations promote a narrow conception of Economics Education, reduced to the acquisition of personal financial competencies and narrow work-related skills, which convey an individualistic vision of human nature and make schools subject to undue pressure from commercial and other lobby groups.

Given such a background, the members of the Association of European Economics Education gathered in their 20th international conference urge their respective national governments to:

- Reinforce the place of Economics teaching in national curricula in order to empower every pupil to understand and engage with the economic forces shaping our modern world;

- Promote a broad conception of economic understanding that goes beyond a narrow focus on financial literacy and work-related skills and enables pupils to engage as citizens with the huge economic challenges we face as nations and internationally;

We also urge governments to ensure that educational curricula reflect our diverse traditions and cultures, and resist their replacement by a single one-size-fits-all mandatory model, designed far from pupils. At the same time we support the promotion of international exchanges, dialogues and transfers among teachers and pupils. Such links promote healthy interchange and progressive, evolutionary improvement in our practices.

Prof. Hans Jürgen Schlösser, Chairman AEEE; Orla Duedahl, President AEEE

Congress Report:

Civics and citizenship education in the Nordic Conference on Subject Didactics NoFa-5, May 26–28, 2015, Helsinki, Finland

On May 26–28, 2015, the University of Helsinki acted as the host for the fifth Nordic Conference on Subject Didactics. For historical reasons the Nordic societies have in a global view remarkably intimate contacts with each other. Short distance, affinities of cultural and political traditions, and the density of social networks between them since centuries back in time have conduced to vibrant Nordic collaboration in the number of fields ranging from politics and economy to science and education. This is visible also in the governmental and non-governmental networks in educational sciences. A recent example of this collaboration are the Nordic conferences on subject didactics, the first of which took place in Oslo, in 2007. The conferences are held every second year, and the previous hosts have been Middelfart (Denmark, 2009), Karlstad (Sweden, 2011), and Trondheim (Norway, 2013).

The Nordic conferences on subject didactics are referred to as NoFa conferences (e.g. NoFa-5). The abbreviation stems from the Norwegian words 'Nordisk Fagdidaktikk', Nordic subject didactics. The meaning and the connotations of the term 'didactics' in the English-speaking world are a little different from what they are in the Nordic and German-speaking world. In the latter, didactics also covers questions that relate to the social, political, cultural and psychological contexts of education and teaching. In the NoFa conferences the themes also often go well beyond classroom walls and teacher–student interaction in a formal school setting. Nordic researchers on subject didactics may often prefer using the word 'education' rather than 'didactics' when speaking of their field of study in English (e.g. 'history education', not 'history didactics'). Yet in the NoFa conferences the term 'subject didactics' probably will continue to prevail.

The title of the NoFa-5 conference was 'Changing Subjects, Changing Pedagogies: Diversities in School and Education'. The title was deliberately ambiguous and could be interpreted as an invitation to discuss changes as well as actions that bring about changes. As the conference program said, also Nordic societies face new challenges relating to social and cultural diversity. These actualise the need of new solutions in teaching and education. One can also argue that in theories and methods of teaching and learning there is now diversity that goes to the heart of traditional structures and arrangements in school, for example in questions of interdisciplinarity and 'ubiquity of learning'.

Linguistic diversity in the NoFa-5 was smaller than in the previous NoFa conferences because the conference language was now English. It was a departure from the policy of mandating Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and 'Scandinavian' as the first languages in Nordic conferences. Perhaps due to the new arrangement, the number of delegates reached an all-time NoFa record,

with 350 participants from the Nordic countries and beyond: c. 250 papers were presented in 77 sessions in 13 parallel streams. The book of abstracts can be found in the conference homepage, <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/nofa5-2015/programme-2/> (read Nov 20, 2015).

Research on civics/citizenship education: topics and methods

The number of sessions and papers on civics/citizenship education was rather modest: two sessions and five papers were under the title 'civics education'. Themes relevant to civics education were discussed also in other sessions, notably on history teaching, global education and education for sustainable development, and in two sessions, with altogether seven papers, that were titled 'Remaining national perspectives on history and civics teaching'. Coinciding conferences sometimes cause participation to drop, however I think the modest number of contributions on civics education in the NoFa-5 was not exactly surprising: research in this field is not particularly well resourced in the Nordic countries. In the Nordic countries civics/social studies has often had close ties with history teaching, hence researchers on civics education often do research on history education as well, and in fact the latter may often be their primary expert area. It is typical of the close ties between the two disciplines that after the NoFa-4 (2013) conference articles based on papers in history education and in civics education were published as one book (Lise Kvande, ed., *Faglig kunnskap i skole og lærerutdanning. Nordiske bidrag til samfunnsfag- og historiedidaktikk*. Bergen, Fagbokforlaget, 2014).

Let it also be noted that Nordic specialists in subject didactics also congregate in other discipline specific Nordic conferences outside the NoFa context. For example history didactics specialists have arranged sessions in Nordic history conferences (Nordiska historikermöte). However civics and citizenship education didactics has had relatively few connections with the more 'hardcore' social sciences in those circumstances.

Yet the range of topics in the contributions on civics education in NoFa-5 witnesses of alertness of Nordic researchers with regard to contemporary concerns in education and in society at large. The papers addressed for example the issues of citizenship and nationality in the age of transnational governance (Kjetil Børhaug), nation-building in the age of history wars (Bengt Schüllerqvist), connections between political trust and national identity and citizenship education (Hans Lödén), and current representations of global economy in textbooks (Pia Mikander). How social studies has (re)produced relationship between the individual and society was analysed also historically (Henrik Åström Elmersjö). One step closer to the classrooms, the challenge of teaching social studies in ethnically diverse classrooms

(Katarina Blennow) and teaching the European Union and EU citizenship (Karen Marie Hedegaard & Carsten Linding Jakobsen) was also discussed. All these themes are relevant to our understanding of the expectations directed to civics and citizenship education, and also the social, cultural and political parameters within which civics teaching and citizenship education takes place.

Relating more directly to the processes of learning and teaching and teacher-student interaction there were papers discussing the relation between students' reasoning and civic teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (Malin Tväråna), how learning aims in social studies education are put forward in the curriculum (Anders Stig Christensen), what kinds of teaching approaches, learning activities and forms of evaluation civics teachers use and how they justify them (Siv Eie & Marit Storhaug), and what teachers focus on in their feedback to students in social studies (Robert Kenndal, Lauri Kuru & Daniel Larsson). Comparative studies might be relatively easily feasible, considering the already mentioned close ties and affinities between the Nordic societies, however among these papers only one (Anders Stig Christensen) had an explicitly comparative dimension.

The papers show a reasonably wide variety of methodologies. There are papers which analyse qualitatively textbooks (Börhaug, Mikander), historical sources of authorities' assessment of textbooks (Åström Elmersjö), curricular texts (Anders Stig Christensen), conversations between student and teacher (Kenndal, Kuru & Larsson) or interviews with students (Tväråna). Also a survey (Eie & Storhaug) and classroom observations (Blennow) were

used. One of the projects presented could be characterised as action research (Hedegaard & Linding Jakobsen).

Many of the afore mentioned presenters have during the years also contributed to the Nordidactica which is a Nordic Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education (www.kau.se/nordidactica), thus there is some stability in the research circles, albeit narrow, in the Nordic countries in civics and citizenship education. The researchers in civics and citizenship education in the NoFa-5 had a meeting during the conference in Helsinki where prospects of concerted activities in future conferences were discussed. The next NoFa conference, NoFa-6, with title 'Interplay between general and subject specific knowledge about teaching and learning in school and teacher education. Perspectives and challenges', will take place in Odense, Denmark, 29–31 May, 2017 (http://www.sdu.dk/en/Om_SDU/Institutter_centre/lkv/Konferencer+og+seminar/Konferencer+2017/NOFA+6). It was envisaged that civics and citizenship education will be visible in Odense, and already next year, in 2018, a symposium or a conference in the field could take place in Bergen. There is relevant research being done at various university institutions in the Nordic countries, and now it is important to intensify the contacts between researchers or research units. It would also be fruitful if researchers from within 'hardcore' social sciences (sociology, political science, etc.) were drawn more into discussion on civics/social studies/citizenship education.

Jan Löfström, University of Helsinki

Review of the Book:

McCloskey, Stephen. 2014 (ed.). Development Education in Policy and Practice. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 366 pp., 84.00 GBP.

ISBN: 9781137324658 (Hardcover) Price: £65.00, \$100

ISBN: 9781137324672 (Ebook EPUB) Price: €62.03

‘Development Education’ as a concept appears in many guises and under many titles, one of the other most commonly used in English being Global Citizenship Education. Direct translations are difficult to find but equivalents in German include ‘Globales Lernen’, in French ‘l’étude de la citoyenneté globale’, ‘l’apprentissage globale’, ‘l’éducation citoyenne mondiale’ and in Spanish ‘Educación para el Desarrollo y la Ciudadanía Global’. Recognising the difficulties associated with defining a concept as fluid and multifaceted as DE, McCloskey, in his introduction to this edited volume entitled *Development Education in Policy and Practice* outlines instead the following themes associated with the concept (pp.4-5):

- The need to encourage action as an outcome of the education process
- A local-global axis of education involving both an understanding of development issues and our interdependence with other societies
- The development of new skills, values, attitudes, knowledge and understanding that will inform individual action
- The use of participative, active learning methodologies
- Education as a visioning exercise towards social transformation
- Social justice, inclusion and equality
- The need to inform practice with a developing world perspective

Much of the volume focusses on the challenges associated with realizing the objectives implicit in these themes in shifting socio-political and neoliberal environments.

McCloskey himself has, since 1995, been Director of the *Centre for Global Education*. This centre, based in Belfast in Northern Ireland, has the dual objective of raising awareness of global issues and encouraging action towards social change. The need for a similar two-pronged approach to Development Education (or DE) that combines an emphasis on both informed reflection, and action against inequality and injustice is also highlighted in *Development Education in Policy and Practice*.

A strong preference for ‘critical’ over ‘soft’ DE follows logically from this requirement. While some of the contributors to this volume acknowledge a place for ‘soft’ DE which tends to encourage charity-based responses to poverty and global inequality, much of the volume is dedicated to the need to embed ‘critical’ DE in both mainstream curricula and informal learning

contexts. Critical DE empowers the learner to address structural causes of global inequality and injustice and derives, according to McCloskey (pp.1), from a Freirean view that DE:

...is distinguished from orthodox education policy and practice by suggesting that education is political, ideological and demands an ethical position: ‘washing one’s hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral’ (www.freire.org in McCloskey 2014, p. 1).

The volume tracks the growth and conceptual development of DE in terms of both policy and practice, primarily in Europe, over the last 50 years. The outlook presented is at times optimistic, highlighting increased coherence and consolidation in the field, stronger networks of good practice, more national strategies and the growth of research-informed DE, while at the same time acknowledging the challenges which remain.

Development Education in Policy and Practice is presented in five sections preceded by a foreword written by Helmuth Hartmeyer, Chair of GENE (Global Education Network Europe) and a Senior Lecturer in the Institute for International Development, *Vienna University*, entitled ‘Global Learning in Europe – Looking Back and Moving Forward’. This effectively contextualizes the book by reviewing developments in DE since 2002 and outlining both achievements and remaining challenges.

Following McCloskey’s introduction, the first section of the book focusses on ‘soft’ versus ‘critical’ DE with *Vanessa de Oliveira* (University of Oulu, Finland) considering the extent to which DE is (or is not) equipping learners with the critical thinking skills required for meaningful intervention. With a similar objective *Audrey Bryan* (St. Patrick’s College, Ireland) uses a critical discourse analysis approach in her critique of textbooks which deal explicitly with DE issues. Both authors stress the need to engage learners to a greater extent with fundamental questions about power relations and the causes of global inequality, with Byran (pp. 41) noting ‘minimal evidence of social justice orientation’ towards DE and instead the construction in textbooks of a citizen that:

...privileges personal empowerment, self-enhancement and the opportunity to salve one’s social conscience through ‘light touch’ actions which typically require no more than minimal effort or

sacrifice on the part of the agent but which promise instant gratification in return.

Douglas Bourn (Development Education Research Centre, UK) also stresses the need for a more critical and in-depth analysis of how DE is interpreted and implemented, the lack of which, in his view, leads to an 'accommodation to dominant discourses' (pp. 50). He also emphasises the need to align different approaches to DE, from awareness-raising to critical pedagogy, with the wider educational context, bearing in mind what is relevant and feasible. *Roland Tormey* (École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne, Switzerland) completes this section with a focus on the nature of critical thinking as it relates to the practice of DE and an argument for the benefits of harnessing insights from the field of psychology.

The second section approaches DE from the perspective of three different sectors: informal youth work, initial teacher education and higher education. Paul Adams (University of East London, UK) considers the nature of global youth work and compares it with school-based DE, noting a focus on action, experiential learning and informality as particular strengths. *Fionnuala Waldron* (St Patrick's College, Ireland) brings discussion back to the realm of school-based DE looking at barriers to the inclusion of DE, particularly critical DE, in initial teacher education, as well as ways these might be overcome. *Su-ming Khoo* (National University of Ireland)'s chapter concludes this section with a focus on the currently somewhat limited nature of research into DE in Higher Education. Khoo (pp. 133) argues for an improvement on what has been to date 'limited, conditional and somewhat volatile support for development education research' and makes a case for a broadening of the definition of DE research to include more interdisciplinary questions.

Section Three takes a critical look at the complex interrelationships between DE, the sustainability agenda, a desire for economic growth and globalisation. It contains contributions by *David Selby* and *Fumiyo Kagawa* (Sustainability Frontiers, Canada) and *Glenn Strachan* (South Bank University, UK).

The penultimate section focusses on a need to identify alternative social and development paradigms across continents, drawing inspiration in particular from India, Thailand and Latin America, 'The one region of the world where paradigm change does seem to be taking place...', according to Kirby (pp. 182). *Peadar Kirby* (University of Limerick, Ireland) and *Ronaldo Munck* (Dublin City University, Ireland) both focus in their contributions on Latin America. *Dip Kapoor* (University of Alberta, Canada) considers how subaltern social movements in India can inform DE in, for example, Canada. *Dorothy Grace Guerrero* (Focus on the Global South, Thailand) concludes this section by proposing 'deglobalisation' as an alternative to neoliberalism and the dominant economic growth paradigm.

The fifth and final section looks to the future primarily through the lens of developments in policy-making. *Gerard McCann* (St. Mary's University College, Ireland) reviews the mainstreaming of DE in Europe in the context of the development of the EU DEAR (Development Education and Awareness Raising) strategy while *Mwangi Waituru* (SEED Institute, Kenya) reflects on the optimum framework for DE post the 2015 UN Millenium Development Goals.

Finally, in his conclusion, editor, Stephen McCloskey, considers the impact of the 2008 financial crises and subsequent economic downturn on DE in the EU. He then proposes four possible responses by the DE to the crash.

Taken as a whole, this is a comprehensive, informative and thought provoking contribution to the field of DE. It is written in an accessible style and would be of interest both to practitioners and policy-makers already active in the field as well as to those new to the field. *Development Education in Policy and Practice* makes a particularly strong case for the embedding of critical DE in mainstream curricula and provides useful, practical examples regarding how this could be achieved. The call for the development of a research base in DE which has to date engaged to a greater extent with the production of teaching materials is also a timely one. The contributors from seven countries and four continents are obviously passionate about their work. A greater geographical spread of contributions with a stronger representation of authors based in Africa and Asia would have further enhanced this book and gone some way towards meeting the need expressed in the introduction (pp.5) to 'inform practice with a developing world perspective'.

Jennifer Brien
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