Comprehensions of citizenship and citizenship education
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Report II
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Editors’ preface and contributors as they appear

This text is a product of the joint effort of people from several countries, with different cultures, styles of writing, academic backgrounds and professional foci. At first glance their contributions appear highly divergent and specialised. Yet, a common denominator is that the authors either deal theoretically with values or with how values manifest themselves in different pedagogic situations and in different countries – in the light of citizenship and citizenship education. With this said, we sincerely hope that this discussion is equally interesting for theoretically oriented colleagues and those whose primary professional deed is in a practical field, and that it serves a purpose in teacher training programmes.


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Part I

Introduction
The term citizenship has varying meanings and connotations in different countries; in some it merely indicates a judicial relationship between the state and its citizen, in others it refers to individuals’ active participation in society. Concluding that ‘citizenship’ is found in school documents all over Europe, in the *Eurydice* study (2005) the term ‘Responsible Citizenship’ is used. Amongst other things, *Eurydice* examines how ‘citizenship’ is described in official school curricula and how teachers are assisted in citizenship education. It also allows teachers to describe their practice in this field. At the same time, few details are given about how citizenship can be put into practice in teacher-pupil classroom interaction.

European teacher students will, eventually as teachers, confront a classroom characterised by cultural and social diversity. Therefore, the teacher-pupil relation as regards democratic participation of all children in classroom activities seems not only interesting, but highly important to study. This means that ‘responsible citizenship’ is central to teacher training, not only from the students’ views on their future profession, but from the perspective of society and guiding documents. It should therefore be a focal matter for teacher education all over the world.

Furthermore, values guide human actions. Certain values and actions are so fundamental and self-evident that they rarely are questioned or object of negotiation or difficult to change. Teacher education must assist student teachers to see the relative character of values – that is, that they in most cases are not universal, but relative to a given culture. For some student teachers, classroom diversity will be seen as dynamic and enriching to the school and to society as a whole; others will primarily connote it with problems and conflict. In both cases, as teachers they will pass on their values to their pupils, both explicitly and implicitly.

**European Portfolio for Teachers (EPT)**

This Report is written within the project, *European Portfolio for Teachers (EPT)*. The overall aim of the project is to assist teachers in developing this competence and enable them to perform lessons in which they, both explicitly and implicitly, meet the needs of increasing diversity in classrooms all over Europe.

The target groups that directly benefit directly from the project are student teachers and teacher trainers. Teachers and pupils are second target groups. An expected impact on student teachers involved in the project is that it will not only make them better equipped to meet cultural and social diversity in domestic schools, but also employable on the European labour market. Teacher trainers in the project will be better equipped to train student teachers in the area of managing and make use of cultural and social diversity.

In addition to these outcomes, the EPT project hopes in the long-run, to contribute to ethnic and cultural tolerance and promote sustainable development. This involves a democratic
classroom atmosphere where pupils participate and make a true impact in the classroom. This is the very focus of the project: teachers’ ‘intercultural, interpersonal and civic competences’ decide the extent to which teachers allow pupils to participate and influence classroom dialogue. The core of ‘sustainable development’ is that pupils develop a knowledge-based attitude to ethical questions about interpersonal relationships and the relationship of human beings to nature etc. Accounting for this, people need to participate in democratic processes and make personal decisions; thereby they can contribute to sustainable development.

Target groups that will benefit directly from the project are student teachers and teacher trainers involved in the project. These student teachers/teachers will not only be better equipped to meet ethnic and social diversity in domestic schools, but be employable all over Europe. Teacher trainers will be better equipped to train teacher students on issues of ethnic and social diversity. Finally, the project may inspire new thoughts in theory and in practice.

Underlying theoretical assumptions for the project are that: (1) values guide people’s actions, consciously or subconsciously (Ödman, 1998); (2) values are transmitted from one generation to the other (Durkheim, 1956); (3) schools are able, not merely to transmit knowledge and values over generations, but to transform such knowledge and values; and (4) if teachers and pupils share a common ethnic social background, interaction patterns are, at least initially more favourable to the pupil’s learning process (Heath, 1983). From this fourth assumption it follows, that we believe there are cases where pupils become objects of special needs education, when the ‘problem’ in fact stems from an ethnic or social ‘incompatibility’ between the teacher and the pupil. Additionally, pupils may have difficulties resulting in what could adequately be labelled as ‘special needs’, but still the teacher has to manage this situation in the classroom.

Report II

In the light of these overall goals for the EPT project, the more specific aim of this report, Report II, is to shed light upon knowledge, skills and performance of interpersonal, intercultural and social competences in the classroom. The report is a compilation of conference papers on pedagogical theory and practice presented at the conference Citizenship Education as a Means for Transmitting and Transforming Values and Attitudes. The conference was held in Sintra, Portugal in October, 2007 and revolved around cross-cultural and cross-professional discussions. Report II complements Report I which was published a year ago (Sandström Kjellin & Stier, 2007). Report II will be used as literature in the project pilot course.

This report is divided into six parts. The reminder of Part I deals with the meaning of citizenship and citizenship education. The overall focus of Part II is the question of values in citizenship education. In his paper Howe takes three ideas – ‘archaeology’, ‘genealogy’ and ‘fictioning’ – from the writing of Foucault as point of departure and suggests that values may not be firm and certain. Instead, there are several threads to the formation of a value and there will not be just one essence or unquestionable meaning. Yet, much can be gained by objectifying such concepts so that they have their greatest significance, understanding, usefulness and applicability, since this might move debate in the area of citizenship and citizenship education into a more structured form.

The next paper also deals with values. Andersson says that teachers and teacher students need to reflect more upon their values. Adopting a quantitative design, and using a survey measuring values, the instrument was distributed to more than five hundred respondents. Their answers to sixty questions about values allowed for a slightly original categorization.

1 The conference was held as an action in a Comenius 2.1 project EPT- European Portfolio for Teachers – Interpersonal, Intercultural, Social and Civic Competences for EURO Teachers (129382-CP-1-2006-1-SE-COMENIUS-C21).
Part III turns its attention to values in the classroom. The integration of the teaching of aspects of citizenship and education for sustainable development within curriculum, and subject specialist courses in primary initial teacher training and education programmes at Reading University is discussed in the article by James, Davies, Gregory, Leonard and Parsons.

Based on his personal experience of training science and technology teachers in England and research into the factors that influence creative learning in different European classrooms, the paper written by Davies explores the mismatch between policy-makers’ desire for a high status, high standard, meaningful science and technology education, and the declining interest, poorly achieving reputation that science and technology education holds for many. It also investigates how trust between teachers and learners might be built in order to promote positive values and build a learning culture in school science and technology departments.

Joining the liberal and communitarian tradition on citizenship and stressing ‘agency’, the article written by Gustafsson is a case study and explores teacher-pupil interaction within the framework of the individual programme (a Swedish upper secondary school programme) which has the purpose to help pupils pass the three subjects necessary for entering ordinary upper secondary school programmes. The empirical case study is based on participant observation, focus groups and interviews conducted during one school year.

Part IV deals with the question of values in pre-school. Ärlemalm-Hagsér and Sandberg’s paper explores students’ apprehension about the concept of sustainable development, the pedagogic praxis that the students express in their examination papers, and illustrate knowledge about critical stages in the teaching of the concept of sustainable development in higher education. The empirical data comprise documentation from thirty students who have completed their degree project on sustainable development. These students study half the time and the rest of their time they work within preschools.

From a contemporary historical perspective, the article by Sandberg and Vuorinen analyzes play using qualitative interviews with one hundred and eleven pre-school teachers’. The students’ were majoring in education and the study elicits student teachers’ values and their attitudes of memories from their childhood regarding play and toys. The focal question is: which attitudes and values do the above mentioned participants express regarding children’s contemporary play?

Part V depicts values in practice during the October conference. In his key-note address, Säfström highlights how ‘citizenship education is conceptualized differently in different societies, something which obstructs the possibility to pay respect to ‘The Other’. In her paper Abreu describes how Associação de Professores de Sintra, in Portugal try to provide their students with means to participate within the democratic community; amongst other things by promoting ethical classroom dialogue accounting not only for cognitive but also for emotional skills.

In our own article we, Sandström Kjellin, Stier and Einarson, analyze the contents of the conference presentations and subsequent discussions in the different professional groups – first, within the student teacher group, the teacher group, the teacher educator group and finally the researcher group. After this, comparisons are made between the groups.

In part VI, finally, an attempt is made to draw some overall conclusions and also to discuss the implications of the discussion.
Citizenship and citizenship education:
Introductory remarks
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In school documents and education ideologies, among pedagogues and educational researchers the term citizenship is increasingly common; yet it remains unclear and ambiguous. On the one hand citizenship ties in with a person’s legal status, duties and privileges, as a citizen of a country (Torres, 2006; Roth, 2007). For discussions on citizenship education this notion of citizenship is less relevant. Torres (2006: 539) writes: "... a theory of a ‘good citizen’ should be relatively independent from the formal premises of the legal question of what it is to be a citizen.” Instead, the other notion, describing citizenship as a cultural identity or a set of ‘civic virtues’, is the focal point here. With this view, the specific character of citizenship is comprehensible only in the light of the historical context from which it evolved.

Citizenship was an issue of debate in ancient times (see for instance Sandström Kjellin and Stier, 2008). For the Greeks, citizenship stemmed from biological roots, whereas for the Romans it referred to a judicial state. Common for the Greeks and Romans was however the notion that citizenship served as a means to distinguish their own population from slaves or ‘strangers’.

The Enlightenment in the 1600- and 1700s meant a dramatic break between traditional and modern ideas, and traditional and modern modes of social organization (Jary and Jary, 2000). With these changes followed a notion of human identities as socially constructed. Via processes of socialization, human beings become members of society. As parts of the structures in society, socialization processes precede and exist independently of specific individuals and are largely a ‘civilizing technique’. For the outcomes of such processes, educational institutions play a key role as well as the resources and stratification in society.

More recently, and based on the horrific experiences of World War Two, a new view of citizenship evolved, where the liberal welfare state was seen as the only model for ensuring citizenship in capitalist societies (Marshall, 1950; Torres, 2006). A post-war, seminal contribution to theories on citizenship, was Marshall’s article “Citizenship and Social Class” (1949/1950), which has exerted much influence on contemporary notions of citizenship. Marshall defined citizenship as a person’s status as a full member of a community. With this said, three aspects of citizenship can be singled out: civil rights, political rights and social rights.

Civil citizenship is a precondition for individual freedoms and is institutionalized in courts of law (e.g. freedom of speech, ownership rights, justice rights), whereas political citizenship entitles citizens to participate in political processes in society (e.g. to vote or to be elected for political office). Social citizenship finally, pertains to the right of the individual to possess an adequate standard of living and is characteristically a concern for the educational system. To Marshall (1963: 74) social citizenship means:

To share to the full the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society. The institutions most closely connected with welfare are the educational system and the social services.
In the terminology of the European Union, citizenship is a holistic concept revolving around the aforementioned legal, political and social elements. It also includes “working critically with a foundation of diverse and overlapping values and identities” (Arthur 2002: 74; see also European Commission, 1998: 11-12). With historical roots in the Enlightenment, Marshall’s idea of citizenship can be seen as an aspect of the overall democratization of society (Torres, 2006).

According to Pateman (1996) and Torres (2006), theories of citizenship have been criticized for viewing citizenship as a single identity, anchored in a given territory, culture or history, whereas contemporary theoreticians, especially those referred to as post-modernists, view identities as dynamic, elusive and objects of negotiation in a global world. Drawing upon feminism, post-colonialism and critical race theory, another main criticism is that the traditional theories fail to account for the intricate interconnections between citizenship on the one hand, and social class, gender and ethnicity on the other. For example, they have been accused of presupposing that a ‘citizen’ is an adult, white, middleclass and Western male and hence they have failed to recognize the unequal distribution of wealth in the world, as well as the subordination of women, immigrants and others in society.

From this, it follows that citizenship cannot be seen as a single, relatively well-defined identity but as a multilayered identity to which a number of ‘civic’ competencies are attached and a sense of solidarity springs. Solidarity can be more of a national character (e.g. to live together and thrive as a nation), supranational (e.g. to live together and thrive as Europeans) or global (e.g. to live together and thrive as humans).

**Citizenship education**

In most European countries today there are models for citizenship education. The underlying idea is that, to enable all pupils’ democratic participation in the classroom, teachers must promote ‘responsible citizenship’ via classroom dialogues where each pupil’s comprehension of the world is paid attention to and is equally respected. Yet, as mentioned before, the concept’s meaning is ambiguous; in some countries it merely suggests a judicial relationship between the State and its citizens, in others it refers to peoples’ participation and ‘coexistence’ in society.

Citizenship education refers to educating and training people to become citizens. Different countries have different ideas of how such training should be designed, that in turn probably originates from political, ideological and historical differences. In some countries, it would be problematic to agree with Gutmann’s (1987) claim that children at school should not be taught only to behave in accordance with authorities; but to live up to the ideal of being a democratic citizen. They must also learn to judge them critically. As pointed out by Kymlicka and Norman (1999), this idea means that schools should teach children to be sceptical about their own cultural traditions and political authorities. Educating children to becoming democratic citizens inevitably implies that they will be provided with the intellectual skills that enable them to question their parents’ way of life (Gutmann, 1987); an idea which is not necessarily compatible with political aims in all countries.

With 2004-2005 as the reference year, the extensive Eurydice-study (2005) aimed at mapping and analyzing citizenship education in primary, lower and upper secondary school in 30 countries belonging to the Eurydice network. It explored both teacher practice in citizenship education, and how citizenship education was depicted in official curricula. In *Eurydice*, a *citizen* is defined as ‘a person coexisting in society’, whereas *responsible citizenship* pertains to an awareness and knowledge of rights and obligations; as such it is intimately connected to what is commonly referred to as civic values: such as democracy; human rights; equality; participation; partnership; social cohesion; solidarity; tolerance of diversity and equity.

Albeit references to citizenship are found in school documents all over Europe, there are transnational differences in the meaning of responsible citizenship and how it materializes in class-
room practice. Few suggestions as to how to enact citizenship in teacher-pupil relationships are
given. Three aspects of citizenship education are commonly singled out (ibid.): (1) political literacy;
(2) development of critical thinking and certain attitudes and values and (3) active participation.

Political literacy includes a notion of human rights and political and civic institutions. Citizenship
education with this focus aims at providing the pupils with theoretical knowledge of the
rights and responsibilities of a citizen. An example would be, when school rules are taught to
children. Another would be when they are instructed of their constitutional and political rights and
responsibilities. Development of critical thinking and certain attitudes and values entails:

acquiring the skills needed to participate actively in public life, develop recognition of and
respect for oneself and others with a view to achieving mutual understanding, acquiring
social and moral responsibility, including self-confidence, and learning to behave respons-
ably to others (ibid: 10).

Education focusing this aspect of citizenship education postulates horizontal teacher-pupil
communication, i.e. where the teachers listen to their pupils and take a sincere interest in their
comprehension of the world. For instance, when a poem is discussed in class and the teacher
provides the ‘correct’ interpretation of the text, communication is not horizontal. If on the other
hand, he or she is genuinely interested in the pupils’ interpretation and gives it equal status as his
or her own, this suggests a horizontal communication in the classroom.

Citizenship education focusing active participation is about facilitating and encouraging
personal community involvement amongst pupils at different levels. One example is when teachers
encourage pupils to participate in the school council. According to Eurydice (2005: 23) the three
aspects of citizenship education described here are ‘interdependent and correspond to a conti-
nuous logical sequence’, hence are seen as hierarchical. The first step is to teach pupils political
literacy, the second to achieve the development of critical thinking, and the third to teach and
accomplish active participation. Partly in opposition to Eurydice (2005), we maintain that the
second aspect – the development of critical thinking – must be the primary target of citizenship
education. If pupils do not master such skills, they will lack the necessary tools for exercising
citizenship. This also explains why we connect the development of critical thinking with the key
competence that is said to embody “interpersonal, intercultural and social competences and civic
competence” (Commission of the European Communities, 2005:13). This competence is defined
as to “cover all forms of behaviour that equip individuals to participate in an effective and
constructive way in social and working life, and particularly in increasingly diverse societies, and
to resolve conflict where necessary” (Commission of the European Communities, 2005:17). Such
a key competence is another way of describing critical thinking.

Drawing upon the aims and contents of citizenship education, Eurydice (2005) concludes
that in primary schools in all countries the focus is “on the skills required to develop respect in
relations with other children and adults” […]. “Children are also taught how to act or react” (p.
22). Nothing is said however, about how pupils should obtain such skills and how teacher-pupil
interactions ideally should be designed to facilitate such skills. It is concluded that it is relatively
easy to measure pupils’ theoretical knowledge of citizenship, whereas their values and attitudes
are more difficult to measure. Consequently, in order to get an insight into the teaching methods,
assessment methods and learning outcomes of citizenship education, more research is needed.

Furthermore, teacher-training programs must balance contradictory educational goals and
be up-to-par with the world in which their students will work. This is a focal concern for teacher
training worldwide, not only from the student’s standpoint and reflections on their future
profession, but from the perspective official guiding documents and society as such.
References


Part II

Descriptions of values
Having recently looked at the writing of Michel Foucault in one specific discipline area, “Foucault: three central ideas related to the enrichment of design and design education” (unpublished), it occurred to me that these three same ideas might have wider applications within an educational context. In particular these ideas might provide an alternative way of considering values in citizenship.

Therefore I now wish to turn my attention to a limited selection of the writing of Michel Foucault. Here I shall simply concentrate on just three of the ideas of this French philosopher. In his various texts he has made reference to ideas that I feel can be transferred into the area of values in citizenship to good effect. He has presented ideas that can lead and encourage all of us to look at our own specific area from a slightly different angle and extend our thought to encompass fresh ways of talking about what it is that we engage with.

Initially and most particularly in “The Archaeology of Knowledge” (Foucault, 1972), Foucault uses the term *archaeology* as a suggestion for a useful framework for conducting inquiry into, most centrally, the writing of history. Then in an essay entitled “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History.” (Rabinow, 1984), he provides insight into his own understanding of the term *genealogy*. Finally in a further essay titled “The History of Sexuality.” (Foucault, 1980), he uses the term *fictioning* to describe certain important aspects of his form of writing about history. Hence this has now elicited three concepts that we might apply to the general area of values in citizenship, these being *archaeology, genealogy* and *fiction* or *fictioning*.

I am going to suggest in this paper that values in citizenship, as an area, can be spoken of in these Foucaultian terms to good effect. Firstly I would contend that when Foucault directs his thoughts towards what he terms *archaeology* he is in fact focusing on matters concerning method. He himself refers to this and is quoted in Rabinow’s text in “The Foucault Reader” (Rabinow, 1984: 46). In values in citizenship terms, I shall say that this method is like the underlying structure, or the organization, of the acquisition, establishment, verification and integration of values in the individuals’ identity. I would further contend that the totality of the arena of values in the individual and in society is almost wholly a matter of this form of organization. It is the organization of thought, events, beliefs, personal truths, rightness and wrongness, fairness, equality and all other relevant attitudes, thought and consideration directed to the desired end of the values quest and ideal. This organization is concerned with the fundamental form of all the components that are in and of value recognition and which keep all the parts in a fairly constant, balanced and stable relationship. Foucault’s method, his archaeology within his writing is like and runs parallel with the organization and structure of thought and activity in the values in citizenship area.
Archaeology

A considerable body of the organization that can be seen in Foucault’s work is connected to his emphasis on what he has termed elements within his archaeology. He elicits information for his writings on history from these elements. There are in essence three of these in his method of enquiry. Firstly he takes from documents, which he sometimes refers to as monuments. This latter term he has taken from one of his friends and mentors who himself was an eminent scholar, namely Canguilhem. Foucault goes on to obtain further detail from what he terms as discursive formations. These discursive formations are statements centred on what other people have said and they represent their ‘truths’ of situations and events. Then in turn, these formations are governed by what he terms rules and these rules really provide some provenance for the information he has gathered. The rules permit Foucault to break the content down into manageable quantities of material to be organized as he wishes so that the structure of his work might develop. At this stage too he considers things like objects mentioned, concepts used or referred to and themes that emerge and distil during the inquiry. He also goes down to finer detail with these verbal offerings in that he makes a form of categorization based on what he terms enunciative modality. This is concerned with the status of what has been said and the authority of the comments.

Of interest to me at this point, as an educator trying to make sense of and transmitting to others the apparent reality of the human condition, is the matter of Foucault’s understanding of his own archaeology. He claimed that it is more to do with ‘savoir’ than ‘connaissance’. To this end he said that. “Knowledge (savoir) is to be found not only in [scientific] demonstration it can also be found in fiction, reflection, narrative accounts, institutional regulations and political decisions” (Foucault, 1972: 183-184).

To Foucault it would appear that the knowing of something was at least as important as, if not more so than the deeper understanding of the matter. It further suggests that Foucault was not only eclectic in his material collecting, but also open to the consideration of an entire host of apparently loosely related matter contributing to the greater and more homogenous whole.

Related to Foucault’s archaeology is his view of continuity and discontinuity. He contends that history is made up of series of “…dispersed events – decisions accidents, initiatives, discoveries…” (Foucault, 1972: 8) and further he says that it has to be rearranged to show the actual continuity of events. This too falls in line with the thoughts of Bachelard for he added to this area by saying that “Scientific progress always reveals a break (rupture), constant breaks between ordinary (commune) knowledge and scientific knowledge” (Bachelard, 1953: 207). This non-continuity and non-linearity is important to note in this work for it has significance to later comment in the area of values in citizenship.

Genealogy

If Foucault’s archaeology is to be related to or compared with organisation then it might be profitable to look in like fashion at what he refers to as his genealogy. Here again I shall refer to an original Foucault text. In an essay entitled ‘What is Enlightenment?’ (Rabinow, 1984) Foucault refers to genealogy as being what he understands by design in his research of history and it’s passing through time. This allusion to the passing of time is wholly related to his own writing for he is constantly talking within an historical context. He talks also about looking back to the beginnings of situations to better understand them in their present form. He did also say in “Nietzsche, Genealogy, and History” that in earlier writings Nietzsche too had expressed misgivings about a single-minded looking back in an attempt to find essences or single origins of things. He went on to say, there is “something altogether different” behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (Rabinow, 1984: 78).
He then went further to add that his genealogy, “…opposes itself to the search for origins” (ibid.: 77). Genealogy therefore is about the trace of the movement of what has happened. Foucault was concerned with the process of movement and the change through time and how and where it began. This is also sympathetic with some of the writing of Heidegger (Heidegger, 1977). He, in his search for the ‘essence’ of technology, claimed that perhaps when attempting to get to the very heart and meaning of something we are simply engaging in a process of revealing, disclosing, uncovering and bringing out of concealment and by all this inquiry we might arrive at some form of significant and meaningful truth. Foucault, like Heidegger, felt strongly that this did not of necessity mean that one might look back and find one single meaning or origin but would more likely find a series of factors and conditions that began an assortment of lines of thought. This too runs in line with Foucault’s own thinking on discontinuities and non-continuity as commented upon in a previous paragraph concerning archaeology. He was content to accept that beginnings of situations and circumstances merely denote a commencement, rather than being a singular, specific origin. Beginnings then might best be regarded as highly complex. This notion of beginnings, starting points and moving development has relevance in value development. These ideas of change and development in Foucault’s genealogy run as almost parallel with much of the value change process.

So if values in citizenship are concerned with organisation, as in archaeology, and with ideas of change as similar to genealogy, it would seem there is much in common between values considerations and these thoughts of Foucault. Also, the change within genealogy is concerned with the understanding and appreciation of the present. This is like a new consideration of a value as the present usage of the value. All the movement from one existing state of affairs to a changed and new state of affairs gives Foucault ‘the present truth’ and it gives value consideration its newly established, usable and internalised value.

These two central and closely related elements from Foucault form the basis of my present reasoning for extending the expressive range of dialogue within the values in the citizenship arena. Considering my notion of organization and the related change brought about through the variety of forms of organization, allows latitude to enrich the means of discussing our own discipline or subject area.

**Fictioning**

What then of this third element that is the overall notion of Foucault’s “fiction or fictioning”? In “The History of Sexuality” (Foucault, 1980) Foucault says “As to the problem of fiction, it seems to me to be a very important one; I am well aware that I have never written anything but fictions” (p. 193). He acknowledges in this way that the idea of “fictioning” is a device that allows him to comment in a “truthful” and accurate manner on matters related to history. He also appears to acknowledge that it is a potent and comprehensive device for providing a framework for his “factual” comments. He proceeds from this point to explain further what this means. He points out that he considers that fiction is able to function in truth. He further points out that fictional discourse appears to be capable of manufacturing something that up to this point does not exist. In effect the discourse is “fictioned” into a truth. In conceptual and material terms this is precisely what a value practitioner does with the properties he is engaged with.

**Values in citizenship**

So far as archaeology is concerned it would appear safe to say that the organization of thinking in the area of values in citizenship considers like ideas. A person involved in thinking, refining and transmitting ideas involving values in society takes from past literature, events, records and
'documents'. At the commencement of a program encompassing value change or value education, it is considered necessary to review past attempts at things similar to the new and impending task. Much energy is expended on compiling notes, researching examples and perhaps collating dossiers. Often, practical knowledge of potential thought, methods and ways forward in the development of the new venture are considered. All these aspects are varied. They may well range from either previous ideas as conceptual entities, or to collecting written and verbal records and recollections, then on to actual or simulated testing, questioning, refining and revision of the potential applicability of the value under consideration. These perusals of the past and their attempts to deal with like considerations form the new direction, create the stepping-stones to proceed with the new project. This like Foucault is the consideration of the past in the present, for the movement to the future. All that is collected provides starting points, directions, markers and momentum to the ordering of all the resources for the project to progress eventually to a successful and homogenous whole. The notion of Foucault’s past documents providing insights to a present reality is wholly replicated in the area of values in citizenship.

Likewise, discursive formations are echoed in the verbal comments collected, ordered and considered by value thinkers from relevant contributors. Considerations of critical and analytical comment from other involved participants and often those with informed interest are taken into the reckoning. Matters down to likes, dislikes and preferences can all go into the debate to inform the team of direction and focus on the new work. All this is also being coupled with the more severe and stark practical and realistic generation and establishment of a new value system for acceptance by a selected group, or even the public at large.

If Foucault’s collected comments from verbal sources required validation through his use of rules and enunciative modality then the same applies to comments on values. All that is said regarding the values context and environment must be set against the time and circumstances of when the past value under discussion was operable. It is this critical and considered focusing on the validity of what has been said that provides the provenance of the overall idea to be expressed within the new, as yet unrealized value system item. This aspect of consideration of the gathered comments is what allows the value practitioner to make his or her final choice and selection of what is to be done. This too is the time when all the separate parts and strands can be organized into workable and manageable units for development and realization. Likewise it is a time when time management for the future of the project can be built into the program.

The fact that ‘savoir’ had greater significance than ‘connaissance’ to Foucault for his purposes of assembling and ordering material as the construction of a form of truth is of importance. For this also has focussed relevance in the values thinking and consideration area. Those who think seriously about values and their ramifications generally adopt an attitude like Foucault at the earliest stages of the thinking process. A wide, - as wide as possible - selection of relevant data are considered. This eclecticism and consideration leads to a rich and varied selection to make a more critical final choice from. As values generation continuums advance, so more informed understanding rather than tacit knowledge becomes operationally useful. Whilst many value practitioners would be happy to operate more on a Foucaultian level it could be suggested that this view of knowledge and understanding might best be seen at an as needs’ consideration in this area.

Regarding continuity and discontinuity there is a two-fold interest. Firstly, Bachelard made his comments in the 1950’s whilst Foucault reiterated virtually the same in the 1970’s. Both thinkers appear to have shared the common belief that events and occurrences were often quite random phenomena. A sequence of events is hardly ever smooth and seamless. Small interferences disrupt the flow and considerations of these disturbances and need to be taken into account. The flow of information and events passing to value practitioners is contained and controlled by these very same factors too. These practitioners have to make their own responses positively to constantly changing circumstances in the ways that both the earlier mentioned thinkers and writers did.
Secondly, but now having to be taken into account, is subsequent research and comment in a closely related area. Chaos theory and broader notions of non-linearity are now with us. Terms like sensitive dependence on initial conditions, butterfly effects, perturbations, complexity and fractality all have significance now and have to be taken into account. Though some of the earliest writing in this field was potentially available to Foucault it is likely it would not fall in his compass of reading. I state this bearing in mind that the probable seminal paper in this field was the paper of a meteorologist at MIT, Edward Lorenz (Lorenz, 1963). However, the fact that this fresh wealth of information is now readily available and accessible, means that it is another verification of what Foucault was saying within his own frame of reference. It probably should be taken into account by those who consider values, their application and their usefulness.

Extending this idea even further; the writings of someone like Charles Jencks (Jencks, 1997a; Jencks, 1997b) reveals that most of what we deal with in our lives is not necessarily quite so calm and predictable as we had previously thought. Consideration of values rests clearly in this newly revealed situation. It is something that has been taken into account to a large extent by many professional people. Jencks himself has generated much creative work falling within this new framework and paradigm. Many others like him are currently working at the ‘leading edge’ and have accommodated this different way of looking at underlying factors and have taken comfortably to the broad but complex area of non-linearity.

Foucault’s archaeology has much to offer as a range of parallel and alternative explanatory devices for the area of values and value judgements. By the same token, his genealogy can also lead to interesting insights into different ways of looking at and seeing thought frameworks, methods and processes in this field of activity. It is of interest to note that Foucault felt that there was perhaps no single point of origin for events and circumstances. Value practitioners may well have sympathy with this point of view. They would appear to accept that the commencement of any new value career is a fortunate and rich opportunity to investigate a multitude of ideas and previous examples to form some kind of synthesis in the realisation of a new view on a value. They know that their richness arises from their ability to be eclectic and then sift out the sound from unsound, and the good from not so good. Their conclusions often tend to be compromises, but compromises based on best previous examples and practice. They are in the privileged position to be able to reject all that has been found to be weak in past value considerations and only incorporate or ‘invent’ that that will be superior.

Coupled with this and wholly intertwined with it is the notion of generating something new from observations and considerations of what has gone before. Change and development are germane to value thought; it is its ‘raison d’être’. As Foucault’s change accepted past events and interpreted them for the present, so too does value change thinking do this. Foucault also had concern for this understanding and truth he had perceived and elicited from his research to have significance in the present and be an appropriate offering for the future. Value thinking does exactly this in the production of new values for the future. Value thinkers and practitioners can talk in these Foucaultian terms of their own endeavours and talk of the placement of their new values and their use in a like way with the same authority.

Values in citizenship have much in common with ‘fictioning’ as Foucault talks of it. If ‘fictioning’ will do as he says, that is it has the potential to lead to a form of truth then value generation uses like considerations. Practitioners in the values area constantly talk of and discuss the significance of the value to be objectified. Their projects in their embryonic stages have no truth, often they are just shared ideas and concepts but with no initial physical substance. All talk of them in these terms is as Foucault would say are ‘fictions’. The talk in values continues in fiction until something tangible comes into being. This in turn is as some form of truth emerging from all the previous fictioning. It is as Foucault suggested, the discourse is fictioned into a truth. So now all the intention and realisation of ideas is turned into the new value understanding. From its earliest stages it is not a reality merely a shared idea. Many in the circle dealing with the idea have a shared understanding of what is to happen and what will become, but at the earliest stages
it is almost as nothing. Eventually as the work goes on so too the new value meaning begins to
appear, it becomes tangible and has its own presence. It is this continuous process of Foucault’s
‘fictioning’ that becomes the value and its applicability that becomes the new reality and truth.

**Discussion**

Now hopefully this paper has provided some insight into how the thinking and the writing on
specific matters by Michel Foucault might lead to a changed way of talking within groups of
value-oriented thinkers. I would further suggest that it might profitably become a more frequent
frame of reference for any interested body of people involved in the area of values in citizenship
education when they talk to those entering into the arena.

I am in no way suggesting that what has been said is new in the sense that it will cause any
change in the broad values in citizenship area or cause changes in values development practice.
However I do suggest that here is a potentially fresh way of talking about and discussing values
communication and development. Here are different ideas for explaining and describing value
considerations and using analogous examples from an unrelated field of research. Here is
probably an extended, an alternative and richer way of talking about values; a way with its own
intellectual standing capable of substantiating that of the value practitioner. Here is a way of
incorporating the benefits of thinking from another field of inquiry to reinforce what is being
said in the necessarily restricted field of values alone. Here is a new way for value thinkers to talk
to their co-thinkers and amongst themselves and at the same time give additional substantiation
to their already rich body of practice. In this way I would suggest that there might be a richer
lexicon and syntax for the value practitioners to verbalise their thought and practice. I would like
to think that more people in society in general could enter the discussion and debate about value
issues with a multi-disciplined language. Then along with this multi-disciplined language there
might also develop a greater appreciation and understanding of what thinking about and seriously
considering values contributes to our society and to our individual lives in general. Here perhaps
is one small step in the direction of what I feel is part of the necessary reconceptualisation of the
wider area of value thought and value education. If this different way of discussing the area were
adopted, I suspect that it may well encourage people from outside the area to engage
meaningfully in values in citizenship’s internal debates. This could only be enriching and profit-
able for values thinking as a whole.

**References**

Bachelard, G. (1953) *Le Materialisme rationnel* (1st ed.). PUF.
pp130-148.
In Sweden, it is widely known that the role of the family has changed and also the school in its task of upbringing citizens. The aim to bring up citizens is also controversial because it cannot always be seen as positive to transform young people’s attitudes and opinions to conform with the adults’ opinions instead of paying respect to what is best for the children. The important task for the adults is to encourage children to in their social progress (Frimannsson, 2004).

The Swedish curricula from 1994 and 1998 have key notions like freedom for the individual, integrity, equality and a thesis saying all people have the same value (Andersson, 2000). In these curricula, the value notion is interesting and acquainted with school work in questions about base values. Changing the role of the citizen will more and more be a role for the school; therefore it is important that students in teacher programs and teachers become more conscious of their own values. Then, what is a value? How can we understand values?

**Definition of notions (value)**

The notion value can mean a lot of things in peoples’ minds. As a definition, you can see it from a perspective with a focus on value and near related notions such as judgement of value, estimation and solidarity of value. Then, what is value? One suggestion of how to answer the question is to distinguish between a value and norm. Lundahl and Öquist (2002) say that a norm prescribes what is right or wrong, but a value means something something to strive for (p. 69). The word value is defined in Nationalencyklopedin [NE] (2005) as something that is or has a value and thereby ascribes a positive value. Phenomena will be ascribed to different values and take place framed by judgements of value. NE describes a judgement of value as a judgement which touches on something’s value and many people don’t appear to see them as either true or false.

Allen (1993) says that the notion value can be seen in different dimensions: good; neutral; bad. If one person says to another: “that man over there is a good man”, the person probably will transmit his own values to the listener. The speaker says nothing about in what way the man will be good. The word good is something that most of us see as a positive value. The author will also put the notion value in different value categories besides dimensions. These value categories are derived from ontology and say “how anything is”. Allen distinguishes between innermost and instrumental values where the first is about the ‘essence’ in the human being and the second is the utility.
If we summarize how people can think about values and associated notions, it is about how a single person assumes his own form of opinion about what reality is. That is what decides the individual view of what is, or has a value. An interesting point is that one person has her/his own opinion about value, but can change her/his points of view about value depending on different solidarities they hold with other people. Considering Allen’s (1993) and Rescher’s (1969) perspectives, they separate notions of value into dimensions, types and categories. Value dimensions have their focus on: ‘to what extent’ while the value categories are divided into ‘different classifications’ and the value types can be seen from their character. It is like a metaphor of a three dimensional pyramid where i.e. Allen’s value dimensions are put at the top of the pyramid and the value categories on the long sides, and then Rescher’s value types are at the bottom. However, there is no hierarchy in this, so they could change places in the pyramid.

**Method**

The study utilizes a quantitative method with a questionnaire survey and involved 513 individuals divided into 314 (61%) women and 199 (39%) men. From these 513 persons, 134 are teachers at the gymnasium, 191 students are enrolled in teacher programmes at the university and 188 students are from grades 1-3 at the gymnasium. The questionnaire is formulated using a Likert scale with nine answers with alternatives from -1 to 7. The form is divided into two sections. The first section has 1-31 questions about different kinds of values. In this section the respondents choose values that they think are the most extreme (7) value. Then the respondents grade values which are most opposite to their own value (-1). The second section has a division of 32-60 questions with different kinds of values using the same Likert scale and answer alternatives as above. Here the respondents grade the values as a leading principle in their life and the most opposite against it. Consequently, in the questionnaire, there are 60 different kinds of values. The respondents can choose how many values they want from the 60, and put them anywhere on the Likert scale with the different answer alternative. The data has been entered and worked using SPSS, a statistical data processing program (Norusis, 1998).

**Results**

The respondents total 513 and are divided into 188 pupils, 191 students on teacher training programmes and 134 teachers as you can see in table 1. Table 1: 513 respondents are divided into gender, age and employment.

All 513 respondents have answered *family security* as the most extremely important value (7) and *freedom* as the most important value (6) in questions 1-31. When women were counted as one group they all answered the same, but when men were counted as one group they graded *a world at peace* as the most extremely important value and *inner harmony* as a very important value. When distinguishing between age groups (24-29 years, 30-36 years, 37-44 years and 45 and above) all graded *family security* as the most extremely important value. The youngest 15-16 years graded *true friendship* and 17-19 year and 20-23 year groups graded *a world at peace* as most important. For the group 45 years and above, *a world at peace* was also graded as the most extremely important value. *Freedom* was the most important value (6) for all the groups together and for women 24-29 years.

*Inner harmony*, *self-respect*, *true friendship*, *family security*, *freedom*, *a world at peace*, *private life* and *participation* are other values that different groups have chosen as most important value.
Every respondent has been able to answer 60 questions about values. Everyone could choose to answer all or only a few questions. The percentage in table 2 and table 3 show the respondents’ answers in each question. E.g. In table 2 there are 39.9% of all participants who have answered family security as the most extremely important (7) value but there are 47.6% of them who got the choice freedom as much important (6).

When grading questions 1-31 ‘against my own values’ (-1), all respondents chose social control (dominate) and that was also chosen as ‘not important value’ (0). When distinguishing ‘against my own values’, social control (dominate) was chosen by all groups as ‘not important’ except for the group 20-23 year group; they chose authority instead (table 2).

In questions 32-60 (see table 3), all respondents graded be healthy as most extremely important (7) and afterwards came loyalty as the most important (6). Amongst men, 15-16 year olds and 17-19 year olds chose bon vivant as most extremely important. Most important value for the women was honesty and that was the same within three age groups. The group 45 and over graded responsibility as a most important value. When grading ‘against my own values’ (-1), all groups chose the value believing. Many groups graded accept your lot in life and 24-29 year olds graded keeping a poker face as ‘against my own values’. Believing was chosen as ‘not important value’ (6), but also influential and keeping a poker face.

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Table 1: 513 respondents divided into gender, age and employment.  
Table 2: 513 respondents’ answers in questions. No 1-31 divided into age groups and gender.
Table 3: 513 respondents’ answers in questions No 32-60 divided into age groups and gender.

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<td>Social Control (dominate)</td>
<td>81,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-36 age group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family security</td>
<td>53,7</td>
<td>53,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A world at peace</td>
<td>54,0</td>
<td>54,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Control (dominate)</td>
<td>73,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-44 age group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family security</td>
<td>63,0</td>
<td>63,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private life + Participation</td>
<td>50,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each</td>
<td>50,0</td>
<td>50,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Control (dominate)</td>
<td>74,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 year and more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family security + A world at peace</td>
<td>41,8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each</td>
<td>41,8</td>
<td>41,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner harmony</td>
<td>65,8</td>
<td>65,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Control (dominate)</td>
<td>76,2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 4**: 513 respondents’ answers in questions No 32-60 divided into age groups and gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions No 32-60</th>
<th>Values from 513 respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most extremely important (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESPONDENTS VALUE</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All participants</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Bon vivant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16 age group</td>
<td>Bon vivant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-19 age group</td>
<td>Bon vivant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-23 age group</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-29 age group</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-36 age group</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-44 age group</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 year and more</td>
<td>Be healthy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Discussion**

The understanding of a value notion may have been interpreted differently by the respondents, even though there are definitions within parentheses after every value. So, the question is: have the respondents interpreted the definition in the same way as they used their own definition? For example, to be healthy (not being ill physical or mentally) is by many value theoreticians not a notion of value because you have not got the choice to be healthy! But today, your body is in focus so maybe in some ways you can affect your body to become healthy? The reliability of the notions is high due to the fact that there are explanations within parenthesis. If there are others notions of values that are more relevant in the questionnaire, is a question of interest.

The study is about our own values; it may be difficult for a person to answer the question: what kind of values do I have? Maybe each person will discuss her own values with herself and also ask why she/he has this value? The results shows that all 513 respondents have graded family security as the most extremely important (7) value in question alternatives 1-31. Both groups, students and teachers, have the same answers, but pupils have chosen a world at peace. In question alternatives 32-60, all groups have graded be healthy equally, which is the same answer with both group’s students and teachers. Pupils have graded bon vivant. When people grow up, get married and settle down, probably your own family is in focus, but when you are younger, the focus will be on friends and having fun in life.
The choice of value most differing from their own (-1) for all respondents, is social control (dominate) and the same answer is given when the material is divided into the groups: students and teachers. Pupils have graded the value a spiritual life in question alternatives 1-31. In question alternatives 32-60, respondents have graded believing (-1) and that is the same for nearly all groups, but the students also have accept your lot in life and keeping poker face in that place. In Sweden, most people say “I don’t believe or I am not religious”, or something like that. Maybe this is what has been represented in the answers?

There are some differences in the answers between the sexes. In questions 1-31, the choice of 7 and 6, the men have answered a world at peace and inner harmony. Women have chosen family security and freedom. In questions 32-60 the men have chosen bon vivant and the women have answered be healthy. The women are in majority in this material and maybe the answers from all participants would have been different if the genders had been fifty-fifty. You can also discuss the aim be healthy. You can think in terms of being well, but also that you should take care of your body. There is a lot to reflect about what womens’ ideals of today are. Some young women hate their bodies so they become diagnosed with illnesses like anorexia, bulimia and also ‘self-harm’ their own bodies.

In the age groups 15-16 and 17-19 years, the answers from questions 31-60 are bon vivant the most extremely important value. All the other groups have the answer be healthy at that place. When you are a teacher and have a group of younger people in your classroom, you must realize that these groups’ values are based on their own group and the concern they show for that group. You must as an adult person, try to understand them and their values; reflect on them and also understand that here are differences between generations.

As a short conclusion, it is possible to say that there are about 15 different notions of values that the respondents have gathered around. If the material is divided up into more different variables, there will be about 10 more notions of values. You can always discuss what each respondent interprets in each value, but the aim of the study is to create an instrument for reflection of the respondent’s values. The respondent who reflects can be a teacher, a student on a teacher-training program, or maybe it can be you or your colleague. Everyone has to reflect upon their own values! My opinion is that it is very important to reflect upon your own values and in particular when you work with children, because teachers and students in teacher-training programs, who will be teachers in the future, have a great influence upon our children. If people often discuss values and also do it with the pupils, I see a possibility to change attitudes and values and maybe it will be a better world for all of us to live in.

Further research on this subject could contain discussions after having obtained examples of more concrete descriptions of the notions of values. That can be done in focus groups, or through interviews. It would also be interesting to develop the study to be longitudinal e.g. asking the respondents after a while to see if they have changed values over time.

References


Part III

Values in Classroom
Global Citizenship for Primary Teacher Education and Training in England and Wales

Les James, Judith Davies, Audrey Gregory, Heather Leonard, Martin Parsons,
Reading University, United Kingdom

Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship were first formally introduced in September 2000 into the (revised) National Curriculum for Primary Schools in England within a non-statutory framework thereby providing a “balanced and broadly based curriculum” for all maintained schools (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) 2002) (It should be noted that for Secondary schools in England, citizenship became a separate national curriculum foundation subject in 2002).

The National Curriculum Handbook for primary teachers states that Citizenship aims to “give pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding they need to lead confident, healthy, independent lives and to become informed, active responsible citizens” (QCA, 1999: 457).

In addition, the opening definition in the Teacher’s Guide for Citizenship in primary schools declares “Citizenship helps children to develop as members of school, local, regional, national and global communities. It is concerned with issues of right and wrong, rights and responsibilities, fairness, rules and laws, power and authority, equality and difference, communities and identities, democracy, conflict and cooperation” (QCA, 2000b: 3). The statement goes on to note that “as children grow and develop, citizenship helps them to think and talk about issues relating to these concepts as they encounter them in their own lives and in the lives of others, and as depicted in the media and in literature”.

According to the Oxfam (1997: 2) publication, Global Citizenship involves: (1) an awareness of the wider world and a global citizen has a sense of their own role; (2) respecting and valuing diversity; (3) understanding how the world works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally; (4) participating in and contributing to the community at a range of levels from the local to the global; (5) willingness to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place, and (6) taking responsibility for their actions.

Prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales in 1989, most maintained primary schools’ curricula were less well defined and cross-curricular ‘topic’ work dominated what are now known as foundation subjects, that is: art; geography; history; music; physical education; religious education (a non-statutory subject); science (now a “core” subject) and technology. Indeed, the majority of topic work covered most of the above subjects with the possible exception of music and physical education but naturally incorporated elements of the Primary National Strategy core subjects of literacy and numeracy, as appropriate. However, it became clear from a number of Her Majesty’s Inspectorate (HMI) reports issued at the time (for example, Department of Education and Science, 1986), based upon their inspection of cross-curricular work, that there was increasing concern at the limited level of subject knowledge and understanding of many primary school teachers. Arguably this expressed concern contributed to the eventual introduction of the National Curriculum, a unique event in English education.

For the next 15 years, ‘individual subject’ knowledge and understanding dominated the delivery of the National Curriculum, with particular emphasis upon the National Strategies for literacy and numeracy together with science and information and communication technology.
ICT. However, the pressure upon primary schools to satisfy the increasing Government demands to meet the Standardised Attainment Tests (SATS) requirements in literacy, numeracy and science at ages seven and eleven at local, regional and national levels and with the results subsequently published in local league tables created difficult choices for the school curriculum. Thus many primary schools decided to reduce the time devoted to foundation subjects in order to achieve acceptable results in the core subjects, but they still needed to meet the Government requirement for a “balanced and broadly based curriculum” (National Curriculum for England and Wales (revised) QCA, 2000: 46).

In addition, further demands were placed upon the Primary National Curriculum culminating in the demand for non-statutory coverage of PSHE and citizenship. Gradually, primary schools began to conclude that the requirement for a balanced and broadly based curriculum meant a move towards a cross-curricular approach to coverage of many of the Foundation subjects. Current emphasis on concepts developed in “Every Child Matters” (DfES, 2004) will undoubtedly accentuate the movement towards topic (cross-curricular) work in primary schools. These concepts are: be healthy; stay safe; enjoy and achieve; make a positive contribution, and, achieve economic well being.

**Contributions to citizenship education at the Institute of Education, the University of Reading**

At The University of Reading, three different initial teacher training and education (ITTE) programmes, (undergraduate (BA Ed), postgraduate (Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and the school-based graduate teacher programme (GTP) for primary education students operate at the Institute of Education. These programmes incorporate aspects of cross-curricular work within their coursework. For example, a humanities course covering geography, history and religious education and aspects of citizenship has been designed for all three ITTE primary programmes (see below), a cross-curricular project is compulsory for all PGCE students, while elements of PSHE and global citizenship are considered in a range of subjects, for example art and science as well as in professional studies (again, see below).

**Humanities**

Humanities (a cross-curricular course based on elements of geography, history and religious education) also incorporates aspects of global citizenship. Students are aware of the range of contributions by subject and professional studies colleagues to PSHE and citizenship curricula courses which are coordinated across the ITTE curriculum. While “global citizenship education provides ITTE students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to understand their rights and responsibilities as global citizens” (Walkington, 1999: 2), she goes on to state that “geography has great potential for developing global citizenship through its strong focus on the study of places” (p.11). This is emphasised within the current National Curriculum for geography whereby primary school pupils study a contrasting locality and gain an appreciation of the similarities and differences between places (Mackintosh & Owens, 2007).

In addition, one edition of ‘Primary Geographer’, published for practising teachers by the Geographical Association, was totally devoted to citizenship and the new National Curriculum of 1999, (Primary Geographer, 2000). A series of articles demonstrating how citizenship could be taught by geography teachers in primary schools was included. In 1998, Machon presented a case for geography taking responsibility for citizenship education in which he outlined the specific skills and concepts associated with geography teaching and urges teachers to consider their roles in the promotion of courses that contribute to “good citizenship” (Machon, 1998).
There are many similarities between the educational goals of geography and global citizenship education in terms of: approach; concepts; skills and values as emphasised by Walkington, (1999: 13). The National Curriculum Council’s objectives in education for citizenship: curriculum Guidance 8 (NCC, 1990) stressed similarities and differences between peoples, i.e. diversity and interdependence as well as noting the significance of opinion and bias together with positive attitudes and respect for different cultures. Walkington’s research further revealed the importance of an active experiential learning approach, questioning stereotypical ideas and encouraging more critical thinking – all methods regularly used in the teaching of human geography. Similarly, the use of a range of photographs and statistics are also used in the contribution of history to humanities and global citizenship education. Essentially, it is an enquiry-based approach that is common to the teaching of humanities and global citizenship encouraging a consideration of issues and possible solutions.

The teacher’s guide for citizenship for England and Wales published in 2000 (QCA/DfEE, 2000b) produced schemes of work for primary school pupils. It stressed the importance of “preparing pupils to play an active role as citizens” (p.15) as one of the elements of citizenship education and then illustrated the significance of content delivery towards citizenship via National Curriculum subjects including religious education. Thus within humanities, geography could involve aspects of sustainable development, whilst history is concerned with the social, cultural, religious and ethnic diversity of societies. Skills such as that of enquiry and communication are common to all humanities work and by the end of key stage 2 (Year 6, 11-year olds) some pupils are beginning to evaluate evidence and use their findings to argue for a view point.

Pupils look at history in a variety of ways, for example, from political, economic, technological and scientific, social, religious, cultural or aesthetic perspectives. They learn: how the past influences the present; what earlier societies were like; and about the ideas, beliefs, attitudes and experiences of people in the past. They begin to see the diversity of human experiences and understand more about themselves as individuals and members of society. What they learn can influence their personal choice, attitudes and values. Similarly, in geography, pupils develop skills of enquiry and communication and begin to appreciate the diversity of cultures and identities in the United Kingdom and wider world. Geography also provides opportunities for pupils to learn about resource allocation and that these economic choices affect individuals, communities and the sustainability of the environment.

Finally, in religious education, pupils may reflect upon spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, using their imagination to understand other people's experiences. It provides a valuable context for pupils to learn about and appreciate the range of national, religious and ethnic identities in the UK (QCA/DfES, 2000b). This legally required, multi-faith approach in maintained schools in England and Wales encourages pupils to meet and engage within all ethnic minority groups rather than merely using their imagination, with the ultimate aim of maintaining community cohesion. Other national education systems for the teaching of religious education may have a single faith, for example, Christian-focused approach, and perhaps miss the opportunity to develop the broader based perspective associated with global citizenship.

Apart from the range of skills, for example: thinking; information-processing; reasoning; enquiry; creative-thinking and evaluation skills, (see Appendix 5, QCA/DfES, 2002a) that link across the curriculum. The PSHE and citizenship frameworks promote education for sustainable development (ESD), again across the curriculum. This concept is a significant feature of the humanities and science courses (see below). Similarly, the expansion to the global dimension is stressed throughout the citizenship framework (See citizenship education: the global dimension (Development Education Association (DEA), 2001). Finally, Appendices 1 and 4 (QCA/DfES, 2002a) provide detailed guidance for teachers in auditing and planning and the teaching of diversity and indicate how progression in aims may be demonstrated in citizenship (see Walkington, 1999: 16).
Educational institutions including schools are very fortunate in Reading to be able to benefit from the significant involvement with a range of educational and/or environmental charities and campaign groups in promoting citizenship teaching approaches. Such charities include Oxfam and ActionAid and a local campaign group, Reading International Solidarity Centre (RISC). Such groups have made independent links with centralised national curriculum initiatives thereby helping schools to meet cross-curricular requirements such as PSHE and Citizenship.

The comprehensive ‘Handbook for Primary Teaching of Global Citizenship’ (Young and Commins, 2003), expanded from an earlier Oxfam publication, ‘A Curriculum for Global Citizenship’ (Oxfam, 1997), stresses the importance of global citizenship in the primary school, and following suggestions for a whole-school approach, the main concern of the publication is the provision of a series of activities for the introduction of global citizenship into the primary school. Thus, for example, at least ten suggested activities have direct links with the QCA geography schemes of work. From the humanities perspective, the suggested global citizenship curriculum outline covers globalisation and interdependence, appreciation of diversity and sustainable development – three of five main themes to be covered at Foundation Stage, KS1 and KS2.

Traditionally, the study of geography in the UK has strong links with issues of global citizenship through studies of places, an inquiry based approach, challenging stereotypes, bringing a global dimension and links with many aspects of the school curriculum.

The geography element of the primary humanities course at Reading University covers an introduction to maps at a variety of scales including world maps, the use of thematic maps and aerial photographs as well as satellite images. Fieldwork at a variety of localities has always formed a major component of geography courses covering planning, health and safety and the value of off-site work. The syllabus of the humanities course incorporates the above geographical elements into cross-curricular work by applying them to studies of local and distant areas thereby permitting consideration of issues of global citizenship as well.

It is interesting to note the academic background of the ITTE students with respect to humanities’ subjects. In the current PGCE primary year, less than 15% have degree level qualifications in geography, history or religious education and fewer than 50% have appropriate ‘Advanced Level’ qualifications in humanities’ subjects. The syllabus of the humanities course incorporates the noted geographical elements into cross-curricular work by applying them to studies of local and distant areas thereby permitting consideration of issues of global citizenship as well. The ITTE students are also required to produce projects that examine a range of humanities and global citizenship issues such as ESD and interdependence.

For example, humanities ITTE students in a session entitled, “historical photographs and film; use and analyses of maps” are introduced to the inter-relationship between geography, history and religious education in a number of ways. One of the basic skills required is to recognise the impact that both physical and human geography have had on the history of specific locations and the often symbiotic relationship with the subject areas. Examples would include the development of the Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom in the 18th and 19th centuries, because of a proximity to natural power resources such as fast flowing water, and a propinquity to raw materials such as iron ore, coal and limestone.

As The University of Reading is not located in an area noted for its natural raw materials, students are exposed to a variety of skills which are required in order to examine a local settlement, which to some extent has been trapped in a developmental time-warp, but which historically was an important route-way north to south over the River Thames, and, as it is in the river valley, a natural course for the ‘Great Western Railway’ development of the 1840s. Both methods of communication and transport have in the past contributed to Reading becoming a small, but nevertheless important trade centre throughout the late 19th and early 20th century.

Hence, students are required to examine local and national maps in order to ascertain the locational features of the local settlement. In addition, after a session on photographic analysis, where they are introduced to the concept of ‘witting and unwitting testimony’, students are
required to examine a series of photographs which illustrate the development of the settlement over time. These not only include those showing geographical features that can be related to the topographic maps, but also house building, social history and specific events.

In order to support their initial findings, the students are given access to supplementary evidence in the form of street directories which include the names and locations of specific trading establishments, tithe maps, old estate maps (pre-railway) and Ordnance Survey (topographic) maps (pre and post-railway). By integrating both geographical and historical skills, the students gain an appreciation of the diversity of human experiences over time and how some people and communities have influenced their own history by human development and how, in some cases, this has been largely influenced by geographical location. Thus, students can understand the significance of humanities in their appreciation of some of the principles of citizenship over time and space.

Later sessions move on to higher-level skills by examining various and sometimes obscure artefacts and putting them into a historical context. Students are then required to apply these skills in determining features of historical and geographical evidence within the environment of the study area. They are then asked to determine how such development might have evolved over time and how decision making at a local level may have influenced, or been influenced by various social and political factors. Finally, students become aware of the fact that some immediate or short-term local decision making, such as the acquisition of land, may have had a long-term effect not only on the local area, but also nationally and in some cases internationally … a ripple effect. The concept of responsible citizenship is also illustrated in the decision making process.

In addition to local studies, primary pupils have to examine contrasting areas within the UK and are therefore introduced to the concepts of changing landscapes and environments. Finally, they consider overseas localities, for example, Chembakolli, a village in India, and compare and contrast them with their own localities (ActionAid, 2007). Educational charities such as ActionAid and Oxfam produce such teaching materials and thereby permit examination of elements of both humanities and global citizenship. Thus the ITTE students and pupils in schools appreciate diverse identities both in the UK and overseas. Positive images are considered throughout and pupils begin to appreciate the world as a global community. The concept of ESD is gradually incorporated into citizenship discussions as the pupils develop their understanding from the local and national level through to the international arena. (See detailed discussion of ESD within science curriculum courses below).

**Professional Studies, PSHE and Global Citizenship**

The professional studies component of a four-year degree provides both a framework with the potential to inform curriculum courses and a vehicle for the implementation of significant initiatives and teaching approaches introduced in other areas of study such as humanities, Science and art.

From the outset, undergraduate professional studies interweave PSHE teaching and global citizenship awareness, mindful of the need to develop professional competences within a framework that is wider than national professional entry prescriptions and aware of the need for 21st Century understandings of global factors in children’s lives, and the decisions ‘teacher educators’ make in provision for their learning and social development. The program is constructed to acknowledge both the possibility and potential of this new agenda as well as opportunities for critical enquiry, on the part of undergraduate students who are preparing for teaching roles in the 21st Century which we can expect to be constantly subject to question and review.

Whilst an early introduction to the planned curriculum is framed in reference to the stated non-statutory requirements of a balanced and broadly based curriculum, as already referenced, concerns with child welfare and development are also informed from Year 1 studies onwards by critical discussion of Human Rights recommendations and legislation, in particular, as mediated through the UNICEF ‘Charter of Children’s Rights’ and the more recently introduced ‘Every
Child Matters’ agenda in the UK. Thus it is possible to thread through taught courses on themes such as perspectives on child development, social inclusion and pupils welfare and protection, the two threads of PSHE and citizenship. In turn, these are inter-linked with global perspectives and then are realised through teaching approaches that draw on the creative arts and require the use of critical enquiry and confident communication skills on the part of trainees.

For example, in Year 1, a child development course entitled, ‘Perspectives on Childhood’ invites students to critically consider the changing nature of childhood within a cultural framework that acknowledges both a national heritage and global economic and cultural factors which require a re-visiting of definitions of childhood informed by knowledge of disparities and culturally relativistic perspectives.

In Year 2, a course aimed to develop confident and contemporary curriculum planning skills at Key Stage 2 (pupils aged 7 to 11 years) takes as a vehicle for this the theme ‘Children in War’ in order to foster students’ skills and knowledge development and their enhanced understanding of wider-world perspectives. The approach, rooted in a national context informed by National Curriculum requirements and the published scheme of work for History (QCA/DfES, 2002b), invites students to draw on children’s literature, art historical material, artefacts, testimonies and contemporary visual images to devise creative approaches to the teaching of the two themes, the ‘Second World War’ and ‘Children in War’, in so doing beginning to address some of the challenges faced in handling well sensitive subject matter in the classroom. The ‘Children in War’ theme in particular, requires careful thought to be given, on the part of students, to the role of media images and the selection of such imagery in presenting global perspectives of integrity in the classroom.

In Year 3, a course entitled ‘The Inclusive Teacher’, again draws on international perspectives to show ways in which citizenship awareness, actions and provisions in the UK are inevitably shaped by wider dialogue and critique, in particular, in relation to disability and discrimination and legislation and Europe-wide statements such as the Salamanca Statement (1996) that inform it. This Professional Studies course also provides students with the opportunity to critically consider their own and others’ multiple identities in a plural democracy and the significance to teachers of mixed cultural heritage, including language diversity. To foster these crucial understandings, considerable thought is given to the use of contemporary visual artists and writers, in this instance, those of mixed cultural heritage. In these ways, wide and varied perspectives are considered and the current emphasis on ‘inclusion’ is underpinned by recognition of the need for shifting cultural identities and perspectives to inform developments in global citizenship.

Throughout the taught strands briefly exemplified here, the teaching approach is considered to be as significant as curriculum content as first articulated by Stenhouse in 1975. The frequent use of workshops and carefully planned student participation is intended to realise many of the generic PSHE and citizenship stated intentions: that critical enquiry; enhanced communication skills; equitable conversations; increased empathy and knowledge; realised through better understandings of self and others are most likely to lead to confident actions regarding global citizenship. However dialogue with student teachers in training must remain central to continued developments in this area. A recent and significant interim report in the UK, The ‘Primary Review; Community Soundings’ (Rose, 2007) has demonstrated the importance of pupil voice and actions in realising meaningful contributions to global citizenship. No less important at The University of Reading, are the ways in which our future teachers are invited to shape interpretations of a new curriculum through their own commentary and newly emerging cultural perspectives in the form of evaluative commentary on the professional studies taught course.


Citizenship through Science in Primary ITTE

“Our biggest challenge in this new century is to take an idea that seems abstract - sustainable development – and turn it into a reality for all the world’s people” (Annan, 2006). The development of Primary PGCE trainees’ understanding of how to integrate citizenship into primary teaching is essential in order to extend and set in context the science curriculum, making it applicable to everyday life, helping children to understand the controversial issues that society faces and to help create a scientifically literate and informed society.

In 2003, the decision was taken to incorporate citizenship into the Primary PGCE science module in order to raise awareness in primary teachers of this potentially challenging area of teaching. Teaching citizenship should not be restricted to secondary science – it is essential to introduce citizenship to primary aged children in order to stimulate critical thinking about the many socio-scientific issues that are presented to them via the media. In addition, citizenship offers teachers opportunities to involve the children in the exploration of values and ethics. There is a clear indication that issues raised under the umbrella of citizenship should be addressed in primary teaching and learning. The National Curriculum for Science in England says that “Children in primary schools should begin to think about the positive and negative effects of scientific and technological developments on the environment and in other contexts” (DfES/QCA, 1999: 21).

However, the teaching of citizenship should also include children younger than those in KS2 and the abundance of clear web-based guidance for not only learning in citizenship but also for teaching and learning in ESD. This provides teachers with explicit details of the expected progression across the primary age ranges. The ESD link with citizenship incorporates a strong global dimension and further opportunities for a cross-curricular approach to planning the primary curriculum. By embedding teaching and learning in citizenship in the PGCE science module, trainees are encouraged to evaluate science related issues across the range of primary science and the foundations are laid for newly qualified teachers to consider ways in which they could modify existing curriculum plans or create new integrated units of work. This will enable newly qualified teachers to use science in order to successfully address the two main aims for the National Curriculum:

The school curriculum should aim to promote pupils’ spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life. It should develop pupils’ awareness and understanding of, and respect for, the environments in which they live, and secure their commitment to sustainable development at a personal, local, national and global level (DfES/QCA, 1999).

Each Institute-based taught science session has a specific science subject area focus and student teachers are asked to identify and discuss issues related to the particular topic e.g. electricity, news items or controversial issues / stories in the public domain that relate to the particular session focus. This encourages trainees to make connections between the requirements for teaching and learning in the National Curriculum and the need to provide learning experiences that encourage the development of a scientifically literate society that understands science in the wider context. In addition, ideas for cross-curricular teaching strategies are promoted.

Towards the end of the primary science module, time is allocated for student teachers to work in groups in order to complete a task in which they create teaching resources to allow children’s learning in terms of citizenship with an emphasis on ESD, both of which have web-based, non-statutory guidance. Following a short tutor input and a discussion into the nature of ESD, trainees have to consider and discuss the implications for teaching and learning in the Primary setting. Student teachers are asked to review their ideas about citizenship collected through the course and also to consider those science based citizenship issues about which they...
feel a strong personal involvement. Group discussions follow where trainees are asked to consider the following questions prior to carrying out the group task:

1. Which of the issues identified and discussed are accessible to primary school pupils? Trainees are encouraged to evaluate the issues with respect to the primary National Curriculum.

2. What are the science explanations underlying these issues? This is a very important aspect of the task because it is essential that trainees have secure scientific understanding if they are to plan appropriate and effective teaching and learning experiences and develop children’s communication skills.

3. How can children act as scientists in exploring the issues? This aspect of the task is crucial for the trainees to consider in order that the children will be given opportunities to extend their understanding of scientific enquiry, the wide range of work that scientists carry out and that sometimes, scientific knowledge is produced rather than discovered - becoming informed citizens.

4. What are the attitudes towards science that might be generated? Student teachers need to consider how they might develop children’s understanding in science and at the same time foster attitudes that ensure that they will participate in debates/be involved at a personal and social level with issues with which they will be presented. Student teachers also need to be aware of helping children to recognise their responsibility in considering the beliefs and feelings of others who may be affected by scientifically based and global changes.

5. How can we integrate citizenship into the primary curriculum? A science related issue has to be the focus of the task but student teachers are expected to prepare children’s activities with a clear cross curricular spectrum to enhance learning experiences and promote citizenship and ESD through science as applicable to everyday life.

Student teachers work in cross-phase groups i.e. some who are trained to teach Early Years (EY) age children (3-7 years) and some who are trained to teach primary age children (7 – 11 years) and they discuss and agree on a particular citizenship issue in order to prepare teaching resources that demonstrate progression. This is an essential element of the task that is assessed.

The non-statutory schemes of work for citizenship in primary education detail explicitly the expected progression under these three headings: ‘knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens’; ‘skills of enquiry and communication’; and ‘skills of participation and responsible action’ (DfES, 2007).

The completed tasks are assessed using agreed assessment criteria including the creation of an ICT resource for each age group of children. The activities must be supported by appropriate lesson plans for each age group and the completed tasks are uploaded onto the University’s VLE (virtual learning environment), Blackboard in order to allow peer assessment and the sharing of resources.

Student teachers in cross phase groups, discuss and identify the issue in science related to citizenship and ESD that the group feels is appropriate for study by two age ranges of primary age children. Student teachers are encouraged to choose a ‘big issue’ that interests the whole group (e.g. the Greenhouse Effect) and then break down the big idea into smaller contributory ideas (e.g. should aerosols be banned?) This is a crucial part of the planning in order to enable access to and across the National Curriculum. This also ensures that student teachers have a secure understanding of the science that comprises and is at the root of the issue. The science at the root of the ‘big issue’ must be clearly identified and then the science at the root of the smaller
contributory parts or ideas must be matched to the National Curriculum for science. Cross-curricular aspects of teaching within the guidance for citizenship and ESD then need to be linked to the science of the selected issue; this is important. Student teachers must then identify how to use one of these ideas to develop interactive teaching and learning resources that would be appropriate for EY children and similarly one for primary age children. Children must be actively engaged in their learning. The teaching and learning experiences must demonstrate progression and be accessible at two levels of knowledge and understanding and science enquiry, one in EY and one in primary aged children. It is important that student teachers, having identified the idea within the ‘big issue’, the starting point of the lesson should not have a definite answer so that children are encouraged to discuss their ideas. There are two areas of planning that need careful consideration. The first is the ‘starting point/question’ and the second one is the question that will be the aim of children’s enquiry. Careful planning for these questions will be crucial in terms of successful learning.

Student teachers have located and used the wealth of web-based resources that are available and also created their own materials in order to engage the children with science; citizenship and ESD through ICT. These include:

- Click and drag activities/matching games e.g. for children to find out what types of food worms prefer,
- Quizzes in a variety of formats e.g. in the style of ‘Who wants to be a millionaire?’
- Animated stories created in power point software,
- Calculating carbon footprints and the walking bus,
- Enquiries that require decisions and thinking about the consequences,
- Identifying and adapting web-books to create moving stories,
- Webquests e.g. exploring habitats of animals in areas of de-forestation,
- Making videos.

Feedback from student teachers indicate strongly that they would welcome the opportunity to teach the curriculum from the wider perspective that citizenship and ESD offers – the cross-curricular approach makes the curriculum more applicable to children’s everyday lives.

One of the key issues that student teachers express is the need to present learning experiences to the pupils with a balanced view in order to allow them to make their own judgements. As such, children can come to have greater understanding of citizenship and ESD from different perspectives and they can take part in debates or apply persuasive arguments so developing their own ideas about important moral and ethical issues. Some topics (health, in particular) provide opportunities to address issues of stereotyping while others allow pupils to ask questions about the ways in which national and local governments maintain public health.

Student teachers often state that teaching science through citizenship and ESD allows the pupils an opportunity to examine and change so many negative ideas/feelings that are portrayed in the media into positive ideas that give children a sense of being able to contribute, a sense of having their voices heard and last but not least, a sense of achievement.

Global citizenship through art

At the Institute of Education in Reading, courses for ITTE extend from those students intending to teach early years children to those who want to work with young adults. This fosters a working environment, for staff and students, which practicing and understands continuity and progression throughout these stages of learning development. It creates a focus on the values underpinning education as well as encouraging an on-going dialogue for all those involved in teaching and learning at the Institute.
The National Curriculum for art states that one of its main aims is to develop a unique way of responding to the world based on respect for and the understanding of other people's work and ideas. This underpinning of the taught curriculum by a set of values and attitudes is introduced from the ‘Foundation Stage’ and continues through to ‘Key Stage Four (KS4)’. Bridget Riley, born 1931 and still a practicing artist, believes that the National Curriculum develops ‘spiritual values and contributes a wider understanding to the experience of life, which helps build a balanced personality.’ (DfES/ QCA 1999) Through this statement she suggests the strong link between art and other curriculum areas, namely PSHE, citizenship and the humanities.

The curriculum guidance for the Foundation Stage (QCA/DfEE, 2000b) integrates art, music, dance, role play and imaginative play into’ Creative Development’, one of the six ‘Areas of Learning’. The stimulation of different ways of thinking by drawing on resources from a variety of cultures is one of the aims for creative development. Another of its aims is the recognition and integration of religious and cultural beliefs. From these aims it is evident that art in the National Curriculum, from Foundation Stage onwards, is seen as part of a wider perspective, which draws on the values and attitudes shared with other curriculum areas.

The statutory National Curriculum document for art and design in England and Wales (QCA/DfEE, 2000a) provides a rationale for teaching the values and attitudes previously expressed above as part of the global citizenship agenda. This rationale is further confirmed by the more recent QCA Art and Design Document (2002d), which offers non-statutory exemplar schemes of work for teachers in KS1 onwards. There is a clear emphasis on the teaching of art and design beginning first with the child’s locality, the wider society and the global community. This involves knowing, understanding and practising skills related to working together productively and positively and in harmony with nature.

The QCA’s intention is to explore and understand cultures, viewpoints, meanings and interpretations through learning about art and design in the children’s own lives and also by examining different cultures, backgrounds and religions. Another strand is to develop the children’s skills and understanding, from Foundation Stage onwards, in making and taking decisions, working collaboratively and helping children become ‘actively involved in shaping environments’ (p.10). This aim, which integrates the teaching and learning of art and design into children’s lives, ensures it is relevant and understandable. As in the rationale for science, the aims for PSHE and citizenship (QCA 2002) are closely linked to those of art, so providing many openings and opportunities for children to learn about the wider world and develop a global perspective. Teaching and learning are recognised as related to ethics and not simply a set of skills to be acquired and practised. The model the Institute draws on is that of the ‘reflective practitioner’ — where teachers engage in the continuous process of evaluating and reviewing their practice.

The ITTE students are introduced to a programme on their course which explicitly links PSHE and citizenship with art, called ‘Draw and Talk’ (Collins, 2004). ‘Draw and Talk’ was originally devised in response to a project funded by Cancer Research UK, linking pedagogy and content with PSHE and citizenship. It aims to encourage children from the Foundation Stage onwards to draw their thoughts and ideas in sessions planned around themes and in a supportive, secure environment based on the ‘Circle Time’ teaching approach. Themes for the Foundation Stage age group include: relationships; caring for others; being fair; rules; risks and taking care; and caring for our environment.

‘Draw and Talk’ is taught as part of the professional studies module ‘Taking on the role of the class teacher: PSHE and Citizenship’. The students are encouraged to plan for teaching this as part of their final school experience. The project has proved extremely successful – particularly for those children for whom written language is problematic. Examining student evaluations of their ‘Draw and Talk’ sessions suggests that the children’s skills in drawing; how effectively they communicate their meaning in a visual way – become increasingly confident. It also appears that their knowledge and understanding of the themes improves.
Although originally devised for children in Early Years settings, this project has since been trialed with children in Key Stages One and Two. It inspired a project, working with Year 6 children, which linked drawing explicitly with challenging citizenship issues. Anti-racism was the central theme and after reading books, poems and articles on the murder of Stephen Lawrence during a racist attack in London (in 1993), the children were encouraged to communicate their own ideas through drawing.

**The cross-curricular project**

During the PGCE programme, the students, working in cross phase groups of those training to teach children in the Foundation Stage, Key Stages One and Two, are invited to devise medium and short term curriculum plans. This process enables them to practice making cross-curricular links, to develop their knowledge, skills and understanding of the progression in children’s learning, and to become familiar and confident in using statutory and non-statutory documentation. It helps develop their confidence in drawing on creative and imaginative interpretations of the requirements of the National Curriculum and to build skills in team-work and collaborative practice.

Each year the National Gallery (London) encourages students to select a picture on-line (“Take One Picture”) from their website (National Gallery, 2007), for example ‘Calais Pier’ (1803) by Joseph Turner (1775-1851). This project is taken as a model to help scaffold student’s learning. Each year the National Gallery selects one painting from its collection to inspire a cross-curricular approach to planning, closely aligning with the DfES ‘Primary National Framework’ which supports exploring the links between subject areas. Citizenship education is an integral strand of this project and the students are required to consider and include it in their curriculum planning. The project culminates in the presentation of displays illustrating the plans visually. These displays are for staff, visiting teachers and all students on campus to visit.

At a Higher Education (HE) level, a publication, Link 19, (2007), examines the concept of ESD (also see science contribution above) as considered across the Higher Education sector in the UK. It follows the 2005 Dawe Report on Sustainable Development in HE commissioned by HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council) which described the HE sector as having a “pivot-al role in helping society to develop sustainably” (Dawe, Jucker and Martin, 2005). This report recommends experiential learning by relating ESD to actual situations. Dawe et al. (2005) stress a holistic approach as “many of the skills and knowledge for sustainable development are associated with complex, multi-layered and interconnected systems. The approach encompasses a more open-ended exploration of interdependency and interdisciplinary connections between subjects”.

Similarly, the 2005 Royal Geographical Society’s report on ‘Global Perspectives in Higher Education’ provides “useful insights into the kind of curriculum development that is required to prepare our students for global citizenship and to contribute to sustainable development.” (Robertson, 2007: 1).

In Wales, a project entitled “An all-Wales Approach to embedding education for sustainable development and global citizenship (ESDGC) into initial teacher education and training” was conducted by representatives from ITTE providers in Wales under the auspices of the Universities and Colleges departments for the Education of Teachers (UCET). There was a need for such a project, as the Welsh Assembly Government had put forward an action plan to make sustainable development and global citizenship a feature of required whole school policy for all schools. As part of this project, from 2007, all school inspection reports were to include a section on how well the school was integrating ESDGC into the life of the school and in order to obtain QTS candidates would have to demonstrate their ability to integrate ESDGC into their teaching. An earlier project ‘Embedding education for sustainable development and global citizenship into initial teacher education and training in Wales’ project established three key objectives. These were: (1) identification of the knowledge needed by ITTE students in order for them to effectively address the nine key concepts within ESDGC; (2) development of the associated pedagogy to enable effective delivery of ESDGC; (3) assessment of the resource implications of
the above and recommendations; and (4) regarding existing materials and the development of bespoke materials. (The results can be viewed on: http://www.esdgc-wales.org.uk/).

Although these resources are available to support teaching and learning in ITTE at all Higher Education Institutions in Wales, it was apparent that their use and effectiveness would be enhanced by a programme of continuous professional development. The aim of this project was, therefore, to provide a professional training programme that enabled staff to deliver the principles of ESD and GC for ITTE applicable in all subject areas and key stages. This was to be achieved by the following objectives: providing an on-site training day addressing pedagogy and methodology for staff at each institution; and providing training days centrally within Wales for staff from all institutions to attend addressing early years, primary and secondary issues run by providers such as Oxfam and Forest Schools.

Discussion

The summaries within the Eurydice (2005) reports indicate the current level of progress in the introduction of citizenship education in primary schools in many European countries. Arguably most citizenship education in primary schools in England and Wales occurs within cross-curricular topics with the possible exception of the use of specified ‘Circle Time’ to discuss more localised elements of PSHE and citizenship, for example, bullying and conservation of the school grounds. The report concludes that whilst primary schools tend to focus ‘on the skills ……’, it is not clear how pupils should obtain them nor how teaching and learning strategies are designed to facilitate such skills (Eurydice Report, 2005: 22). Indeed, how does citizenship materialise in teacher-pupil classroom dialogues? (see discussion in Sandström Kjellin and Stier, 2007).

Finally, lest an impression be given that subject discipline teaching, as required in the National Curriculum for England and Wales, may be easily replaced by a more all embracing cross-curricular approach such as that advocated in citizenship education, we should take heed of the criticisms that were levelled at earlier thematic approaches to humanities teaching however well intentioned (see Stenhouse, 1975) and learn from them. The problem might be construed as: are the thematic linkages and approaches too ambitious and or too practically complicated? Colleagues who have contributed to this paper are increasingly aware of the complexities of devising cross-curricular work and while ITTE students welcome the opportunities to develop such approaches, possible shortcomings in their own subject knowledge can still challenge their confidence levels.

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Appendix I. Acronyms

PSHE: Personal, Social and Health Education
QCA: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
NC: National Curriculum
HMI: Her Majesty’s Inspectorate (for Education)
ITTE: Initial Teacher Training and Education
PGCE: Postgraduate Certificate in Education (a one year university based programme)
GTP: Graduate Teacher Programme (one year work based programme)
BA(Ed): Bachelor of Arts in Education (four year ITTE programme)
ESD: Education for Sustainable Development
ESDGC: Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship
KS1 and/or 2: Key stage 1 (Pupils aged 5-7 years); KS2 (Pupils aged 7-11 years)
DfEE: Department for Education and Employment
DfES: Department for Education and Science
HE: Higher Education
HEFCE: UCET: Universities and Colleges departments for the Education of Teachers
Appendix II. Resources for Trainees to Explore

Non statutory guidance for citizenship:
http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/schemes2/ks1-2citizenship/

Sustainable Schools:
use the website www.nc.uk.net/esd

Education for Sustainable Development with an introductory statement by Kofi Annan:
http://www.worldaware.org.uk/education/sustain.html

Science and Citizenship using the website www.nc.uk.net/nc/contents/PHSE-2--POS.html contains the non-statutory guidelines for PHSE.

Government Handout: Developing the Global Dimension in the School Curriculum


Outcomes: Trainees’ have identified ideas for Science, Citizenship and ESD applicable for the whole of Primary Education that cover a wide range of issues, some of which could be taught from different perspectives.

Science / Energy / Sustainability:

Science and Medical / Biomedical Issues:
Animal testing and Pharmaceutics, Vaccination Programmes

Science and Health / Medicine / Economic:
Healthy eating, What is BSE? Obesity, Children’s Health, Eating Disorders, Allergies and Asthma linked to pollution, Pollution in air, water and food? GM crops, are they safe to eat? Global food transport / the food industry, Organic Farming.

Science and Colonisation:
Space Travel / Economics, Space Travel and Ownership

Science and Sustainability:
Recycling (this is a frequently identified subject owing to its easy access for primary aged children), Global Warming and Climate Change, Deforestation, Urbanisation, Waste Management, Water, GM Crops, Acid Rain, Environmental Damage, Extinction of Species, Fair Trade.
The dilemma for promoting ‘student voice’ in science and technology classrooms

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‘Knowing science’ is often perceived in school education to rest firmly upon knowing about a body of facts and causal relationships. This value is driven by the nature and purposes of assessment procedures. Empirical science demands understanding of certain scientific procedures. ‘Knowing technology’ rests upon the value of tacit knowledge, including command of a range of skills working iteratively with hands and the mind together. For the first time in history, knowledge is becoming the primary outcome of economic production. It is a core resource for commercial and non-commercial organisations and an emblem of employability. The DEMOS report (Seltzer & Bentley, 1999), identifies four clear trends that are driven by the impact of information and communication technologies and economic globalisation represented by the openness and fluidity of markets and production across international boundaries. These are: that the ‘weightless economy’ based on human resources, information and networks have become very influential sources of productivity and competitiveness; that workers need to continue to develop the skills to manage themselves in an increasingly unstable organisational environments; that more ‘horizontal’ organisational structures within and between organisations are taking the place of ‘vertical’ structures; and, finally, that new patterns of exclusion are emerging amongst those who are not willing or able to develop marketable knowledge.

Changes in technology set the pace and drive the social, economic and cultural changes, which are reflected in the personal and social values, attitudes and behaviour created. In Europe, the deLors model of Education (de Lors et. al., 1996) – for the four pillars of knowledge, proposed for Europe in summary included the following purposes for education:

- Learning to know, by having a broad overview of things and the skills to work in depth on selected fields; learning to learn and thereby benefit from the opportunities to learn throughout life
- Learning to do, by acquiring vocational skills and the competencies to work, in different situations and to work in teams
- Learning to live together, and appreciating other cultures and people, respecting pluralism, peace and managing conflict
- Learning to be, so as to better develop one’s own personality, acting with autonomy, judgement and personal responsibility.

The ambitious plans of the EU for education and training were considered in the Lisbon Agreement (Lisbon European Council, 2000) that the Union must become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.

To achieve this ambitious goal, heads of states and Government asked for the modernisation of social welfare and education systems in addition to creating a rationale for a transformation of the European economic base. Since that date the Council has continued to
promote through its actions and statements the idea that Europe should be the world leader in terms of the quality of its education and training systems.

Science and technology education are perceived as the cornerstones for educational change in order to maximize wealth creation opportunities to fund the creation of social and cultural capital for the majority. Countries throughout the world are recognising the importance of creativity in educational programs, in order to invest in future economic advantages. Centralised political frameworks that have been created to ensure accountability of individuals and groups in a western consumer driven market led society however are making it difficult to allow a creative element to flourish in schools. Boman (2006) discusses how a ‘new generation of educational reform has emerged on the one hand, on solving nations’ economic problems and, on the other, on examining a sense of discontent in society’ (545). The author perceives the mismatch between policy-maker’s desire for a high status, high standard, meaningful science and technology education, and the declining interest, poorly achieving reputation that science and technology education holds for many. A key test is how to build trust between teachers and learners in order to promote positive values and build a learning culture in school science and technology departments that is centred upon a better balance between horizontal and vertical dialogue.

Changes in society that influences the nature of science and technology education

Searching the worldwide-web for evidence of creative work in education taking place in Europe (October 2004) was sobering: using ‘Creativity and Europe’ as a search term on the internet search engine Google, 475 results were listed. The top three were: (1) Times Forum] How to Build Cultural Communication Korea Times, South Korea; (2) Taiwan to help train Mongolian business elites; (3) SolidWorks Software Opens New Doors to Design Creativity, Faster ... in Mongolian business elites – these were all activities ‘outside’ Europe.

A similar Google search based upon using the keywords: ‘Creativity, Europe, Education’ resulted in only fifty-nine hits of which the top three were: (1) Infinity intends to make timeless music Jamaica Observer, Jamaica; (2) Full text: Gordon Brown at the CBI. Guardian, UK; (3) Speech by PM Sharon the opening of the Telecom 2004 Exhibition Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel.

In each case, a very small number of results by comparison with what is normally achieved with searches conducted in a similar manner for other topics. Needless to say the lack of progress with meeting the targets is in keeping with the political malaise at the heart of Europe in 2005. The UK Government is responding by setting out a science and innovation investment framework for 2004 to 2014 (HM Treasury, 2004) by trying to engage more deeply businesses and the science base, Universities and by promoting directly innovation in companies. Producing a strong supply of engineers, technologists and engineers and more educated decision-makers in policy formation requires higher quality teaching and learning in every school, college and University. It is noteworthy that in the 2000 & 2003 OECD (2004) PISA (programme for international student assessment) science literacy reports, it was found that the standard deviation of results across student cohorts is becoming greater. Given that the emphasis for the PISA science literacy tests emphasises the ability to use scientific knowledge, to identify questions and draw evidence-based conclusions including the high performing countries such as Japan, Finland, Hong-Kong China and Korea. Inclusion is a major policy area for many countries but the PISA results do not reflect that attention below the higher achievers. There is good news with regard to gender differences where the OECD differences for science tests are now insignificant.

Munby (1980) states that “Citizens with breadth and depth of scientific and technological illiteracy may be seriously disadvantaged. Without a strong foundation in fundamental laws,
theories and inventions, along with authentic epistemological and ontological conceptions relating to these products of science and technology, they may be more intellectually dependent, less able to judge knowledge claims independent of authorities, and perhaps prey to dogmatics, flimflam artists, and purveyors of simple solutions to complex problems” (AAAS 1989: 13 cited in Bencze, 2001: 275).

In Kimbell’s interpretation of the knowledge economy and its implications for technology education, he notes the importance of emphasizing the skills of knowledge acquisition and the need to support students in the creation of new, task-related knowledge (Kimbell, 2001: 3). This of course demands that risks need to be taken. Baroness Blatch (Royal Society of Arts, 2000: 10) notes that “Encouraging risks to be taken at the front line is seen as the cutting edge of successful practice in the private and voluntary sector.”

Lord Puttnam, in his editorial overview of a collection of papers by the Royal Society of Arts (RSA, 2000: 6) states that “Faced with a deluge of undifferentiated information, people will need creative and analytical skills to assess that information and to discover the most effective ways of using it in a challenging world.”

Owers (2004: 21-25) feels that the UK government’s wishes for a prosperous economy, creativity and a knowledge economy are seriously at risk. He feels that the role of technology in the wealth creation process is pivotal and is generally misunderstood and ignored by political decision makers because it is not valued. He also notes that school based experience (and this happens often in science) is based on failure, leaving learner self-esteem in tatters. He bemoans the centralized prescriptive approach of Government but feels that the major difficulties are those identified with negative values in common culture that undervalues the role of technology in society. Owers conducted research with 3000 ‘Advanced Level’ students (17-19 year olds) through 2 surveys, firstly in 1995 / 96 then again in 2001 / 02 to establish what students thought about their educational experiences. His research identifies how little creativity is perceived to be present in science, how difficult the subject is but recognition was given to its importance. The worrying aspect of the surveys on the subject of design and technology was the evidence of negative trends to perception of the importance of the subject to society through its implications.

Relationships between the relative impacts of science and technology upon society has changed. This has resulted in science being viewed by society in a different way. Mitcham (1998: 272) contends that there has been a collapse of faith in science and technology that might link to an enormous shift in the values of western society. Given that the roots of predominant role of science and technology in our democratic, technical and liberal society arose out of the Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment. Some would argue that the attack on science and technology reflects a crisis in modernity. No longer is there binding faith to the tenets of science and those who interpret its maxims to the general public. Scepticism is a normal response sometimes accompanied by cynicism and the professionalism of scientists and technologists is increasingly defined in terms of the way they package convincing but fair arguments to present their cases so that the public may judge the balance between the pros and cons of the proposal. A myth also now generally dispelled is the link between technological innovation and scientific advances Grove (1989: 30) quotes Scaffer in saying that the type of science used by technologists tends to be ‘post-paradigmatic’ or ‘finalised stage’, well established ‘old science’. Not the latest theories and results of scientific endeavour. This is not to say that connections are not close as for instance much of modern empirical science relies on technological innovation to create appropriate instrumentation (Grove, 1989: 39) postulates that science since Galileo has been inherently technological in its approach.
Differences between rhetoric and reality

The UK Government in its Green Paper (Department for Education and Skills, 2002) on extending opportunities and raising standards for 14-19 year olds recognises the need for building flexible education systems around the needs and aspirations of individual pupils (Department for Education and Skills, 2002: 1) even though it continues to severely neglect the need for individual schools, teachers and learners to build creative capability. Hence it should be no surprise that educational documents from many sources abound with rhetoric about its promotion, but cultural factors associated with highly regulated and closely assessed learning activities result in perversely, narrowly focused deterministic activities masquerading as creativity. Nevertheless, ‘awareness raising’ of some of the issues associated with the nature of creativity and urging its promotion through for example the QCA website (QCA, 2002) ensures that it stays on the agenda even though implying ‘formulaic’ solutions to teaching and learning. Gardner (1993) recognises the misunderstanding made about the very essence of the nature of creativity. He postulates that:

Regrettably (from my perspective), in their search for creativity measures they (American educators) repeated most of the mistakes that had been made throughout the history of intelligence testing. That is, they tried to devise short-answer, timed measures of the abilities they thought central to creativity-the capacity to come up with a variety of answers to a question (divergent thinking) or to issue as many unusual associations as possible to a stimulus (ideational fluency) (170).

Dysfunctionality in school science and technology

At the World Conference for Science and Technology Education held recently in Perth, Australia, Fensham (2007) presented a paper entitled ‘Policy Issues for science education. This was prepared for the UNESCO International Science Education Policy Forum (July 2007). He argues that in many countries the separation of National Curriculum subjects for science and technologies has severed the technology bridges for science to society and has made science ‘remote’ and ‘abstract’. He notes the large numbers of countries where science teaching is of major concern because of waning student interest is large. Teaching is often ‘one-way’ from the teacher to the students who do not become engaged in a participative way in their learning experiences. He also notes the absence of well-grounded professional development pathways for science educators from the initial teacher training stage.

van Oostveen, Bencze & Ayyavoo (2000) summarise that science education has followed a strong societal emphasis resulting in curricula that are far too academic, suppress criticism, give an illusion of certainty and hence a sanitised virtual reality. Design and technology curricula on the other hand tend to cater for the opposite needs: a workforce orientation, practical and skills-based (147). Bencze (2001) makes strong claims that school science is largely unsuccessful in educating most children, that at secondary level is more about testing students which turns the subject into a Darwinian experience, the survivors being largely members of the richer middle and upper classes. Advantaged students generally hold cultural capital and are encouraged to work in the abstract. On the other hand school technology is still seen as concrete, menial and tedious by many, even though newer curricula and approaches are perceived as more entrepreneurial and exciting. Williams, Stanisstreet, Spall, Boyes & Dickson (2003) explored Year 10 school students’ reactions to biology and physics. Findings were similar for both subjects in relative terms even though reactions to physics were more severe. A large number of respondents coupled boredom...
with perceived subject difficulty (A significant number of biologists also found the subject easy and repetitive). This was also found by Simon (Sears: 112). Students largely find practical interesting but lament its increasing decline. Additionally, subject relevance is questioned by many. Those who find the subjects interesting are largely more able and likely to study the subject at higher levels (Williams et. al., 2003).

**Student attitudes to science**

It is noted by Frazer (2007) that participation in decision-making in school for most students is often patchy and ineffective, and science departments in schools usually represent the more conservative values to be found in schools. Many studies have been conducted into student attitudes and links to behaviour over the last 30 years and similar issues are repetitively found. It is often seen as a love-hate subject, physics and chemistry are perceived to be difficult, biology is seen to be easier. Generally, more able pupils opt for physical sciences at Post-16. Boys prefer physical sciences, girls biology. The relevance of science teaching and curricula are often thought to be questionable. For example, Bricheno, et. al. in Sears & Sorenson (2000: 152) notes that there are two serious deficits in pupil attitudes to science. Firstly, girls do not gain as much enjoyment from science as boys. Secondly, few scientists come from disadvantaged/low socio-economic backgrounds. Indeed, most A-level students are perceived as above average and of middle-class origins where the role-models and scaffolding structures for their development would have been strongest. Disaffection to science from average and below average students is exasperated in the UK by general disaffection in the secondary sector, resulting in excessive concern for classroom management issues. This sometimes hampers good teachers in their ability to give of their best in promoting effective learning. Over assessment of students linked to league table competition of schools and strict inspection regimes together can result in limited risk-taking and ambition by teachers in their attempts to engage their learners in the real joys and challenges of investigative science.

Research conducted by Bricheno et. al. reported in Sears and Sorenson (s000: 146) indicates that young primary age children have positive attitudes to science but have a stereo-typical ‘men in white coats’ view of those engaged in science. They note with regret how science how attitudes towards the subject become less positive on transfer to secondary schools. They find that pupils turn away from science as they grow older because of stated preferences to work in other domains (p. 152).

Teachers’ enthusiasm for their subject, coupled with well-chosen contexts for the delivery of deep and meaningful learning is vital to the promotion of positive values and attitudes by the students towards science. There is no better indicator of student enthusiasm to science than their own framing of questions about phenomena and ideas that are directly relevant of tangential to the central theme of interest. The world stage is currently dominated by discussions at G8 and Kyoto levels based on the alleviation of poverty and the improvement of the environment. What do students really learn about these issues in science? The young care about their futures and could easily be engaged if supported and nurtured in ways that put curriculum relevance to the for-front of teacher’s curriculum planning in order to make their teaching values-led. Gardner (2001: 427) suggests that there are five key responsibilities that every individual has –firstly, one’s own goals, needs and wants; secondly to those around you; third to your calling and profession; fourthly, to the institution where you belong and finally to the wider world – to those individuals you do not know. For science teachers, this involves responding directly to the needs of students and the role of science in the wider world in addition to maximizing achievement in examinations.
A major problem is that science teachers are a product of their own archetypal experiences. How many teachers have no concept of the limited nature of much scientific knowledge and/or hold outmoded positivist or empiricist views on the nature of science? There is a relationship between teachers declared conceptions about the nature of science and the manner in which they present the subject in the classroom. Science teachers have not necessarily identified and assimilated scientific values that for instance Kuhn outlines (cited in Hoyinghen-Huene, 1993). These include: accuracy with particular emphasis on quantitative methods; consistency and compatibility with other theories; scope for application to a broad range of domains; simplicity in that the conceptual and technical apparatus can easily facilitate application; and fruitfulness in that new relationships and phenomena can easily be accommodated.

The construction and deconstruction of a knowledge base for science and technology

McGinn (1991: 2-15) describes the centrality of science and technology in the major events (successes) of human society: the landing on the moon; civilian jet-engine transportation; polio vaccines; the discovery of DNA; the PC; confirmation of Big Bang Theory; and its failures: Bhopal, Chernobyl; the Challenger Space-shuttle disaster; environmental degradation; diseases due to irresponsible scientific and technological practices. He implicates the need to consider science and technology together with their impact upon society as an integrated knowledge base and he sums them up with four meanings:

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<th>Technology</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technics (material products of human making)</td>
<td>Knowledge (organised, well-funded body of knowledge of natural phenomena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A technology (complex of knowledge, methods, materials and if applicable constituent parts)</td>
<td>A field of systematic enquiry into nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A form of human cultural activity</td>
<td>A form of human cultural activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A total social enterprise (the complex of knowledge, people, skills organisations, facilities, technics etc.)</td>
<td>A total social enterprise (the complex of knowledge, people, skills organisations, facilities, technics etc.)</td>
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In summary, technologies are the fruits of scientific success. However, he argues that science and technology can be differentiated and related by looking at similarities and differences in their characterizations in terms of inputs, outputs, functions. He notes the growing interdependence of science and technology (26-27) and that it is rare to find technical projects now that do not have technological and scientific components working closely together, for example, space shuttle launches or particle accelerators so there is a sense in which we need to consider technology as applied science and science is applied technology. Without either – neither would develop properly or indeed be of any use. So is it any wonder that there is a crisis of identity and confusion about purposes in schools for the teaching and learning of both subjects. New knowledge structures need to be built and re-enforced and new values promoted. Technological contexts need to be exploited for teaching science based utilizing the range of scientific values
and scientific contexts need to be explored utilizing the range of technological values incorporating a concern for those factors associated with function and form.

Hookway (2000: 109) explains that “science does not so much consist of knowing not even in organised knowledge, as it is the diligent enquiry into truth for truth’s sake, without any axe to grind… also that the scientific attitude involves a spirit of disinterested truth seeking”. Hoyinghen-Huene (1946: 149) in his interpretation of Kuhn’s philosophy of science emphasises the ‘scientific values of ‘accuracy; consistency; scope; simplicity and fruitfulness’ amongst others and in considering the methods of science education we must give due consideration to attitudes and values in addition to knowledge and skills. Kuhn himself argues (Sharrock & Read, 2002: 12) that science does not develop by constant or linear or logically smooth accumulation and yet in science education an implicit value portrayed is often that it does. There are grounds to argue that learners need to experience uncertainty in the way in which they build knowledge and skill through reflecting carefully upon what they construct and considering its fitness for purpose. Kuhn (1962: 15-16) stated that technology has often played a vital role in the emergence of new sciences through giving ready access to ‘facts’ and in the modern age all eyes are focused on the interfaces between branches of scientific and technological knowledge which needs to be reflected in education also. This in turn demands the need for a reflexive approach to be applied in teaching. That there is recognition that the moral, personal and social values of teachers have great impact on the behaviour and attitudes of learners in science and technology that can produce greatly positive or negative reactions to the subjects despite how well the knowledge and skills are taught. We have to consider with great urgency the future of science and technology education at a time when it seems the greatest efforts are to hold tightly and teach in accordance with the values of the ‘past times’. Due consideration needs to be given to how learners view their experiences in a ‘what’s in it for me’ way. It is important to develop new curricula and appropriate pedagogy in higher education to widen access and decrease alienation to learning in science and technology. A key question is ‘what needs to be done to re-invent the authority of science and technology’. Faith needs to be recreated that the subjects have both meaning and relevance to peoples’ lives at a personal level. Lamb (1991: 11) states that:

For many educationalists, the mere suggestion of any similarity between art and science would be preposterous. Yet attempts to provide support for the science-arts distinction invariably falls back on half-baked assumptions about the objectivity of science and the subjectivity of the arts: cold facts on the one hand and hot emotions on the other.

The reality that we recognise however is that the similarities between the two outweigh the differences. Lamb provides evidence for noting that great achievements in both sciences and arts have a lot in common and that often the differences between the sub-fields of both the arts and sciences are more diverse than between the two domains. This needs to be recognised and addressed in education through recognition and support of creative processes, provoking and promoting insightfulness and curiosity, generating and modelling open-mindedness as teachers, not role-playing positivist, close minded, dogmatic pedants. Millar (2004: 485) notes that:

Central to Einstein’s reasoning in relativity was a new notion of aesthetics”. Imagining the relationship between particles and waves was key to unlocking the door of relating observable properties to explanations of cause and effect and being able to select when to think of for instance electrons as waves or particles.

For learners, building up satisfactory models of the natural world depends upon them holding the right ideas and images in their minds that they can operate upon in order to answer questions and make predictions. This must include active engagement and authentic learning.
Cognitive apprenticeship: building new relationships in science laboratories and technology workshops

Vygotsky (1978) proposes, in contrast to Piaget, that children’s cognitive development is embedded in social processes involving social relationships and socio-cultural tools. He proposes, that when children (as novice partners), work with more skilled individuals or caregivers, they internalise the tools for problem-solving and increase their maturity in problem-solving processes. Problem-solving is broadly associated with cognition and active thinking. Vygotsky conceives of the ‘zone of proximal development’ as being the region where a child’s development occurs through participation in activities that are slightly beyond their reach, but which they strive to achieve with the support of skilled caregivers (adults or children). In this zone, it is suggested that culture and cognition create each other. Culture is a dynamic entity, continually created through the process of change evolving from the precedents previously set. They can be associated with the creation of appropriate environment for learners to be both challenged and motivated through experience of the tensions present in the purposes of learning. Bruner (1975) explores the background of cultures and illustrates how natural human curiosity creates the opportunity for creative action through the capacity to learn. By implication, risk-taking is essential to these communities and cultures. Rogoff (1990: 9) develops the concept of guided participation, which suggests that:

- guidance and participation in culturally valued activities are essential to children’s apprenticeship in thinking...Underlying guided participation is inter-subjectivity: a sharing of focus and purposes between children and their more skilful partners and their challenging and exploring peers.

Wertsch (1979) suggests that the process of communication presumes verbal and non-verbal inter-subjectivity, which provides the grounds for extending children’s’ knowledge and understanding. Underpinning theories of cognitive apprenticeship suggest the importance of appropriate relationships between learners and teachers within social and cultural contexts. Together they create the environment for learning to take place, including the creation of the special relationship between ‘expert’ and ‘novice’.

Piaget (1962) argues that children’s cognitive development does not result from interaction with adults, because of their ‘power relationship’ with them. He does promote, however, the possibility that a sufficient reciprocity exists to allow children to advance to new levels of equilibrium. He argues strongly that:

- Criticism is born of discussion, and discussion is only possible amongst equals: cooperation alone will therefore accomplish what intellectual constraint (caused by unquestioning belief in the adult’s omniscience) failed to bring about (p. 409).

It can be argued that creativity is essential in science education if we want proper engagement of pupils and to develop high quality scientists. Common threads of physics and the arts could include: ‘beauty, harmony and symmetry; experiments with light and colour, use of imagery, poetry, models, ambiguity and duality; revolutions and change. Campbell (2005) discusses at length the particular roles that imagination can play in science education and how visual perception can be an agent of transformation. He explains how scientists such as Copernicus used imagination to understand how the sun as the centre of the universe and Pauling, Crick and Watson, and Hodgkin were able to use x-ray diffraction to visualise the molecules of life. Herklots (2005) uses experience of teaching A-Level physics to show how effective teaching of physics can link physics to technology, mathematics, philosophy and art. There has been a concern to identify and promote creativity in all learners in educational settings (Fryer, 1996;
Beetlestone, 1998). The Department for Education (DfEE, 1999) in the UK have proposed four main features of creative acts that show general agreement with the seminal work of (Koestler, 1964) and (Feldman, 1995). However, although creativity denies simple definition and measurement, for there are many agencies that act as stakeholders in its identification, creative acts can involve: using imagination, often to make unusual connections or see unusual relationships between objects, ideas or situations or having targets and reasons for working which are capable of resulting in new purposes being discovered or being comparatively original in relation to the work of a small closed community, such as peers or family, or uniquely original in comparison with those working historically or currently in a field or discipline or judging value, which demands critical evaluation and reflection, standing back and gaining an overview position (DfEE, 1999: 28-31).

**Developing creative climates and cultures in European schools**

Between 2001 and 2003, one-week long in-service development courses were run by the University of Reading in the locations of Krakow, Poland; Norberg, Sweden; Drammen, Norway and Ancona, Italy. They were centred on ‘Learning to Learn: building structures for developing educational autonomy and creativity’. School managers and teachers working at schools and colleges ranging from pre-school to tertiary and further education attended from eleven different European countries. Post-course developments in creativity at the members schools was followed-up one year after completion of the course through delivery of a three-part, small-scale research study. This involved 1) a questionnaire to all previous attendees; 2) a second questionnaire or telephone interview; 3) collection of case study material as indicators of creative endeavour.

The study (Davies: 2006) indicated that a range of factors all impinge directly on our ability as teachers to manage the relationship between horizontal and vertical dialogue in our teaching. In summary it was found that more emphasis needs to be placed on effective, creative leadership and vision-building. The curricula in too many countries are content-heavy accompanied by rigid time-tabling and demands ‘excessive conformity’. Programme requirements are too restrictive and lessons are dull and boring, the topics of little interest to the learners. Pupils need opportunities to have some input into lesson planning. The emphasis is too excessively weighted on ‘core’ subjects, and arts are often squeezed to extinction. Fear of schools, especially examinations is throttling the ability of pupils to think freely and feel free. Curriculum enrichment is often minimal and teachers are too pressurised to follow-up worthwhile lines of investigation and enquiry and the depth of learning experience is minimised.

There is little attempt to use assessment of creativity in a formative way. Similarly, there is too much concern for the performance of the school rather than the performance of the learners and too little ‘creative collaborative work’ between teachers and learners. Moreover, thinking time for teachers and learners is not respected – neither have ‘space’ for creative activity, and creative work is not rewarded. (53-54).

**The problems of working in the current climate**

Research conducted as part of an unpublished PhD thesis (Davies, 2002) identified the following elements as crucial to the promotion of a climate where creative teaching and learning could flourish but difficult to attain in the current climate in UK schools. High standards and participative learning are key aims:
**Teaching**

- the promotion of secure trusting relationships
- the creation of variety in contexts for learning
- the promotion of an interactive exchange of knowledge and ideas
- learners’ risk-taking is encouraged
- teachers help to manage learners emotions
- risks taken with learner’s learning
- teacher takes risks with personal work
- learners’ originality and innovation is encouraged
- teacher is self critical
- directed and non-directed approaches are balanced
- selection of teaching ‘content’ reflects learners’ needs
- learners’ mental modelling is scaffolded
- has relevant up-to-date knowledge of subject
- has relevant up-to-date skills in subject
- teacher is personally creative
- scepticism promoted
- self-expression encouraged
- questioning promoted and encouraged
- self-monitoring and reflexivity embedded in learning
- learners challenge assumptions about tasks.

**Learning**

- natural curiosity and reflectiveness of approach encourages
- learner’s motivation and single-mindedness to improve
- effective exploration of ideas prior to learner’s action
- self-monitoring and reflexivity embedded in learning
- accommodation of support from within school
- accommodation of support from external agents.

Teachers’ ability to make an impact on students and their learning is therefore inhibited by

- the quality of the relationships they build dealing with cognitive and affective matters
- their inability to use their personal experiences and understanding of creativity to benefit students
- the way they deal with risk which does not build confidence enabling students to cope with uncertainty
- lack of recognition and the ability to accommodate the impact that external agencies and experiences have on learners
- adopting approaches to dealing with knowledge, skill, understanding and capability that students cannot sometimes follow
- teaching in ways that do not encourage modelling, that accommodates and utilises social and cultural contexts, which encourages the relationship between thought and action to be further developed
**Discussion**

In the UK, it has been suggested that the way forward is to develop a curriculum for learning and a pedagogy for learning where the learning needs of the individual are at the centre of our concern. The political focus has up to now been on teaching through the way legislative programmes have been developed by central Government. The shift in emphasis cannot happen whilst continuing to promote a political climate of Government controlling the fine detail of education and striving to maintain absolute certainty through absolute control. Jackson (2002) illustrates how different phases of curriculum planning can be explained using complexity theory and shows how if you focus on individual learning needs, you increase ‘uncertainty’. In order to cope with this uncertainty you rely on teacher professionalism and commitment to ensure that learning is maximising.

Teachers of science and design and technology do not share the same understanding or methods of developing pedagogy through the strategies and tactics used in the classroom. Indeed they represent different cultures. In other countries, for example, Canada, New Zealand and countries of the far-east there is evidence that closer integration is achievable, being as they are subject to less regulation. (Barlex & Pitt, 2000) rejects the ‘integrationalist’ view, that the curricula for science and for design and technology can be unified, on the grounds that:

> Science and design and technology are so significantly different from each other that to subsume them under a ‘science and technology’ label is both illogical and highly dangerous to the education of pupils (42).

Given the nature of these ‘macro-quasi political factors’ at work and influencing professionalism in our classrooms it is unsurprising that new recruits quickly assimilate the values and attitudes of the subset subjects – working within the invisibly defined boundaries. It will be interesting to see how this statement relates to the outcomes of the long-term evaluation of the new curriculum in Ontario.

Barlax & Pitt (2000) also point to the use of ‘coordination’ strategies between the two subjects, so that the timing of the treatment of topics of mutual interest is orchestrated and common vocabularies developed. Successful coordination could, they suggest, be followed by the use of ‘collaboration’ strategies so that some activities between the two subjects are taken in common. In order to innovate curricula or pedagogy the aim is to evolve attitudes and values about subjects and their teaching and learning methodologies. Pinto (2004: 8) notes that even though teachers might accept the principles of novel changes, their implementation is likely to reflect the comfortable traditions and secure pathways that represent well-trodden paths and well-established practice – even when at odds with the novel approach. This is confirmed more fundamentally through Kelly (1955) fundamental postulate that all people construct their worlds of the present and future based on past experience – i.e. that they are always victims of their own history. This is why in both science and design and technology teaching key questions often asked are about the relevance and purpose of both the curriculum content and the approaches used to teach them as subjects. No matter what is mandated or advised, new approaches and changes need to be constructed and supported incrementally. Kozell and Osbourne (2004) postulate that if science is to have any individualised meaning, it cannot be portrayed as a set of unchanging facts, laws and theories but: “…become one way of understanding our relationship to these others, thereby increasing, substantiating and authenticating our relationship with people, nature and the natural world.” (174). Sears argues passionately that science should not be taught as a ‘fenced-off’ part of the curriculum into which science teachers smugly retire but should be contributing to imaginative projects that will enable pupils to see science as inter-linked and inextricably interwoven with other aspects of educational tradition (Sears & Sorensen, 2000: 48-
49). A way of conceiving design and technology is that is does the same in the context of the made world.

Zembylas (2004: 302) discusses how science teaching could be improved if emotions were recognised and considered. For example, it is often the ‘emotional labour’ of science teaching that often leaves teachers angry, frustrated or feeling inadequate. It is often the emotional impact that the teacher makes upon the student that leaves them confused, feeling inadequate or inferior. He also discusses how in the western world it has been normal to idealise reason and demonise emotion – rather than harmonise both, which is likely to stimulate both hemispheres of the brain most dramatically and effectively.

Risk and accountability are tightropes that need to be walked with breathtaking care by those in authority if meaningful change and improvement is to occur. The balance between efficient management and effective management of change is critical and at the centre are the relationships that we strive to build in order to both empower both learners and teachers but within the indefinable boundaries of an evolving knowledge – based society.

References


Shame and confidence; knowledge and social codes interaction in a school with democratic ambitions

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Public school systems have a general obligation to socialise the children into the societies’ dominating ideas and traditions. Hence the public school system in a democratic country has a mission to transmit democratic values to a new generation. However this abstract and normative principle is not easily implemented in the everyday activities in a classroom. The school and the teachers who work there have many different goals to strive for. The different goals all compete for time, resources and personal involvement and some of the aims may even be contradictory; e.g. finding a balance between a child’s individuality and personal development and the society’s need for homogeneity and control.

What happens in a school where socially disadvantaged pupils meet teachers with democratic ambitions? This paper describes a paradox. The paradox is that the very same school programme that is meant to help the teenagers develop necessary skills and empower them, also brands them as stupid and outsiders.

This paper focuses on the interaction between teachers and teenagers in a Swedish school with a general democratic ambition. It is my ambition that this study can help shed some light on the practical difficulties of democratic ambitions, and this paper provides ample examples. The purpose of this paper is to investigate how teenagers shape and develop their own identity as citizens in a society, by studying the everyday interaction between teachers and pupils in an upper secondary school programme. The paper focuses on a least likely case, i.e. a group where it is least likely that this activity of developing a conscious citizen identity will take place. I have chosen to study a group of socially disadvantaged pupils and their interaction with teachers with democratic ambitions. The citizenship identity is of course shaped and developed in other environments than school as well, but this study focuses on the interaction in school because of the school systems general obligation to further democracy.

As a political scientist I have chosen to theoretically concentrate on citizenship with agency in focus as a way to discuss the everyday practice in the classroom. Citizenship is a much debated concept which is central to any discussion on democracy. Citizenship puts the focus on the rights and responsibilities of the man and the woman in the street, the ‘demos’ in democracy. My understanding of citizenship highlights the notion of agency. This brings the two contrasting traditions of citizenship together; the liberal tradition with its focus on the status and rights of citizens and the communitarian tradition with its focus on practice and common good.

This paper begins with a short introduction to the theoretical framework and a presentation of the study’s method and milieus. The result and analysis is presented in two sections. The first is called ‘Shame and Confidence’. These are central themes that I find characterise the school experience for the teenagers. They are constantly more or less ashamed of being associated with this school programme, but can still have moments when they feel confident about their achievements. In the second section called ‘knowledge and social codes’, I focus on the teachers and their ambitions. The teachers want their pupils to learn social codes, to boost their confidence, to help them learn the school subjects and they do also have a more general democratic ambition. However these ambitions are not easily realised in the everyday chaos of the classroom.
The theoretical basis of this article is thus as mentioned the much debated concept of citizenship. The liberal tradition focuses on the status and rights of citizens, whereas the communitarian tradition focuses on practice and common good. This article brings these two traditions together into a theory that centres on the agency of citizens.

**Citizenship as status**

The liberal tradition is mostly concerned with the citizens’ status. T. H. Marshall’s famous work ‘Citizenship and Social Class’ from 1963 is an important work that influences the theoretical understanding of citizenship. He describes the history of the development of citizenship rights in England. The citizenship rights change as the society goes through radical social and economic changes, according to Marshall (1950).

The first generation of citizenship rights – the civil rights – was established during the 17th and 18th centuries, when the country experienced disturbing times with civil war and threat of revolution. Important civil liberties are freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and also the often quoted rights from the American Declaration of Independence “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” (The national archives experience, 2007). The second generation of citizenship rights are the political rights. Demands for political rights were raised during the 19th century, a time of industrialisation in England. The middle class and organised workers became important political groups and demanded the right to vote, right of association and freedom of assembly. The third generation of citizenship rights are economic and social rights. These were established during the 20th century, as the interests of the working class are institutionalised through the formation of the Labour party. Important economic and social rights are the right to health care, education and social welfare.

An important and ongoing discussion among liberal theorists is the distinction between negative liberties, i.e. the civil and political rights on the one hand, and positive rights i.e. the economic and social rights on the other hand. The negative liberties are characterised by a principle of non-action; other people only need to abstain from punishing a person as he or she exercises the freedom of expression, whereas other people will need to actively do something in order to fulfil a person’s positive right to an education. Rawls (1985) offered a famous solution to finding a balance between the need of positive rights and the infringement of others’ rights. By using the idea of a veil of ignorance, he argued that the only normatively justified reason for taking resources from some to give it to others is when it helps the people who are worst off in a society (Rawls, 1985).

**Citizenship as practice**

The communitarian tradition focuses on different aspects of citizenship. It has a long and ongoing tradition from Aristotle in the ancient Greece, the republican city states during the Italian renaissance and the great theorists of the 20th century, e.g. Arendt and Habermas.

A central theme in the communitarian approach is the practice of citizenship. Central questions are what it means to be a good citizen, how to ‘do’ citizenship and what constitutes the spirit of good citizenship. The citizen is not foremost seen as an individual in isolation, but as a part of a community – a ‘Gemeinschaft’ – fighting for the common good. Citizenship is in this view associated with activities and duties. The basic duties are generally accepted: abiding by the law; paying taxes and doing military service. However the duties within the communitarian tradition go further than this. The citizen is also expected to make a living for him / herself, do
voluntary work, obtain an education and last but not least be a politically active citizen. The politically active citizen should communicate with others, form his or her opinion, vote and take part in the political debate.

Within the communitarian approach no human being is complete without active political participation. Aristotle (1993) claims that the human being is essentially a political animal and that the citizen is obliged to take part in the official affairs of the society². Arendt writes in her “Vita Activa” (1998) that a human being can never be complete without participating in the society’s political process. It is only an active life that can enable a human being to live out its full potential: by explaining one’s one arguments and listening to others. Habermas (1995) emphasises the importance of separating the state from the life world, in order to create an agora for public discussions and ultimately a discursive democracy.

**Citizenship as agency**

This paper uses a third understanding of citizenship, which combines the two traditions into a focus on agency. Lister develops this view in her ‘Citizenship: Feminist perspectives’. Citizenship rights and duties should, according to Lister, be distributed according to the principle that a citizen should be given whatever is necessary to enable him or her to fulfil the potential of citizenship (Lister, 1997: 22).

The central question here becomes that of maximizing each citizen’s possibility to act in his or her own interest, as well as others³. This understanding of citizenship dissolves the dilemma between negative liberties and positive rights, as both are necessary for a citizen’s possibility to act. Freedom of press is useless without an education that teaches the necessary skills of writing. Both negative liberties and positive rights do need resources in order to become more than empty words. To facilitate an actual freedom of press, there needs to be a working judicial system that limits the power of the executive branch of government. A judicial system needs resources, e.g. buildings, lawyers, policemen and capital. This is not that different from the resources needed for facilitating the right to education, e.g. buildings, teachers and capital. The understanding of citizenship developed by Lister also bridges the divide between public and private, since Lister is writing from a feminist perspective and considers this divide to be an important reason for women’s systematic discrimination.

The focus on agency is important for a study on teenagers’ creation of citizenship for two reasons. Firstly, the notion of agency is central to my theoretical understanding of interaction. The personal development of a citizenship identity is not written on a tabula rasa, a blank page. Socialisation is not merely a process of transmitting values from one generation to another. Values are also transformed and personalised through the interaction between teacher and pupil, where also the pupil is active. This interaction was described in the classical work by G H Mead (1967). A more radical approach is developed by Frigga Haug et al (1987). Haug is a German feminist and in her book “Female sexualisation” groups of women use a method called collective memory work to show how the process of becoming a woman is an interaction process, where the young woman takes an active part. This framework of interaction where the young are active agents fits well with the notion of citizenship as agency. As we encounter different situations we can choose how we want to react to the situation. If we hear a sexist or racist remark, we can create our own opinions about the situations or the values expressed. We can internalise the prejudice, judging ourselves from a racist or sexist point of view. We can also choose different actions: opposing the racist or sexist comment; or ignoring it. Since we make these choices in

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² Citizens are only free men according to Aristotle, as women lack the necessary capabilities to be a citizen and as the slaves are more like animals and things than responsible human beings.
different situations we are affected by these situations, but we are also active in creating the
lesson drawn from the situations, thereby being active in creating our self-image as citizens,
women or men, black or white, working class or middle class and so on.

The second reason for choosing an understanding of citizenship that focuses on agency is
that it gives a more comprehensive understanding of what citizenship education is or should be.
Citizenship education cannot be limited to a subject of social studies, the historic revolutions or a
list of citizen rights. Citizenship education should also include giving teenagers an actual possi-
bility to be an active citizen. This can be seen as a form of empowerment. In the daily activities of
the school experience basic skills – eg. arithmetics, reading, writing and expressing one’s opinion
can be seen as a vital part of citizenship education. (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996: chapter 8)

This wide understanding of citizenship education is even more important in the study of a
least likely case, since these pupils come from the social groups that are least likely to engage in
political processes and do not even have social studies as a part of their curriculum.

Method and Context

During the course of this study I have met and followed a group of 29 teenagers in the Individual
Programme during one school year. The teenagers were divided into two classes and met a team
of four teachers who worked closely together. The teenagers studied five subjects: maths,
Swedish, English, a theme subject and P.E. (physical education). I visited the school for 40 days;
followed their everyday school activities; I talked to the teenagers during breaks; listened to the
teachers in their office; sat in the back of the classroom and I participated in sport activities. I
conducted 31 personal interviews with the teenagers and their teachers and I organised a special
form of focus group interviews in order to get the teenagers to discuss their school experiences
and what they learn from them. In order to understand these teenagers’ personal school
experiences, it is necessary to have some basic knowledge of the Swedish school system.

The compulsory Swedish school lasts for nine years, from the age of seven to fifteen, with
an almost compulsory ‘pre-school’ from six to seven. The upper secondary school lasts for three
years from the age of sixteen to eighteen. There is no legal obligation to attend the upper
secondary school, but in practice there are few options for the teenagers other than to stay in
school. The municipalities have the financial and organisational responsibility for the schools, but
binding laws and regulations are instituted at the national level by the national parliament, the
government and the National Agency for Education. The municipalities have an obligation to
find something meaningful for the teenagers to do. In reality the municipalities have little
information about the teenagers who do not attend school and the educational advisors try to
persuade the teenagers they meet to stay in some form of upper secondary school programme.

The upper secondary school consists of 17 National programmes, which are either
vocational or academic. The upper secondary school programmes last for three years and an
exam gives a basic qualification for studies at the university level. The programmes have different
programme specific subjects, such as music, childcare, biology and languages. In order to be
admitted to an upper secondary school programme, the teenagers must have at least a passing
grade in the three basic subjects of Swedish, English and maths. Those who are not admitted into
the National programmes are offered to join the ‘Individual Programme’³. When the current
system was introduced in 1994, the ‘Individual Programme’ was seen as a last resort for a small
group of teenagers, but the programme has grown and is now the third largest of the program-

³ There is more information on the Swedish school system presented in English on the webpage of the
Swedish national agency for education (www.skolverket.se)
mes in the Swedish upper secondary school, with almost 8% of the pupils\(^4\). Many consider it to be a problem that the ‘Individual Programme’ is this large and this problem is more urgent in the municipalities with a large part of the population who do not have Swedish as their native tongue.

This study was performed in Malmö, Sweden’s third largest city with 275,000 inhabitants. In Malmö 27% of the population is born in another country and the city is ethnically segregated. The city has developed a plan called ‘Welfare for All’ in order to promote economic development and reduce segregation\(^5\). One part of this plan is a wide array of ‘Individual Programmes’. There are programmes specially designed for newly arrived immigrants; programmes with a special theme such as music, computers or handicraft; and programmes that mimic the National programmes, following the same curriculum but also accepting pupils who lack a passing grade in one of the three basic subjects. This subject is often English, as the immigrants have trouble achieving a sufficient proficiency in their short period in the Swedish school.

The school situation is only one small part of a system of ethnic disintegration and class differences. This is among other things reflected by the fact that 12 out of 27 teenagers that I interviewed are residents of the most stigmatized part of Malmö, Rosengård. All but four of the teenagers speak another language than Swedish at home. One might even see this as a part of the world system, as the current situation in Iraq forces many families to leave their Iraqi homes, and some of these come to Sweden and the city of Malmö. Since it is impossible to take all of this into account in this study I will focus on the interaction in the school.

It is my ambition to reach a better understanding of how young people in an interaction within the school shape and develop their own identity as a citizen in society. I have given a lot of thought into how this could be done. Since my focus is on the interaction and the shaping of an identity, I find it important to be in direct contact with the teachers and the teenagers over a long period of time. I have chosen three methods that together give me a wide array of contacts with the teenagers and their teachers.

The first method was participant observation, a method closely related to social anthropology. In practice this means that I have followed everyday activities in the school. I have been present as the teachers gather in one of their small offices at school to discuss the day’s and the week’s activities. I have travelled to school by bus, sitting next to some of the teenagers and spoken to them about today’s newspaper and listening to them as they joke and chat in Arabic. I have been sitting in the back of the classroom taking notes, listening to the teachers, watching the teenagers as they do their schoolwork, talk to each other and use cell phones to play the loud noise of an airplane.

It took me some time of self-reflection and time spent studying texts about the method of participatory observation\(^6\) before I was comfortable in my role as participant observer, finding the right balance between participation and observation. Should I intervene when the teenagers were fighting or insulting each other? I sometimes helped the teenagers sitting next to me in the classroom to spell a word or explain a maths problem, but I did not write it for them. Sometimes I was asked about my family and I answered, but not at length.

The second method was personal interviews. I conducted 27 interviews with the teenagers when I had been with them in school for three months. The group of teenagers continually changed during the year, as some moved between the two classes, some changed to other school programmes and others joined the class after having been abroad for several years. I had first intended to make structured interviews and only ask the teenagers about their families, school history and leisure. I ended up talking to them about the themes I had noticed so far: shame,

\(^4\) This number is based on data presented on the webpage of the Swedish national agency for education. The total number of pupils in the upper secondary school for the school year 2006/07 is 376,087 and the number of pupils in any form of individual programme is 28,604. (http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/1718)

\(^5\) There is more information about this plan on Malmö’s website (www.malmo.se, choose English and Annual report) In Swedish the plan is called “Välstånd för alla.”

chaos in the classroom and bragging about criminal acts. Some of the teenagers spoke at length to me about their thoughts and hopes, while others seemed reluctant to speak to me and barely answered my questions. At the end of the school year I interviewed the four teachers about their goals and ambitions and the themes of shame, confidence, knowledge and social codes.

The third method was a form of focus group interview intended to make the teenagers discuss their school situation. The discussion and interaction between the teenagers can give me a better understanding of how they experience their school. I have adapted the collective memory work method developed by Haug et al (1987) to these teenagers. As a moderator, I was more active than in the Haug format and I chose subjects which are more concrete and related to the teenagers’ situation, thereby making the memory work more like focus groups. The German women working with Haug (1987) chose the themes after discussions in the groups, wrote down memories that they associated with the themes and then discussed, analysed and rewrote the memories together. In order to find the right approach for myself as a researcher and moderator I tested the method with two other groups of teenagers before starting my project with the ‘Individual Programme’ class. Finally I chose the general theme of ‘What have I learned in school?’ and met the teenagers in groups of three to five persons. I showed them five memories, two were from my previous tests and three were written by me, but based on experiences in their classroom. I wanted memories that related to the themes that I had already noticed during my participant observation: racism; injustice; mobbing; pride; failure and pupils’ possibility to influence their school and teachers. The teenagers were then asked to write memories of their own, or tell memories that I could write down for them if they were more comfortable with that. A few weeks later I met the groups again and showed them the memories they had written and some of their classmates’ memories, now typed and anonymous. This led to interesting discussions about friendship, cheating, good and bad teachers, pride and why there is so much mischief in the classroom. Some of the boys did not seem interested to be a part of my research, though. They did not write any memories, did not answer my questions or even leave the room.

**Shame and confidence**

These teenagers face a school situation characterised by shame, due to the ‘Individual Programme’s’ status as the programme for those who fail. This shame is not always dominant, but it is always present as a threat. I will give three examples of how the shame associated with the ‘Individual Programme’ is a part of the teenagers’ school experience.

**Shame for lunch**

One of the first situations that the teenagers encounter is one that is also repeated on a daily basis. Since the school does not have a lunchroom of its own the teenagers and their teachers walk to a school close by to have lunch. This school is situated in one of the wealthier parts of Malmö. There are fewer children with an immigrant background here than in other schools in town, and the pupils have higher grades on average in this school than in others. Let us call this the A-school. The lunch arrangement does not work smoothly. The rules and terms under which they may have lunch are continuously changed. The lunch is changed several times during the first two months: from a quarter-to-twelve to half-past-eleven, then to one o’clock and finally to a quarter-past-one. Even though the teachers make sure that they arrive with the pupils to the lunchroom at the time given, they repeatedly have to wait for the food to be prepared for them.

The teachers from the ‘Individual Programme’ are first told that they will eat in the lunchroom where the younger pupils of ages six and seven eat, but the teachers of these young pupils
tell the personnel in the lunchroom that the young pupils are afraid of the teenagers. To me these young children seem only curious about the teenagers. Then the teachers are told that they should eat in the lunchroom with pupils aged 13 to 15. When the teachers, pupils and I arrive to this lunchroom for the first time, teachers from the A-school approach us and tell us we are not allowed to be there. The teachers from the ‘Individual Programme’ try to explain and we are finally served our food. As we sit down to eat, one of the male A-school teachers continues to watch us, pacing around the tables where the teachers, pupils and I sit and eat. The distinction between us and the A-school teacher is obvious from our different outfits. The A-school teacher wears a shirt and a jacket, whereas the teachers from the ‘Individual Programme’ wear jeans and T-shirt.

Finally we are told to come to the lunchroom for the older pupils at a quarter-past-one. We are welcomed into the lunchroom when the A-school pupils have finished their lunch. At one time, as we stand outside the lunchroom waiting for the other A-school pupils to finish and our food to be served, one of the girls from the ‘Individual Programme’ remarks “This is ridiculous! It’s as if they are lambs and we are wolves.”

I interpret these situations in the lunchroom as open hostility and suspicion. The teachers and the personnel at the A-school seem to be afraid of the teenagers from this ‘Individual Programme’. Most of the teenagers from the programme are different from most of the pupils at the A-school, coming from a different part of town, having an immigrant background and having lower grades. These teenagers are seen as strange and dangerous outsiders, and the teachers and the personnel are trying to protect the A-school pupils from this. There are of course exceptions from this general stereotype of the pupil from the ‘Individual Programme’. Four of the teenagers speak Swedish at home; one of them has even gone to the A-school last year and greest friends when we come for lunch. Two of the teenagers live in fashionable parts of Malmö.

To me this stereotyping and hostility from the A-school is quite obvious, but I am curious about how the teenagers and the teachers interpret this. After the incidence with the A-school teacher pacing around our tables as we had lunch, I spoke to the teachers about how they had experienced this situation. They also found an open hostility and even found it comical that we are treated this way. The teachers focused on developing a good relationship with the lunchroom personnel, as they are only trying to follow the changing orders from the headmaster.

In general I found that the teenagers did not react to this treatment in the lunchroom. Apart from the comment about wolfs and lambs mentioned above, they did not discuss the treatment with me. I also spoke to the teenagers about what they think about eating lunch at the A-school. I asked them as we walked to the lunchroom, on breaks and in the personal interviews. They found it a bit unpractical to walk this distance to the lunchroom, but they did not themselves comment on the treatment. This might of course be explained in different ways. Perhaps the teenagers are used to being treated this way. Perhaps I am oversensitive to the situation.

A critical reader might ask if this fear and hostility is justified. On two occasions I saw teenagers from the ‘Individual Programme’ parking their moped on the A-school property. On several occasions there were teenagers smoking outside of the lunchroom. The teenagers sometimes did not wipe their tables in the lunchroom when they left. Still most of the teenagers do none of these things. I saw teenagers return the ball to the smaller children as they happened to shoot it off the ball court. I saw teenagers letting smaller kids pass them in line for the food. I saw teenagers leaving the tables nice and tidy.

Another aspect that might justify the suspicion is what the teenagers from the ‘Individual Programme’ do when they are not in the A-school. On at least two occasions pupils were called

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7 I never talked to the lunch room personnel or the A-school teachers to explain my status as a researcher, hence I was treated as one of the other teachers accompanying the teenagers.
8 Author’s translation.
9 See Pickering (2001): “Stereotyping – The Politics of Representation” for a thorough discussion on how the Other is a characteristic problem of modernity.
to court trials while I performed my participant observation. The headmaster told me that she has contact with the police; she is asked to identify suspected criminals that the police suspects are pupils at her school and she is also told that police in civilian clothing is watching the school and its pupils from across the street. On one occasion a police car parks outside the school and the teenagers tell me it is because the police have seen a stolen moped there. But it is important to emphasise that not all of the teenagers are involved in these kinds of delinquency activities, but all are still treated with suspicion at the A-school.

**Shame of being photographed**

There are other examples of situations where the teenagers feel ashamed of being a pupil in the ‘Individual Programme’, for instance when they are having their picture taken. Every year a catalogue is published showing the class photographs of all classes in every upper secondary school in Malmö. Several thousands of teenagers are on picture in this catalogue. Many school classes choose a common theme and dress up for the occasion as nurses, Santa Claus or ancient Romans in togas. The catalogue is then bought by upper secondary school pupils and used to check up on friends of friends and former classmates. The teachers told me during their informal morning and lunch meetings that their pupils were usually left out of this yearly catalogue and the pupils used to complain about not being included. This year the headmaster has managed to organise it for the photographer to come to their class as well. But when the photographer comes, many of the teenagers choose not to be in the picture. One of the teenage girls had even dressed up in beautiful clothes and put on make-up, but still chose not to be photographed. In the catalogue there are two pictures showing 13 pupils, but 16 are listed as not present.

When I spoke to the teenagers afterwards and asked them why they didn’t want to be in the picture, some of them say that they don’t like having their picture taken. Others admit that they find it embarrassing to see their face under a headline showing that they go to an ‘Individual Programme’, when they know that all of Malmö’s teenagers will have access to the catalogue. One of the boys says that it does not feel good to have everyone know that he goes to the ‘Individual Programme’. When friends ask what he does, he prefers saying that he goes to an upper secondary school, without being more specific about what programme he attends. On a later occasion I spoke to one girl about the headmasters plan to change the name of the school from a name clearly associated with the ‘Individual Programme’ to a more general name, associated with a part of town. This girl then says that she should have been on the picture. That name would not have been as embarrassing.

This is the most obvious example of the teenagers feeling ashamed of being in the ‘Individual Programme’. Once again this can be interpreted as a process of stereotyping where the teenagers in the ‘Individual Programme’ are seen as the outsiders. The lunchroom experience can be seen as an example of how the surrounding society is excluding the teenagers from the Gemeinschaft within the A-school, while the teenagers do not pay much attention to this exclusion. The avoidance of being photographed is different, since it can be seen as an example of how the teenagers have internalised the norms of the surrounding society. They have accepted that the generalised picture of the ‘Individual Programme’ being a place for losers, something to be ashamed of. The mind becomes a prisoner for the body, as Foucault writes in “Surveiller et punir” (2003). The teenagers limit the exposure of their bodies because of the internalised shame in their minds. This photography experience is also similar to the process of female sexualisation described by Haug et al, (1987). The women write memories about how they discipline their bodies to become women. They avoid exposure of embarrassing body hair by choosing some

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10 Unfortunately, I was not present on the day of the photography, but the teachers and teenagers told me about it as I returned a few days later.
clothes over others and by shaving in order to avoid shame, whereas the teenagers in my study avoid exposing their bodies in the photography to avoid shame.

**Shame through name-calling**

A third example of the shame associated with the ‘Individual Programme’ is the name-calling. I first came across the invective “IV-kid”11 when I practised the memory work method with a group of ‘Individual Programme’ pupils from a previous year. IV is an abbreviation of ‘individual’ from the ‘Individual Programme’. The word ‘IV-kid’ is also similar to the invective ‘CP-kid’, a term associated with the handicap cerebral paresis. ‘CP-kid’ means stupid and the invective ‘IV-kid’ has similar associations.

I hear the word ‘IV-kid’ on several occasions during my participant observation. At one time I am going home by bus with a group of five to seven of the pupils after a sports activity. The bus stops to let in a group of pupils from another upper secondary school and it becomes crowded. Then suddenly, as I sit and watch out the window slowly dozing off, I hear one of the teenage boys shout ‘Be careful there are IV-kids back here’. Then there is laughter.

On another occasion we are walking to the lunchroom, the teenagers, the teachers and I. The teenagers walk in smaller groups of two to four persons along a street between villas. Then one of the boys in front of me pushes another boy, laughs and says ‘IV-kid’ in a loud voice. I became curious about the meaning of this word and started asking the teenagers about it on breaks and later in the interviews. During one break I had a conversation with one girl and two boys outside of the school building. I ask them what the word ‘IV-kid’ means and if they use it. The girl tells me that it means that you go to the ‘Individual Programme’ and that her sister calls her ‘IV-kid’ sometimes when the sister wants to tease her. One of the boys says that it means you are stupid, but that you should not think about it like that. The ‘Individual Programme’ is a great chance to catch up if you have not learned enough in school; it is an opportunity and not something to be ashamed of. The girl and the other boy nod and say that they agree. I get similar answers from several teenagers in the personal interviews. They tell me that ‘IV-kid’ means lazy, ignorant, someone with bad grades or “such an idiot who does not give a damn about school”. Many also emphasise that they themselves are not embarrassed to be in the ‘Individual Programme’ and that it is not strange to be in this programme when you only arrived in Sweden a few years ago.

When analysing the use of the term ‘IV-kid’ it is important to notice that not all of the pupils are familiar with it. Some have not heard it before I asked them what it means. Still it is a word that the teenagers themselves use when they want to insult others in the same situation or when they want to make a joke. The use of the word and its meaning is another example of the teenagers internalisation of the shame associated with the school programme they attend. I never encountered a situation where persons who did not attend the Individual program themselves used the term, such as teachers on the A-school or other unknown teenagers on buses. Instead it was the teenagers themselves who used them. The teenagers themselves emphasise that the ‘Individual Programme’ is a good thing, an opportunity for them and this brings us to the theme of confidence.

**Confidence**

Even though the teenagers were ashamed of going to the ‘Individual Programme’, there was also the contradictory notion of growing confidence among them. With the exception of the newly arrived immigrants, the teenagers had the experience of school failure in common. In the interviews the teenagers tell me about moving from school to school, sometimes even from country

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11 The teenagers use the Swedish word ”IV-barn”.
to country. They talk about non-attendance, bad grades and hanging out with the wrong friends. One girl writes down a memory about her former school experience. She writes that it felt like being in hell. The other pupils were mobbing her and the teachers told me that the personnel in her former school considered her to be mentally disabled. With former school experiences like that, it might be a confidence boost to come to a new surrounding, where you can have a new role in the group, where the classes are smaller, the teachers are committed and where you no longer are the most ignorant in the group. When the school year started in August, this girl was extremely shy. She kept so close to me that she literally bumped into me as we walked to the lunchroom or to another classroom. She only spoke when spoken to. At the end of the school year she is laughing out loud in the corridor, joking with both the boys and the girls and sometimes talks so much during classes that she is reprimanded by the teachers.

When the teenagers achieve a pass grade on a test they are very pleased and when they achieve a pass with distinction they are extremely proud of their achievement. When one of the boys gets a pass with distinction on an English test, he bursts out of the classroom with the test in his hand, showing it to me who is standing outside in the corridor, to the other teachers and to all of his friends. His smile is wide and he walks with his head high. Another boy writes a memory about his pass with distinction in a maths test. He writes that it was a wonderful feeling, because he had never had a pass with distinction in maths before. He goes from loathing the subject to realising that it was easy if he only studied at home.

When I performed the memory work discussions with the teenagers, I asked them about why there is so often chaos in the classroom. One memory describes a class where one of the teenagers – let us call him Anders – puts his cell phone on top of a ceiling lamp. The teenagers then take turns to call the cell phone which makes it start ringing with a very loud signal that sounds like an airplane taking off. The teacher becomes annoyed and angry since she is consistently interrupted by the signal. Finally the teacher turns every pupil out of the room. Anders is afraid that his phone will be left in the classroom, so a few teenagers distract the teacher while Anders sneaks into the classroom to get the phone.

As we discuss this incident, the teenagers say that it is difficult not to make trouble in the classroom. When someone starts making mischief it is easy to be dragged along and start talking too loud with friends instead of doing school-work. The teenagers also say that they start talking when they do not get the teachers’ immediate attention and help. From my position in the back of the classroom, I interpret the outbursts of chaos in the classroom as closely connected with the shame that the teenagers feel about their own school failures. To me these teenagers seem ashamed of not being able to solve the maths problem or translate the English word and instead of admitting their own ignorance they choose to make noise. They seem to prefer being seen as trouble-makers rather than ignorant or not seen at all. Their confidence is very low when it comes to school work and even the slightest progress seems like a great achievement to them.

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12 I was one of very few females in the classroom. When the school year started there were four girls in the two classes, but two weeks later there was only two girls. These two girls stayed in the two classes for the whole school year. Another girl joined the class only to leave in a few months and in the spring semester two new girls joined the classes. This shows that the group is not stable through the school year and it also shows that the girls are greatly outnumbered by the boys.

13 There are four different levels of grades in the Swedish school system:
- No grade is given when the pupil fails to achieve a passing grade in a subject
- G (godkänt): pass
- VG (väl godkänt): pass with distinction
- MVG (mycket väl godkänt): pass with special distinction
Additional information is available on the website of the Swedish National Agency of Education, www.skolverket.se.

14 I was not present when this happened, but I was several similar situations in the classroom where the teenagers helped each other to fool the teacher.
Beverly Skeggs (1999) writes about young working-class women in Great Britain who try to be respectable in spite of their low social status. In her analysis, the young women are protesting against sexist teachers by making mischief in their classroom. Perhaps these teenagers protest in a similar way. The protest may be ineffective, since it is directed towards a person employed to help them obtain basic knowledge that is necessary for agency in most situations in society. But it may still be the only protest that the teenagers are capable of.

In August when the school year starts, the teenagers are told that this year is their last chance; an opportunity that they cannot let go to waste. This message is repeated in a grave voice throughout my participant observation by the four teachers and the headmaster. The teenagers repeat this as I speak to them about the word ‘IV-kid’. They say that they are not ashamed to go to the ‘Individual Programme’ and that it is a great opportunity for them, but they do still choose not to be in the photograph. In one of the interviews a boy seems to be speaking very sincerely to me when he says that he really has to behave in school now or the social services might decide to send him off to an institution for young criminals. When this interview is finished the boy goes into the classroom and starts using his desk as a drum. He continues this even if he is reprimanded by the teacher. After ten minutes he leaves the classroom with a friend, even though the class has not finished. Even if the teenagers have internalised the phrases and opinion of the teacher and the institution, this does not mean that they choose to act accordingly in every situation.

Shame, confidence and citizenship

The general themes of shame and confidence may at first glance seem not to be related to citizenship, but since I have chosen an understanding of citizenship that focuses on agency, honour (the opposite of shame) and confidence are essential conditions for a personal active citizenship. The teenagers’ school situation is characterised by shame, as they are stereotyped by the surrounding society and as they internalise the image of and “IV-kid” being stupid. The shame makes it difficult for them to act in their own interest. The paradox is that the Individual Programme is designed to help the teenagers and give them a chance to influence their own life by giving them the necessary knowledge and tools, but this help also brands them as Outsiders. The growing confidence that the teenagers are experiencing might make it possible for the teenagers to be political agents and to protest in other ways than making trouble in the classroom. Still they live in a segregated city. As mentioned, many of them live in Rosengård, a part of Malmö that has a bad reputation across the country, and face prejudices and social inequalities. The ‘Individual Programme’ cannot remove that stigma.

Knowledge and Social Codes

The four teachers that the teenagers encounter on a daily basis have high ambitions. They share an interest in social issues and a general democratic ambition. This is demonstrated by the fact that they choose to welcome me to their workplace and by their informal discussions about politics. In the personal interviews the teachers say that they want to boost their pupils’ confidence, help their pupils understand social codes, contribute to their pupils’ general knowledge and help the pupils obtain a pass grade in their school subjects. As I sit in the back of the classroom during the participant observation, there are two areas that I find take up the most of the classroom time, social codes and the knowledge necessary for getting a pass in the subjects of Swedish, English and maths. There are four teachers working with the teenagers: one female teacher teaching Swedish and English; two male teachers teaching maths and one male teacher teaching the theme subject. Let us call them Mary, Chris, Mark and Steve.
Knowledge

The focus on the grades in the three basic subjects is evident. The teachers perform diagnostic tests with the teenagers during the first two weeks of the autumn semester and speak about the importance of the national tests\textsuperscript{15} that will be taken during the spring semester. The teachers also emphasise the meaning of the three subjects by giving homework and producing their own tests.

The learning activities in the classroom can therefore be seen as goal oriented, the goal being a pass grade in the National test and hence a pass grade in the respective subjects. An example of this is the list of difficult words in Swedish distributed by Mary. She has collected words from previous National tests and tells the teenagers to use dictionaries to learn the meanings of these words, in order to be better prepared for the National test in Swedish. Another example is that the teenagers’ first lesson every day is forty minutes of reading. They either listen to a recording of a book with the book in front of them, or take turns to read aloud from a book. This reading is meant to increase the teenagers’ vocabulary and their understanding of the Swedish language, which is tested in the National test in Swedish.

There are also activities that are not this clearly goal oriented. The teachers speak to me during breaks and informal meetings about the importance of providing the teenagers with a general knowledge. Sometimes the teachers let themselves be distracted from the lesson plan and engage in discussions with the teenagers about current events instead. I listen to discussions about the situation in Iraq, about war in general and what it means to be Swedish. When I speak to the teenagers about this in the collective memory work discussions, they say that they do not consider this as an opportunity for learning, but as an opportunity to avoid learning something that they find boring. The teachers do however consider these moments as important chances to give the teenagers a more general knowledge.

In the autumn of 2006 as I conducted my research, there was a National parliamentary and municipality election in Sweden. The teachers decide to dedicate three school days to a project about the election. This is not a compulsory part of the National Curriculum in the subjects that the teenagers are studying, but the teachers find it important to give the teenagers a chance to learn about an important social and political event. As I listened to the discussions in the different groups it was evident that the teenagers thought that the Social Democrats are the same thing as the social services responsible for social welfare benefits. The teachers talked about this misconception with me and with the teenagers. The teenagers are divided into four groups by the teachers. One group learns about the left wing parties and is lead by Mary. The second group studies democracy, the Parliament and the Electoral System and is lead by Mark. The third group learns about the right-wing parties lead by Chris. The fourth group studies the smaller political parties not represented in the Parliament, under the supervision of Steve. For two days the teenagers work with material handed out by the teachers in their different groups. On the third day, the Friday before the election, the teenagers make an oral presentation in front of the whole group, some eloquently, some reluctantly. Then they hold a mock election, where the Social Democrats win the election. During the first two days of this project I became more of a participant and less of an observer than I otherwise was. The teachers knew that I had an interest in politics and had experience from teaching the subject at university and asked me questions concerning the electoral system and different political issues.

On the Monday after the election I was going by bus to school a bit later than usual. I met one of the teenage boys while waiting for the bus. He was devastated by the result of the election. The right-wing parties had won the Parliamentary Election and would lead a four party government. The boy asked me what would happen. He said that he was afraid that the new Government would abolish unemployment benefits and social welfare benefits altogether. I tried

\textsuperscript{15} National tests from the ninth grade of the compulsory school are meant to help teachers as they grade their pupils and help promote equality between schools and regions of the country. The tests are issued by the National Agency for Education and corrected by the teachers. The tests are one part of the material that teachers use to grade their pupils. Classroom participation and other tests also influence the grade.
to reassure him, telling him that the changes would not be that big since there is a general political understanding between the political parties in Sweden.

From my point of view the project about the election was very interesting to observe. The teachers wanted to give the teenagers an idea of how democracy works and they also tried to transfer the normative attitude that democracy is a good thing. The teachers also let the teenagers practice democracy by holding the mock election. Still there are things that they chose not to do. The teachers did not encourage the teenagers to express their own opinions when they made the oral presentations to their classmates. This was most evident in the group studying the smaller political parties not represented in the parliament. One girl was reading information about a small party and suddenly said out loud that this party wants me to leave this country. I approached her and asked her what she thinks about that. She said that she does not like it. The teacher did not have a discussion about how the proposals from these xenophobic parties would influence the teenagers and he did not either encourage the teenagers to make it a part of their presentation. The teenagers were not either encouraged to be a part of the planning of the lessons, one of many goals that teachers are obliged to work for according to the National Curriculum.

**Social Codes**

The other area that takes up a lot of classroom time is social codes. Steve often uses the term ‘school code’ to speak about how important it is that the pupils learn what is expected of them in school. The pupils should sit down at their desks, be on time, bring their books, do their homework, be quiet when the teacher is speaking and turn off their cell phones. Even though the other teachers do not use the term ‘school code’ they all spend a lot of time in their unofficial meetings to discuss what they need to do to change the teenagers’ behaviour. They try to have common rules about not letting any pupil into the classroom if they are late, not lending out pencils and making the pupils put their cell phone in a plastic box as they enter the classroom. The teachers can give recommendations for their pupils and thereby help them to get onto the upper secondary school programme they want after finishing the year in the Individual Programme. These recommendations reflect whether the teachers consider that a particular pupil is able to follow the school code.

Practically every class starts with a few minutes of reprimands about this school code from the teachers and sometimes the reprimands take up half of the class time, leaving little room for translation of English texts or practising grammatical rules. When I speak to the teenagers about this in the collective memory work discussions, they say that they hate to listen to these reprimands directed at the whole class when only a few of them have been guilty of being late or talking while the teacher speaks.

It is difficult for the teachers to teach when the whole class becomes chaotic, when phones are ringing and boys are hitting each other, but from my position in the back of the classroom it is also boring to listen to the reprimands being repeated over and over again. I do also see how the teenagers struggle to live up to the expectations, but still fail. One of the boys tries to avoid getting into fights during classes by choosing to sit in the back of the classroom, away from the boy that he has started fights with on two occasions, but the only comment he gets from the teacher is that he is doodling in his papers again. I see other boys showing me that they have remembered to bring the books, and then being disappointed when the teachers complain about them forgetting their pencils again.

The teachers also find it important to give the pupils the opportunity to learn about social codes for other situations than school. Important occasions for doing this are the lunch-breaks, when they walk to the A-school together and sit together in the lunch-room. They talk to the teenagers about leisure activities, movies, sport, music, food and traditions. Another possibility for informal discussions about prejudices is casual talks in the corridor. On one occasion I listen to a discussion in the corridor between two of the girls and Mary and Steve. The girls say that
they could never fall in love with a Swede since he would be too different from their own Arabic understanding of the world. The teachers ask why and the girls say that Swedes do not love their children as much as they themselves do. The teachers say that Swedes and Arabs are not that different. They would not themselves let their children stay out after eight o’clock at night and they love their children very much. The girls laugh, look at each other and the floor and say that they still think that it would be difficult to have a relationship between a Swede and an Arab.

**Knowledge, Social Codes and Citizenship**

An understanding of citizenship that emphasises agency can also be connected to social codes and knowledge. Knowledge about one’s own rights and responsibilities is a condition for being able to claim your rights and do the right thing. Skills like speaking, writing and arithmetic are also an important part of this knowledge. The teenagers in the ‘Individual Programme’ lack important skills and knowledge necessary for them to become active citizens. The ‘Individual Programme’ is meant to give them some of this knowledge and necessary skills, but whilst they are pupils in this programme, they are also stigmatised as being stupid and outsiders.

The example with the project about the election demonstrates that even though the teachers want their pupils to learn about the democratic system, they do not consider the teenagers as mature enough to form and express their own opinions about politics or classroom activities. Hence the teenagers have to earn their citizenship rights. Börjesson, Palmblad and Wahl (2005) have studied the social welfare system in Sweden and claim that citizenship in many cases is not a given right, but something that you have to earn by following the moral codes. The teenagers encounter similar demands. Sometimes a good behaviour can compensate for lacking grades and bring the teenagers into the programme they want to go to. The teenagers’ right to influence their education is also disregarded because of their delinquent behaviour. They are not given the right to together with the teachers discuss what books should be read and what methods should be used, because they do not obey the rules of the school code. Influence is hence a privilege to be earned and not a prerequisite for learning to take place.

The social codes that the teenagers encounter can be compared to the discipline that Foucault finds in both schools and prisons (2003). The prisoners and the pupils of the 19th century French schools have to discipline their bodies and internalise principles of obedience, silence and hard work. The principles are not that different from what the teenagers encounter in their school experience and the importance of internalising the values and making the mind control the body is also present. Still there are important differences as well. The teenagers face far less harsh rules and are not as restricted when it comes to clothing, presence, eating and talking.

**Discussion**

The teenagers in this study face a difficult situation. Since they have not received a pass grade in the three basic subjects of Swedish, English and maths, they are not admitted into any of the National upper secondary school programmes. Instead they are recommended to join an ‘Individual Programme’. They are told that this is their last chance and an opportunity to be accepted into the national programmes and that this in the long run is their chance to have a job in a work market that continuously demands higher formal qualifications from the work force. The problem is that when the teenagers begin the ‘Individual Programme’ they are also stigmatised and branded as stupid and as Outsiders.
The teenagers have to find ways to relate to the shame associated with the ‘Individual Programme’. They face teachers from other schools who treat them with open hostility and suspicion. These teachers make sure that interaction between the teenagers in the ‘Individual Programme’ and the younger pupils from one of the city’s most privileged parts is minimised. The teenagers internalise the shame. They choose not to be photographed in the city’s catalogue of all of the upper secondary school pupils and they use the insult ‘IV-kid’ to one another, thereby accepting that one should be ashamed of the ‘Individual Programme’. Still the teenagers internalise the idea of the year in the ‘Individual Programme’ being something positive; a chance for improvement, as they are told by the teachers and the headmaster in their school. They use the same expressions to explain why one should not be ashamed of being a pupil in the programme.

The experiences in school also help the teenagers become more confident about their own abilities. The ‘Individual Programme’ offers the teenagers a new environment where they can reinvent themselves and leave the role of victim of mobbing or being regarded as the most stupid person in the class. The teachers are committed to helping their pupils. The classes are smaller. The teenagers are very proud of their achievements when they get a pass grade or even a pass with distinction.

The teachers want to give their pupils the opportunity to learn enough to achieve a pass grade on the National examinations in the three basic subjects and thereby a chance to be admitted into one of the National upper secondary school programmes. The teachers also want the teenagers to learn to understand social codes, the most important being the ‘school code’ i.e. the behaviour expected of the pupils in the classroom: being on time, listening to the teacher, doing the homework and so on. Most of the teenagers do not manage to live up to these expectations and they are all collectively reprimanded by the teachers. The teachers want the teenagers to learn to understand social codes, so that they can handle different situations that they will encounter.

According to my understanding of citizenship, the ability to act in your own and others’ interest is central and a democratic society should strive for agency for all of its citizens. The teenagers in my study are hindered in many ways from acting in their own interests. Foremost the shame of being a pupil in the ‘Individual Programme’ weakens their self-esteem and hence limits their ability to be an active citizen. Equality is one of the central values of citizenship. Every individual should be considered as equal, but the teenagers are implicitly told that they are not good enough. They are not good enough to be granted an active participation in the planning of the school activities. They are not good enough to eat with the pupils of the A-school.

The teenagers are also hindered from becoming active citizens by their lacking basic skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. The school works actively to improve these skills among the pupils. The question is if this could be done without creating situations where the teenagers repeatedly find that they fail to live up to the norms.

References


Part IV

Values in Pre-School
Sustainable development (SD) has been a worldwide concept since the UN conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, when awareness of environmental issues in the global community was raised as a crucial question for the future development and survival of mankind and global ecosystems. In the action program entitled Agenda 21 the conference made proposals for global action in a wide range of areas such as social and economic dimensions, conservation and management of resources. Agenda 21 states the importance of children as participators in the efforts to create a sustainable world. It also draws attention to the roles of education and teaching as important factors in the promotion of environmental and ethical awareness in developing values and attitudes, developing environmentally-friendly behavior and participating in decision-making. As a concept, sustainable development is problematic and has a large variety of definitions that need to be clarified. One of the most used definitions comes from the Brundtland Commission report 'Our common future' from 1987, in which it defines sustainable development as ‘development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’. Three key principles were defined as important aspects of the concept – social, environmental and economic – as an integrated whole.

Sustainable development in higher education

In 2004 the Swedish parliament formed a policy for global and sustainable development; a policy to steer all aspects and parts of society (the Swedish government official report, SOU 2004:104). The education system, from pre-school to university, has a specific responsibility to actively work to ensure that sustainable development will be a perspective that permeates work within all levels. The Swedish Higher Education Act of 1 February 2006 states that universities shall promote sustainable development and that it shall permeate all their activities.

Education for sustainable development (ESD) has been criticised as a normative approach (Lundegård, 2007) and the role of universities as reproducers of specific values and worldviews has been discussed. Other authors suggest that higher education has a profound role in education for sustainable development, as scepticism, curiosity and freedom of speech are core values in higher education (Holmberg & Samuelsson, 2006), and that the concept gives rise to the possibility of epistemic development and paradigmatic challenges to higher education (Wals, 2006).
Educational setting

In the last year, several researchers have been focusing on ESD in teacher education in different aspects. Hopkins & McKeown (2006) show in the report from the international network of teacher education institutions, that official National and provincial curricula rarely mandate sustainability; there is a lack of trained professionals who are knowledgeable about ESD.

The Swedish education system has, as mentioned previously, legislation concerning the concept of SD at both a National and a local level. But what does it mean to the individuals within the organization? In a study that focuses on student teachers in Sweden and their knowledge about what teaching for sustainable development may be, the author found two qualitatively different attitudes (Jonsson, 2007). The first one was the action-oriented normative attitude and the second one was the content-oriented normative attitude. In the action-oriented normative attitude the student teachers focus on “doing the right thing” such as waste sorting, composting, but the meaning and purpose of the action was not discussed. In the content-oriented normative attitude the students’ primary focus was aspects of the contents as natural resources. Jonsson suggests that student teachers need to develop their ability to see sustainable development from different angles and to approach it with lots of nuances. Sandell, Öhman & Östman (2005) propose that the main goal of education for sustainable development is to foster citizens who can actively participate in democratic discussions and develop the ability to critically appraise environmental and developmental problems.

Sustainable development in the Swedish pre-school

Environmental education has been on the agenda in Swedish preschools and schools for a long time. Teachers' own understanding, environmental ethical values and different standpoints, choice of content and educational philosophy has a big impact on how they organise their own teaching (Sandell, Öhman & Östman, 2005). Björneloo (2004, 2007) has studied teachers' differing understanding of the concept of sustainable development. The result reveals five different themes about which teachers want their pupils to learn concerning sustainable development. The first theme was wholes and connections and refers to a holistic perspective of the world that everything matters as there is only one world. The second theme was participation and responsibility and it refers to the pupils' playing an active role in society, the importance of making choices and understanding the consequences of their choices. The third theme was empathy and understanding. This theme focused on the pupils' empathy and understanding of others. Empowerment and ability to communicate is the fourth theme and refers to responsibility for their own lives and children's knowledge and their ability to learn through reading and writing. In the meta-analysis of the five themes, Björneloo found three meanings of understanding of the concept of sustainable development among the teachers, first as an ethical project, second as building a culture and the third as children’s individual sustainability.

Since 1998, the preschool has been incorporated as the first step in the overall education system in Sweden and has its own National Curriculum. The Curriculum states the fundamental values, tasks, goals and guidelines for pre-school education. Sustainable development as a concept is not utilised in the policy context. Democratic rights and responsibility plus an ecological approach, are the main issues and should be implemented in all daily activities in preschool. Teachers in pre-school have a responsibility to develop an environment in which the children get involved and make their own choices. Teachers also have the task of arranging supportive learning processes which deepen children's knowledge and at the same time stimulate their lust for further learning. Pramling Samuelsson (2005) states that ESD for small children have a dual task, both to lay the foundations for a democratic approach and to establish a genuine interest in nature, the environment and natural science.
Subjects, procedure and analysis

The sample consisted of 32 day-care attendants from 30 different pre-schools in 5 average Swedish municipalities. Participants were recruited from an in-service education course at Mälardalen University. They study half the time and the rest of their time they work within preschools. This sample is of course not representative of all day-care attendants in Sweden, but it shows the tendency of day-care attendants’ conceptions of sustainable development. During spring 2007, these students were given a task to document what “activities for sustainable development” mean for them and to write a degree project. The study began with a description of the study and of ethical rules in social science research i.e. demands for confidentiality, consent, information and autonomy, and with an accentuation that participation in the study was voluntary (Swedish Research Council, 2002). The empirical data has been studied from questions about the meaning and understanding of the concept of sustainable development and have been analysed.

The analysis of the students’ degree projects attempts to illustrate knowledge about critical moments in teaching of the concept of sustainable development. The qualitative analysis was carried out in four steps of repeated categorisations based on a latent content analysis approach (Graneheim, & Lundman, 2003). Firstly, each degree project was read a number of times in order to obtain a sense of the whole body of data. This resulted in a general picture of the material, highlighting some surface features of the material. After this general analysis, the main analysis was performed with the initial aim to identify generic characteristics of sustainable development, i.e. what is common for all day-care attendants. Secondly, categorisations of definitions and content in sustainable development were made based on similarities and differences in the generic characteristics in definitions and describing the content of sustainable development. Thirdly, the categories obtained were grouped into clusters of categories that were assembled into four super-ordinate themes i.e. fundamental values, nature, learning and physical needs. Fourthly, similarities and differences were studied with regard to these meaning units in each of these super-ordinate theme-producing categories. Some categories involved sub-categories that had a shared meaning on a lower level.

Results

In this study, the participants defined the concept of sustainable development as both conscious thinking and attitude for both children and pre-school staff, now and in the future, internationally and nationally, in everyday life. It is about the relationship between people, but also about the relationship between people and nature. This was illustrated with a quotation from one of the participants:

“For me sustainable development means so much more than just participating so that children receive an insight in and understanding of their participation in relation to nature. As I see it, the children should develop the ability to experience and discover the meaning of their own actions and understand that they can influence and be a part of the process. I mean that work with sustainable development also makes a difference and influences the consciousness of children and that their actions and the choices they make in different situations have an importance for the future and impact on what happens to them personally, their contact with their peers, nature and the world around them. The attitudes the children have to their peers, toys, bodies and nature affects and gives rise to consequences.”

Therefore, it means that everything I do today is important for what happens tomorrow.
**Attitudes and values - pedagogic praxis**

In the main analysis, based on descriptions from the participants about sustainable development, four themes emerged, i.e. fundamental values, nature, learning and physical needs. The theme of fundamental values divides into four categories: children’s views; social relations; gender equality and cultural diversity, whereas the theme of nature divides into five categories: outdoor play; the cycle of nature; seasonal changes; animals and plants; cultivation and gardening. In the day-care attendants’ descriptions, the theme ‘learning’ is expressed as four different categories. The different categories are: developmental pedagogic, play, pedagogic documentation and children as co-researchers. Physical needs appear in the categories: physical play; health promotion; nutrition and food.

**Fundamental values**

Democratic issues are an important part of the work concerning sustainable development in preschool. The students described the importance of the influence of the child in everyday activities. *Taking children’s views into account* is a central theme both in formal organisation as participators in democratic decision-making processes and in the planning and content of joint projects at the pre-school, also in informal processes and possibilities for the individual child, to decide what to do, and with whom.

Workings within *social relations* are seen as an important part in education for sustainable development. The students write about norms - how children should behave towards each other. Friendship - meaning to be a nice friend and resolving conflicts among children, is a central part of the text. The students often raise the point of *gender equality* in pre-school activities, with the focus on every child’s right to equal opportunities in all learning situations and activities in the pre-school. In a few reports *cultural diversity* is discussed.

**Nature**

Outdoor play has a prominent place in the preschools’ everyday agenda. In all reports the students described *outdoor play* in the pre-school yard and in the forest. The rhetoric describing outdoor activities, especially in the forest, creates pro-environmental attitudes and promotes values such as respect and awareness towards nature. Experiencing and exploring *the cycle of nature, seasonal changes, animals and plants* describes developing in some texts as ‘natural’ in the children’s outdoor play but in others as a deliberate pedagogical practice. In this quote *cultivation and gardening* is described.

Most of the students emphasise *waste sorting* as separating recyclable waste from other waste. They *compost* organic material. Some have their own compost and recycling ‘station’ in the preschool yard and others go to a local recycling depot with organic material, paper, cardboard, aluminum, glass and plastics. Some of the students describe that they encourage using *re-usable material* as play and construction material in the preschool.

**Learning**

Several students describe *developmental pedagogic* as a tool to develop creative activities, children’s different ideas and understanding, as a pedagogical challenge. *Play* is described as an essential part of learning in pre-school. *Pedagogic documentation* was often mentioned in the report. It describes as a method to reflect upon the practice so it becomes possible to develop and evaluate pedagogical work. Several reports identify *children as co-researchers*. Encounters between children and teachers are important to develop knowledge and learning.
Physical needs

In the exam reports, the students point out physical play with regard to facilitating children’s physical skills. Physical play can be both in an organised form and as free play in the pre-school yard or in the forest. Health promotion is also an essential element in the pre-school praxis for present and future life. In several of the reports the students raise the subject of nutrition and food. To have a kitchen to produce home-made food is important. Quite a lot of the pre-schools had developed dietary interventions such as reducing the sugar content in food. A minority serve organic food.

The results revealing day-to-day realities are fundamental topics in bringing up and fostering children to be responsible citizens are on the agenda in the pre-school. Generally they try to expand children’s sensitivity toward environmental, social and individual as well as physical, mental health and wellbeing issues. Children’s involvement in learning and the decision-making processes as social and moral participants is a general theme in the reports even if it is interpreted in qualitatively different ways. In some of the pre-schools, sustainable development was adapted as a holistic approach permeating through all situations and activities. Some of the pre-schools describe SD as an environmental issue and describe different activities involving nature and science. Some articulate SD as a democratic issue were human rights, democracy, gender equality, morals and ethics were on the agenda. A minority of the pre-schools had never heard about the concept.

Discussion

The concept of sustainable development is problematic and has a variety of definitions. The attention to environmental issues has increased in the last years as environmental problems like global warming, greenhouse effect and climate change is on the global agenda.

Sustainable development is a concept that includes activities in pre-school. How does pre-school staff work with learning for sustainable development? In this study, almost all participants expressed that pre-schools are characterised by an environment where questions about value, morality, human rights, democracy, participation and relationships to nature are touched upon, also the relationships with ‘learning for sustainable development’. The participants expressed the notion that sustainable development also deals with what is described in the curriculum for the pre-school, Lpfö 98 (2006). Their work and planning for activities starts from the curriculum for pre-school and the staff create an environment in which everyone can live, achieving sustainable development in our society, both for future and current generations. During the day in pre-school, the children are part of the context, where challenges and learning situations occur. It is the task of the pre-school staff to capture these stages and create activities from them. To work with sustainable development is a process that varies depending on the particular group of children and staff consciousness and engagement. Working with sustainable development cannot be isolated into individual activities.

The concept of education for sustainable development has some problematic aspects that it is important to discuss. First of all the concept of rhetoric is tricky in different ways. Almost everybody agrees because no one wants an unsustainable environment, so sustainable development is a core issue in the educational context. Secondly, ESD is seen as a panacea for safeguarding human existence. Also, the students interpret the term on the basis of their practical knowledge from their workplace and their life experience. This generates different understanding and different pedagogical contexts. A holistic approach, environmental issue, democratic issue or even ‘never heard of the issue’ create different attitudes and day-to-day practices. Thirdly ESD is a multi-faceted topic that requires special methods and alternative paths of learning.

As higher education has a pivotal role and ‘shall promote sustainable development that ensures present and future generations: a healthy and good environment; economic and social
welfare and justice’ (Swedish Higher Education Act, 2006, chapter 1, section 5), it is not enough for the student to read course literature and to write an examination paper. They need to have stimulated dialogue about the subject, with reflection and critical thinking, and analysing teachers as role model in everyday educational practice and practical experience. Students need to examine the basis for their own assertions, opinions, ethical discernment and ideas to decide their own standpoints. Through an approach where the variety of voices from the students are listened to, multi-faceted subjects such as sustainable development, democracy, citizenship, diversity, social and economic justice, responsibility, care, respect, tolerance and peace can generate a fruitful educational environment in pre-schools, schools and universities.

References


Attitudes and values towards play and toys - reflections over time

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The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse play from a contemporary historical perspective. The socio-cultural perspective is brought forth as cultural values are implicitly incorporated into play (Vygotsky, [1930] 1990; Säljö, 2002). It is all about being aware that childhood today is not the same as earlier childhoods. Children’s play today has other prerequisites and takes place under other conditions. During previous decades there has also been a change in the understanding of childhood and children’s role in society. The child is furthermore viewed from a new perspective and seen as an active and competent person and therefore it should be given both the right and opportunity to influence its own life (Sheridan, 2001; Sheridan & Pramling-Samuelsson, 2001; Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 2002; Pramling-Samuelsson & Asplund-Carlsson, 2003). Children, seen as young citizens of our society, are expected not only to learn about democratic values but also to take an active part of the democratic process in everyday life. The Swedish curriculum for the pre-school (Lpfö 98) states that the work team “is responsible for ensuring that the pre-school applies democratic working methods in which the children actively participate” (p. 9). The curriculum for the pre-school also recognises that “the attitudes of adults influence the child’s understanding and respect for the rights and obligations that apply in a democratic society” (p.3). The question that arises is “What attitudes do pre-school teachers have? The aim of our study is therefore, not only to describe and analyse play through a contemporary historical perspective, but also to analyse pre-school teachers’ views on children and play today, comparing with their own experiences.

Methods

This study is based upon females’ experiences and memories of play and includes interviews with 111 women. Participants were 59 pre-school teachers and 52 students, majoring in education and students at the teacher education program, describing their personal experiences of play. The youngest participant was 22 years old and the oldest was 63, thus there was an age gap of 41 years between the youngest and the oldest participant.

Focus was female experiences since there was a lack of male pre-school teachers and male students in the teacher education program. Our aim is however to study male experiences in a separate study since we hope to compare the results between female and male experiences and memories in the future.

Data were gathered through retrospective interviews, as participants were asked to describe their memories concerning toys, play content and friends. Retrospective interviews have some methodological problems since people have a tendency to remember the past through a filter that
is highly influenced by the present. People may also idealise the past and thus portray events as more positive than they actually were (Repstad, 1999). The purpose of this study was however not to establish if certain events really took place but to study what importance the participants’ own memories of play may have in regard to their view of play today. The participants were asked to share their favourite as well as their strongest play memory. They were also asked to describe what they played, with whom they played and what toys they used in play. The concluding question however, was different, as the participants were asked to share their reflections about play as they experienced and compare these experiences with how they view children’s play today.

The participants were divided into two age groups, 34 years and younger and 35 years and older, when analysing the result. The categorization was based on the conception that younger and older participants have different experiences and memories of play since they grew up in different decades. Play is to be seen related to a time aspect; some play forms seem to be the same over the years, some change, some disappear and others are created. We were interested in studying these changes in society during the past 50 years.

Results

When comparing younger and older participants’ memories of play the increased welfare, women’s entry into working life, urbanization, secularization and an increased range of media stand out as dividers. These changes in society are partly reflected in the external conditions of play, but also in play content.

The increased welfare and the shift to a consumption society are mainly mirrored in the participant’s access to toys. All women remember having a doll, but for the older participants, it was all they had, instead they had to make do with material from the nature, like sticks and berries and so on. The younger participants had access to a wider range of toys. They also had access to indoor play – playing in their own room. Older participants state, on the other hand, that they were not allowed to play indoors. The indoor space was very limited and in order to keep the indoor environment neat and clean, indoor play was prohibited. The access to indoor play does therefore not only mirror an increased welfare among families, being able to afford larger houses and flats, but also a change in attitudes among parents when children are allowed to use indoor space for play.

The increased secularisation is mainly shown in play content. Participants who grew up in the 40’s and 50’s describe religious themes in play. They remember how they used to recreate religious ceremonies in play. These religious themes do not occur at all among the younger participants descriptions of play. An explanation to this difference in play content is that children no longer, not to the same extent as earlier generations, visit the church on regular basis. Religion is not given the same importance in younger people’s everyday life.

Urbanisation and women’s entry into working life is mostly mirrored in relationships between children and in play content. Older participants, who grew up in the countryside, describe the early years of childhood as quite lonely. They usually played on their own, or perhaps with siblings, since they were not allowed to wander away from the home area. They remember not having the opportunity to experience play in larger groups of children, including boys and girls in different ages, until they started school. When they reached school age the school became a natural meeting place for children.

The younger participants, who grew up in the cities, include friends in their memories of play to a greater extent, describing how they played among peers in pre-school, in the backyards and gardens, even in early years. Women’s entry into working life contributed to children taking part of pre-school activities. Urbanisation is also reflected in play content. Older participants describe
different aspects of farming in their memories of play. They pretended to take care of the animals at the farm and so on. Younger participants describe city life and add a new content into play, playing ‘supermarket’ and ‘barbershop’.

The influence of media shows clearly in the statements made by the participants. The ‘western’-theme – playing Indians and cowboys, is frequently mentioned by both groups. This preserved theme in play content may be explained by the fact that movies with western themes have been produced for a long period of time.

When the participants were asked to compare their experiences with children’s play today, a significant number described children’s play from a deficiencies perspective. The participants said they noticed deficiencies within several areas. Some stated that children no longer can, or need to use their imagination in play. Ready-made toys, made for a specific use, are one of the explanations to this declining ability, since they limit children’s ability to see other uses for them. The participants stated that the adults surrounding the child may contribute to this lack of imagination, when they are seen interrupting, controlling and even replacing play with organised activities. It is mainly the parents who are made responsible for the latter, as they are seen taking their children to various activities after pre-school, and thereby limiting the child’s ‘free’ time for play.

The participants also felt that children have lost some of their ability to play. They have ‘trouble playing’, not initiating play to the same extent as earlier generations. They have to be ‘activated’ or ‘started’ in situations when they are expected to play. One of the participants says:

You almost have to tell them that – there’s a skipping rope over there, you could skip rope! Instead of them automatically taking the skipping rope.

Children are described as passive in play situations, not being able to act in a creative and imaginative way or to take initiative to start play.

**Discussion**

The result shows how children’s ‘possibilities to make friends’ in different ages has changed over time and so has play content and the range of toys available for children. When asked to compare their own memories of play with their view on children’s play today other changes in society are made visible. The change into an information and consumer society is reflected in the participants’ statements when seeing the range of media available to children as a cause for their lack of initiative. The child, living in and taking part of an information and consumer society, is often described as passive when ‘fed’ with different messages from commercials and TV-shows. There is no doubt that different corporations gain market shares by colonising children’s world of play (Aird, 2004). But the questions are: Can you really consider children as passive media consumers? Do children not develop some kind of awareness of the mechanisms in the consumption society? And why not? Should you not as teacher, be a part of creating some kind of awareness about these matters among children?

The teachers also noticed a lack of creativity in children’s play today, compared with their own experiences. This could be a little troubling since creativity is highly valued in our society today. The western economy is partly based on creativity since it is seen as important to develop new products, new ideas and new ways of using already existing products. The question is though: Do children lack creativity, or do they lack the opportunity to use their creativity? It is very important to discuss how we view children today. It is so much easier to label a child as ‘less creative’ or ‘passive’ than to relate these features to environment. Could it even be that the pre-school environment contributes to the deficiencies that pre-school teachers and students discuss? The participants state that children do not have the same opportunity to develop through play as
earlier generations. If you turn this around you can also state that pre-school teaches assume that ‘in order to develop creativity, imagination and initiative you need a lack of toys and a lack of media, and also an absence of adults’.

The participants also stated that children are having “trouble playing” but this can also be seen in the light of the situation. Sharing toys not belonging to you with other children, may not be as easy as it seems, if you look upon it from a child’s perspective. How can you as a child know that the toy is available? If they pick the rope up, there is a risk that some other child comes to claim it. Seen from the child’s perspective, it may be very unwise to pick the rope up. How we interpret a situation depends on how we view the child. If you view the child as being competent, using all its social abilities in the situation, then you also approach the child in a different way. For example, instead of ‘telling’ the child to pick up a rope, you could ask the child “How come you don’t pick up the rope?” When telling a child to do something you assume that this it what the child should do and what it wants to do, but when asking a child about how they think about the situation, you are truly trying to understand the child’s actions, or lack of actions, from its point of view. How does the child think about the situation, and the options available?

Finally, it is important for teachers to reflect upon how they view the children and their play and discuss how the view affects the democratic work at pre-school. What possibilities do children have to influence their everyday life at pre-school, if pre-school teachers look upon the child as something ‘less’, focusing on deficiencies? The content of this paper gives no answers to the questions asked but emphasises the importance of meeting children in the light of a new time and a new culture. Not only focusing on what has been lost during the changes in society but also what new possibilities and difficulties it brings.

References


Part V

Values in practice during the Conference
The ambiguous citizen and the art of listening

Key-note speech

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What is a citizen? It is not the same as a person as one is in oneself – but rather a term pointing out the expectations a particular society has on the people who live in it. It is a term or a concept – not a person. It is therefore important to investigate the relation between the multiplicity of possible ways of being in a society and the expectations that are included in the particular term of citizenship, which means to investigate the amount of freedom there is for difference and plurality.

Let’s say that I have a friend. This friend is born in Iran, with a German mother and an Iranian father, but grows up in England by himself from the age of 14, studies at a boarding school and then at the university. At the end of his university studies in his mid-twenties he moves to Sweden where he meets a Swedish woman whom he marries and has children with. In his professional career he takes up a post-doctoral position in the United States. Returning to Sweden and, after a period as a researcher, he establishes his own company. He divorces and marries a woman who moved to Sweden from Thailand. He speaks American English to his kids, Swedish to his friends and Farsi and German to his relatives and he is trying to learn Thai. Is he then Iranian? Yes, of course – but not really. Is he English? Yes, of course – but not really. Is he Swedish? Yes, of course – but not really and so on (Säfström, 2007).

The point of this example is that the ambiguity between ‘yes, of course’ and ‘but not really’ undermines any given conceptualization that is not open for the empirical reality of the everyday-ness of life. The ambiguity of ordinary life distorts any theory of the phenomena in question which is built on such conceptualization.

The practical implications of holding a representative theory of citizenship built on pre-set conceptualisations consequently turn theory into a symbolic violence on any polycultural experience (Bauman 1999). In other words, I think we have to problematize citizenship education in such a way as to make room for polycultural experiences of actual people living in our multi- or intercultural societies of today (as if they have not always been there)

This is particularly important since citizenship is often built on an idea of nation which all too easily falls into nationalism. To be a citizen in Sweden for example is to be a Swedish citizen. (With all the imagined characteristics that comes with being Swedish; or as a teacher student said to me in discussing those issues – being Swedish, isn’t that self-evident?). Therefore I will contrast two very different but simple and basic starting points for thinking about how ‘nation’ in citizenship education is to be understood - as unity or as difference.
As unity

One of the doctoral students in my research seminar studies Swedish as a second language, particularly textbooks for newly arrived immigrants. To make a long story short – what is characteristic of those textbooks is that they tend to treat being Swedish as something given and static. To stress the point: To be Swedish is, in those textbooks, often pictured as being based on an image of unity: Sweden is described as one undivided country with one language, one people, one colour of the skin, and one king and for the most of modern political history one party. This image of Sweden as a nation of unity becomes even more accentuated if one compares with another nation – like Canada.

As difference

Canada is built on an essential tension between the English and the French (and of course between both and First Nations) which already at the outset, so to speak, make problematic an idea of ONE nation, at least as a united and undifferentiated nation. What I find more significant for Canada is its openness for difference, a readiness inscribed in the very formation of what it means to be Canadian. It saturates the popular image as well as going deeper. Since it is not as self-evident (as for Swedes) what it means to be Canadian it tends to make it necessary to ask the question: What does it mean to be Canadian – as a basis for that very citizenship. And citizenship formed on the basis of a question opens up for others to be invited and take part in an answer to that question. In Sweden, or any country like Sweden, on the other hand, where nation is built on an answer of what it means to be Swedish, others run the risk of being invited to be subordinated under that answer.

Democratic citizenship education?

In Sweden, like most of Europe, schools are to be democratic by law and anything else would be a crime. Citizenship is, so to speak, defined as being a democratic citizenship and the task of education is to form such citizens. Citizenship education then, has to make problematic the way in which the other is invited to citizenship. In what way is the other invited to take part in defining what it means to live as a democratic citizen in a particular society? On what terms are differences recognised? Democracy is promising as a basis for recognising difference and plurality. Democracy is a promise of the good community formed around ‘what is best for us’ in terms of procedures both for making balanced decisions as well as forming our lives.

But the idea of the Good community as the driving force for democracy is not unproblematic. In the following I turn to the film Dogville by Lars von Trier, since this film can be understood as a comment on or even as a deconstruction of the idea of the good community as the ‘foundation’ of western democracy.

So what is it in the film that can be taken up in this discussion? The plot of the film is such that the heroine has left her gangster father in order to live a decent life, and on the run she ends up in Dogville. Dogville is pictured as a small town community where the old church in the centre functions as the town hall, the place where its inhabitants meet in order to discuss and take decisions and come to mutual agreement on ‘what is best for us’. The heroine is initially welcomed but her willingness to take part in ‘what is going on’ in the community is greeted at first with a friendly rejection. But as the film continues, a mean spiral is set off, a spiral where it is difficult to discern a starting point for the evil turn the events take. It is rather a successive sliding
into evil consequences of all too ‘good’ intentions that we see throughout the film. The heroine at first gets small tasks to carry out for the inhabitants of the community, which progressively get more and more demanding. But the demands on our heroine are always intersubjectively justified in the community in relation to ‘what is best for us’, and in the process they become more and more inhuman for the heroine. In the end she is nothing more than a dog-like slave and treated as such. The hope inscribed in ‘what is best for us’ applied not to our heroine but to the members of the ‘good’ community (Säfström, 2007).

So what is the point of this plot as I understand it? The point is that hope for a good community is not good enough. That is why we need to take into consideration warnings about the dangers of social organization, not least when it comes to education and schooling. I think that our heroine would have been better off if the community had turned to a hope without injustice as a point of departure, not making us blind to the injustices made in the name of the good. The question of justice is also what ends the film when the gangster father returns and frees the heroine. But here justice takes the form of revenge, the village is burnt down and the inhabitants killed. The ending can be interpreted as a warning of what is to be expected in a society in which an uncomplicated idea of ‘the good’ rules out the question of justice — justice understood in its simplest form as the actual relation to the Other who is neither me nor like me but fully other to me (Todd, 2003). To sum up this last point: I think it is necessary for any citizenship to open up for and be open to a reality beyond ‘what is good for us’, and through a commitment to justice, rather initiate the question ‘what is good for the other’ as a basis for citizenship education (Säfström, 2005).

**Citizenship education based on ‘what is good for the other’**

What then needs to be faced in citizenship education in order to be open for the other, to respond to a citizenship that is not in itself so exclusive that it only includes those who are already like me, but to respond to a citizenry that makes room for difference? Based on an empirical project “Learning Democracy” where we interviewed 44 young people (21 young men and 23 young women between the ages 16 and 19) inside and outside schools, I think we have to pay attention to four points (Säfström, Ekerwald, Edling & Grannäs 2007).

The project combined educational philosophy with youth sociology. Participants were Professor Hedvig Ekerwald, sociology, Uppsala University, two doctoral students, Silvia Edling and Jan Grannäs, both Uppsala University. We had also joint activities with a similar project in England, at Exeter University directed by Prof Gert Biesta. Our study is based on qualitative interviews with 44 youths in the age of 16-19. They are students from two secondary and four upper secondary schools and one Folkhögskola in three different cities. The selection also includes three unemployed young persons and one working young person. It is 21 young men and 23 young women and seven of those were born outside Sweden. They volunteered for the interviews when we chose schools. Schools in turn were chosen to give variation of social class.

**To make a distinction between politics and democracy**

Situations in schools can be political – without for that reason being democratic. And already here it becomes problematic to claim that schools are democratic just because the curriculum or the law says so. The only ones who can actually say if schools are democratic are the ones experiencing schooling, that is, teachers and pupils. What we saw in the analysis of our material and in our observations in schools was that what is basically a political struggle for recognition is treated as private business rather than as expressions of a desire to participate on the public arena in the school with one’s own voice. Teachers tend to (as representatives of the state) rule over the
whole public arena in the school, in its totality. As one 16 year old student explained about his 'making noise' in school:

   It is done in order to be a pain in the neck. /…/ I want them [the teachers] to get it that it is not only them deciding. /…/ if a student says something then the teachers says: “No, you are too little!” They don’t say it, but one does get the message: “You are too young! Go away! What do you know about it?” It is me it is about. They make decisions for me and my mates, my friends. It is therefore they ought to listen. Yes they say: “Now we will punish you and you will not be allowed to do this or that!"

To recognize that Democracy is often understood as abstract and distant from the everyday experiences of schooling – but not in the band or at home.

An 18 year old student said: “What is democracy? Well I think it is very much like a schoolbook”, or as a 19 year old drop out from high school explained:

   Even if there were group discussions it was very…, the borders were there… the rules were already decided, what one was supposed to discuss and one got corrected even if it was about opinions

When youngsters talks about what they experience as democratic situations it is most often in situations when nobody self-evidently owns the command over the situation, at the same time as all involved have had a desire to come to an agreement on common issues. Those situations can happen in schools but are more often than not described in relation to situations outside schools, like in the family or playing in a band.

   I feel that most often I am in situations outside school when one is struggling to be democratic. For it is very difficult to succeed /…/. I think I always see someone who unconsciously is working against democracy. But when there is a desire [for democracy] in the group, then I have been pleased with democracy (a 19 year old drop out from upper secondary)

Citizenship education has to face a strong norm of establishing what the normal is in schools, the making of the same

One 14 year old student said:

   You do what you are told. You don’t question school, that is so to speak school. You always go to school and then you do what you are told and that’s the way one has it. It is a part of life, all are used to it. I do not think that much about it, so it is only to live with it.

Or as a 16 year old student formulated it when asked about the teacher’s role in schools:

   They [teachers] have the right to decide when the student is to be quiet and when to speak. They decide when to work and when not to and what we are to write and what not to write. I think they have the right to it.

Those two quotes speak to a strong sense of normality (as in making everybody essentially the same). Schooling is, so to speak, reduced to a process of making one dimensional citizens. The
ordering of the normal in school can be seen as a process in which normal identity is constructed, and therefore also the normal citizen. What is clear from all the interviews is the strong pressure on subordination within the norm of schooling. It is expressed both in the classroom and in the groups of friends. This norm: compartmentalises friend/enemy, group, gang, class, immigrants, being Swedish), it fixates (it is almost impossible to change a group), it constructs a hierarchy (one group dominates the others), it idealises (the leading group is an expression of an ideal identity); it normalises (the ideal identity of the ideal group is that which is the normal, and is placed outside time, it is not historical, contextual but the normal, as in what has always been and should always be).

When the norm of subordination to the same is made invalid it tends to be dependent on individual teacher student relationships rather than being based on schooling as such

In the young people’s stories the experiences of democracy is most often described in terms of relations with individual teachers that have been reaching out to the youngsters in such a way as to make contact possible. An example of this is “the singer” who when we met him had just ‘come out’ as homosexual. In school he has an older female teacher which he describes as ‘traditional in her teacher role’ but who really sees him across their differences. She does not demand his subordination in order to learn. She becomes important for him to be able to go on with his life, so important that his whole story about his experiences of schooling is centred on the meeting with this female teacher. She was the only one who saw him in such a way that it allowed him to be the one he is. It is also this relation, which made it possible for the singer to break through the normalizing processes of schooling and to take place in a ‘here and now’ where a responsibility for others becomes possible (Säfström, 2006).

Summing up

To repeat the main points of this key-note:

- It is important to investigate the relation between the multiplicity of possible ways of being in a society and the expectations that are included in the particular term of citizenship, which means to investigate the amount of freedom there is for difference and plurality

- We have to problematize citizenship education in such a way as to make room for polycultural experiences of actual people living in our multi- or intercultural societies of today across Europe.

Citizenship education then has to make problematic the way in which the other is invited in to citizenship. In what way is the other invited to take part in defining what it means to live as a democratic citizen in a particular society? On what terms are difference recognised? I think it is necessary for any citizenship to open up for/and be open for a reality beyond ‘what is good for us’, and through a commitment to justice, rather initiate the question ‘what is good for the other’ as a basis for citizenship education.

In order to do exactly this it is of vital importance to listen to that which is not said in the classroom. It is a listening that turns noise into discourse. It is a listening that can hear the desire of pupils who take part in defining the common ground for participation in a just society, a society that does not reduce its ontological differentiality into a one-dimensional citizenship.
References


How are values and attitudes to be learnt?

Luísa Abreu, Associação de Professores de Sintra, Portugal

Citizenship education is an aim of European significance, since our educational systems give an important place to the social, moral, emotional and cognitive development of students. But, if there is a consensus about the necessity of teaching values, the main problem is raised of how values and attitudes are to be learnt /taught. In our view, citizenship education is not a matter of teaching a certain body of knowledge, but a matter of developing participatory skills and attitudes, giving the students the means to participate actively within a democratic community. To explain with a metaphor – this is like a big kitchen with lots of tools and ingredients. If you tell people the properties of those ingredients, they can choose their own way of cooking.

At the courses at APS we have found that the best way to implement this participation is promoting an ethical dialogue in the classroom is according the methodology of the ‘Community of Inquiry’ of Mathew Lipman (1988; 1991) as a model for developing democratic attitudes and skills, which includes not only the cognitive skills but also the emotional skills. We (the teachers) have to feel, not only to understand. This can only be possible with prepared teachers that are capable, through dialogue, of stimulating the ethical inquiry in the classroom. According to this perspective, the method we use in teacher training at APS is the same process that teachers have to implement with their own students in the classroom.

During their preparation, the teachers familiarise themselves of the method in practice and, through the experience, they become more open to self-correction and more and more capable of doing that in their own classrooms, resulting in improving their capacities of listen to others, which includes their peers and their pupils as well. On the other hand, we can only facilitate a real philosophical dialogue by using appropriate texts, written with the intention of putting in confrontation several perspectives. These texts have to be close to everyday life, confronting the students with concrete examples and situations and presenting alternative perspectives. Always asking them the reasons why they support their ideas. To illustrate how it operates, I am going to share with you a small story that I wrote and I invite you all to participate in the dialogue:

The School Trip

The great day has come. They gathered at the seaport waiting for who was missing to take the boat. After a while, only Regina was missing. Where was she?

Teacher – Please, Brian, call her immediately or we’ll loose the boat and then the train.
Brian – Ok, I’ll do it.
Rita – What happened to her? Doesn’t she know that it’s her duty to be here on time? Because of her everybody is going to loose the train.
Teacher – Be calm. If she doesn’t come, we’ll go without her, that’s for sure.
Brian – Wait a minute, I’m talking to her. She’s late. It’s a question of clothes.
Rita – It can’t be possible. She knew already the schedule. Irresponsible, that’s what she is!
Teacher – Well, if she doesn’t appear in five minutes, we go without her.
All students – Ok.

Five long minutes went by.

Teacher – Ok, let’s go without Regina.

And they entered the boat at the last minute. After they cross the river, they had to run to catch the train. After two hours they arrived at their destination. Everybody was excited. For some of them it was their first time away from home. When everybody had unpacked, Regina appeared, alone.

Teacher – Well Regina, what happened to you?
Regina – Oh teacher, I had a problem. I had too much clothes to put in my suitcase. It was difficult to make a choice: I wished to bring all of them with me.
Teacher – It’s a big problem. It’s only two days off. Why do you need so much clothes?
Brian – She’s nuts.
Rita – Do you really need so much? Two jeans and two t-shirts are enough for two days.
Regina – Please, don’t tease me only because I’m not like you, a practical girl, after all. I really could not reduce my wardrobe. I need everything I brought with me.
Teacher – Sometimes it is useful to think about our real needs.
Brian – Do you never think about having too much?
Rita – That’s it. Enough is enough and enough is the best.
Teacher – Look at some poor countries. They lack a lot of things.
Regina – I don’t agree. If we can have many things, let’s have them. I don’t live in such a country and I receive my pocket money from my mother. So, let me spend all of it the way I want. That’s none of your business.
Rita – But remember, many of that stuff come from the Third World and they work almost in slavery.
Brian – They produce in quantity and we buy it very cheap. And we don’t need most of that stuff.
Rita – That’s the way it is. Factories are polluting the environment only to get money from us.
Teacher – Yes and the advertisers lead us to buy, buy and buy.
Regina – It’s not my fault, I only buy what I can afford.
Teacher – Well, do you think it’s only a question of buying? Is it not also a question of choosing what to do?

It was already 8 o’clock. Dinner time. They went to the dining room. So many kinds of food! They were starving, so they runt at the same time to serve themselves.

Teacher – So guys let’s eat, but take only the amount of food you can eat.
Regina – But it’s already paid, isn’t it?
Rita – But not for us to waste.
Brian – Oh my God, Regina, do you belong to this planet? Try to keep yourself alive and in good health, if you don’t mind. That means to be aware of the consequences of your behaviour.
Regina – I can try to keep myself in good shape, but I’m not responsible for others.
Teacher – And if everyone does the same?
Rita – Some people don’t understand that all that we do affects the whole planet.
Brian – I was thinking about that last night when someone kept the water running while taking a shower.
Rita – By the way, is there any vegetarian food around here?

The next day, they went to a tour in town. After all, the purpose of the trip was to visit some historic places: the Roman ruins; the Theatre; the Museum and so on. But it has been a little bit difficult to convince some of them to come instead of going shopping.

**Dialogue**

After reading the story, the participants at the conference in Sintra were invited to put questions about what they had read. These questions were asked:

1. Can I choose what to do?
2. How did Regina get there?
3. Can my choice affect the others?
4. Can I do nothing?
5. How can we affect students to value environment and the ‘Third World’?

After that, everybody agreed that the principle concept was choice. The word choice was then written on the white board and all the group began to discuss the idea of choosing and what other concepts are related with that idea. These were the suggestions of the participants (written on the white board):

- freedom  - responsibility
- empowerment  - alternatives
- special standpoints  - awareness
- decisions  - values
- consequences  - exclusion
- stress  - inclusion.

If we had had more time for discussion, we could have developed all these concepts and the views of the persons towards them. Asking them the reasons why they think like that? Asking for examples and counter-examples? We could then have reflected more deeply about the issues to reach some conclusions at the end. In general, this is the model of the beginning of a dialogue in the classroom. At the end some suggestions were given to the conference participants on how to lead a dialogue, as follows:

**How to promote dialogue in the classroom**

Today, ecological values are an essential topic for discussion in class and we have to engage students. Nowadays, conducted mainly through advertising, ‘society’ tends to see and to ‘treat’ persons only as consumers or things. This is from the point of view that if consumer culture sees
people as something that can be manipulated, it can be argued that in fact it sees and treats people as things. The main idea is learning how to behave and to understand what values are essential to promote a good life within an ecological perspective, knowing that everyone’s life is dependent upon how people live together in a community.

**Leading ideas**

- Responsibility,
- individual behaviour/making choices,
- consumption and quality of life,
- environment and lifestyle,
- consequences of consumer patterns,
- fair distribution of resources and goods,
- finding one's way in the “commercial jungle”.

**Questions for discussion**

1. How can we distinguish between essential needs and luxury desires?
2. At what point are we ethically responsible for our own attitudes?
3. What benefits can society, consumers and the environment get from a responsible behaviour?
4. How do our attitudes affect the environment?
5. How should we act as consumers and human beings?

**Discussing the view on human identity and values of consumer culture**

1. How can we analyse the consumer culture? In which ways does it express itself?
2. What is a good life according to consumerism? Is it “the more consumption, the higher the quality of life”?
3. Is the emphasis on consumption unacceptable from an ecological point of view?
4. Identity is something that can be brought and sold?

**Exercises**

Reflect upon your behaviour towards consumption and try to find good examples for the 4 R’s of Eco-consumerism:

- Reduce; - Reuse; - Recycle; - Reflect

**Philosophical topics (sources and references)**

*Ethics* is a part of philosophy from its origins and has always furnished mankind with ideas on how to behave and to give ideas about what values are essential to promote a ‘good life’. Today, ecological values are an essential topic for discussion in class, but actually they are a concern from the beginning of western philosophy. Aristotelis (1957) already saw human life from an ecological perspective. For him, a human being is a “zoon politicon” – a political being whose life is dependent upon how people live together in a community.
Today, society, through advertising, tends to see and to treat persons only as consumers or as ‘things’. If consumer culture sees people as something that can be manipulated, it can be argued that in fact it sees and treats people as things, like Kant said “one should always treat a human being as an aim in itself, not as a means of achieving something else” (Kant, 1949).

Consumer culture tends to present mankind in a way, what in western philosophy tradition is called hedonism (Kant, 1949). If the main value of consumer culture is freedom, it means that in this perspective, freedom is not seen as something that comes from within, but only freedom of choice, freedom of choosing whatever is presented to me as desirable. At this point, we can discuss the responsibility of people to decide upon how they really want to live and to be happy. The crucial question is: Are values are linked to the ‘external’ or the ‘internal’ side of mankind and life itself? This leads us into a discussion about personal and social identity.

References

Two conference activities were based upon discussions and conference presentations: on the first conference day in cross-occupational and cross-cultural groups, and on the second in cross-cultural, occupational groups. The discussions during the first day were not recorded, but the discussions the second day, were (when the conference participants were divided into occupational groups). There were four occupational groups: (1) student teachers; (2) teachers; (3) teacher educators; (4) researchers. The questions discussed were as follows:

1. Considering the conference presentations, in what way and to what extent are they relevant for you/your research/the education in your country?

2. How can cultural and/or ideological differences be used as pedagogic tools in classroom situations?

3. How can research results more easily be converted into practical classroom application?

The discussions from each group were orally summarised by one person in each of the four groups in front of the whole conference group. These summaries were tape-recorded and thereafter transcribed, summarised and analysed. The results of these summaries are reported below. Similarly, the comments to the questions are reported question by question, and then ‘the affair of the heart’ for each group will be reported.

**Results**

1. In what way are the conference presentations relevant for you/your research in your country?

The student teachers answered the question by naming the conference presentations that had been inspirational to them; that is, in the light of their future profession. Student teachers had particularly looked at how the presenters brought forward their message and stressed how important it is to talk in a lively and clear way when you present to an audience. Similarly, the teacher group said they had learnt a lot from the presentations and discussions, and thought it would impact positively on their teaching. They felt that the conference had changed their ways of thinking. They emphasised how crucial it is for teachers to reflect upon their values, to remember that they work with children, and that it is important to put yourself in the child’s situation. To facilitate learning, teachers must be able to motivate and ‘lift’ the child. Much was also said about teaching methods, and parallels were drawn with the conference presentations. Moreover, the teacher educator group gave examples of presentations they thought were good, whereas the researcher group did not comment upon the question at all.
2. **How can cultural and/or ideological differences be used as pedagogic tools in classroom situations?**

The student teachers drew attention to the advantages of having pupils from ‘other’ cultures in the classroom. In the classroom there should be an ‘open and objective’ dialogue on social and cultural differences. Pupils should practice discussing and arguing for a personal standpoint and at the same time, be trained to respect each others’ ideas. For the teacher group, it is positive to have a mix of cultures in schools, and pupils can learn from one another just by interacting with one another. In order to teach children to discuss their views, they saw ‘role-play’ as a useful pedagogical tool. Moving to the teacher educators, there is no doubt that how to utilise cultural and ideological differences in teacher education was an issue of much debate. The researcher group, finally, did not answer the question.

3. **How can research results more easily be converted into practical classroom application?**

The student teacher group did not spend much time on this question, yet they saw the importance of discussing how research results can be used in teaching practice in for example, the teacher teams at school. An idea from the teachers, was to arrange a forum for teachers and researchers to meet and discuss how research results can be used in the practical work in schools. The teacher educator group wanted to encourage teachers to become more interested in working with research. They suggested that higher standards of research than are often available today based on scientific results should be presented to student teachers. They emphasised that teacher educators should not influence student teachers too much when it comes to values and attitudes. The researchers felt that research results cannot be used effectively in the classroom and also stressed that there must be a clear distinction between research and investigation/evaluation of one’s own work. Not everybody can call themselves researchers.

**Affairs of the heart**

Unsurprisingly, all the groups discussed matters that exceeded the posed questions during the conference; the student teachers spent much time on the advantages with having pupils from many different cultures in the same class. They started with talking rather thoroughly from the participants’ different cultures and backgrounds. Similarly, the teacher group talked positively about crossing ethnic and cultural borders, and thereby obtaining insights in other cultures. They held favourable attitudes towards having multicultural classes, and gave suggestions of how to touch upon different cultures during lessons. Comparing their respective home countries, the teacher educators spent a lot of time debating if/to what extent teacher educators should influence student teachers to adopt the values that the educators want a teacher to have.

The researcher group talked about how to define certain concepts used during the conference presentations and also how to follow up the conference with other activities and different ways of establishing and maintaining researcher networks.

**Discussion**

Obviously the student teachers linked the conference presentations directly to their own future performance as teachers, since they discussed how the presentations were delivered more than what they were about. Likewise they were highly aware of the fact that they will work in classrooms characterised by ethnic and social diversity. They also gave examples of ways of
managing this diversity. They saw the advantages of making use of research results in their teaching practice; their discussions seemed to have been very pragmatic, and they clearly showed a welcoming attitude towards classroom diversity.

The teacher group also linked the conference presentations directly to their practical deeds as teachers, and saw the positive impact on their ways of teaching. Particularly by making them more aware of the necessity for teachers to reflect upon their personal values, and that such reflections in turn, influence the pupils’ learning process. Similar to the student teachers, this group expressed very positive attitudes towards cultural and social diversity in schools. Additionally, they came up with ideas of how to link research to practical work.

Like the former two groups, the teacher educator group linked the conference presentations to their own practice, but focused more on how to establish the quality of the presentations. Their discussions concerned mainly their role as educators; should they, or should they not influence their student teachers with regards to values and attitudes? Cultural and cross-national differences within the group on this matter became visible.

The researchers also linked the conference presentations to their own practice, namely taking an interest in discussing concepts used in the presentations, but they did not discuss the specific contents of the presentations, nor the questions provided by the conference arrangers. This group clearly defined themselves as different from the other three groups, amongst other things, by claiming that research cannot easily be put into practice, and by stressing the differences between researchers and practitioners. Yet they felt that maintaining researcher-practitioner networks was worth striving for, perhaps in order to continue the discussions on concepts, and not necessarily with the aim to link theory to practice?

Furthermore, for two of the groups, student teachers and teachers, results were largely similar. A plausible explanation for this is that both groups consisted of individuals who presumably share a sincere interest for the inherent challenges and potential of culturally diverse classroom situations (if not only since they had chosen to participate in this conference!). For this reason, it is unlikely that this interest is evenly dispersed over the entire groups of European student teachers or teachers.

At the same time, it is interesting that these two groups held such positive attitudes towards the idea of linking research results to practical schools work. Once again, this suggests that these individuals do not represent the ‘average’ teacher or student teacher, since many of these are prone to dismiss research results as not being relevant to practice.

Interesting also are the results from the teacher educators discussions, where cross-national differences manifested clearly as conceptual disagreements. This is especially interesting, since this group consisted of the project participants who, prior to the conference had agreed on the project theme. The results support the assumption that reaching consensus calls for extensive negotiation, and particularly when it comes to the meaning of concepts (e.g. values).

Attention to conceptual and epistemological disagreements was also drawn by the researchers. Something that at first sight, made them appear quite uninformed about the project as a whole. On the other hand, their call for a more elaborate and focused discussion on values was well-founded. Yet, the researcher group’s unwillingness to promote linkages between theory and practice seemed a bit off-target; how can practice be developed if such links are not facilitated?

The described disagreements notwithstanding, the discussions within these groups have contributed to fulfil the aims of the EPT project. Changing cultures always take time and must start somewhere. This conference is an example of such a point of departure.
Part VI

Conclusions
The Call for Papers for the Sintra conference said:

We are interested in case studies from different countries. We seek articles that discuss possible collective identity within the European Union, or universal teacher virtues. We look for articles that discuss problems in citizenship education related to the transmission and transforming of values. We also welcome practical examples of horizontal classroom dialogue.

In retrospect, the conference contributions, oral and written, included in this report are in harmony with this call. In Part II values were at the centre of attention. Howe sees the life career of a value, not as ‘a smooth passing through time’, but instead it is inevitable that breaks or perturbations cause disruptions and discontinuities to the flow of a given value through time. In other words, values are dynamic over time but also vary between cultures and nations. This must always be accounted for in citizenship education. According to Howe, Foucault’s work would allow for a wider and more abstract discussion on the linkages between values, discourse (how values are discussed) and attitudes (how values are enacted or materialized) – an interesting thought. Contrary to other suggestions made in this project i.e. the call for concretising the meaning of values and how they materialize in practice, Howe’s paper also reveals the ‘English’, more ‘distant’, approach to citizenship education.

This need for concretisation is accentuated by Andersson’s study which compares the values of teachers, student teachers and teenage pupils. She finds that there are multiple notions of values. These findings from Sweden would benefit from cross-national comparisons, e.g. to explore possible inter-generational patterns that cut across national borders. To increase the validity and overall relevance of the study, Andersson would benefit from working closely with non-Swedish researchers in other countries, at the same time as it may be a fruitful contribution to value-research in other countries.

Part III primarily dealt with values in the classroom, and the first paper by James, Davies, Leonard, Gregory and Parsons discussed how citizenship education is taught at an English teacher education institution. The authors identify one of the key problems when it comes to citizenship education as: “are the thematic linkages and approaches too ambitious and or too practically complicated?” In England there is more focus on the political literacy aspect of citizenship education; something which became apparent in this study. For non-English readers, much of the focus of this paper is on two aspects of citizenship that are not the main focus of the EPT project – ‘political citizenship’ and ‘active participation’, and not on ‘attitudes and values’ aspects. This focus is unsurprising, since citizenship education in England enjoys the status of a specific subject, although not primarily concerned with classroom dialogue. Nevertheless, the paper gives a valuable overview of how citizenship education is treated at one specific English teacher education institution.
The next paper is about ‘student voice’ in science and technology classrooms, and focused on the ‘attitudes and values’ aspect of citizenship education. Striking to foreign readers is the amount of material presented to English student teachers on this topic! Given this, and in the light of the previous paper, there may be a risk that the lesson material is given priority at the expense of a horizontal dialogue i.e. on other aspects of citizenship education, not on ‘attitudes and values’.

The last contribution in Part III is about situation in Swedish upper secondary schools with pupils who are at risk of being marginalized in democratic dialogues. In Sweden, ‘attitudes and values’ are focal in citizenship education and children are trained to question authority. Gustafsson shows how Swedish schools, despite intentions to provide a welcoming place for these pupils, in fact add to their exclusion. Moreover, the pupils do not even realize that they are being excluded. Undoubtedly this study raises a series of questions: What are the repercussions for their self-images, self-esteem and social status? The pupils’ ambivalence towards school is obvious. Does this suggest that these young people are still interested in and eager to be accepted in the adult world? What are their chances to become democratic citizens who can participate fully in society?

Part IV includes two Swedish pre-school studies. In the first one, Ärlemalm Hagsér and Sandberg focus on students’ apprehension of the concept ‘sustainable development’. Among other things, they show how Swedish pre-schools work in a systematic fashion to teach very young children about the implications of a non-sustainable society. This is done by taking the children’s views into account, that is, allowing them to participate in democratic decision-making processes.

The next study by Vuorinen and Sandberg investigated attitudes and values towards play and toys, and comparisons were made between childhood memories among pre-school teachers of different ages. The paper raises the question whether today’s children’s presumed lack of imagination may be something caused by adults in their social environment. Vuorinen and Sandberg suspect that the pre-school teachers themselves may add to the children’s lack of imagination. Also, what kind of play would be encouraged if a larger portion of pre-school teachers were men?

Part V gave us a more direct experience of parts of the conference. First the key-note speech was rendered. It suggested that citizenship education should acknowledge differences more and pay attention to/negotiate what ‘is good for The Other’. This was also highlighted in Gustafsson’s paper; the young people in Gustafsson’s paper represented ‘The Other’, at risk of being marginalized in democratic dialogues. The young people in Säfström’s paper, however, were equipped with a ‘stronger voice’ and seemed to be aware of ‘how it should be’ more than the young people in Gustafsson’s study (or even the school staff in Gustafsson’s study). However, both Gustafsson’s and Säfström’s selection of young people represent ‘the voice of the other’ and the question remains, what are the chances to make that voice heard in the democratic dialogue?

The next presentation was on how to teach values. The method introduced is probably useful for any teacher, and probably constitutes a practical example of how to make pupils (or student teachers, and why not teachers) reflect upon their values and attitudes. Something which is crucial for the EPT project and for the teacher profession altogether everywhere, we believe.

Project outputs and areas of future consideration

Are the aims of the EPT project on the point of being fulfilled? One aim is to prepare student teachers and teachers to manage culturally and socially diverse classroom situations. Given the conference papers, and the student teachers’ and teachers’ performance in the discussions, small steps have been taken in this direction. These two groups primarily viewed ethnic and social
classroom diversity as enriching for the learning process and for pupil-pupil and teacher-pupil interaction, which are encouraging results for the EPT project. Their participation in the project has presumably added to student teachers’ and teachers’ employability outside their home country; a second aim of EPT.

Yet another underlying idea of EPT is to better equip participating teacher educators (i.e. the EPT project group) to train teacher students on issues of cultural and social diversity. In retrospect, it is clear that this group must reflect further upon their personal values and attitudes if the project aims are to be fulfilled.

A final aim of EPT is that the project outcomes will inspire further research in the area, and hopefully provide some inputs to pedagogical theory and practice. Indeed, the researcher group was interested in keeping in touch. However, they were clear in the opinion that research results cannot be used in the classroom, a standpoint clearly in conflict with ideas of this project. On the other hand, it may be that this was nothing more than a collective slip of the tongue or a ‘contextual statement’ rather than than a ‘universalisable statement’.

More than anything else, the conference results suggest that much remains to be done in the area of citizenship education. It sounds like truisms that change does not come easy or easier said than done. The notion of citizenship has changed over time and will continue to change. New notions of citizenship include ‘global’ and ‘ecological’ citizenship to give just two examples.

Moreover, there is need for more cross-national research on why and how citizenship education is organised and taught in different countries. By the same token, practitioners and theoreticians in the field have much to gain by working more closely together. Up until now theory-practice integration by and large has remained political and academic rhetoric.

If an increased level of employability for teachers on an internationalised labour market is to be achieved, student teachers, teachers, teacher educators and researchers alike must adopt a more reflexive, and more than anything else, critical approach to their profession and the ideologies underlying the educational system.