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Qualitative research – voices from civic education classrooms

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Editorial

Qualitative Research – Voices from Social Science Classrooms[1]

Content

Keywords:
educational ethnography, qualitative research in social science education, comparative research in social science education, political culture research, lesson study, learning study, curriculum narrative, case archive, teacher portrait.

1. Re-constructing and interpreting the space "in-between" input and output

What do you recall of your (own) biographical process of "becoming political" (Hahn 1998) and "developing citizens" (Kahne/Sporte 2008)? And which role do formal civic education lessons at school play within this process? It can be a fascinating exercise to find out about it, for instance in a teacher training seminar or in further training of teachers: Each participant chooses one specific kind of material that reminds him/her of a core experience in civic education and tells its story. Besand (http://www.jsse.org/2009/2009-2/besand-12-jahre-berufserfahrung-jsse-2-2009/pdf/Besand-JSSE-2-2009.pdf) has given a vivid example of how to use such biographical methods in teacher professionalization in this journal (see examples in figure 4 and 5, chapter 6.1). Listening to the stories emerging and getting into a discussion about them could lead directly into a process of qualitative research, of collecting narratives, observing and participating in the colleagues' teaching practice, leading biographical interviews. According to Donald Schön (1983), it could also be an element of everyday practice for the professional teacher who becomes a "reflective practitioner", if he undergoes such explorations.

If such explorative projects are done more systematically, we define this approach and the research methods applied as "qualitative" methods. It is well known that a clear-cut distinction between quantitative and qualitative is artificial because "counting" is an inherent element of quality and of observation, and interpretation can contain aspects of quantification. Thus re-constructive or interpretative research methods might be a better term. In Anglo-American methodological reflection, qualitative research is even used synonymously with ethnographic research: "Ethnography is simultaneously one of the most exciting and misunderstood research methodologies and research products within educational research. What initially appears to be a straightforward process of 'hanging around' and writing about what has been seen and heard, rapidly becomes a far more complex process." (Walford 2008; Spindler 1982; Woods 1996) Qualitative study focuses on the re-construction of micro-logical structures of teaching, instruction and learning. "The fundamental question underpinning macro level political socialization research is: how do polities transmit values, attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors to the mass public? Micro level studies ask: how and why do people become citizens?" (Owen 2008, 2)

Recent educational research seems dominated by so-called large scale assessments and international comparisons, with a quantitative research focus on learning "outcomes" and competencies. For many critics, the practical relevance of this research paradigm is at least doubtful. Furthermore, the paradigm and its implementation by corresponding policies implicate new forms of social control (Mason, Delandshere 2010). The following issue of JSSE 2010-4 will take a critical view on this worldwide "Olympics of education". Quantitative methodology and large scale assessment in combination with standardization and testing tend to concentrate on core subjects only such as Mathematics, first language and English. Quantitative data can serve to legitimise anything and everything in educational policies. They do not really help to make the job of education more transparent or simple. In what way can the data be relevant to the teachers' everyday profession? Do data "talk" to

1 Acknowledgements: Thanks to all reviewers for their helpful comments. And thanks to all authors for their patience. Helene Decke-Cornill and Julia Sammoray kindly supported the process of translation which is always an inter-cultural transformation. Matthias Busch as editorial assistant and Florian Rudt as layouter worked with all their steadiness and care.

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them? Are they meaningful to teachers? Unfortunately, however, these questions remain relevant to qualitative research as well.

In any case, the space "in-between" input and output is ignored. This in-between is the site of "Bildung". This issue of JSSE hopes to set a counterpoint: It focuses on the "in-between", i.e. the domain-specific teaching and/or learning processes between input and output. It collects voices from social science classrooms. It follows an alternative strand of research, which is based on case studies and uses reconstructive and interpretative methods. In minor subjects such as civics and social science education, this approach is even the pragmatically given because research can be started with few resources only.

This type of research has a remarkable tradition. For an overview of qualitative research on social studies in the US see Stanley (1985), Armento (1986), Shaver (1991), Segall/Heilmann/Cherryholmes (2006), Levstik/Tyson (2008). Fenton presents a complete transcript of a global issue lesson (Fenton 1966). Most of the studies focus on history or geography, and only a few on civics or economic education.

The contributions in this issue lead us into classrooms in Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and the UK. All cases are related to formal education at school. We hear students' as well as teachers' voices.

2. *Voices* – Five explorative case studies

"*To be honest I have more or less stopped working with the book. They [the students] don't have to read so much. This level of abstraction is too difficult for them*". (Mark).

Mark, the social studies teacher here, observes that students face huge difficulties to benefit from written texts. Thus, he implements a new media ecology. Mark works as a social studies teacher at a Swedish upper secondary vocational school. In his case study Per-Olof Erixon (Umea) takes us into Mark's classroom and draws a teacher portrait. The study is based on semi-structured interviews with one teacher and classroom observations and provides an insight into the consequences of a shift from written to visual culture in social studies classrooms. This relation between images and learning in human development has a tradition from cave painting of stoneage man via Plato's cave parable (allegory) until previous JSSE issues (2008-4 http://www.jsse.org/2008/2008-2/contents and 2009-1 http://www.jsse.org/2009/2009-1/contents-jsse-2-2008-1-2009) discussing the link between visual and civic literacy. The case study explores what happens to educational activities at school when electronic media and pictures replace written texts. It remains to further discussion whether the hoped-for empowerment of students could in turn be a chimera. There are some indicators in this study that it might be less the students than the mass media that will be given a powerful voice in this shift. Media serve as both content and instrument in instruction. Thus, educational media can be seen as hidden and "frozen" content decisions. In a broader context, the change due to young citizens and voters using social media and emerging new forms of social participation has to be linked to civic literacy (McFarland, Reuben 2006; Bachen et al. 2008; Bennett 2008; Loader 2007; Owen et al. 2010).

"*A group is touring across the desert ...*" (Teacher).

This impulse, given by a teacher in a history lesson in Switzerland, tries to reveal a learning environment in which students can follow their imagination on social life. Does the answer contribute to history, to moral, to social or to political education? (Lange 2006) For Beatrice Bürgler (Zürich)/Jan Christian Hodel (Aarau) this is a matter of "perspective". Therefore they look for "political perspectives" in the classroom. Their research derives from a region – the German-speaking part of Switzerland – in which civics (as well as economics) as a subject in its own right is scheduled for only a few hours a week, if it at all. Thus, it is important to know in what way other school subjects contribute to political education. Until the 19th century this was done to a great extent by religious education. Later, and until today, history and native language classes took over. Bürgler/Hodel use transcripts of videotaped lessons from a Swiss archive of educational video (www.unterrichtsvideos.ch). Every researcher videotaping lessons and making transcripts will soon be disillusioned: How to cope with the mass of material? How to analyze? The solution here seems pragmatic and striking: politics is defined as the way of decision making. The criterion for this is that a fact is given as open and not „closed" (i.e. already decided). This approach is connected with research on the teachers' and students' epistemologies, i.e. the ways in which knowledge is built and conceptualized (cf. for history learning Maggioni, Fox, Alexander 2010 http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-4/pdf/Maggioni-et-al-JSSE-4-2010.pdf). It relies on a constructivist approach to learning, which underlies most contributions in this issue.

"*I think people should be able to travel freely between countries, but moving to another country permanently, needs to be watched. I think, this should not be that easy.*" (Nora)

This is Nora's, a 17 year-old student's, ambivalent feeling about mobility under European Union regulations. Andreas Eis (Frankfurt/Jena), who interviewed her, explores "Concepts and Perceptions of Democracy and Governance beyond the national State". His study deals with the question of European education in relation to education on the European Union. European citizenship identity is set "between" both local / national identities and global views, which are discussed under the label of cosmopolitanism in citizenship edu-

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cation at the moment (forthcoming JSSE 2011-1 http://www.jsse.org/2011/2011-1/contents-jsse-1-2011). This position "in the middle" runs the risk of being experienced as "Europe without society". Multi-level governance in the European Union definitely challenges theory and practise of civic education. The research is based on two different methodological approaches: On the one hand, everyday ideas and interpretations of democracy and governance beyond the nation state were gathered from secondary and high school students and teachers in Germany and Great Britain in semi-standardized interviews and written surveys. On the other hand, teaching and learning strategies as well as didactic approaches of teaching citizenship were explored by the systematic evaluation of lessons on European topics. The classroom research reveals that in the civic education lessons observed, the students' concepts are seldom reflected and seldom lead to social-science-based explanatory models. Sometimes misleading concepts are even reinforced in classroom interaction instead of being clarified by the development of adequate categories and models (cp. Weisseno, Eck 2009). In this sense, political education could itself become part of a bottom-up process in constitution-making – "Thinking European(s)" (Keane 2009; Laine, Gretschel 2009).

"*I think, if we have a mayor, he mustn't decide on his own*." (Kerstin)

Kerstin, a German student, makes that statement during a discussion in a fictitious desert mountain region far away from home. The scenario represents a "point zero" in the tradition of "island-scenarios" or "Robinsonades". After Kerstin's statement the transcript marks "chaos", i.e. what is discussed in the classroom is no longer intelligible. Andreas Petrik (Halle) combines the German tradition of defining education as "Bildung" (Wolfgang Klafki) with the Anglo-Saxon approach of linguistic analysis. He uses argumentation analysis of the recorded lesson sequences. Like Davies (2009 http://www.jsse.org/2009/2009-2/pdf/Davies-JSSE-2-2009.pdf), Petrik proposes an adaption of Stephen Toulmin's model of argumentation as a congenial method to explore interactive political learning processes: Two kinds of political awakening in the civic education classroom are distinguished by a comparative argumentation analysis of the "constitutional debates" of two "found-a-village"-projects with 8th graders. Petrik (2010 http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-4/pdf/Petrik-JSSE-4-2010.pdf) further discusses these questions in the next issue where he develops a "Political Compass" as a core concept.

"*I am a person, but at school I have my teacher role. But you are also a person, a private person. How much can I interfere with their lives?*" (Teacher)

This is a teacher's statement within a group discussion Sara Irisdotter Aldenmyr (Stockholm) led in different teacher groups in compulsory schools in Sweden about ethical issues in teacher work. The author dicusses how teachers' identities and self-understandings are influenced by the marketization of society. Her discourse analysis presents three "Grande Discourses" that have been incorporated in the contexts of teaching. This means putting the question of "silent" power in teachers' work which is even more important under circumstances of educational reform and the new strategies of subjectivation (Youdell 2010). The (discoursive) power of educational language within cultural industry remains a central topic of interpretative research (Popkewitz, Brennan 2002). Citizenship education has to cope with the "tyrannies of intimacy" and the new "cultures of evidence" which make people unable to engage in collective issues and go beyond themselves. Can teachers work within the context of marketization and yet relate to it with an attitude of self-awareness and critical reflection? And how can teachers deal with both traditional teacher values and progressive, democratic values that may be in conflict with the conditions of a marketizised school system?

3. Curriculum stories as models of wisdom

In the end, even the strong thrust towards standardization and competences in recent years remains dependent on examples of good practice. According to Hess (2009, 56), good cases as "models of wisdom" allow us to learn from the possible, not only the probable. "Thick description" and reports on lessons are situated in-between construction for teaching purposes and the re-construction by interpretative research on teaching and learning. Documentation and comparison of lesson plans and their performance has long been underestimated (see Web-portals: video sequences of (social science) lessons). Research where a single given document is analyzed from multi-perspectives by different researchers seems to be bound to a national context and is known from Germany only until now: three so called "video books". A single lesson, video-taped and with full transcript, perhaps teachers' and students' stimulated recall is analyzed from different perspectives (Grammes, Gagel, Unger 1992). This could lead to a further JSSE project in intercultural and comparative citizenship research.

On the basis of such documentation, expert teachers can share their classroom experiences with their colleagues, and become better aware of the individual learning biographies of their students. Teachers learn from exchanging such experiences in communities of practice. Professional knowledge is focused on cases (models, paradigms, myths). This is the shared knowledge of four models of further training for teachers worldwide.

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Models of teacher training

1. Lesson study
   (www.worldals.org, Lewis 2004 http://www.jsse.org/ 2004/2004-1/lesson-lewis.htm)
2. Lehrkunst – Best practice performance of classical curricula
   (Berg 2004 http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lehrkunst-english-berg.htm; www.lehrkunst.ch),
3. Pädagogische Lesung
   Educational lesson reading in former socialist countries in Eastern Europe is not much researched yet.
4. Reflective communities of practice
   (McLaughin, Talbert 2006)

„Curriculum stories" serve the expert teacher „to organize content in their curriculum" (Gudmundsdottir 1990). In view of this fact, the lack of attention given to systematic documentation and criticism of everyday practice so as to identify good examples is still surprising. Educational science resembles aesthetical theory without works of art. While in art (at university) a review culture of new productions is a matter of course, expert teachers tend to take their knowledge to their grave. In educational practice the art of review is needed more than ever. In order to become an expert social science educator one needs to be conscious of the traditions of one's own profession. Traditionally, teacher journals served this purpose and were an important instrument in the teachers' professionalization. Nowadays, this task has been passed on to the Internet/electronic media where assessments of quality are as yet poorly developed.

Successful teacher training needs case studies and examples. This is solidly confirmed by empirical research on teacher professionalization. According to these findings, so-called online case archives have recently been built for use in teacher training. See links for further information on websites.

"*Does a teacher's political point of view influence the way s/he presents political issues and thus the pupils?*"

This core question stands at the beginning of Rudolf Engelhardt's curriculum narrative (lesson report). It can be considered as a paradigm for German subject matter didactics in the field of civic education until today. Rudolf Engelhardt worked as a teacher and teacher trainer in the 1960s and 1970s in West-Germany. In Germany, the Spiegel affair (1962), which is described as the curriculum's center, marks a crucial point in the cultural development towards an open society. Horst Leps (Hamburg) comments on the curriculum narrative from today's perspective. He contextualizes categorical conflict didactics as a paradigm of civic education in Germany. There are similar accounts in the U.K. on "controversial issues" (Hess, Avery 2008) and recently in France on "socially acute questions" (Simmoneaux, Legardez 2010 http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-4/pdf/Simonneaux-et-al-JSSE-4-2010.pdf). Further on, Leps gives some hints as to the way such a "curriculum novel" could be used in a teacher training seminar. Curriculum narratives can bridge the gap between re-constructing research and constructive subject matter teaching and didactics.[2]

"*One warm day in the spring of 2006, I visited a U.S. history class at a public charter school in a large Midwestern city ...*"

This initial sentence of Diana Hess' study "Controversy in the Classroom" indicates the strong narrative element of this book, which is dealt with in the review section. Like Engelhardt, the author investigates standpoints of teachers in controversial issues. Hess tells many stories of democratic power in discussions. Her study fascinates because of the vivid descriptions of discussion cases and debates in various situations/groups of learners. Thus, the book itself could be seen as a contribution to a case archive.

4. State of the art

The actual findings of a large scale assessment, the ICCS – International Civics and Citizenship Study http://iccs.acer.edu.au/index.php?page=about-iccs are reported by Anu Toots (Tallin). Hitherto the ICCS study was known as IEA study (International Education Achievement, Baxter 2009; critical approach Mason, Delanshere 2010). The next ICCS is scheduled to take place in 2017. Hopefully it will also include qualitative methods. A model for such combination of quantitative with qualitative methods is given by the largest national longitudinal study on citizenship education, the CELS Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (http://www.nfer.ac.uk/research/projects/cels/) in the U.K. The CELS report includes case studies on various aspects of citizenship education in twelve schools and their surrounding communities. The CELS report leaves the last word to "those practitioners who have taken the vision and expectations for CE

2 This series will be continued in JSSE 2011-1 with a lesson report from a socialistic democratic culture, the former GDR German Democratic Republic. The subject is "Staatsbürgerkunde". In JSSE 2011-2 ff., we hope to present lesson reports and "typical" curriculum narratives from other countries and cultures. A special issue of JSSE on this subject is considered.

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[citizenship education] and attempted to embed it into the policies and practices of their schools."

Snapshots: Voices from the CELS study on Citizenship education (CE):

"'What we really need is students to see members of staff as citizenship-role models, in the same way they might see a member of the science staff as a role model for science as a subject. Someone who loves the subject, is really enthusiastic about it. [For citizenship, we would need staff to be really] enthusiastic about what being a good citizen is, enthusiastic about being involved in a multicultural society, rather than the other side of it... this fear and suspicion of different parts of the community we live in.'

Senior Manager, Queen Street Upper School

'I don't get a choice of who teaches CE. It needs to be people with and interest of citizenship or who have had experience of teaching CE before. But occasionally you get people who have gaps in their timetable and that come in not necessarily wanting to do it. It's happened in the past, but I have fought quite strongly that it shouldn't happen. It is seen as one of those subjects.'

CE Coordinator, Arcadia High School

'...we have so little time it's impossible [to follow the National Curriculum]. Sometimes we have to drop whole topic areas.'

CE Coordinator, Harcourt Street School

‚Citizenship and being a good citizen runs through the school like a stick of rock. It affects everything we do, from our teaching and learning policy to our pastoral policy.

Head teacher, Blackrock School

‚I think CE is an important subject to be taught to actually show them [the young people] that we are part of a wider society and wider world.'

Teacher King Street School"

(Keating et al. 2009, 89-90)

The research methods (Flick 1998; Barton 2006; Friebertshäuser, Langer, Prengel 2010) used in the explorative case studies presented in this issue vary from classroom observation to argumentation analysis, discourse analysis, video recording and transcript analysis, expert interviews and lesson plan analysis. The combination (triangulation) of qualitative and quantitative methods seems to be no longer in question. It may come as a surprise that this issue does not include examples of teacher-as-researcher projects (action research or "Praxisforschung", Altrichter, Posch 2007; Burton, Bartlett 2005; Clarke, Erickson 2003) and studies combined with further training of teachers and professionalization (see again the concept of lesson and learning study: www.worldals.org).

As researchers, we end most of our studies with a call for additional research (compare the ten conclusions for further research which cover most aspects in the field – Hahn 2010, 17-18). Today, nobody could seriously claim any longer that there is a lack of empirical knowledge of teaching and learning processes. On the contrary! According to some critics, qualitative research does not have to present too many viable and resilient results. Moreover, the results often seem to be weak and hardly exceed everyday knowledge and assumptions. The status of a paradigmatic "normal science" (Thomas Kuhn) has not been reached yet. Qualitative research holds an explorative status with the function to generate questions and hypothesis. This is not to be sneezed at! It serves to discover problems and research questions and can contribute to casuistic and systematic comparison in international perspective.

Qualitative research in social science education shares some deficits with qualitative research in educational science in general (Henkenborg 2002):

1. A lack of continuity and coherence in research profiles as well as a lack of systematic discussion to improve the quality of research.
   Currently, an international spread of electronic publications, accessible in English, gives a push. The research is disparate and diverse, and thus without significant progress. This is due to the extremely broad definition applied to political, education/social science education, which lacks a "consistent body of subject matter, derived from academic disciplines" (Hooghoff 1989, 39).[3]
2. A lack of secondary analysis of data from previous research (replication study), reorganizing research under a special thematic focus.
   Instead we constantly redesign underlying theories and research programmes which prevents cumulative effects in gaining experience. Thus the value of selected reviews – not only of monographs but of journal articles as well – cannot be overestimated.
3. A lack of archive and documentary systems for social science education (see links: case archives in educational science).
   At the moment, there seems to be no book series dedicated to qualitative research in citizenship education. JSSE tries to fill this void by starting with Engelhardt "How to deal with party politics at school?" – a series with reports of "wisdom of practice" in subject matter didactics from different cultural traditions in Europe, and perhaps worldwide.
4. There seems to be a serious language barrier Due to the review process within most interna-

3 In previous issues of JSSE there had been some examples of qualitative research in the field of economic education (Davies 2009). But this field could be extended.

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tional journals, probably most of this research is found in local and national journals and predominantly in languages other than English. This indicates qualitative research, which emerges in smaller professional contexts, includes practitioners into the research process and reflects the results as part of the ethics of educational research. This research remains in the respective regional languages. The effort of translation into English as the language of global scientific exchange is often bound to competitive publication standards. The established peer review standards have a bias towards quantitative designs informed by educational psychologists. Why should my "private" case study be of interest to international scientific communication? But a culturally sensitive research on citizenship needs to relate to and compare local knowledge.[4]

5. Research should become teacher-action research. Here "diagnostic competence" is seen as a core competence of the professional teacher. Taking up the access via teacher-as-researchers, most of the research material given in the case studies here can become material for discussion and reflection in social studies classrooms in itself. For instance, the Toulmin schema of argumentation analysis (Petrik) or the video sequences (Bürgler/Hodel) can help to reflect on the quality and status of one's own knowledge. Statements by young Europeans considering the European Union can be used as impulses to be reflected by their classmates to develop their own judgements. Critical and reflective social science teaching constructs students as researchers and everyday sociologists! Indeed, there is a fundamental correspondence between the way in which children and others learn and the way that ethnographers go about their task. (Walford 2008) This leads to a deeper understanding of "diagnostic competence" as an element of the educational process.
6. Research always tends to focus on traditional forms of teaching – because they are such powerful. The former limitation to single 45-minutes lessons is dissolved in favour of complete teaching units and learning biographies of students over a longer period. There are first examples of critical research on the so-called new cultures of learning and "pupil-centred" methods. In some schools, the students' schedule does not include the word „lesson" at all, but it is – proudly or coyly – replaced by formats like project, workshop, atelier, laboratory, elearning etc. Research must take into account that content learning takes place in institutional contexts and is incorporated into a powerful competitive and selective system. Research must reflect on the relation of subject matter teaching and informal social and civics learning in a cross-disciplinary subject approach and within school culture (informal learning; extramural learning outside in "learning democracy" – Vinterek 2010, Willkenfeld 2009). As to the various processes of informal civic education, which are summed up as political socialization, these have to be dealt with in a further issue.[5]
7. To re-construct "the political", researchers often relate to textbook research with a focus on content analysis. But we know little of how textbooks are used by teachers and students and what is really learned from them. There are no content analysis of students notices during lessons or black board drawings used in civis.

Traditional media: Textbooks and understanding

"As the September sun beat relentlessly on the roof of the portable classroom and the air conditioner hummed diligently, twenty-one sixth grade world cultures students participated in a review session pertaining to ancient Greece. Using the computer and projector to situate students geographically, the teacher guided the students through basic definitions of Greek landforms. The teacher then turned to the topic of civilizations and asked a recall question: What were the names of the two earliest Greek civilizations? A young girl raised her hand confidently and exclaimed, "Dark Ages!" The teacher responded gently, "No-ooo. Think of civilizations. What is a civilization?" The student shot back defensively, "Well, it was up there" as she pointed vaguely to the white board.

She was correct. "Dark Ages" had been written on the board during a previous lesson, and, in a way, her answer made sense. The teacher had asked for two civilizations; "Dark Ages" consisted of two words. When the class had read about the early Greek civilizations and the Dark Ages, the words, as proper nouns, had been capitalized. Why should "Minoans and Mycenaeans" have more meaning than "Dark Ages" to students who have difficulties placing ideas in context? Researchers have noted that many readers approach a text as a vehicle for answers, not as a rhetorical and human artifact). Oftentimes, beyond general reading

4 In Europe, the rich German tradition in qualitative research is elucidated by Henkenborg (2002, compare Reh 2009). Unfortunately, however, this research tradition is not very well linked to the international discourse as the following perspective from outside clearly shows: "By nature, subject matter didactics in Germany has always been philosophical thinking, theorising, and construction of theoretical models" (Kansanen 1995, 98). See appendix 1 for a selection from recent qualitative research from German origin which is accessible in English.

5 For the state of the art see, e.g. Pfaff (2010 -> appendix 1); Harris, Wyn, Younes (2010); Gimpel et al. (2003) for youth participation; for new forms of social participation McFarland, Reuben (2006).

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difficulties in decoding and fluency, struggling readers lack an epistemology of text.
Brown, Sarah Drake; Swope, John (2010) Using Image Analysis to Build Reading Comprehension. In: Canadian Social Studies, No. 1 (without pagination)

8. In sum, already Palonsky (1987, cf. Palonsky 1986) has discussed the problem that pleading for ethnographic lesson research is much more prominent than given research projects of what anthropologists call "thick description" (Clifford Geertz) of cases and cultural contexts. This may be due to the enormous amount of time (which cannot be delegated) that has to be spent on research, which is not beneficial to an academic career.

Key elements of ethnographic research applied to the study of education contexts:

"• focus on the study of cultural formation and maintenance;
• use of multiple methods and thus the generation of rich and diverse forms of data;
• direct involvement and long-term engagement of the researcher(s);
• recognition that the researcher is the main research instrument;
• high status given to the accounts of participants' perspectives and understandings;
• engagement in a spiral of data collection, hypothesis building and theory testing—leading to further data collection; and
• focus on a particular case in depth, but providing the basis for theoretical generalisation."
(Troman et al., 2006; cp. Carspecken 1996, Hammersley 2007, Hunersdorf 2008)

Of course, longitudinal studies, long term participant observation and a meaningful research on effects of teaching and instruction remains a challenging task, which can be done in research teams only. As qualitative research projects are often a task for individual doctoral dissertation projects (rarely embedded in graduate doctoral programs) a careful research counselling is needed. In contrast to nowadays' practice, qualitative research should not be a job for the novice researcher "bowling alone" but for the experienced senior in a team!

5. Inter-cultural comparative research designs

In her overview of comparative civic education worldwide Hahn (2010, 5) observes "over the past decade as researchers from al parts of the globe are conducting empirical studies that use a wide variety of methods. Clearly, the field of comparative and international civic education has gone global." Within the studies identified there are only a few smaller case studies called qualitative and "ethnographic": Peck (2009), Levinson (2007), Fairbrother (2008), Shirazi (2009). In accordance with the process of globalization, further research should focus on inter-cultural analyses of teaching styles, epistemologies ("philosophy" of the school subject) and learners' biographies. The comparative study of Schiffauer et al. (2002) are still a shining example in this field:[6]

Werner Schiffauer; Gerd Baumann; Riva Kastoryano; Steven Vertovec, eds.: Civil-Enculturation, Nation-State, School and Ethnic Difference in four European Countries. Oxford, New York: Berghahn)

"*What I liked most about our discussion was, that we didn't know, what the result may be. It was a surprise. That's the way, discussions should be in reality.*"
(Teacher from Rotterdam/Netherlands, p. 240)

It is an excitingly intercultural research project: For one year, four social science researchers spend time at school in the 9th and 10th grade in order to do research in the field. The schools are situated in the centres of Berlin, London, Rotterdam, and Paris.

Their research is based on a combination of methods, such as participative observations, analysis of curricula and textbooks, single and group interviews. The results – limited to observations on Turkish teenagers – are consolidated to dense and very readable reports and portraits of schools. In order to have an intensive and international exchange of the observations, a team of two researchers stays at one school.

There are a lot of fascinating observations to point out: the descriptions of how each school seems to be situated differently in the specific urban area, when you get closer to these every morning (p. 23-36). Or, which taxonomies of cultural differences can be observed on the school's playgrounds and in the secretaries (p. 67-100). Moreover, in terms of the textbooks on history, the way a concept of a "nation" is constructed methodologically, shows the way forward to refer to the use of these books in classroom discourse. As far as educational policy is concerned, the observations on and the lively scenes regarding religion and multilingual reality at schools are vital to it.

In comparison to Paris' Lycée, at the school in Berlin the concept of cultural differences is regarded as legitimate concerning awareness and interpretation. In particular, uttering of the other cultures were not valued in Berlin – which is close to the example of Paris –, whereas pointedly serenity can be observed in Rotterdam, or an affirmative atmosphere in London. "The other's cultures are odd" (p. 96); therefore, the high proportion of foreign pupils is regarded as

6 There are a few explorative start ups, like Nonnenmacher et al. (2008) comparing lessons on migration in Italy, France, UK and Germany; or Schelle (forthcoming: 2011; 2012).

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problematic. At the same time, there is a double-bind, because the fault of German self-assertion must not be repeated in the group of foreigners. Due to this ambivalence, sensible and pedagogical professional work cannot be done.

The chapter about "argumentative strategies" describes the instructor–lead lesson by scenes and vignettes and aims at knowledge-based teaching of how to set standards in grading (Berlin). At a school in Rotterdam, researchers find a form of "open" discussion, still keeping the topic in mind, in which the teacher has more a role of a mediator than a judge.

The authors ask themselves self-critically, what are the reasons for the German school to be rated more poorly than the others? Does the German school-system not take into account the realities of a multi-ethnic present and future? The study is a pioneering basic text to connect school research, political socialization, and intercultural-explained citizenship education – highly recommendable for reading! Furthermore, the study can be used for discussion in teacher training seminars.

For example, the concepts of democracy are culturally different as political culture research informs. Democracy can either be considered as more conflict orientated (concurrent democracy) or more harmony orientated (concordant democracy). Thus, the related styles of public communication of politics, of boarders between the public and the private, of formal and informal speech are inter-culturally different (Forum: Qualitative Research (2009-1 http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/issue/view/30[7]). This influences the ways of communication and the culture of teaching and learning. For example, one could question if the Toulmin format of argumentation used by Petrik in this issue represents an universal epistemology. For an outline of a research design compare Hahn's (1998) vision of a comparative video study which to realize would need a team effort in research. Social science education could profit from a "big" subject here, the field of the subject matter "teaching mathematics" where the TIMMS video study prepared the ground.

TIMMS Videostudy

The TIMSS Videostudy differentiates ideal-typical mathematic learning cultures and teaching styles comparing three countries:

"The US lessons seemed to be organized around two phases – an acquisition phase and an application phase. In the acquisition phase, the teacher demonstrates or leads a discussion on how to solve a sample problem – the aim is to clarify the steps in the procedure so that students will be able to execute the same procedure on their own. In the application phase, students practice using the procedure by solving problems similar to the sample problem. During this seatwork time, the teacher circulates around the room, helping students who are having difficulty. The problems that are not completed by the end of the lesson are often assigned for homework.

The Japanese lessons seemed to follow a different script. The lesson tended to focus on one or sometimes two key problems. After reviewing the major point of the previous lesson and introducing the topic for today's lesson, the teacher presents the first problem. The problem is usually one that students do not know how to solve immediately, but for which they have learned some crucial concepts or procedures in their previous lessons. Students are asked to work on the problem for a specified number of minutes, using any method they want to use, and then to share their solutions. The teacher reviews and highlights one or two aspects of the students' solution methods or presents another solution method. Sometimes this cycle is repeated with another problem; at other times students practice the highlighted method or the teacher elaborates it further. Before the lesson ends, the teacher summarizes the major point for the day; homework is rarely assigned.

The German lessons seemed to follow a different script again. At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher presents a simple situation or concept on the board, which will be expanded through a series of question-response sequences, and leads a discussion to arrive at some general principle at the end of the lesson. For example, the teacher draws a triangle it is, what they know about its properties. The teacher asks many more questions and students contribute a great deal in verbal exchanges. In the end, they may arrive at the conditions of congruence or Pythagorean theorem. The characteristics of German style are that the teacher and students spent a lot of time elaborating on a particular topic, but the lesson goals are not always stated by the teacher at the beginning of the lesson and the summary of the major points of the lesson is not always provided at the end of the lesson." (Kawanaka, Stigler, Hiebert 1999, 86 ff.).

However, cultural comparison of classroom teaching styles and learning has a lot of methodological obstacles to overcome (see Lopez-Real 2004 within the paradigm of phenomenological educational learning study developed by the school of Ference Marton). A future research task will be the Chinese learning culture in civic and moral education. Concerning maths education, the Chinese concept first has been widely misunderstood as deficient rote learning ("The Chinese learner"). It is now seen as a different cultural form of gaining deep understanding ("The Chinese

7 Hiller 2009 for example uses the critical incident method. This qualitative research method could be very interesting for qualitative research in citizenship education.

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learner revisited"). This research task applies to Arabic and Islamic teaching and learning styles as well. Here the westernized misconception might be that it is bound to rigorous textual understanding which is anti-hermeneutic and in contradiction to an open democratic discussion culture (Wulf et al. 2010).

Finally, the editors of JSSE hope the contributions contain enough creative potential to encourage qualitative research. What would further innovative research designs look like? This question might be seen as a call for papers for a second issue on qualitative research in social science education forthcoming in 2012.

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Appendix 1

Selection from recent qualitative research from German origin which is accessible in English
Thematic connections to citizenship issues and informal political socialization are marked in bold:

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(concept of educational reconstruction)

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URL: All URL have been checked during 30th of December 2010. Tilman Grammes

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Per-Olof Erixon

From Texts to Pictures in Teaching Civics. Participant Observation in Mark's Classroom

We are now living in a "new media age", with a dramatic shift from the linguistic to the visual, from books and book pages to screens and windows (Kress, 2003). This article offsets out to explore what happens to educational activities in schools when electronic media and pictures replace written texts. The article draws on interviews and classroom observations of a particular Swedish vocational upper secondary programme, where the social studies teacher observes that students are finding it increasingly difficult to benefit from written texts. Theoretically, the study draws on Meyrowitz (1985/1986) theories concerning the relationship among media, situations and behaviour and the effect of a shift from "print situations" to "electronic situations" on a broad range of social role and Bernstein's (1996/2000) notions of 'recontextualisation', 'framing' and 'classification'. The study shows that classroom relations are changing; hierarchies between students and teachers are being broken down, and classification of subjects is affected in the sense that the students' own interpretations and references are beginning to govern teaching when pictures and electronic media enter the educational discourse.

Keywords:
visual teaching, visual literacy, multimodality, framing, classification, recontextualisation, media ecology, electronic media, social behaviour

1. Introduction

Over the last four or five decades, the written culture has become increasingly challenged by the rapid development of new media. We live in a visual society where the position and functions of language in public communication have changed. From having been the primary communicative medium, language has now been transformed into only one among several important communicative media (Kress, Van Leeuwen, 1996/2000). We live in a "new media age", where the screen has replaced the book as the dominant medium of communication (Kress, 2003). This implies a dramatic shift from the linguistic to the visual; from books and book pages to screens and windows. Today's young people are therefore growing up in what has been termed a "screen culture" (Livingstone, 2002) or within a changing "media ecology" (Mackey, 2002).

The visually represented world is not the same as that represented by writing. It is a different world that creates different subjects and citizens (Kress, Van Leeuwen, 1996/2000). The changes are already noticeable in schools. School subjects are undergoing a great transformation, and the issue is whether everything that is communicable with the aid of scientific writing can be communicated also by visually constructed pages? Kress' & van Leeuwen's (1996/2000) question generates a number of issues that provide the focus of this article. What happens in educational discourse when pictures and electronic technology is introduced and the historically dominant textbook, for example, is abandoned in favour of pictorial representation?

A symbiotic relationship evolved for hundreds of years ago between church, school and literacy (Erixon, 2010; Johansson, 1977; Tyner, 1998). The relation between script and schooling has remained strong, not only concerning teaching content but also written text as a norm for communication. There is also an historical and metaphorical connection between teachers and authors. Seeing themselves as primary sources of knowledge, if not instruments of social control, both have tended to see the imposition of authority as an essential part of their work (Tuman, 1992).

When a (new) medium emerges, the patterns of dependency between people and power structures will change (Meyrowitz, 1985/1986). Transferred to the educational discourse a similar set of questions are raised about how the contents of different school subjects, classroom relations and the ways of organising educational activities are influenced when new technology in the form of e.g. pictures and media, is introduced. This article focuses in particular on what happens when the primacy of texts is challenged by both teachers and students and screen and pictorial representation becomes increasingly more important in multimodal teaching.

2. Visual Communication

Visual communication has been used since the infancy of humanity. Cave paintings convey messages to our generation from people who lived long before writing was invented. In our society, writing has been the dominant communicative tool for a long time. But now it is being challenged. For this reason concepts such as *literacy* have also been extended to denote not only in a limited sense the ability to read and write, but also the competences needed for communication in a widened sense, involving e.g. pictures. Such conceptual shifts have moved in different directions, partly due to changes in media technology itself (Cope, Kalantzis, 2000/2002; Elmfeldt, Erixon, 2007).

In a now famous manifesto, the concept of 'multiliteracies' was coined by the New London Group (Cope,

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Kalantzis , 2000/2002), thus making it possible to identify different types of *literacies*, all of which comprise a set of social practices linking people and media together and offering strategies for creating meaning (Lemke, 1998). Each literacy constitutes an integral part of a culture and its subcultures and each plays a role in the maintenance of a society. Different literacies such as *visual literacy* consist of different technologies and provide a connection between the ego (the person) and society, and the means by which we act in a social context. When literacies change, so do we.

Visual communication in American colleges is more "subjective" since it does not function within the same restrictive frames as language-based communication (Matusitz, 2005). Visual communication therefore places greater demands on the observer than on the person receiving language-based communication. Visual communication includes a dialogic process where an individual' perception of something is connected to her/his previous knowledge and experience. Visual entities are thus subject to more active personal interpretation than written texts.

When elementary schoolchildren approach illustrative pictures in science textbooks they start from their own experiences when interpreting pictures and illustrations in books (Watkins *et al.*, 2004). They content themselves with looking at an illustration, identifying it, and then describing and explaining what they have seen, often with great interest but also often based on misunderstanding. The students rarely read the accompanying written text, and thus their intuitive constructions, often based on naïve assumptions and everyday experience; form the basis of their understanding.

What will happen in "future" educational settings that use only visual methods in teaching (Matusitz, 2005). The present study focuses on an educational context where written texts have been completely replaced by pictures. It will be argued, following Matusitz, that for this context at least, the future is already here.

3. Theory

Theoretically, this study draws on Meyrowitz (1985/1986) theories concerning the relationship among media, situations and behaviour and the effect of a shift from "print situations" to "electronic situations" on a broad range of social role and Bernstein's (1996/2000) notions of 'recontextualisation', 'framing' and 'classification'.

Meyrowitz (1985/1986) develops general principles concerning the relationship among media, situations, and behaviour and explores the potential effects of a shift from 'print situations' to 'electronic situations' on a broad range of social roles. The mechanism through which electronic media affect social behaviour is a discernible rearrangement of the social stages, he claims, on which we play our roles and a resulting change in our sense of appropriate behaviour. Electronic media have thus rearranged many social forums so that most people now finds themselves in contact with others in new ways.

Meyrowitz takes his starting point in Erving Goffman (1959), who describes social life using the metaphor of drama. Goffman sees us each playing a multiplicity of roles on different social stages. Any individual's behaviour in a given setting can be broken down into two broad categories: 'back region', or backstage behaviour, and 'front region' or onstage behaviour. For each 'audience' we offer a somewhat different version of ourselves. It is not the physical setting itself that determines the nature of the interaction, but the patterns of information flow. Media, like walls and windows, can hide and they can reveal, as Meyrowitz (1985/1986) argue.

Print is a medium that requires a very special encoding or decoding skill and is more likely to be exploited by an elite class. High status is demonstrated and maintained through the control over this knowledge and skill. The diffusion of literacy and printed materials has divided people into different informational worlds based on different levels or reading skill and on training and interest in different literatures.

In general, authority is enhanced when information-systems are isolated; authority is weakened when information-systems are merged. Electronic media have thus both led to break-down of the specialized and segregated information-system shaped by print, Meyrowitz (1985/1986) claims, and an integration of information-systems by merging formerly private situations into formerly public ones. This shift is a shift from formal onstage or front region, information to informal backstage or back regions, information. Print has thus a 'front region bias' (95), while electronic media have a 'back region bias' (95). The new behaviour that arises out of merging situations, called "middle region" (s 47), contains elements of both the former onstage and offstage behaviours but lack their extremes. Electronic media put many traditional authorities at a disadvantage, bypass traditional channels and "gatekeepers" (p 163) and undermine the pyramids of status that were once supported by print.

The European curriculum theoretician, Basil Bernstein (1996/2000) emphasises the relation between knowledge and power, and also the connection between form and content, or in terms of his own concepts, between 'framing' and 'classification'. According to Bernstein (1996/2000) *the educational discourse* comprises two interspersed discourses: one discourse concerns various kinds of abilities and knowledge and their relations to one another and one discourse concerns social order. By means of *recontextualisation* the educational discourse creates a selection of imaginary subjects, i.e. school subjects. Authors of textbooks,

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for example, work in the recontextualisation field, the rules of which are governed by *regulative discourse*. Bernstein draws attention to the influence of the power relations between e.g. teachers and pupils on the content and form of the teaching, i.e. its classification and framing.

Education is influenced from both above and from below (Dale *et al.*, 2004). Influences from above are normative by nature and include anything from school cultures, subject cultures and national curricula to various different global factors. Influences from below are on the other hand more informal and comprise young people's cultures outside school and the experiences they have concerning learning in various informal contexts. We know that it is precisely today's young people that are developing competences in the ICT area, which they bring into the classroom in different ways (Facer et al., 2003; Elmfeldt, Erixon, 2007).

When semiotic material, e.g. written text or pictures, is moved from one set of modalities to another, "transduction" takes place (Bezemer, Kress, 2008). A transduction from one modality to another one can never be perfect in the sense that all semantic material may be transferred. So, pictures have no words and words have no pictures. The concept of 'transduction' is close to Bernstein's (1996/2000) concept of 'recontextualisation', which he used to illustrate how discourses originating outside schools and teaching are realised in an educational context such as the school subject. When semantic material is moved between social contexts, say from one medium to another one or from one context to another one, a social and semiotic "remaking" takes place, and likewise, an epistemological change.

School subjects are social constructions that intertwine social relations and structures in the task of transferring the cultural tradition (Bernstein, 1996/2000; Goodson, Marsh, 1996). School subjects organise the knowledge communicated in schools and establish frames for how practical activities are organised. The text in the textbook is characterised by particular knowledge and ethics intertwined in an officially sanctioned manner is often concealed in the text (Selander, 1988). As part of the recontextualisation field, the textbook is thus disciplinary in several respects.

The visual and the verbal offer fundamentally different possibilities for capturing the world. Pictures are ruled by different semantic conventions to those of words, with their syntax affecting the relations between elements or parts, and rules mobile and subject to change (Kress, 1998). Sometimes it may seem as if there are no rules at all (Messaris, 1998). Electronic media and pictures therefore provide a range of epistemological advantages and demands, and social behaviour and knowledge content when compared to that based on written text alone.

4. Method

This study is based on interviews with one teacher and classroom observations in five of his classes. The interviews were semi-structured, i.e. characterised neither by open conversations nor by answers to questions from a detailed questionnaire (Kvale, 1997). An interview guide was used however to focus on certain themes and included suggestions for questions. The interviews were primarily aimed at gaining insight into the teacher's way of thinking on his teaching.

Statements in an interview lie at a rhetorical level in the sense that they do not necessarily say anything about practice. In order to gain a rounded picture of the teaching that Mark had planned, a number of classroom observations were carried out. The approach to the interviews was ethnographic (Delamont, Hamilton, 1986), in the sense that ethnographers use a holistic framework, which implies that they acknowledge complexity and use the totality as their database. Further, they reject preconceived ideas that are embedded in a predetermined system of (research) codes, which implies working with an open and incomplete methodology.

5. The Research Context: The Swedish Upper Secondary School

The classroom observations that form the basis of this article were conducted at an upper secondary school in a Northern Swedish town in September 2007. Upper secondary education is voluntary and free of charge in Sweden and provides opportunities for students between the ages of 16 and 19 years of age to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for further academic studies. Each municipality is legally bound to offer upper secondary education to all young people who have finished their lower secondary education (Skolverket, 2007). Municipalities are also expected to develop local curricula for each of the 17 three-year national study programmes. The programmes provide a broad and general education and also formal eligibility for academic studies. Each programme has its special character depending on its subject orientation, with some more practical and others more theoretical.

The school in which the study took place is relatively large with 1,700 students aged between 16 and 19 years. I accompanied Mark, a male teacher aged about 40, to his Civics classes in the Industry and Vehicle Programme. Mark also teaches mathematics for the same programme. The school is divided into seven different areas with a head teacher for each area. Mark shares his office with the other teachers in the Industry and Vehicle programme. He is the only teacher of Civics in the team and more of a "programme" than a subject teacher (Lundström, 2007). This implies that he is less influenced by the subcultures linked to the subjects he teaches. Research shows that school subject subcultures have a strong influence on the organisation and

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practice of classrooms (Selwyn, 1999). Goodson and Managan (1995) argue that school subjects represent a special microcosm, each with a micro-world containing its own values and traditions. These traditions are rooted in the nature of each subject and also in the social and political process through which it is formed (Erixon, 2010).

Mark describes the practical programmes and his own physical position in relation to his subject colleagues, as a satellite going round the school's theoretical programmes. His description includes the claim to a proud tradition regarding the practical programme's success in various competitions. In previous years the school has done very well, nationally and internationally. The student welders have been especially successful and have become Swedish national champions. Students from different programmes were due to take part in the championships the following year (2007) in Japan. Mark claims that when the school was built in the 1960s it ran vocational programmes only. It therefore has a strong craftsman (person) tradition. The town is an industrial community with sawmills and two paper mills. There is a special mentality in the town, claims Mark, without really being able to describe what it stands for. There are many small villages around the central community also, where people "tinker and potter about with things"; "it is a tradition".

The so-called core or academic subjects are therefore not very appealing to the students coming from that tradition. They have to work hard to do well in academic subjects, which are seen as not particularly relevant. Nor does any support come from the parents, according to Mark, who attended the same school as a student. At that time there was a clearer division between practical and theoretical subjects but now they are more integrated.

6. The Study

In the interviews, which were conducted before the classroom observations, Mark describes one of the Civics lesson plans he has made for the classes that I am to visit. The topic is the constitution, with a special focus on conditions in Sweden, but also with comparative material from other countries. Mark intends to focus on the Swedish state, what it does, and the distribution of power between the Government, the Swedish Parliament, the Head of State and the law courts. The lesson is entitled "People, politics and power" and deals also with the opportunities that people have to influence decision-makers. Instead of the usual textbook, Mark has chosen to produce a compendium of material, chiefly consisting of various kinds of photographs. He also uses what he calls "new technology": "I try to use and introduce pictures and try to work on the basis of pictures and have a bit of discussion about them".

This has been developed in response to, as he sees it, the students' dissatisfaction with reading texts, not least because the courses contain a number of abstract concepts. Mark says:

> When I say, "represent", what does it mean? Or when I say, "limited" as in "limited democracy"? When you read the usual upper secondary school textbook, you encounter words used in the running text that are taken for granted by the authors. I have the textbook and I use it, but I try to be conscientious and focus on pictures for the discussion.

Mark rarely works with just the textbook: "To be honest I have more or less stopped working with the book. They [the students] don't have to read so much. This level of abstraction is too difficult for them".

During my visit, Mark will be teaching about the difference between monarchy and republic, introducing the topic by means of two pictures, one of the king and royal family and one of George W. Bush, the then president of the United States. Mark's aim is "to sound out" how the students perceive the pictures and their associations. Then they will be required to read a text on the advantages and disadvantages of monarchy and republic respectively. Mark has seen that student interest can be caught in this way. Another advantage is that he can re-use the same pictures the following week, and the students are likely to remember them:

> If they only see it in a [written] text, many of them will have difficulty remembering anything. The pictures make it easier for them to go back and continue the discussion. But it is me who has to organise it.

With this type of lesson design, Mark claims, the students understand more, they achieve more, and seem able to manage their learning more effectively. His ambition for the future is to include moving pictures:

> One of my goals is also to use more moving pictures, with some films and news features /…/ Pictures appeal to them with regard to learning. My vision is to organise more lessons based on pictures /…/ The reason is that we have had difficulties in achieving passes for the students and many of them have received a fail mark. I have worked here since 2001. I saw this in the first years I worked here. I had difficulty myself with changing my teaching methods, but I have seen possibilities in working with pictures that they can recognise themselves in.

7. The classroom observations

The pattern is roughly the same in the five lessons I observe, with differences mostly due to different classes adopting different attitudes to the lesson content as well as to Mark's comments.

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The students attend either the Industry Programme or the Vehicle Programme, which implies, given the gender-divided characteristics of the students enrolled, that the classes consist mainly of boys. There is only one girl in the five classes, all of which are small in size with 10-15 students per class. The students sit in a u-shaped formation facing the teacher's desk and whiteboard, which are placed at the very front of the classroom. Here one can see that new technology creates preconditions for different social relations in the classroom. Students in Swedish schools have traditionally sat in rows, with their backs to the students in the row behind and facing frontwards towards the teacher and his or her desk. In the instance considered here, students can see each other and exchange both looks and talk in a way that is not possible in more conventional groupings of students. The ceiling is high, and the classroom is wedged between two workshop premises. A rattling sound is often heard coming from other practical and vocational activities.

Mark begins the lesson by addressing the students in words belonging to the back region, as regards choice of words and content, with the phrase "Tjena grabbar" ['Hi guys']. The tempo is brisk and before the students have had time to respond Mark is deep into a story about the honeymoon trip from which he has just returned.

The students seem aware of Mark's (recent) marital status, since one asks whether he "has married his wife or somebody else". Mark informs his class that he has lived with someone for twenty years and that he and his partner recently decided to get married. This also gives him an opportunity to relate details from the journey to North Spain and Southern France. Mark reflects that he feels a bit "untrained", by which he means that it seems, because of his holidays, a long time since he has taught and as a result, he feels a bit uncomfortable in the teaching situation.

Mark starts the projector and asks whether the students have brought the booklets they were given previously. The class is silent and Mark hands out a few extra copies to the students who indicate that they have forgotten theirs. With the aid of the computer mouse, Mark finds the correct file and document and some pictures taken from the students' booklets. Thus the material that the students have before them in the form of a booklet also have its electronic equivalent on the computer. "Please open the booklet at page one, the pages with the 'guys'", he says, while at the same time showing the pictures in colour with the aid of the projector. Mark goes through the first page, which instructs the students to state the names of the people shown and which party each represents.

The government is made up of a coalition of parties. The first is the Minister for Schools and Adult Education and leader of the Liberal party, Jan Björklund. Mark comments that Björklund has just been appointed leader of the Liberal party. In the front is Göran Hägglund, leader of the Christian Democrats, Fredrik Reinfeldt, Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative party, and Carl Bildt, Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the picture there is one "non-guy", Maud Olofsson, Minister of Industry, Employment and Communications and leader of the Centre Party. The names are worked through and the concept of 'alliance' (or coalition in English) is introduced by Mark, who says that it means those "who unite". Through such guidance, Marks continues with his teaching.

At the bottom of the page are the opposition parties to the government, it's "opponents" as Mark puts it; Lars Ohly, leader of the Left Party, Mona Sahlin, leader of the Social Democrats, and two "mates", Peter Eriksson and Maria Wetterstrand, spokespersons of the Green Party. Mark writes the second set of politicians' names on the whiteboard and designates them "the red-green bloc". In the same spread is a picture of Olof Palme, whom the students recognise without any difficulty. Mark confirms that Olof Palme was murdered in 1986 when he was Prime Minister, and was a Social Democrat and very well known abroad. This overview is a recapitulation of work done previously, thus Mark finishes with, "we went through this two weeks ago". Mark introduces the new topic by asking how old a person needs to be to vote. "18 years", one student answers.

The concepts 'direct democracy' and 'indirect democracy' are introduced. Mark writes them on the board, asks questions and pushes the conversation onwards towards what distinguishes the two. Concepts such as 'popular government" enter the discussion in terms, for example, the outcomes of two referenda, for entry to the EU (positive) and to join the EMU and euro-zone (negative). Mark explains that the then social democratic Prime Minister, Göran Persson could have forced through entry into the EMU, meaning that he was not obliged to comply with the outcome of the referendum.

Below the picture is written, "Note: visit the parties' homepages to check what they are called" with links to the seven parties and Swedish parliament provided. In this way, a connection is made to the world outside the educational context. The students know how to manipulate the clicking mouse and the outside world flows momentarily into the school without the teacher able or willing to pedagogise the action. It could also be said that the students depart from the educational discourse temporarily so that the boundary between the school and everyday life is erased. Thus Mark partially puts himself outside his role as, what Meyrowitz terms, "gatekeeper".

Mark likewise transfers the discussion of indirect and direct democracy to the students' everyday life by asking about their membership of any "club" and if and how, for example, chairpersons and board mem-

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bers are appointed. In using language from the back region (club), Mark also attempts to demystify the role of politician and hence also to question existing hierarchies between politicians and voters. It is mutually concluded that this is how direct democracy works.

The pictures used in the lesson are taken from various mass media; the web, newspapers and TV. No comment is made, however, on the fact that they are being shown different pictures; or that the students are consciously interpreting their effectiveness as pictures. The pictures function mainly as starting point of Mark's and the students' discussion, opening the way for students to make their own subjective associations (Matusitz, 2005) and draw on their own experiences (Watkins *et al*., 2004).

Discussion continues on about indirect democracy. Mark, who leads the conversation throughout, brings it round to the situation in the municipality in which they live, i.e. the level closest to the students' own lifeworld. The students are then left to work independently on reading and answering questions about how Swedish people exercise power, who has the right to vote, and what restrictions exist on freedom of speech. The word *inskränkning* ['restriction'] crops up in this context (Mark draws attention to it by linking to the *Swedish National Encyclopaedia*'s homepage which is connected to the school's homepage, to look up the word *inskränkning*.

After several minutes, Mark goes through the questions he has written on the board, and a discussion arises about whether it is permissible to use the word *whore* given the importance of freedom of speech. This is one of several discussions that the students initiate themselves by enabling their responses to serve as triggers for the lesson. The students snigger and maintain that they hear this word every day. Also familiar to them are symbols from the Nazi regime such as Hitler memorabilia, swastikas etc. By allowing these issues to be discussed, the teaching has closer proximity to the every-day culture of the students.

The remaining lessons that I attend are organised in roughly the same way. During the lesson for the Transport Programme, Mark starts by giving some information about his recent honeymoon and then opens the file on his electronic desk to access the booklet they have been working with. The starting point of the (second) lesson is a picture that illustrates a lead-in to discussion of how democracy works in Sweden and Denmark as (p. 52). Here, too, it is the students' own responses that steer the development of the lesson.

The upper part of the picture shows the Swedish and Danish flags with the words *the people*, *the Parliament* and *the Government* written beneath. On one side are *the King* and *the Queen* and on the other, *the law courts*. There are arrows drawn between *the people*, *the Parliament* and *the Government*, though no arrows to *the King*, *the Queen* or *the courts*. Mark comments on this by stressing the latter's independent role, for example that the King is merely a representative of the country and cannot take formal decisions on his own. Observing from the back of the classroom I see *the people* positioned at the top of the picture, and Parliament and the Government at the bottom, i.e. the present hierarchy turned upside down. In his capacity as "gatekeeper" Mark fails to assume full control of the technology he is supposed to know about, but none of the students says anything. What they might be thinking is another matter.

Mark starts with the election of 2006 and what happened when Reinfeldt formed a new government administration. Using the picture, government initiatives are discussed such as the lowering of unemployment benefits and real estate tax. Mark clicks on yet another picture, which portrays a pale blue sky and calm, blue sea. On the whiteboard he writes: "monarchy – republic". He shows a picture of the royal family not included in the booklet but from a newspaper or Internet and asks whether the picture is representative of a monarchy or republic. The boys are quick to comment: "Her on the right (i.e. Madeleine; my comment) is prettiest". Another boy says:" Why should Victoria be the next queen?" Mark avoids the question of what the Royal Family looks like, by referring to the Constitution which has decided on the next ruler: "Victoria is the Crown Princess", he says.

Another picture that Marks shows is of the House of Representatives in the USA, with President George W. Bush centrally positioned. Vice-President Dick Cheney is portrayed in the upper left of the picture and the new female Chair of the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, on the right. The USA is in the centre. Mark asks: "Can you see George Bush? He is a president who has been elected – an example of republic".

Both pictures are visible and hence also the two forms of government, monarchy and republic. Mark asks about the difference between the roles of president and prime minister. An answer comes from one boy: "In the USA the President is also representative of the state". Another interposes: "It should really have been the other one, the one with "the climate thing". "Al Gore", somebody else prompts.

Mark takes up the thread and informs the class that though Al Gore received the most votes, George W. Bush became President because of the US electoral system. He asks: "What are the parties in the USA like? Is George Bush right-wing or left-wing?"

The students fail to respond so Mark asks them to refer back to the booklet. Even though the students may not wish to comment on the pictures, there is clearly a lot of activity going on in the class in interpreting and adopting perspective on the pictures. The issue of succession to the throne is not over yet however. After about ten minutes, a student queries: "Why do we have a female succession to the throne?"

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By way of an answer, Mark asks about the pros and cons of having a president or monarch? On receiving again no response, he prompts: "There is nothing right or wrong about monarchy or republic".

The third lesson is for a vehicle class, and is initiated in a similar way to the first two. Mark re-uses the pictures of the Swedish party leaders, though begins somewhat differently. Mark says: "I want you to send an email to the party leaders, to Björklund. What about the proposal to introduce driving licences for mopeds?" Again, Mark does not get a direct answer, but the issue of driving licences seems of interest to the students. "Why can't we in the Vehicle Programme take our driving tests while we're still at school?", asks one of the boys.

Mark counters by asking for arguments for such a proposal. A boy retorts: "You should be able to a test to see if the car works!"

"You need arguments", says Mark, who then turns the discussion to political ideologies. But the topic of driving licences has not yet been exhausted. One student again asks about the requirement for driving licences for moped riders. "Who of them has proposed driving licences for mopeds?" asks Mark with reference to the politicians in the pictures.

Mark clicks to the Swedish Television's homepage and then to a recent programme on the issues accessible via web TV, and asks how many students know someone who has been injured in a traffic accident. Several raise their hands. Mark asks the students why they think the proposal is being raised right now, partly answering by stating the importance for a newly installed government of implementing as many reforms as possible before the date of the next election, 2010. "These are our representatives", says Mark. "What can we do to influence them?" Mark writes down the name of Fredrik Reinfeldt and of several local politicians. "It is possible to send emails", he says. "It is also possible to write letters to the editors of the local papers, or phone them or go out and demonstrate".

The discussion turns to a new subject, this time about the poor quality of school meals. Mark suggests that the students contact their representative on the student council and try to influence him/her about this issue. One boy looks particularly uncomfortable as he is a member of the student council, and he drops his head in shame and stares down at his desk.

To finish the lesson, Mark again clicks to the Swedish Television's homepage and its web TV to show again the feature about mopeds that has been broadcast several weeks earlier. It is clearly a topic that concerns the boys. "How many of you has a moped and do you turn on your indicator when you turn?" Mark asks. The lesson is over.

7. Discussion

All teaching or "figuration" is multimodal, as Jewitt (2008) points out. Each teaching occasion uses several modalities, e.g. talking, showing pictures, reading and writing texts, doing laboratory work. Historically, the written word has had a dominant position in education represented among other things by the disciplining textbook. The teacher in this study has noticed for some time how difficult his students find it to work with written texts. For this reason he has decided to base his Civics upper secondary school lessons mainly on the screen and pictures. This article has explored what happens in schools, influenced increasingly by electronic media and visual culture, when the written word loses its prominent position, i.e. when a "transduction" from the written to the pictorial medium is taking place (Bezemer, Kress, 2008).

The study suggests that changes to media technology and the written culture have importance for the classification, framing, social behaviour and social relations of schooling; that is, for the educational discourse as a whole, even though teachers' explicit motives may be mainly pedagogical.

8. Content and Classification

Different school subjects are differently "designed" (Jewitt, 2008) and differently "embedded" in ICT, meaning that some school subjects represent a cultural context that counteracts the use of media and ICT while others encourage it (Sutherland *et al*, 2004; Erixon, 2010). To Mark, the Civics is "a spot-on subject" meaning that it is well "embedded" in ICT and therefore requiring speedy and regular updating. He maintains that textbooks in contrast are hopelessly out of date even before they have left the publisher.

Apparent in Mark's teaching is the ways in which the students apprehend and react to the pictures shown which in turn governs how the lessons will proceed. Mark has of course decided on content, but it is the students who fill the lesson content with their own associations, although Mark emphasises in interview that he is the one who decides. The picture of the Royal Family is intended to illustrate the characteristics of monarchy. However, it also arouses personal responses from each student, e.g. about Princess Madeleine's appearance, since the semantic conventions of pictures are mobile and open to change (Messaris, 1998). Mark manages to stop the flow of potentially sexist association arising from this comment and is pleased when another student steers the lesson towards the issue of succession to the throne.

There is a constant exchange of quick retorts with Mark having to make instant decisions – in a tenth of a second – on how the discussion should proceed. This approach makes it more difficult to control the teaching context but at the same time, provides greater opportunities for identifying issues of interest to the students. The students' life world, it could be argued, forms a substantial part of the lesson content. Parallel to the teacher's ambitions, student interest also deter-

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mines the development of the lessons. Mark invites his students to contribute through spoken questions and stories about the pictures shown. In this way, several perspectives are admitted into the talk. The use of a textbook would have emphasised concentration on one perspective. In allowing students to react to the pictures, Mark allows individual interpretations and thus acknowledges the social context in which the students exist. This accords with the study by Watkins' et al. (2004), showing that when students react to different kinds of pictorial illustrations, their intuitive constructions, are often based on (naïve) assumptions and everyday experiences.

At the same time the connections with the present time are clear. For example, below the pictures there is a request from Mark to the students, "Note: visit the parties' homepages to check what they are called", accompanied by links to the seven parliamentary parties and the Swedish Parliament. This suggests that Mark's reluctance to force a particular point of view on his students. When personal perspectives are recognised, such examples show that pictures and written texts generate different epistemological advantages and demands (Messaris, 1998).

Mark frequently refrains from interpreting seemingly simple pictures. However, he seems to have inadequate control over the presentation so that the concept 'the people' is placed at the top of the picture. What interpretation do students make of this? Perhaps it gives them a sense of "the people' being positioned at the top of the hierarchy and hence also that the people have considerable power.

Another example is the pictorial representations of concepts of 'monarchy' and 'republic', side by side. How do the students interpret this? Perhaps it communicates a notion of both systems being possible and hence democratic, which Mark seems to agree with. The interpretations follow one another at a rapid pace and therefore there is no time to problematise the relationship, for example, between the people and the politicians. The inclusion of several worlds and perspectives enables a dialogue to be created between different perspectives, thus weakening the normative element.

The pictures in the work booklet are drawn from different sources, such as newspapers and Internet sites. Unlike pictures in a textbook, they are not originally intended for use in an educational context, and thus are recontextualised, i.e. removed from one context to another (Bernstein, 1996). Hence the pictures are given meanings that differ from those originally intended.

In the case of politicians, pictures are used to represent parties and ideologies, creating a kind of personification but within a concrete context. The students recognise people from newspapers and TV and the pictures are thus connected to their life world. This creates proximity since the politicians appear as individuals rather than representatives of ideologies. Mark uses slang terms such as 'mates' and 'opponents'. These are taken from the discourse of games, and therefore it is likely that they make the students think of winning, scoring points etc. All this is important for how the students perceive the content. The teacher's control of the content and the interpretations is thus weakened, as is the subject classification.

In allowing pictures and students' own associations and life world to enter the classroom, the "gatekeepers" i.e. teacher and textbook which are jointly responsible for controlling the value systems of schools, are ousted. By tradition they are the representatives of the written culture and, as such, associated with officialdom and politically correctness. The textbook, for example, guarantees teachers' and society's control of teaching.

As students' interests, perspectives and associations increasingly govern the teaching context, its content also changes markedly. This means that subject boundaries, i.e. what subjects can and should be about, criss-cross each other leading to a weakening of the classification of school subjects. At the same time teachers lose control of the process of teaching, so that the framing also weakens.

The same process implies a shift towards less formality as regards both the shape and content of the language used. Thus, electronic media fundamentally influence social behaviour by rearranging social conventions, as evident in the ways in which Mark and his students interchange their respective roles in the classroom (Meyrowitz, 1985/1986).

9. Social behaviour and social relations

Mark's educational ambition has consequences also regarding the relations in the classroom. Already at the beginning of the lesson, Mark strikes a backstage. By inserting his private life in educational discourse, he encourages the students to do the same (Ziehe, 1989; Erixon, 2004). This is a fundamental breach of the traditional linguistic norm of schools, which, according to Anward (1983), is closer to practical user-oriented prose texts, at least in the 1980s and before. The basis of this form of communication is that the content to be conveyed is designed as if it were independent of the communicative participants (Anward, 1983). 25 years later, this situation seems to have changed considerably in Swedish schools at least, where the pattern of communication now seems more based on the aspiration of "pure communication" (Erixon, 2004).

Mark adapt by using words and concepts that he assumes are close to the students' language community, with expressions such as *Tjena grabbar* ['Hi guys'], *gubbar* ['chaps'], *klubb* ['club'], *motståndare* ['opponents'] etc. When talking about the election, he refers to a world that is probably closest to his (male) students, namely that of sport. The language is asso-

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ciated with a more informal space. Mark also tries to demystify politics and politicians by pointing out the possibilities for contacting politicians and by comparing and taking concepts from the students' own life-world. He depicts politicians as ordinary human beings who have become more accessible due to the new electronic media. Not only, he says, is knowledge becoming available to more people, but so are formerly isolated politicians and decision-makers at both local and the national levels.

One of the pictures that Mark works with, depicting a social hierarchy, is erroneously shown upside down. This suggests that perhaps he is not fully in control of the image medium and therefore that his authority might be challenged. This makes him vulnerable since his relatively high status is demonstrated and maintained primarily through his control over the knowledge, skills, and experience relevant to his gatekeeper role.

The teacher's actions in front of the computer are also familiar to the students. They do the same themselves each day either at home or in the library, the difference being that they rarely allow someone else to see the Internet sites they visit. Mark attempts to utilise the young people's everyday culture, and at the same time sets a good example of how to seek out information on e.g. the meanings of words, the Swedish National Encyclopaedia etc. Mark is merging (formerly) private situations into formerly public ones. New media tend to merge existing information-system and will lead to more side or middle region behaviours. The new behaviour that arises out of merging situations, called "middle region" (Meyrowitz, 1985/1986, 47) contains elements of both the former onstage and offstage behaviours, but lack their extremes.

The choices of transduction from one modality to another, from texts to pictures, which Mark illustrates in his practice, affect the social relations of the classroom. Mark's educational ambition to adjust to the students' media competencies and to allow the students' life world into the school, one can discern a breakdown of the hierarchies of schooling, for example, between teacher and student. When he encourages dialogue by inviting discussion not only about assignments but also about matters that traditionally lie outside the domain of schools, he also creates a "multivocal" classroom where different ideas and perspectives can be aired (Bakhtin, 1986).

10. Conclusion

This article provide examples of that the prerequisites for the educational discourse are affected when media ecology in school is changing and written text (script culture) is replaced by electronic media and pictures. It certainly leads to a breakdown of the specialized and segregated information-system shaped by print, as Meyrowitz (1985/1986) claims, and an integration of information-systems by merging formerly private situations into formerly public ones. Electronic media and new patterns of access to information through electronic media bypass traditional channels and "gatekeepers" (p 163) and undermine the pyramids of status, represented by the teacher for example, that were once supported by print. In line with Bernstein (1996) the classification and framing of school subjects as well as the entire recontextualisation apparatus and the educational discourse itself seem to be challenged.

A media ecological perspective on education draws attention to the importance of media technology for teaching, and for schools as institutions. Thus, new electronic media are viewed not only as neutral tools for developing teaching and learning in general but also as a technology that contributes to better educational experiences. School politicians have entertained such hopes for new technology over a long period. Media technologies, as possibly the most important agents of change currently, confirm the symbiotic relationship between the church, schools and the written culture in Sweden (Erixon, 2009; Johansson, 1977; Tyner, 1998) and also are predictive of dramatic changes that schools are likely to experience following the full impact of the new media on educational discourses. Thus the challenge to the written culture by new electronic media, not only destabilizes writing cultures in education but the entire foundation upon which education as an institution is built.

We can perhaps hear a reverberation of the forthcoming changes in the criticism directed at schools for, for example, their alleged inability to teach the children to read (good) books, to write (good and proper) Swedish, or to behave in ways that their parents were once taught, in other words, to respect and defer to power and authority.

In summary, the patterns of dependency between teachers and students are likely to be broken as electronic media bypass traditional channels and "gatekeepers", to undermine the pyramids of status that were once supported by print (Meyrowitz, 1985/1986).

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Appendix

partier

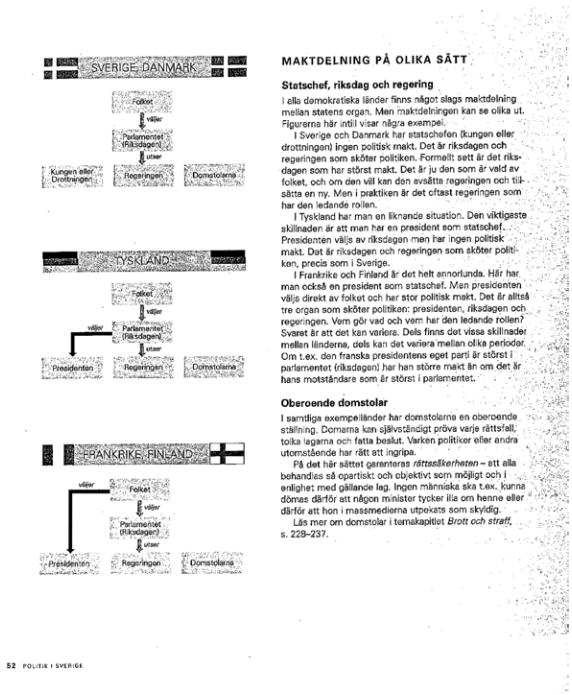
Uppgifter:

- A. Övning "Våra politiker"

Ange Namn och parti

Tips: Gå in på partiernas hemsidor för att kolla vad de heter:

Länkar: www.riksdagen.se www.moderat.se
www.centerpartiet.se www.sap.se
www.folkpartiet.se www.vansterpartiet.se
www.mp.se www.kristdemokrat.se



SVERIGE, DANMARK

TYSKLAND

FRANKRIKE, FINLAND

MAKTDELNING PÅ OLIKA SÄTT

Statschef, riksdag och regering

I alla demokratiska länder finns något slags maktdelning mellan statens organ. Men maktdelningen kan se olika ut. Figurerna här intill visar några exempel.

I Sverige och Danmark har statschefen (kungen eller drottningen) ingen politisk makt. Det är riksdagen och regeringen som sköter politiken. Formellt sett är det riksdagen som har störst makt. Det är ju den som är vald av folket, och om den vill kan den avsätta regeringen och tillsätta en ny. Men i praktiken är det oftast regeringen som har den ledande rollen.

I Tyskland har man en liknande situation. Den viktigaste skillnaden är att man har en president som statschef. Presidenten väljs av riksdagen men har ingen politisk makt. Det är riksdagen och regeringen som sköter politiken, precis som i Sverige.

I Frankrike och Finland är det helt annorlunda. Här har man också en president som statschef. Men presidenten väljs direkt av folket och har stor politisk makt. Det är alltså tre organ som sköter politiken: presidenten, riksdagen och regeringen. Vem gör vad och vem har den ledande rollen? Svaret är att det kan variera. Dels finns det vissa skillnader mellan länderna, dels kan det variera mellan olika perioder. Om t.ex. den franska presidentens eget parti är störst i parlamentet (riksdagen) har han större makt än om det är hans motståndare som är störst i parlamentet.

Oberoende domstolar

I samtliga exempelländer har domstolarna en oberoende ställning. Domarna kan självständigt pröva varje rättsfall, tolka lagarna och fatta beslut. Varken politiker eller andra utomstående har rätt att ingripa.

På det här sättet garanteras *rättssäkerheten* – att alla behandlas så opartiskt och objektivt som möjligt och i enlighet med gällande lag. Ingen människa ska t.ex. kunna dömas därför att någon minister tycker illa om henne eller därför att hon i massmedierna utpekats som skyldig.

Läs mer om domstolar i tornkapitlet *Brott och straff*, s. 228–237.

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Beatrice Buergler and Jan Hodel

"Political Perspectives" in the Classroom – Results of Video Analyses in History and Civic Education[1]

Civic education is not taught as a separate subject at Swiss schools. In this context, it is of great interest to look for specific characteristics of how civic education can be observed as a cross-disciplinary subject in schools through video recordings. The empirical analysis is based on classroom observation in ninth grade classes in various Swiss cantons (Aargau, Bern, and Zurich) from 2003 to 2007. Criteria that allow the identification of elements of civic education in various school subjects are developed, the concept of "political perspective". The analysis provides useful hints for planning and running classes where civic education is used as an overarching, cross-disciplinary approach. The concept of "political perspective" should not be taken as substitute for institutional knowledge. But the concept can rise above the function of an analytical tool and become a tool that serves the planning and designing of lessons. The perspective could as such be related to the postulate for epistemological knowledge.

Keywords:
Civic Education, class room research/study, empirical study/research, Switzerland, 9th grade, video study, political perspective, political knowledge

1. Introduction

Civic education is not taught as a separate subject at Swiss schools (Ziegler, Jung 2007, 252-263). While conceived and practised in terms of a disciplinary orientation within teacher training and course book development, civic education must establish itself in everyday school practice as a subarea amongst a host of social science subjects. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future, as the current debate on the new curriculum for German-speaking Switzerland suggests. Therefore, civic education is bound to be and also remain hugely significant as an overarching, cross-disciplinary principle in the educational careers of Swiss youth. Not only does this raise the question of how civic education should be implemented as a cross-disciplinary subject, but also whether and how it is currently taught. Should every subject have to include a similar number of elements (or units) related to civic education, or should the various subjects be distinguished in this respect? Which criteria should these elements fulfill in order to be considered as elements of "civic education", and who should decide this? Are these elements related to content or to methodology – and by whom are they developed: subject-specialists or civic-education specialists?

These questions suggest that the concrete shape that civic education assumes in Swiss state schools is still rather ambiguous. In order to successfully establish civic education in educational routines, it is thus of utmost importance to examine current practice in order to empirically measure the reality of what actually occurs in the classroom, and to draw conclusions for the development of appropriate theories and for the implementation of civic education.

2. Research question

In this context, it is of great interest to look for specific characteristics of how civic education can be observed as a cross-disciplinary subject in schools through video recordings. Therefore, the term "civic education" is used as a "collective term for all forms of political education" (Sander 2007, 17). Such an approach would help determine if one can define or develop criteria that would allow for the identification of elements of civic education in various school subjects. Relevant studies (Richter 2000; Richter, Schelle 2006; Henkenborg, Kuhn 1998; Kuhn, Massing 1999) indicate that interpretive classroom research in civic education has until recently barely touched upon how civic education can be identified as a cross-disciplinary principle in classrooms.[2]

The empirical analysis undertaken within this research project is based on already existing classroom observation forming part of a previous project (for further information, see below). These records do not contain statements made by teachers and learners that could be used for the goals of this study. Instead, the present analysis focuses on what became apparent during the lessons. In turn, such observation can help to identify characteristics of instruction that can be labeled as elements of civic education. Such analysis is conducted in the full knowledge that identifying such occurrences of the "political" in the classroom is without a doubt not enough to declare actual teach-

1 The present text is a revised version of a previously published paper (Bürgler, Hodel, 2010). Chapter 4.3 presents additional findings.

2 Peter Weinbrenner has sought to define the political dimension of lessons based on political categories and key questions derived therefrom. However, he was unable to successfully apply these categories to an actual class (an elementary school social studies lesson), and therefore opted for social science categories instead (Weinbrenner 2000). By contrast, Hans-Werner Kuhn and Peter Massing selected "teaching examples that have politics at the 'heart' of the subject", without, however, detailing the criteria underlying their assessment of teaching sequences (Kuhn, Massing 1998, 255).

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ing practice as "civic education". However, it can be assumed that it can lead to learning about politics, and can therefore be said to potentially qualify as civic education. In order to ascertain whether such learning really occurred, it would be necessary to have information about the prior knowledge of those involved, about their perception of what happened in the classroom, and about the learning process and its consequences.

The study described here focuses entirely on whether criteria allowing for the identification of instructional sequences of civic education can be defined and applied to classroom situations. Because there is no separate subject called "civic education" at Swiss schools, the aim is to look for single elements of political education in the context of specific subjects like history. Focusing exclusively on topics that could indicate the presence of elements of civic education seems inadequate for this research interest. While topics explicitly indicating a political content (for example, political parties) are often in line with an institutional dimension (polity aspect), they deal less with questions about policies, political processes, forms of participation, or the value of human rights. To identify criteria that allow for including all forms of political education, as mentioned, it is interesting to choose a more genetic-interrogative-problem-based approach. This is also in line with a general understanding of politics as a process of problem-solving in a societal context and allows one to look for different aspects of political elements within this definition.

The findings of this study should facilitate a better and more differentiated understanding of how civic education is effectuated in practice. Further, they also provide useful hints for planning and running classes where civic education is used as an overarching, cross-disciplinary approach.

3. Methodological approach

Based on various theoretical concepts, we first developed a definition of the "political". On the one hand, this definition should include the essence of the "political" in order to be able to pinpoint instances of civic education within the various subjects. On the other hand, it should also be capable of identifying as many opportunities of civic education as possible through classroom observation. If possible, the definition should therefore not exclude teaching sequences that are inappropriate due to their being based on differing convictions about civic instruction (learning about politics vs. learning about democracy). Nor should it exclude sequences that civic education experts might consider unsuccessful, incorrect, or imprecise. Secondly, we applied this defined category to selected lessons. The existing audiovisual recordings of lessons stem from a project entitled "History and Politics in the Classroom". The project was run in ninth grade classes in various Swiss cantons (Aargau, Bern, and Zurich) from 2003 to 2007; the recordings were subject to previous, albeit more cursory evaluation (Hodel, Waldis 2007,91-142). Using these video recordings makes sense, since it can be assumed that encountering "political" forms of instruction in history lessons is highly probable. The choice and sequence of the various lessons were random. Evaluation then focused on lesson transcripts. If these passages were found interesting, based on the formulated definition of the "political", and thus called for more precise analysis, then the video recordings and the materials used by the teachers were consulted. The lessons were worked on one after the other in pairs and the findings were logged. While our analysis is based on Mayring's qualitative content analysis[3], the explanations and subsequent evaluation draw on Kruse (2008). The first round included six of the forty-one lessons according to this method.[4]Based on these findings (see 4.1 and 4.2), six further lessons were analyzed on the basis of a specific choice of cases (see 4.3).[5]

4. Findings

4.1 Definition of the "political" in classroom situations

Based on the formulated prerequisites, the theoretically-founded version of politics or of what is "political" should be operationalized on the one hand, and thus be made applicable to the observed lessons. On the other hand, it should also capture as many different forms of civic education as possible. One key requirement of the definition is its suitability for identifying the political as a cross-disciplinary principle at work in the practice of civic education within different subject-specific contexts.

Lange (2007) describes political awareness as a process in which people move from subjective ideas based on individual interests to collective responsibilities. The concept of political rule in this case rests on the institutionalization of this process in a given political structure. This concept is thus depersonalized and therefore understood as a skill for the creation of collective responsibility (Lange 2007, 207). Establishing collective responsibility is the core of political processes, as described by Patzelt's definition:

> "Politics are those human actions aimed at establishing a sense of general bindingness or obligation, particularly of collectively-binding rules and decisions, within and between human groups" (Patzelt 2007, 16, translation by authors).

3 Narrow and broad contextual analysis; see. Mayring 1998, 70ff.
4 Refers to the lessons with the following IDs: (in order of evaluation): 122, 212, 9, 403, 14, and 8.
5 Refers to the lessons with the following IDs: 4, 10, 121 (single lesson), as well as 202, 203, 211 (double lesson).

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Patzelt's definition of politics, which underpins this research project, also focuses on a problem-based approach as a key element of politics. Implicit in this widely recognized definition of "politics" is the question of *when* and *why* human groups are concerned with the creation of collective rules, or, put differently, what the concrete "object" of this process might be. The explanation of this rather often neglected question appears to be of central importance to the definition of the "political" in the classroom.

In determining this "object" – which is congruent neither with the content nor with the topic of a process – the collective goods theory developed by the economist Mancur Olson can be useful. Processes aimed at creating collective responsibility appear in particular when a conflict of regulation or when the creation of public goods are concerned. As a consequence, public goods (as well as collective goods) can be seen as the "object" of political processes. They are characterized by the criteria of their use being neither exclusive nor competitive. The criterion of non-exclusiveness arises from the inadequate allocation or feasibility of property rights to the said property, for which there may be various reasons (economic, technological, institutional, normative, etc.). For example, it is not possible (for ethical or technical reasons) to exclude someone from consuming the object of a "clean environment". Such non-exclusiveness, however, does not in itself constitute the existence of a public good. As a feature of the good, this characteristic is much more frequently granted through political decision-making and regulatory processes. The criterion of non-competitiveness is defined by the possibility of the simultaneous use of a good by several individuals (Olson 2004). If, however, due to the scarcity of the good, the situation known as the "tragedy of the commons" (Ostrom 1999) occurs, the regulation of its use becomes inevitable.

It is thus central in this respect to note that a political process is set in motion when a group is forced to create or adapt generally binding regulations for the distribution or use of public, limited goods. Through this process, different interests from different stakeholders interact with each other in the context of given institutional structures. This in turn leads to political conflicts, which may be understood as conflicts of interest. Politics are thus a complex interplay between interest-based issues, conflicting actions, and more or less stable structures involved in establishing general bindingness or obligation within the regulation or creation of public goods.

In applying the above definition of the "political" to the classroom, the following analysis assumes that in the teaching context politics do not manifest themselves as a material object (that is, as content and topics), but rather as a formal object, that is, as a specific perspective on a specific content (see Massing 2004, 87). The decisive factor in identifying the "political" in the classroom is therefore not exclusively the appearance of political contents or categories, but rather how the discussion of subject materials shapes the notion and understanding of the "political". For example, a political perspective would be adopted in a physics lesson if classroom discussion suggested that given different, conflicting interests concerning the distribution of various resources (environment, health, electric supply or earning power), corresponding political processes should lead to generally-binding regulation.

In our attempt to determine a political perspective in the classroom, the absence of data did not allow us to assume teacherly intentions. We therefore had to identify such intentions based on the actions and interactions observable in the classroom. Our working assumption was that such a perspective is established and construed through corresponding acts of communication within the learning community. To determine such a perspective on the object of investigation, it thus seemed feasible to analyze the linguistic interactions within that community (which consisted of the students and their teacher). Correspondingly, the chosen units of analysis were the students' and the teachers' recorded statements. 6 out of the 41 lessons were selected at random (by drawing lots). Each member of our research team first examined the transcripts of the recorded lessons on their own. Individual analysis aimed to find statements from which the adoption of a political perspective could be inferred. Subsequent joint evaluation involved presenting and verifying the findings of the previous individual analysis. Where our findings did not coincide, we sought to establish a consensus in our assessment of the corresponding statements.

4.2 How do "politics" become apparent in the classroom? The "political perspective" as a challenging phenomenon

Lesson analysis reveals that the so-called "political perspective" becomes particularly evident in explanations and assignments, which serve to introduce and structure a lesson, just as much as questions and answers, however, which allow one to infer a specific problem.

The following examples indicate how the analysis of in-class events proceeds with regard to identifying a political perspective during a lesson. The table below illustrates a lesson entitled "Introduction to National Socialism". This lesson shows in an exemplary fashion key findings that can also be found in other lessons. Three aspects become evident: first, various perspectives can be identified within one and the same lesson; secondly, instances can be identified within that lesson at which specific perspectives (including a po-

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litical one) can be adopted, even if such opportunities are not always taken; and thirdly, it became clear that adopting a specific perspective can be induced and initiated not only by the teacher but also by the students themselves.

Thus, lesson analysis reveals that sequences comprising a "political perspective" can clearly be identified during the course of a lesson. Moreover, a political perspective is observable in various forms, which in turn raises epistemological and practical questions.

On the other hand, it must be noted that our research focused on identifying a "political perspective". Other identifiable perspectives, which failed to meet the aforementioned categories of the "political", were not examined more closely. We dispensed with definitions of historical, geographical, social science, or other perspectives. Our study was interested exclusively in identifying political perspectives. Analyzing other perspectives identifiable in the classroom, as well as their interactions and interdependencies, will be the subject of future research.

Table 1: Lesson "Introduction to National Socialism" (ID 122, various clips)

Time	Step	Analysis
02:07-03:03	The term "National Socialism" is written on the board and the students are left open to brainstorm what it could possibly mean.	No specific perspective
03:03-04:33	Teacher: "So that you may, and this is the goal of this lesson, better understand these times, and so that you may also come to a judgment about the present ..."	No political perspective, rather a historical perspective – the main purpose of this lesson is a societal situation at a specific historical moment and its relationship with today.
	"...would like to take this lesson to go through the topic from your experiences and by using your imaginations. Thank goodness we can say, if we look at the current situation, that it is very nice where we live. We really don't have any problems, do we?"	This opening statement would permit a political perspective, but it is not taken up.
05:21-06:21	The teacher requires that the students, in free association, note down current problems: "Problems meaning difficult situations, and write down everything that comes to mind without thinking too much about it." (...) Student: "Are we now linking this to Switzerland or to National Socialism?" Teacher: "From today, from yesterday, about us, about the entire world."	Those perspectives that should or could be taken up were kept explicitly open in the task instructions even though the students would have liked more concrete instructions. The students, however, make connections to exclusively societal problems and thus pick up on one specific perspective.
27:57-28:27	Teacher: "A tour group is traveling across the desert. Suddenly the leader notices that all the water flasks are empty. The next water station is two days away on foot. There is no phone connection. Assign roles, act out the scene, and how it continues."	A classic public goods dilemma: in this teaching situation, the focus is on the social aspect, "How do we behave" (social perspective), and not on decision-making or rule-setting, "Who decides and how will this decision be implemented" (political perspective).

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The above analysis shows that a differentiated observation of a so-called "political perspective" in the filmed sequences is necessary. Such differentiation raises even more questions. As such, it is worth noting that the chosen perspectives can either be related to the entirety of a lesson (identifiable in the stated goals of the lesson or in the instructional steps) or to a smaller sequence within the lesson. Should these perspectives be treated equally in subsequent evaluation or should different criteria apply to perspectives related to an entire lesson, as compared to those stemming from a shorter sequence? How are larger and smaller perspectives interrelated? Do they have a functional interdependence? Does the smaller perspective serve the larger one? Do they perhaps not even have any subject-specific implications? Do they mutually exclude one another: is the larger perspective present during the smaller one, or are they complementary? This series of questions will be expanded upon in two further empirical examples:

a) In one lesson (ID 08), the teacher begins with a quick review of the topic treated in the previous lesson – an explanation of the French Revolution and Liberalism. Then, she introduces the subject of the new lesson:
Teacher: "But now it was about actually implementing these civil liberties, and in the nineteenth century, the liberals took the lead. Their task was – or rather, they were committed to ensuring that these new civil liberties could also really be enjoyed. This is where we are now. In the next thirty-five minutes, we are going to work on six such civil liberties." (ID 08 04:12-04:37)

In the remaining lesson time, civil liberties were discussed based on case studies about the universality of the various liberties in the light of the concrete and current political situation. For the rest of the lesson, classroom work thus leaves behind the historical perspective and adopts a political perspective. Civil liberties were not seen as objects developed under special conditions in the nineteenth century. Instead, they were examined with respect to their congruence with rules and their daily consequences for the students.

The perspective determining the lesson (both in terms of the teaching time used as well as the goals defined by the teacher) is thus a political one. Based on the observations made, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the historical situation is only a negligible, brief episode at the beginning of the lesson, or whether it plays an important role for the subsequent political perspective.

b) In another lesson (ID 09), the class treated Stalin's "Great Leap Forward" at the end of the 1920s, and then focused on the forced collectivization of farming in 1928. Following an intense discussion about the concrete measures adopted as part of this forced collectivization and the suffering of those affected, the teacher said:
Teacher: "Let's stop there for a moment, and step back to reflect on matters. What are your thoughts about this plan? Is it good, sensible, and well thought-out, or is it bad?" (ID09, 24:41-25:06)

Based on this particular example of forced collectivization, the students discussed the sense and nonsense of such a *political* undertaking quite excitedly and controversially. For a brief period, the lesson adopted a political perspective and discussed the (undemocratic and by no means negotiated) implementation of universally applicable group rules. The class discussed how such rules for the collective good of farming had come into being, how "the use of land" had developed, and to what extent this solution should be assessed. Is this short sequence no longer history teaching, but rather a part of civic education, because a political perspective can be elicited from it? Or is this short sequence rather not about civic education because the lesson was clearly dedicated to history and the political perspective as such served only as a means of accessing and judging history? Could this short sequence suggest that history teaching can adopt a political perspective in order to encourage learning about politics, and thereby contributes towards civic education – and yet undeniably remains history teaching?

This raises the question of how the defined "perspectives" must be differentiated, and how they interact in everyday school life. Such changes in perspectives can be assumed to constitute not only a phenomenon associated with politics, but that they are also observable in other subjects.[6] Furthermore, the extent to which the adoption of a political perspective contributes towards civic education is also left open. Is a short teaching sequence enough to adopt a political perspective? Or is an entire lesson the minimum requirement for such a perspective? These questions are crucial to making recommendations to teachers about how they need to incorporate civic education into their respective subjects.

4.3 How do "political perspectives" become apparent in civic education?

Further analysis considers whether the political perspective in terms of a formal object can also be observed in lessons dealing with "politics" as a material object, and whether such a perspective could thus also serve as a criterion for identifying potential civic and political learning processes.

For this purpose, three single and three double lessons centrally concerned with political contents were selected from the total of forty-one lessons forming

6 For more information about the problem of the boundaries between history and civics education, see also Hodel, Waldis 2007a.

part of the "History and Politics" project (on the basis of their title and abstract).

The findings of these analyses were explicit. A clear political perspective was found in only one of the lessons. This lesson was about the bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the European Union and their effect on Swiss transport policies, mainly the transportation of goods through the Alps (ID 121). The students had to play a business game where they assumed the roles of stakeholders, analyzed the problem from their standpoint, and then brought this perspective into a plenary discussion. This problem-oriented approach to conflict, or more precisely to the problem of goods distribution, characterizes a lesson designed around a political perspective. In the other lessons, no political perspective as defined in this research project could be found: in these lessons, political parties, as well as past and upcoming elections, were not treated in terms of their ability to create collectively-binding rules or universally applicable decisions, but rather they were treated exclusively as a part of the political system.

In other words, these lessons mainly deal with various aspects of knowledge about political structures, knowledge that is limited to institutional and procedural dimensions of state functions. It is worth mentioning that dealing with knowledge about structures can be observed on different levels: as a short, intermediate treatment of a concept ("consociationalism"[7], "autonomy"), which arises in the context of reading newspapers together in a lesson on "current affairs", or as an entire lesson dedicated to a detailed examination of a conceptual context (political parties, federal elections). Irrespective of the aforementioned lesson ID 121, political or civics issues occur only marginally in this lesson; neither is there an in-depth discussion of these issues and their treatment by politicians.

Based on this observation, the relationship between "institutional political knowledge" and political perspectives has to be reconsidered. According to the observed lessons, it seems that "institutional political knowledge", which focuses on the existence and mechanisms of governmental and non-governmental institutions, can either serve as a basis for the treatment with political problems or can rather be developed by discussing political problems. The question of how much knowledge about the underlying political system is required for a meaningful application of political perspectives to lessons remains open.

What is also interesting is that the students observed in our research are almost always confronted with the teacher's opinion, and are challenged to state their own opinions, whether implicitly or explicitly. What appears to be crucial here is a distinction between forming a judgment, as an element of teaching politics, and the rather more diffuse emergence of general opinion in the classroom. According to Henkenborg, political judgments are specified by five characteristics:

(a) justifiability and rationality;
(b) a more elaborate way of thinking in terms of intersubjective rationality;
(c) an interrational discernment where different forms of rationality come together and must be weighted;
(d) dialogue and discursiveness; and
(e) questions and tasks for a political science thought process, where a distinction between factual and value judgments is made (Henkenborg 2007, 74). Judgments can thus be described as a prerequisite for richer mental processes, which do not allow for any rationally-founded statements without sufficient basic knowledge.

In this context, it seems relevant to observe that forming a political judgment is hardly possible on the basis of an abstract knowledge of structures, but instead requires an examination of contents. This is reflected, for example, in a lesson (ID 202) in which students are asked to take a stance on the outcome of the presidential elections in the United States. A handout on the American electoral system was given out. Being a standard part of their instruction, the students understood how the exercise works: it aims to distinguish fact from opinion and how they are accounted for in the media. Nevertheless, the students had difficulty in going beyond platitudes in expressing and articulating their views on the presidential elections. The stated rationales show that the students refer to their forming of opinions through specific contents (for example, war) even though these opinions were not discussed in class.

Teacher: "(Pedro)[8], Could you please read what you have written?"
Student: "Bush was reelected president of the USA by 51%. I don't think it was good that Bush was reelected because I am against the war."
Teacher: "That was two sentences. What do you (Marina)[9] think about this?"
Student: "It's an opinion; in my opinion it's right."
Teacher: "Mhm (yes). I think it's perfect. Great!" (Lesson ID 202 – LK1 37:37 – 38:14)

Students are also confronted with various kinds of "opinion", which they are expected to consider. Sometimes they are called upon to express a personal opinion: *Student: "What's your opinion about how the parties are represented in the Federal Council generally? Should another party also have a seat in the Federal Council or*

7 That is, "Konkordanz", a term that is used in Swiss politics to describe the everyday practice of an informal coalition of the most important parties.

8 Name altered.
9 Name altered.

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how – what do you think?" (Lesson ID 10, Student-led discussion about the 2003 federal elections, 06:20 -06:35)

On some occasions, it also remains open as to whose "opinion" is to be discussed: *Teacher: "Good, now here's some further input. You know the situation in Iraq fairly well. Hmm, what could happen if the Americans say, 'Yeah, okay, we'll pull out right away. Is that a good idea? A bad idea? Promising, or...what do you think? You can't say exactly as it hasn't happened but you can certainly form an opinion." (Lesson ID 04, Reading newspapers about current affairs, 31:52 – 32:49)*

On other occasions, students are required to understand a third-party opinion, and to express this in class or at least to reiterate it:

Teacher: "What does the truck driver think about it? What goals do you have?"
Student 1: "Hmm, the vehicles should also be allowed to go through overnight – hmm – you should be able to drive throughout the night, – hmm – because you can make progress and there is less traffic."
Teacher: "I'm not sure if truck drivers will like having to drive through the night as well."
Student 2: "That's their choice."
Teacher: "Hmm [yes]. This goal should be rethought through the eyes of the truck driver. I don't think that all the truck drivers would be happy about this. After the truck driver, we have people living in the Alpine valleys. What do you think?"
Student 3: "Well, we want our air to remain clean".
Student 4: "And because our cows get sick faster..:"
(Lesson ID 121, Simulation of a bilateral agreement between Switzerland and the EU concerning transport policies, 39:15 – 40:10)

These observations suggest that it is necessary to distinguish as precisely as possible between taking a "political perspective" as a methodological and analytical approach to a politically relevant issue, the voicing of "opinions" as an expression of personal attitudes or values, and judgments as logical and justifiable conclusions. In the observed lessons, these differences are rarely made so as to show the students exactly what is expected of them. In the observed lessons, the teachers did not make these goals clear either in their expectations of the students or in their own statements. However, their actions were driven by the desire to arouse student interest and that they understood the importance of the issues treated. For this purpose, the teacher, however, used implicit statements, sweeping generalizations, or provocative sharpenings of a topic. Importantly, however, it remains unclear how far these assertions are based on methodological analysis and well-founded judgment. Evidence thus raises the question to what extent lessons conform to or contravene against the prohibition of overwhelming the student according to the Beutelsbacher Consensus ("Beutelsbacher Konsens"). In this respect, Tilman Grammes observes that on the level of teacher-student relations contraventions against the Beutelsbacher Consensus can occur by appealing to morals, co-optation, ignoring objections, or harmonizing persuasion (Grammes 1996, 143 ff.).

The findings obtained from these observations illustrate the complexity of classroom analysis as soon as various conditions determining teaching are compared. Thus, the political perspective needs to be related to the preconditions (such as knowledge creation) and objectives (for example, forming opinions and judgments) of civic education, as well as to clearly differentiating between them. Such an approach seems a prerequisite for a meaningful analysis of the intentions of teachers and their effects on students, if these are recorded in additional surveys. What exactly do teachers have in mind when they demand that their students form an opinion? Do they want to guide student interest towards a political aspect of a problem, and thereby attempt to solicit the adoption of a political perspective? Or do they want their learners to form an opinion? Moreover, how do students perceive these challenges, and what actions do they lead to?

Conclusion

The questions raised within the research described here can be divided into three areas. The first concerns whether a specific political perspective can be observed in the classroom. Where a political perspective appears, opportunities for civic education might occur. As the analysis of the empirical examples shows, political perspectives were indeed identified in the lessons observed. The ability to use this criterion would now have to be validated through other subjects. Already at this juncture, further questions were raised about the various forms of political perspectives. The discovery of "long" and "short" instructional sequences, in which a political perspective is adopted, gives rise to empirical analyses and theoretical discussions about how civic education actually materializes as an overarching, cross-disciplinary principle in the classroom. The political perspective shows the potential of "smaller" sequences that occur in everyday school life more often than in lessons dedicated entirely to civic education. How important should these different instances of political perspectives be in the implementation of civic education as an overarching, cross-disciplinary principle, and how are they embedded in the policy guidelines of educational theory?

A second area concerns the role of political perspectives in teaching contexts that deal explicitly with civic topics such as political systems. It still needs to be clarified how far dealing with a knowledge of political structures can and should be associated with civic questions. Moreover, the question arises as to the differentiation of the political perspective as an analytical approach to the educational goal of the ability to make sound judgments.

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Thirdly, a further issue emerges from the limitations of the analysis described above. A survey of those involved in teaching and learning settings can provide information about their intentions and perceptions, and thus shed further light on the importance of the political perspective for civic learning and thus also for civic education.

In addition, one should examine to what extent the criterion of the political perspective can be meaningfully applied to the different target levels of civic education. From an initial glance at the results of analysis, one might conclude that the political perspective can be observed especially in teaching situations where students are trained to understand, categorize, and evaluate political issues and processes. Here is a target level, for example, that Sander has characterized as individuals possessing "political judgment ability" (Sander 2007, 75-91). The more challenging cases were those where students were faced with political problems but where their "political activity ability" (Sander 2007, 91-95) needs to be developed. This leads to the following widely discussed, but as yet inconclusively answered, question: what is the relationship between civic and social learning in everyday teaching? Identifying a "political perspective" can be a useful analytical tool, especially when the focus on a political problem (that is, adopting a political perspective) causes those involved to reflect upon their social experiences with regard to their political implications.[10]

The "political perspective" can also serve teachers as an analytical tool for exploring their own lessons within Action Research (Altrichter, Posch, Somekh 1993). Doing so can render evident to practicing teachers how they understand the "political" in their lessons. Such exploration includes the question how knowledge of political structures and processes is related to the "political perspective". The "political perspective" is no substitute for institutional knowledge. Rather, an orientation towards concrete problems can render useful this knowledge in a specific context. Here, the concept of "perspective" can rise above the function of an analytical tool and become a tool that serves the planning and designing of lessons. The perspective could as such be related to the postulate for epistemological knowledge, as proposed by Sam Wineburg (1997) for history.

This paper has shown that the empirical observation of the lessons reported here provides interesting insights into these current issues, precisely because such an investigation focuses analysis on the concrete practices involved in the political learning process and in civic education in today's schools.

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10 For more information, see Sander on the question of social and political education Sander (2007, 20).

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Andreas Eis

Concepts and Perceptions of Democracy and Governance beyond the Nation State: Qualitative Research in Education for European Citizenship

The empirical research presented in this paper focuses on concepts and perceptions of European politics and citizenship which are expressed by students and teachers in secondary schools. The qualitative study is based on semi-standardized interviews, written surveys, and classroom research (video transcripts, observation records). The results suggest that many young people are amenable towards transnational patterns of identity and they tend to combine pragmatic-optimistic expectations with European Union citizenship. Many of the students interviewed seem willing to adapt themselves to a larger European environment. However, many of the teachers voiced ambivalent notions while expressing veiled scepticism, although they rarely expressed open criticism based on their own fears towards political developments in a unified Europe. The classroom research shows that in the examined civic education lessons, the everyday concepts of students are seldom questioned and sparsely developed towards social-science-based explanatory models. Sometimes even misleading concepts are enforced in classroom interaction instead of being clarified by the development of adequate categories and models.

Keywords:
European Union citizenship, multi-level governance, citizenship education, grounded theory, qualitative classroom research, conceptual knowledge, participatory capabilities

In almost every policy field, political problems and alternatives for practical solutions are no longer comprehensible and cannot be conducted in an exclusively national or local context. There has been a significant increase of EU legislation in the last decades, which has to be implemented through national and local policies, where many national and local political decisions are made or are influenced by European agents and institutions. The context of substantial political problems, like climate change, migration or financial crises, can only be solved on an international level.

At the same time, the traditional mechanisms of democratic control and participation are eluded to large extent by European politics. Political communication and the public sphere is still primarily dominated by regional and national media interlaced around the civil society structures. Many citizens do not perceive the EU as a political body which offers actual problem solutions; they rather experience the EU as loss of democratic influence and sovereignty. Processes of Europeanization and globalization are observed as insecurity and intrusion; they are not recognized as opportunities to shape policy. Citizens daily confront many situations of high complexity, flexibility and de-framing. They are challenged cognitively and emotionally to process them.

In this way, multi-level governance beyond the nation state strongly challenges theory and practice of citizenship education. Teaching and learning politics and social sciences can no longer be effectively practiced without analyzing and reflecting the European perspective. Normative as well as empirical research in the field of European citizenship education and social science didactics need to explore the dynamic concept of a transnational fragmented citizenship and the widely perceived deficits of European democracy: What are the consequences of transformation processes of statehood, democracy and the public sphere in Europe for the citizens' self-conceptions and their participatory chances?

Selected results of the qualitative research perused for the author's PhD thesis are presented in this paper. The study (Eis 2010) followed the methodology of *Grounded Theory* in order to examine conditions of learning and teaching processes in European citizenship education. According to the research design (refer section 2.1), the qualitative analysis of data (interviews and classroom research) are not based on a pre-chosen theoretical framework. The normative development of categories and the generation of a theoretical approach went hand in hand in a circulated proceeding of both inductive and deductive argumentation as it will be shown in this paper (Strauss, Corbin 2008; Kelle 2005 [http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/467/1001]).

The qualitative research shows to what extent students' judgement capabilities, political skills and responsibilities on both the national and the European level are developed by an awareness of European problems and conceptual knowledge. The study is presented here in four steps. Firstly, the research interest of the study is derived from its theoretical context of European Union citizenship and *citizenship practices* beyond the nation state. The empirical study investigates the individual perceptions with subjective interpretation of a 'presumable' new understanding of fragmented citizenship of students and teachers.

The second part of this paper deals with the question of what kind of transnational awareness students

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and teachers developed and to what extent political transformation processes are identified as such in context of everyday's local life. Furthermore, in the third step, the development of cognitive patterns of explanation and the subjective understanding perceived by students and teachers was analysed during classroom interaction. Here, the question was examined to what extent individual interpretation patterns facilitate or inhibit the development of political competence of judgement and the ability for participation.

Finally, the didactic approach of teaching European citizenship education, worked out in the author's PhD thesis (Eis 2010) will be outlined according to the consequences of qualitative research for generating conceptual knowledge about governance in transnational democracies. The argument is based on understanding European politics, i.e. reflecting chances and limits of democracy beyond the nation state, representing not only a pedagogical situation in school, but rather a permanent social learning process. Academic categories are construed in controversial discourses and are selectively conveyed in political and educational learning processes. Citizenship education also needs to reflect this transformation process of ideas towards political paradigms.

1. Union citizenship and citizenship practice beyond the nation state

The research is centred on the concept of *European Union citizenship*. The term on the one hand combines the enlargement and amendment of the civil legal status. Which enables citizens from all member states to live and work throughout the Union while enjoying multiple social and political rights, e.g. not being discriminated on the labour market, or the right for citizens of one EU-member state permanently residing in another EU-member state having the right to participate in local elections of residential country. Moreover, the concept of Union citizenship also stands for an ongoing process of Europeanization and de-framing, which creates new ways of participation and opportunities for action, that is to say "citizenship practice" (Wiener 1998). On the other hand, limits of democratic control, lack of transparency in the process of decision-making and gaps of legitimization are widely recognized on a supranational level in the "post national constellation" (Habermas 2001; Scharpf 2010; Abromeit 1998). Citizenship education needs to critically reflect the tension between a possible benefit of enlarging the legal status and the democratic public sphere and simultaneous tendencies of losing democratic control and equal participation opportunities by transferring powers to the EU-level as well as by the growing influence of private global players and European lobbyists on the other side. Furthermore, European citizenship is only one dimension of several (new) claims of multiple identity patterns (such as cultural, ethnic or cosmopolitan identity etc.), which individuals are challenged to integrate in their dynamic biographies (Benhabib et al. 2007; Sprongøe, Winther-Jensen 2006; Wildemeersch et al. 2005; see below, part 2.4).

According to the "classical" approach of national citizenship, the problem of the (allegedly) non-existing European *demos* cannot be solved by the legal implementation of a Union citizenship policy (Mackert 2006, 95-100). In early 1974, Raymond Aron expressed the democratic dilemma of a European citizenship to be developed: "Though the European Community tends to grant all the citizens of its member states the same economic and social rights, there are no such animals as 'European citizens'. There are only French, German, Italian citizens" (Aron 1974, 653). Even after numerous modifications of the European treaties and after the official introduction of Union citizenship in 1992, the problem of the democratic deficit and the awkward construction of "a" European public sphere remains largely unsolved. The controversial debate still continues, in which Union citizenship is perceived to have an exclusive legal, economic status enabling people to work and consume in the Single European Market, or it is indeed developing a political dimension (Bellamy 2000; Bellamy et al. 2006).

Antje Wiener (2007; 1998) answers the question about political status of a European citizenship pragmatically in a social-historical context. Her research emphasizes the analysis of a citizenship *practice* instead of dealing with the normative discussions about constructing a European identity as a nation or *demos*. Unlike in the national political movements of the 18th and 19th century, the status of European citizenship was not fought from below by underprivileged social classes and groups. This citizenship was introduced top down and also in some member states many citizens voted against it. Nevertheless, according to Wiener the socio-historical analysis shows that not only European actors, like the European Parliament or the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Luxembourg have made long-term contributions to the practical benefit and implementation of the Union citizenship. Interest groups, associations and also several individuals played a significant role in continuously changing the social relevance and political importance of the Union citizenship in "Europolity". The genuine significance of Union citizenship does not primarily arise from its legal status as it is constitutionalized in the European treaties; it rather derives from a "set of practices" (Wiener 2007, 261).

Wiener characterizes the relationship between individuals and supranational institutions as a "fragmented citizenship", or as citizenship "beyond the state" (ibid., 262). The EU is not a federal state yet, and there is no political will or intention to constitute a European state in the near future. Hence, a new categorical

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understanding of the meaning of citizenship – both on a national and a transnational level – needs to be developed. Besides, European citizenship implies of different "new types of citizenship practices", including legal relations between citizens and international institutions as well as multiple claims for identity recognition (Fraser/Honneth 2003). For instance, in the case of offences against the European Convention on Human Rights, individuals can claim to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in Strasbourg which is not an institution of EU. Such possibilities of individual claims are not considered in the context of EU and European Court of Justice (Ong 2004; Kostakopoulou 2008; 2009).

The dynamic interrelation between the legal implementation of Union citizenship as "a top down institutionalisation" with a "bottom up process" of citizenship practice could be seen as a strong potential for political mobilisation. European institutions as well as member states are pressured by civil society which could finally lead to a long-term democratization of the European decision-making process (Wiener 1997; Shaw 2007). Hence, the point of research may not only be the question of "how political institutions shape individuals and how they relate to each other", but, furthermore, the often ignored perspective of participatory citizenship, "the possibility that individuals shape constitutions: constitution-building is not only a top-down process" (Wiener 1997, 600).

However, the hope to reduce the democratic deficit of the EU by correlative "spill over effects" from a still weakly established Union citizenship is confronted with strong scepticism of democratic functionalism's perspective. Several political scientists are quite sceptical towards vague expectations which anticipate a growing interlinked progress between citizenship and European democratization and the potentialities of participatory mobilization that would finally lead to institutional reforms in the decision-making process (Abromeit 1998; 2001; Kohler-Koch, Larat 2008 [http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/typo3/site/fileadmin/BookSeries/Volume_Nine/CONNEX_Report_Series_09.pdf]). Should this scenario take effect, it would undoubtedly be a very welcomed development. But so far, according to the functionalists, there seems to be little empiric evidence for this kind of democratization process. Constitution-building as a participatory "bottom up process" can at best be understood as useful addition by activities of the civil society. It cannot, however, be regarded as an "exclusive democratization strategy". Realistically, the political agenda will still be determined by institutional reforms with a focus on technical procedures of legitimization (Huget 2007, 67-8). Consequently, citizenship education needs to reflect both: the numerous new opportunities of participating in European politics (Dolejsiova 2009 [http://youth-partnership-eu.coe.int/youth-partnership/documents/EKCYP/Youth_Policy/docs/Citizenship/Research/European_citizenship_book.pdf]; Eis 2007) as well as the limits of civil society for democratization of European governance (Boucher 2009 [http://www.ceps.eu/files/book/1856.pdf]; Kohler-Koch et al. 2008 [http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/typo3/site/fileadmin/Final_Conference/papers/FinCon_BKK_CQ_VB_final2.pdf]).

2. Subjective interpretation patterns: Processing political transformations and social de-framing

How do social science teachers and students perceive and process those complex experiences of political transformation and social de-framing? To what extent do their modes of interpreting citizenship, democratic decision-making process and political problems include awareness of European transnational perspective? Or are their perceptions still exclusively based on local and national models with respect to parliamentary democracy and nation-centered citizenship?

2.1 Research design

The qualitative study is based on different methodical procedures. On one hand, everyday ideas and interpretations of democracy and governance beyond the nation state were gathered from 241 middle and high school students and of 65 teachers mainly in Germany (with selected comparison of data from Great Britain and Slovakia) in form of semi-standardized interviews and written surveys. On the other hand, teaching and learning strategies as well as didactic approaches of teaching politics and citizenship education were explored by the systematic evaluation of 64 lessons about European topics (partially based on video transcriptions and participant observation reports).

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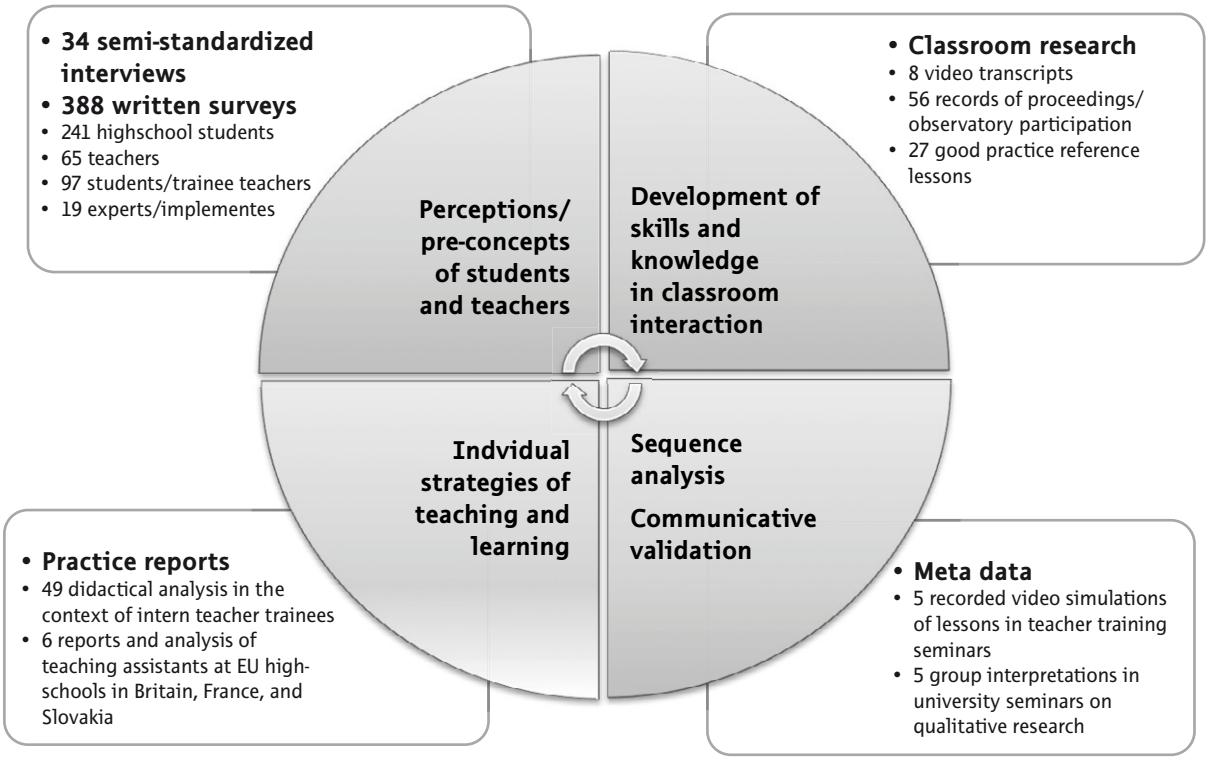
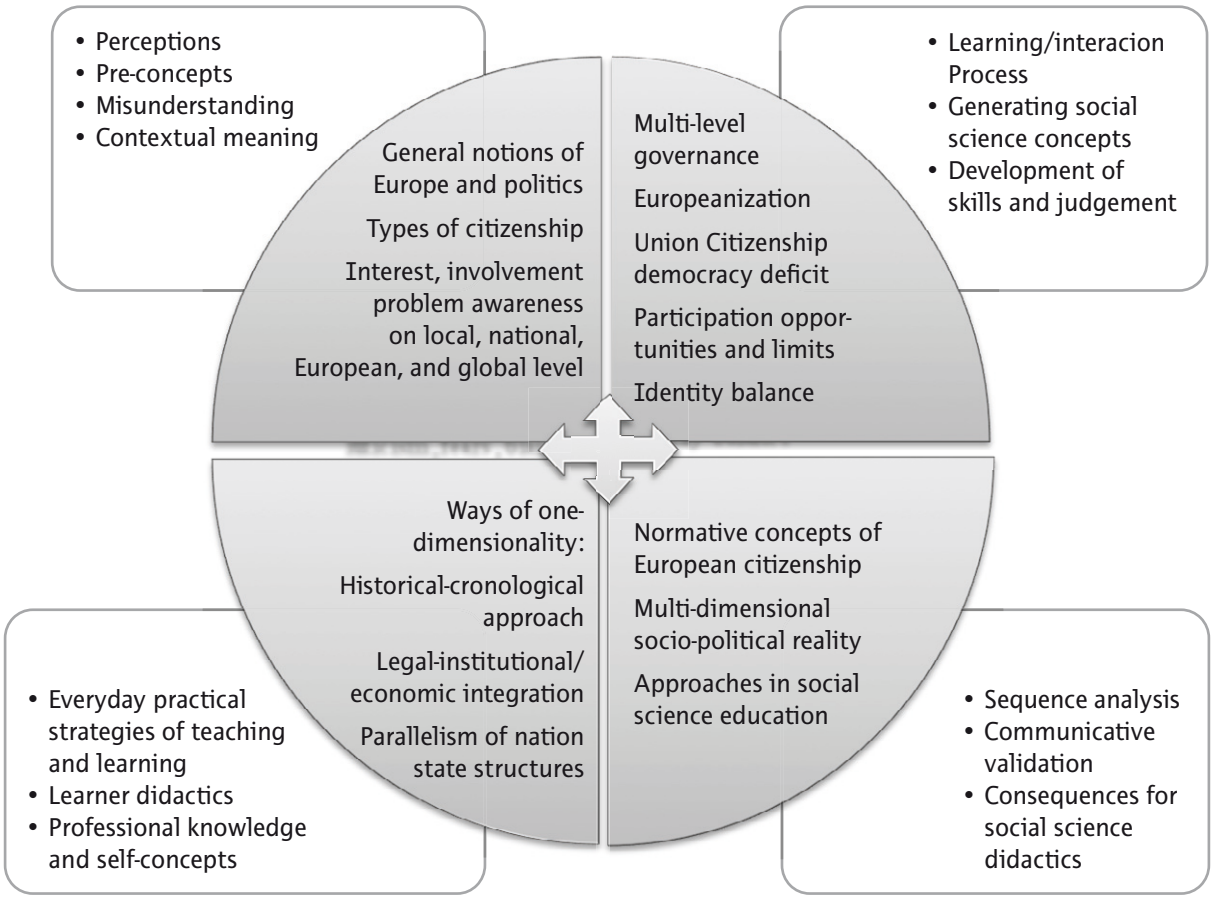
Figure 1: Data collection and analysis



(Eis 2010, 233)

Focal point of the qualitative research was to analyse the interpretation patterns based on semi-standardized interviews and questionnaires. The second step followed with comparison and evaluation of results obtained with context to classroom interactions, with particular attention to the everyday development of political knowledge and skills in teaching and learning processes (Eis 2010, Ch. B, II-IV). In the qualitative research on classroom practices, 64 lessons based on European topics were analyzed with regard to underlying didactic approaches in European citizenship education. The second approach was to analyse determining factors for developing profound knowledge, argumentative skills and critical judgement. Following this, analysis of interviews and questionnaires together with qualitative classroom research provided the empirical basis for didactic learning theory in European citizenship education, according to the methodology of *Grounded Theory* (Strauss, Corbin 2008; Kelle 2005 [http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/467/1001]). Further, the study examines, to what extent transformation processes of politics and democracy are cognitively and emotionally processed by students and teachers. It explores, whether the social changes are perceived as an enlargement of personal and social scope or merely as menaces of social security and obstacles. Referring to the aim of teaching European politics, the study needs to analyse the extent of establishing self-concept and political self-efficacy in students.

Figure 2: Structure of generating a theoretical approach in teaching European Citizenship



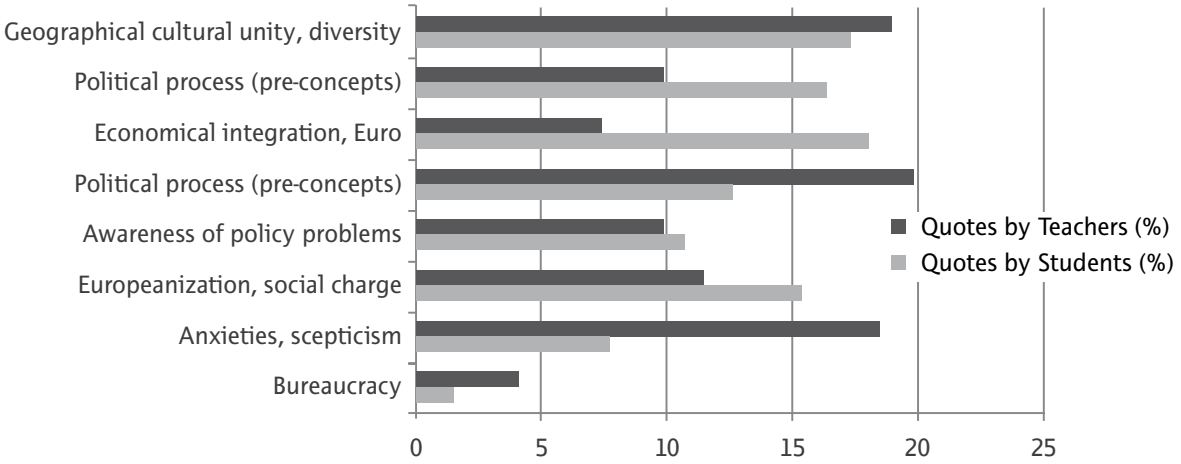
(Eis 2010, 245)

2.2 Pragmatic self-perceptions of German and British high school students

The point of interest was the everyday perception of European politics and the self-concept of citizenship. The analytical result of interviews and questionnaires showed that students rather tend to have a pragmatic and optimistic self-concept of being European citizens. They expressed less objections and scepticism towards the EU and performance of European politics compared to with some teachers, as explained in section 2.3 (correlates also with representative studies, e.g. the Eurobarometer, EB 73/2010, QA 16 [http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb73/eb73_first_en.pdf]). Many young people rarely recognise the concrete effects of European legislation on their everyday life. However, concepts and interpretation patterns of the young generation majorly demonstrate natural integration of their personal interests and local establishment in a European or global context. Be it youth culture, personal life, career planning or every day dealing with social and political problems on a national or global level, many students do not reflect their living experiences and their visions of the future in a primarily local and national context.

Figure 3: Perceptions of Europe and European Politics; Coded statements (%); Total codings: Students 397; Teachers 243

	Quotes by Students (%)	Quotes by Teachers (%)
Bureaucracy	1,5	4,1
Anxieties, scepticism	7,8	18,5
Europeanization, social change	15,4	11,5
Awareness of policy problems	10,8	9,9
Political process (pre-concepts)	12,6	19,8
Economical integration, Euro	18,1	7,4
Political process (pre-concepts)	16,4	9,9
Geographical cultural unity, diversity	17,4	18,9
	100	100



A 16-year old student from Berlin describes a transnational network as development and extension of European youth culture. As a German-French citizen, he regards himself as part of a quasi worldwide cultural community, which can hardly be located geographically:

> "That's just my culture here, or what do you call as culture, it's all quite mixed up. And anyhow, there is no longer an actual place in culture or youth culture. [...] Nowadays everything is in video and media and of course it spreads from continent to continent. And everybody speaks English, more or less [...]. You of course know, what comes from where, but still, everything is played or drawn everywhere" (SE 23, 37+43)[1].

For *Marcel*[2] transnational communication does not seem to be a problem. However, he also rejects a political unification and cultural standardization in form, e.g., of a European federal state, which he envisages as an undesirable levelling of distinguishable cultures and languages:

1 SE = Data collected from students [Schülererhebung].
2 Names of all persons interviewed are changed.

"The states should remain separate. [...] There are too many nice languages, actually, for choosing a single one and say, now this one has to be spoken. I do think cultural boundaries should be open, but nevertheless, there should be boundaries" (SE 23, 89+93).

Many of the polled students perceive Europe as an unlimited cultural sphere and an open economic area with provision of many opportunities in spite of associated risks. Several juveniles emphasized the notions of stability and a high standard of prosperity which they associate with Europe and its internal market. Nevertheless, most of the students interviewed (and many teachers as well) had no other vision of EU's deeper political consolidation than the idea of a central federal state. And nearly everybody – students and teachers alike – flatly rejects this notion.

George from South England (18 years), e.g., connects Europe first of all with prosperity, security and stability, due to good, "obviously reasonable" – meaning but "not radical" – government activity. Whether he associates with his idea of primarily British politics the governments of the European nation states or the European Union remains elusive:

"Well, there is, I suppose, a sort of security, pride somewhere, I suppose, in Europe, it's a nice continent to live in. As I say, it's very secure, makes secure lifestyle. [...] It's a very safe place and it's governed well, and taken seriously, properly looked after. [...] It's a sensible government, not radical. Not too many radicals and things, not at the moment, comfortable, comfortable life, really" (SE 18, 12-16).

George has a pre-concept of *good governance* which he does not connect exclusively with Great Britain but somehow in general with Europe. Still, the course of the interview suggests that he rather reduces the EU to a free-trade area and a kind of international organisation. George doesn't perceive Europe as a political unity, but mainly as an economic area. For him it is the continent which succeeded in regulating national affairs by peaceful negotiations: "In general, as I say, I think it's a good idea to boost the international relations and to..., also, like the internationality, to help sort out disputes without too much grieve, and of course no physical damage to countries [...]" (SE 18, 46). However, George's interpretation of the possible political dimensions of a Union citizenship is inconsistent, in fact sometimes quite contradictory. When it comes to the question of the EU's conceivable future developments, he suddenly talks about a European *nation*:

"I think there is a lot of action trying to get Europe to come together as one nation in the way of the European Union, which obviously will greatly help relations between the separate countries in the Union, and it's trying to become like the USA, the separate countries like the states are unified under one flag,...

The countries become just regions in one big state?
Sort of, not actually but it will be ..., it will get that impression. That, I think, is the idea of the European Union obviously helping trading and international relations between ...
Okay, do you support that?
I do, but there are aspects I don't agree with. I don't, well, I am not keen that we are going to the Euro or anything like that and I don't think many Britons are.
Why not?
Very traditionalist, I think. We are just proud people. We, just for the currency, I am not sure, I think, a lot of people think currency separates us from..., shows our independence of the rest of Europe as well. And I think, I suppose, I don't fully agree with the idea of one law for every nation" (SE 18, 40-46).

George thinks that the EU, in his generalized idea will develop along the slogan of the "United States of Europe", which Winston Churchill phrased already in 1946. In spite of his expressed support to this idea, George also connects essential restrictions with it, which seem hardly consistent with the concept of a unified European federal state. He reduces the Union to be "helping in trading and expanding international relations" (42). He would personally neither support the perspective of Great Britain joining the Euro zone nor a supranational legislation ("one law for every nation", 46). Still, George appreciates the possibilities of the European labour market and the educational system. He stresses the need to promote a European dimension of economic competence and transnational communication skills for employees, for entrepreneurs and "career makers":

"[...] More international companies can employ anybody anywhere and that's quite a big opportunity for a lot of career makers. I can work for a computer company in Germany and live in Munich, but obviously the international market is important and that's why it is also important to be able to speak other languages in business because there is often a lot of conferring between nations which needs to be well understood ..." (SE 18, 54).

Nora (17 years old) holds a free-market position even more distinct than *George*. She could be described as a liberal European British seeing herself as part of a single European society: "I think of a big sort of society [...]" (SE 16, 8). She understands Union citizenship as a complementary identity, even if only few Britons perceived its meaning:

"I think, you feel a sense of belonging although that does not really tend to apply so much while living in Britain, because they are more detached from Europe as compared to other countries. [...] I think, it's a sort of another identity to have, just being British, but I think a lot of British people [...] don't like to think of themselves as being European, maybe because they are not on the continent itself. I like to think of myself as being European and part of that community" (SE 16, 10+18).

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Despite her clear commitment to Europe while considering herself as a member of this "big sort of society" (8), she admittedly supports economic consolidation but is not convinced by the political integration. Like George, she sceptically refuses supranational legislation. On being asked about her views of the European Union in general, she answers:

> "I think it's a good thing. But I think, when you speak carefully on how far it goes, certainly with a legislation that goes for all countries, I think that..., because a lot of legislations can't be applied to all the countries. That doesn't work in every country. But I think in terms of free trade, many trades and currency, I feel, it is a good thing" (SE 16, 48).

Generally, Nora expects and welcomes a stronger integration of Great Britain in the EU; even imagines a possible joining of the Euro. Besides the currency, she does not however mention any other potential policy fields suitable for a deeper integration. "I think eventually, Britain will get more involved. I think [...] most of the countries will end up with the same currency, the Euro. I think we'll just be more involved really, it'll be a closer community" (42). Concretely, she stresses only a strengthening of free-trade. At the same time, she clearly opposes adjustments to or standardizations of European labour legislation and social policy. She argues with different cultural and political traditions that might interfere with an adequate implementation of European standards into national law:

> "It bothers me that trying to impose the same legislation for all countries or they will try to, because that won't work, for example same working hours. That is something – working hours, that might mean something to Germans – may not suit British people, they have different sort of ways of thinking and routines as such. And I think the movement of people should be restricted to some extent. I think people should be able to travel easily between the countries, but like moving permanently to another country needs to be watched, I think, it should not be so easy" (SE 16, 64).

Nora shows awareness of political problems and to some extent, an understanding of the interrelation of European and national legislation. She also holds a pre-concept of the principle of European subsidiarity: Which regulations function in which country? Which legislative structure (hierarchy) should be responsible for what European policies? On the other hand, her demand for stronger restrictions of the free internal market contradicts clearly her liberal position expressed above. Like Nora, also other polled students obviously reflected the recent British debate on the effect of Polish, Rumanian and Bulgarian immigrants since enlargements in 2004 and 2007.

2.3 Awareness of European political problems: Comparing concepts of students and teachers

As a result of the qualitative analysis, the study classifies various types of students' interpreting patterns (Eis 2010, 250).[3] Right in the sense of the "competitive European economic citizen," Nora – like George – refers to the importance of education as a specific characteristic feature of European culture. She points out education's relevance particularly for young Europeans interconnecting with a developing European civil society: "I think education is important [...] for young people obviously and students [...]. I think they are together involved in another lot of stuff as well as the academics, like being politically involved as well, (..) with societies and unions and stuff" (SE 16, 26-28).

The answers of the German and British students overlap regarding those policy fields where an increasing necessity is perceived to politically act on the European level. Especially the polled German juveniles cherish expectations towards the European Union as a potential actor for solving pressing transnational problems. The main issues students are concerned about are notably the climate change, environmental problems and energy policies, especially the reinforced practice of nuclear power in Europe. Also security policy problems are mentioned by singular students, e.g., potential new conflicts about energy resources (SE 22, 5) or the international dimension of a permanently growing, powerful Union which could be perceived by other countries as a political threat (SE 24, 111-12). Furthermore, some students worry about a Union growing too big by successive enlargements and having all the possible new candidates from South East Europe (SE 19, 56; SE 22, 12). Some of the polled young people express scepticism and anxiety towards an expected levelling of national cultures, which then could no longer be distinguished as independent entities. This latter fear of students is mainly connected with the often expressed vision of a European Federal state, which is usually imagined as a unitary federal state with a centralized administration or simply as a "European Empire" ("europäisches Großreich") (SE 22, 8; cf. also SE 10, 169+176; SE 24, 104). Only few students expressed doubts or fears regarding the European integration process, i.e. negative influence on the national social systems or the job market (SE 16, 66). Again, only a few referred to the problem of too much bureaucracy and the inefficiency of the European decision-making process – one student reflects that even though the problem is widely discussed in the media, she does not have enough insight to express a reasonable judgment (SE 17, 52).

In comparison with polled teachers, students more often recognize the EU in areas of politics, which they

3 Figure: "types of students' citizenship self-perceptions"

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themselves perceive as frightening, coincidentally as a powerful actor who contributes to the regulation or solution of transnational and global challenges. Hence, the youth's high confidence placed in the EU regarding its problem solution competence is not shared by many teachers. The polled teachers express considerably a higher proportion and variety of fears, concerns and insecurities associated with processes of social and political transformations in Europe. Similar results had already been confirmed in representative studies for adults in general (Flash EB 252/2009, p. 14 [http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_252_en.pdf]).

The list of expressed scepticism and fears of the teachers is about twice as extensive as those of the students (considering that the poll had only 65 teachers but 241 students). A wide range of 45 coded statements covers propositions like "dismantling of the social standards" (LE 8, 7)[4], "prosperity [...] must be shared more now" (LE 7, 80), "danger of relapsing into a free trading zone" (LE 8, 12), "too much bureaucracy and too many particular interests" (LE 8, 10). Teachers are concerned that majority decisions would turn into "cowardly compromises" (LE 8, 11), that citizens' "frustration and disagreement would increase" (LE 8, 17). They feel threatened by "migration; the boat is full" (LE 8, 16) and by economic developments: the "power of the trusts, social dumping, oasis for Monsanto's genetically modified corn" (LE 11, 5), by the activities of the "dreadful fundamentalism" (LE 10, 48) as well as by ideas of losing sovereignty, identity and traditional European values (LE 6, 22+32).

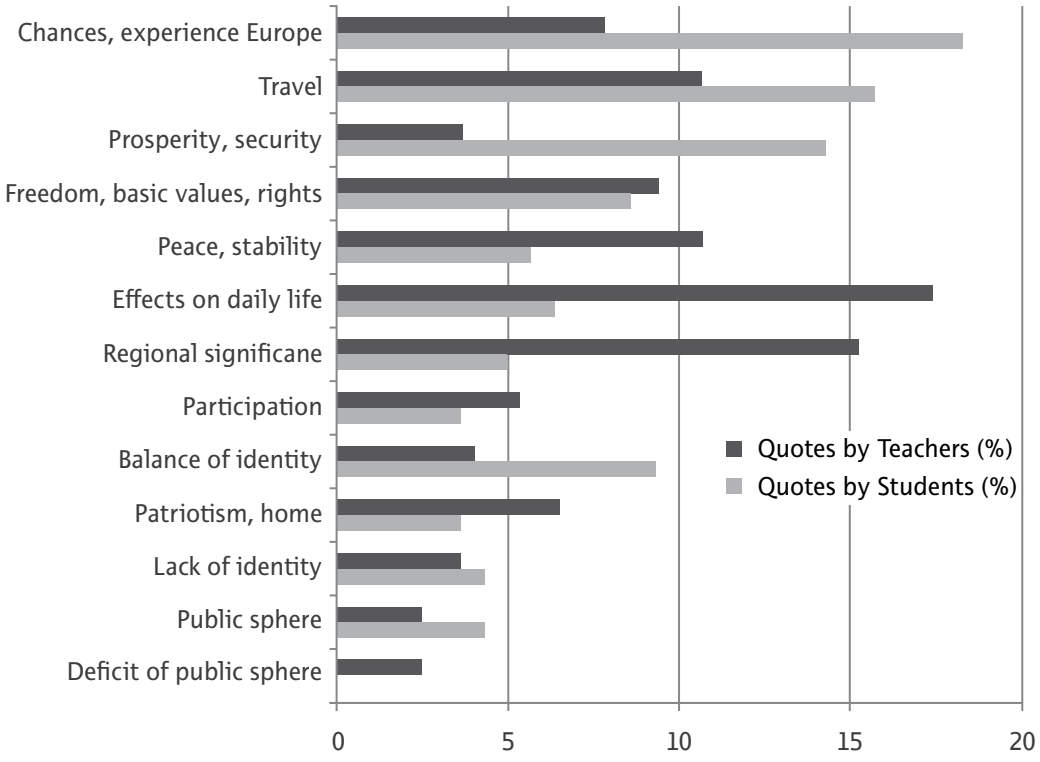
Nevertheless, some of the teachers' statements depict that the EU as a political structure handling urgent international problems is better than single national actors. In several cases the positive role of the EU is associated with the regulation of international conflicts (LE 5, 41). The answers stress the hope that the EU may use "its soft powers more efficiently" (LE 11, 14). Simultaneously, other polled teachers connect to the increasingly important role of the EU in foreign policy but again with the fear that it might become a military power similar to the U.S., thus losing its inoffensive bias (LE 9, 14). More often, teachers link the policy fields mentioned above primarily with a basic scepticism. About one third of the teachers' coded statements, in the category of *political process*, renders general notions of democratic deficits and efficiency problems in decision-making within the EU. They seldom mentioned the different levels and actors involved in European decisions both at national and EU level. Statements reflecting the final effectiveness, notably the problem solution competence in the sense of an output-oriented way of legitimacy, are as hard to find in detail as comments on the European decision-making process. The model of multi-level governance is not acknowledged by a single teacher and only a few referred explicitly to the role of nation states and other actors in the EU-system.

4 LE = Data collected from teachers [Lehrererhebungen].

2.4 Political self-concepts and identity constructions of students and teachers

Figure 4: Meaning of European Union Citizenship; Coded statements (%); Total codings: Students 298; Teachers 242

Union citizenship	Quotes by Students (%)	Quotes by Teachers (%)
Deficit of public sphere		2,5
Public sphere	4,4	2,5
Lack of identity	4,4	3,7
Patriotism, home	3,7	6,6
Balance of identity	9,4	4,1
Participation	3,7	5,4
Regional significance	5	15,3
Effects on daily life	6,4	17,4
Peace, stability	5,7	10,7
Freedom, basic values, rights	8,7	9,5
Prosperity, security	14,4	3,7
Travel	15,8	10,7
Chances, experience Europe	18,4	7,9
	100	100



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The analysis of the perceptions and interpreting modes of polled German and British students show a trend towards pragmatic (despite the expressed fears), purpose-built self-concepts of their European citizenship. The students associate with Union citizenship not only in case of advanced opportunities, rights and personal perspectives in internal market, but they also connect it with the Union – surprisingly much more than the teachers – above all prosperity and the warranty of basic needs and values like safety and freedom. Equally, the development of multiple identities and an *identity balance* between several degrees of political and social affiliations (as different but intertwined dimensions of their personal identity) could be documented in the students' rather than in the teachers' self-concepts of citizenship. Many students already had intercultural experiences; some juveniles have socialized in transnational social environments and thus were able to connect to the subject, future perspectives, education and professional career plans in Europe. Constructing and *"doing identity"* (Richter 2004) in a local and a national as well as a European or even cosmopolitan context does not impede or exclude one another in the self-concept of many students. Instead, those patterns of fragmented citizenship identities are often interpreted as meaningful and enriching supplements:

> "It is definitively a good thing to have several stages of identity, like I would say, about being English and British, then European, because it gives you a sense of place, I suppose, in greatest scheme of things as compared to the rest of the world. […]" (SE 15, 40).

However, only few students – and teachers alike – see the European level as a suitable sphere for political participation. The documented concepts of students about Union citizenship represent rather passive or non-political ideas from a consumer's perspective. The youth is interested in rights to move with free will and with a possibility of economic profit. Their role as economic citizens is also linked with a perception of stronger competition, the need for an economically beneficial education and also – in some cases – with uncertainty and anxiety regarding side-effects of the socio-cultural de-framing. In turn, some of the teachers hardly pointed out promising ways of participating in opportunities, while they encourage their students to head for a career directly in the European Parliament or in the Commission (LE 10). Other instructors initiate the expectation that the national members of the EP should be obliged to report and justify European politics (or just a failed school excursion to Brussels) personally in school meetings (LE 4).

3. Understanding European politics or "well-learned" misconceptions? – Results of the classroom research

On one hand, results of the classroom research show didactical deficiencies and dimensional reductions of European politics (e.g., by a purely institutional or historical-chronological perspective on the EU), but they also reveal several well-learned misconceptions and the passing on of problematic concepts which are not helpful to understand multi-level-governance in Europe. On the other hand, conditions and criteria for a successful development of political competences being objective of the study could be answered by analysing as the found good and best practice lessons. In the following, selected results of the classroom research will be discussed.

The analysis of certain political learning units in 10th grade reveals that presumably learners have minor development of knowledge and advancement in social science skills as compared to the geography curriculum in 6th grade. The genuine characteristics of EU-politics, which is the linkage of different levels and actors, the meaning of the subsidiarity concept or the dimension of Union citizenship are rarely objectives of social science education in school.

Certainly, some very flourishing examples of an advanced analysis in exemplary case studies are documented in the classroom research as well. Students were enabled to investigate different policy areas (e.g. social and employment policy, food safety or the intergovernmental judicial cooperation) and had to analyze und evaluate the democratic quality of a concrete decision-making process. Such good-practice-lessons were taught predominantly in the 12th grade by university students of social sciences at high schools in Thuringia. Twice in 6th grade geography lessons, the ambivalent role of tourism in the Alps as a transnational economic, social and environmental problem were analyzed and evaluated by the young students as per the syndrome approach of social geography didactics (Schindler 2005). In this case study, political and economic interests, opportunities to take action by involved groups, and means of participation of local citizens were examined and controversially discussed in a simulated hearing with regard to the economic, ecological and socio-cultural effects of tourism in the Alpine region (UE 24)[5].

Again, these 6th grade geography lessons persuasively demonstrated that the transnational case studies, policy analysis, and political judgment do not imply any dimension which should be exclusively reserved for higher secondary level (Sekundarstufe II) in Germany, although the political action level of the EU initially played marginal role in these lessons. On the contrary,

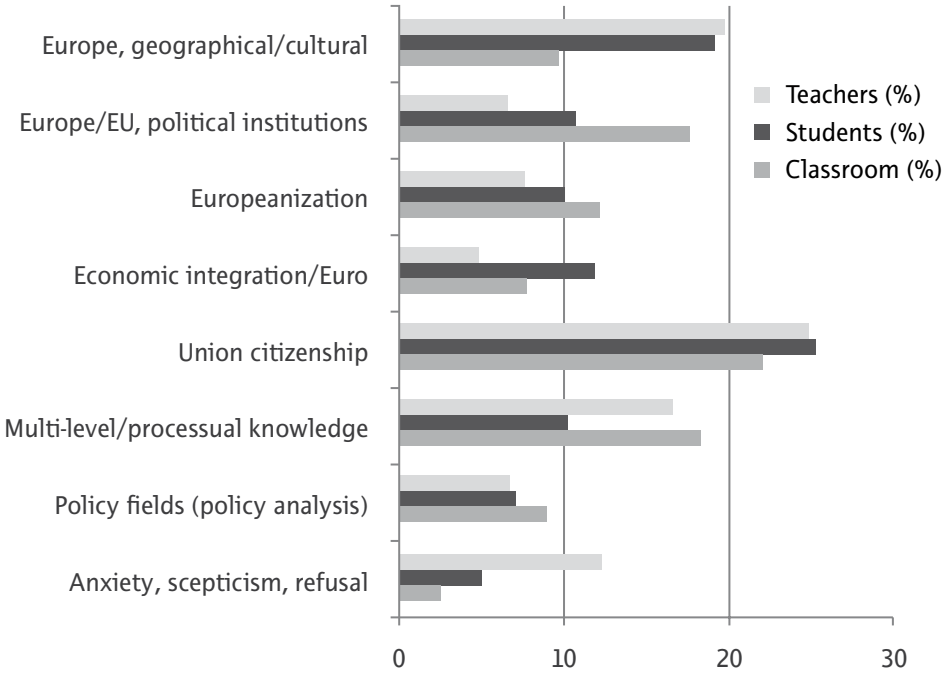
5 UE = Data collected in classroom research [Unterrichtserhebungen].

if knowledge about institutions and basic concepts of the EU system is separated from actual conflicts and concrete policy problems, students will not be able to understand much about its meaning and functional interconnections within the multi-level-system.

The coding of the classroom research suggests that political institutions are neither taught exclusively as isolated facts, nor is the polity dimension generally separated from the decision-making processes and the policy fields. However, in many of the listed codings, reference to policy was reduced to addressing the 3-pillar-structure of the EU with their respective areas of responsibilities. In some lessons, the issue of politics as decision-making processes was covered by just a brief mention of different modes of voting in the Council, without detailing the meaning of those procedures or referring to different forms of participation in the European Parliament legislation.

Figure 5: Pre-concepts and Conceptual knowledge; Coded text segments (%); Total codings: Students 604; Teachers 361; Classroom statements 584

	Class-room (%)	Students (%)	Teachers (%)
Anxiety, scepticism, refusal	2,5	5,1	12,5
Policy fields (policy analysis)	9,1	7,1	6,7
Multi-level system/ processual knowledge	18,5	10,4	16,6
Union citizenship	22,1	25,4	24,9
Economic integration/ Euro	7,9	11,9	5
Europeanization	12,3	10,1	7,8
Europe/EU, political institutions	17,8	10,8	6,6
Europe, geographical/ cultural	9,8	19,2	19,9
	100	100	100



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Several exemplary sequences illustrate that pre-concepts of students, their everyday perceptions and biases are very well expressed by applying the activity-oriented method of political simulations. However, in the reported lessons those concepts and experiences are rarely identified, discussed and developed, in comparison with social science models. Even in very sophisticated planned lessons students and teachers talk at cross-purposes. Classroom interaction rarely allows scrutinizing and critically reflecting individual modes of interpretation, because teachers lack diagnostic competence and conceptual knowledge to counter students' misconceptions with social science explanation models of governance beyond the state (UE 8; UE 12; UE 16).

> "We don't want to nationalize everybody. That's why there are the clauses that everybody [each member state, AE] still has its own regulation right. So, proposals are made, but their implementation is still the responsibility of each country. [...] If we had made everything always only by laws, we would put ourselves in chains." (UE 12, 17+19)

These phrases were expressed by a student in the role of Manuel Barroso, president of the EU Commission, in a simulated panel discussion on the question of "Do we need an EU Constitution?" The student points out that neither a standardization of all jurisdictions has been planned in the scope of the constitutional process, nor should the national legislative powers be transferred completely to the EU. Besides, the student also indicates possible alternatives for regulations beyond state-centered hierarchies. She obviously commands a pre-concept of new modes of governance in the multi-level-system. Unfortunately, these impulses are not picked up and reflected in the following classroom interaction. Instead, the teacher participating in the panel discussion while mediating role of a journalist presents a stereotype about the long required reform of the EU Parliament, "which to date had actually no say at all" (UE 12, 20). The learners could not catch the purpose of this, presumably a provocatively intended thesis (LE 2, 156) as an impulse to reflect and challenge populist slogans about "undemocratic" forms of European decision-making. The obviously erroneous statement of the teacher remained undisputed in classroom. Furthermore, quasi as answer to the teacher's impulse the principle of double majority in the Council is explained.

Very seldom, the teachers transparently reveal their own reserve and criticism concerning the effects of Europeanization and transformation of governance in class. Instead, some teachers – particularly from Eastern Germany – demonstrate a highly optimistic and euphoric European self-concept. Yet their repeated professions of peace and the glorification of new opportunities in a unified Europe do not strike as consistent and authentic. Teachers reveal themselves with ambivalent lip-services as "actually ardent followers" of an "in itself" and "first of all fantastic" Europe. The major "... however" is implied now and then in interviews but it hardly becomes a subject in social studies at school. Teachers' skepticism and attitudes against the EU in general as well as their criticism of the democratic deficit implicitly determine the underlying structures of classroom interaction.

Both documented interviews and classroom research show that institutional reforms and democratization of the European regime so far is conceived almost exclusively in terms of an either parliamentary or a more direct democracy, but in any case as state-oriented paradigm of citizenship. The appearance of non-governmental actors, of new ways of governance as well as of appropriate associative or deliberative participation models is hardly recognized. For the supranational "association of states *sui generis*", as the EU's multi-level system is usually characterized, seem to exist no cognitive concepts neither by students and nor at large by teachers. Students and teachers alike have internalized the "classical federal state concept", ultimately related to the centralized state (Schönberger 2007). Such a result cannot be very surprising regarding the prevailing paradigm of "methodological nationalism" in social sciences, and hence in teacher trainings (Beck, Grande 2007).

Teaching and learning of misconceptions occur not only implicitly, but also explicitly as items on the teaching agenda (see the example above of the EP's legislative competences). An exemplified "well learnt" misconception can also be deduced from the teaching material used for the preparation of the above mentioned panel discussion. The instructor had composed a summary of arguments to stress her topic, "Do we need an EU constitution?" One of her pro-arguments expressed a misleading phrase that the EU constitution "unites not only states, but also cultures" and that this process would be "another step towards a European federal state" (UE 12, appendix 8). Even if the teacher could basically justify this argument, it would not serve at all as a pro-argument. Numerous statements of students as well as of teachers indicated that hardly anyone of those polled would support the formation of a European state, and much less on the basis of a "united culture" which is always conceived and is simultaneously rejected with the adoption of a common language.

Far be the study's target to blame teachers for lacking conceptual knowledge in European citizenship education. Misleading concepts of a European centralist federal state in foundation were not least evoked by the political discourse and the debate about the symbolism of a European constitution. The attempt to lay down constitutional symbols evoking classical state symbols like a hymn or a flag in the European trea-

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ties and, moreover, the document's title, "Treaty establishing a European *Constitution*", certainly implied the obvious interpretation that this reform included a first (or even final) step towards the foundation of the United States of Europe. The answers of Union citizens, being consulted on this question in various referenda, are congruent with the interpreting modes of European citizenship documented in the study.

4. Governance in transnational democracies: Generating conceptual knowledge as social learning processes

European citizenship education would appear highly questionable if it meant to merely compensate the loss of identity with and the responsibility for the nation state ("Verlust der Bindungskraft an den Nationalstaat", Lösch 2010, 119). The purpose of social science education at school cannot be, to counteract the EU's structural democratic deficit by promoting "European identity" of whichever content. If that was its political guideline, citizenship education would lose its genuine mandate to encourage citizens to act responsible, comprehend, judge critically and to decide deliberately which development of democracy and of political systems in Europe they will support or not. Nevertheless, it is not a purely formal legal relationship that binds young people and adults into the transnational European public sphere. The decision-making processes, even on local and national level, including the conditions of political socialization and social integration can no longer be understood in reduced context of clearly definable communities. For instance, due to taxes and prevalent social systems all over EU, the taxpayers are the ones who stood in for the consequences of fiscal decisions during the Euro crisis in 2009. Social and political transformation processes generate a series of epochal key problems and crises which shape everyday life of citizens in an existential way. Following Gerd Steffens, each crisis, however, opens paradigmatic "alternatives of development" as option for "social learning processes" (Steffens 2010, 28-9). Political education needs to focus on such epochal crises and should stress on the possible alternatives while social transformation processes take place. In fact, identifying key problems with a popular significance exceeding the horizon of national societies as a didactic approach is not a very new idea (W. Klafki, W. Hilligen; Westbury et al. 2000). However, basic conditions of political decision-making processes, also modes of democratic legitimization have changed significantly in the last decades. The approach of European citizenship education developed in the study (Eis 2010, 187-227) emphasizes the importance of promoting skills of students to comprehend local and transnational problems and thus realizing the significance of the reflexive hermeneutic competence to construct a political self-concept (Schelle 2003). Social science education in a European perspective should start with some direct effects of European politics in the local environment of young learners. The analysis of actual conflicts and consequences of EU legislation does not only illustrate where citizens and interest groups benefit from Europe, also appropriate case studies illustrate how national, regional and non-state actors participate and intervene in EU politics. Students need to analyze and to evaluate ways and limits of participation in Europe. Despite the "democratic and public deficit" conjured up again and again, a tremendous number of transnational interest groups, associations, trade unions and NGOs have been established at European level. About 700-900 associations and several thousand other interest groups are represented in Brussels (Charrad 2010, 58). Even if no Europe-wide party structure have not been established yet (and perhaps is not desirable or possible), the base has already been formed as European party networks, and there are numerous ways open to citizens for participating and gaining information (Dolejsiova et al. 2009 [http://youth-partnership-eu.coe.int/youth-partnership/documents/EKCYP/Youth_Policy/docs/Citizenship/Research/European_citizenship_book.pdf]; Eis 2007).

Democratic legitimization and participation in European context is currently and in the foreseeable future not possible in an exclusive parliamentary way. Models of an associative and deliberative democracy become increasingly important through new forms of governance, and they should be considered while teaching European politics. In developing a didactical approach for teaching European citizenship education, the study establishes basic categories of conceptual knowledge as well as dimensions of skills and competences for the generation of transnational judging and acting abilities (see the matrix of skills and competences in European Citizenship Education, Eis 2010, 224-25).[6] Nevertheless, the mere elaboration of a new core curriculum or a body of basic knowledge will hardly promote better understanding of political transformation processes. In order to understand European decision-making and Union citizenship practice, conceptual knowledge must be deduced in tangible example policy analyses. Basic categories to deduce in suitable case studies could be the European *multilevel system*, the concept of *subsidiarity*, new modes of *governance* by cooperation of public and non-governmental actors, the integration of *interest groups* in the decision-making process, *deliberative cooperation procedures, policy learning,* social and economic *self-regulation*, etc. (see the matrix of basic social-science-concepts on European studies; Eis 2010, 212).[7]

6 Matrix of Skills and Competences in European Citizenship Education

7 Matrix of Basic Social-Science-Concepts on European Studies

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However, understanding European politics and reflecting chances and limits of democracy beyond the nation state represent not only a pedagogical situation in school, but rather a permanent social learning process. A sound education for active and responsible European Union citizens will not be realized by either implementing euphoric illusions (LE 10, 44) or strengthening the myths of a "Eurocratic" elitist system, or by producing bureaucratic and arbitrary decisions without any democratic legitimation. Political-democratic consciousness develops in everyday interactions where transnational political implications become accessible in suitable learning surroundings. The approach to European Citizenship Education refers to the personal consequences of political transformation processes and social de-framings as "dilemmas of the self" in conditions of late-modernity (Giddens 2006; Schelle 2003, 121-28). The competence dimension *"(federal) identity balance"* (Eis 2010, 225) depicts a hermeneutic interpretation process reflecting social constructions of citizenship, hence enabling learners to balance their own consistent biography in terms of developing multiple identities or just "doing identity" and "doing European" (Richter 2004). Moreover, the historical-political genesis of Europe becomes comprehensible as an institutional long-term change. The developing concept of European citizenship becomes meaningful and tangible as a "narrative of Europeanization" which had always included interrelations of departures and breakdowns (Beck, Grande 2007, 12-16).

Existential crises, social changes and catastrophes in European history have repeatedly led to social learning experiences. Following Habermas, we will only be able to meet the "challenges of globalization" in a sensible way if we succeed in "developing new forms of a democratic social self-control" in the postnational constellation (2001, 67-69). Facing the consequences of financial crises, conservative-liberal administrations suddenly vote for the introduction of a financial tax transaction, as promoted by NGOs for decades. It remains to be seen to what extent this initiative is to be regarded as a late success of the transnational civil actors' new modes of deliberative participation and "learning opportunities" (Steffens 2010, 35). These social learning processes, however, should become a central issue in social science lessons. Political education *in this sense* could become itself part of a bottom-up process in constitution-making.

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Andreas Petrik

Two Kinds of Political Awakening in the Civic Education Classroom

A Comparative Argumentation Analysis of the "Constitutional Debates" of Two "Found-a-Village" Projects with 8th Graders

This article proposes an adaption of the Toulmin model of argumentation as a congenial method to investigate interactive political learning processes. The interactive learning environment is provided by the "Found-a-Village" project, where students simulate to establish their own social and political system. I will start my essay by introducing the "genetic" village-setting which works as a trigger for the formation of political judgment and conflict resolution skills. Then, I will define claims, grounds, warrants and premises as basic parts of Toulmin's model. After presenting six types of politically relevant warrants, I will present a four-level-model for the analysis of political learning processes, distinguishing private, public, institutional and systemic perspectives on politics. Later on, I apply this model by comparing two quite different classes during the initial phase of their village-projects: While the "public" class uses the simulation to seriously negotiate their political values, the second class takes a fairly playful and "private" time-out from typical instruction. Both classes, at a different speed, undergo a continual development from unfounded claims and inadequate arguments to the reflection of their own and opposed political value-orientations. The analysis of implicit parts of individual argumentation confirms the method to be helpful for teachers' diagnosis skills.

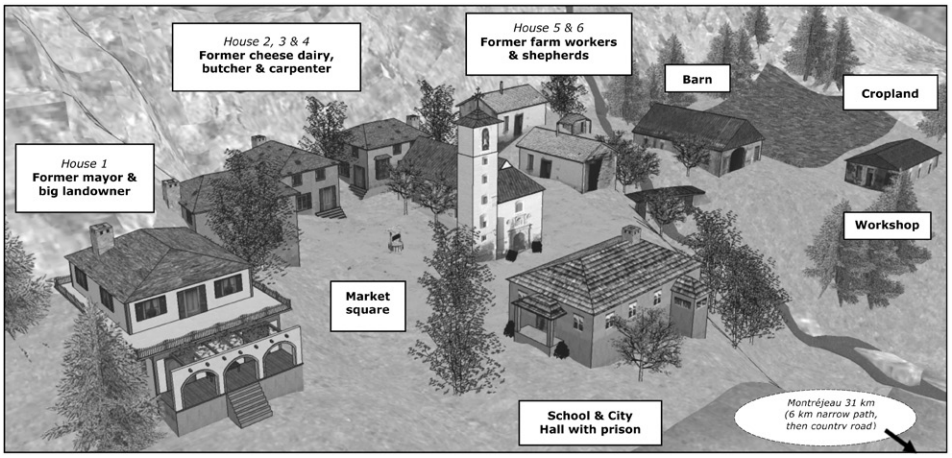
Keywords:
Toulmin, argumentation analysis, documentary method, judgment skills, conflict resolution skills, "Found-a-Village"-Project, simulation, political ideology, political identity development

1. The "found-a-village" project as trigger for controversial political debates

What happens when 14-year-old German 8th graders simulate the foundation of their own village-community in a fictitious desert mountain region far away from home? At any rate you can expect some lively and controversial interaction. The village-project follows the idea of the genetic method, allowing students to study social issues in their "process of formation" (Dewey 1966; Wagenschein 1991; for English translations see Westbury 2000 and http://www.natureinstitute.org/txt/mw/index.htm). Therefore, the village represents a "point zero", a political vacuum provoking the students to fill it with their own political, economical and cultural ideas (see Petrik 2007, 2010 and 2011b). This starting point supports students to discover their latent ideologies and the necessity of democratic rules and institutions to coordinate controversial claims.

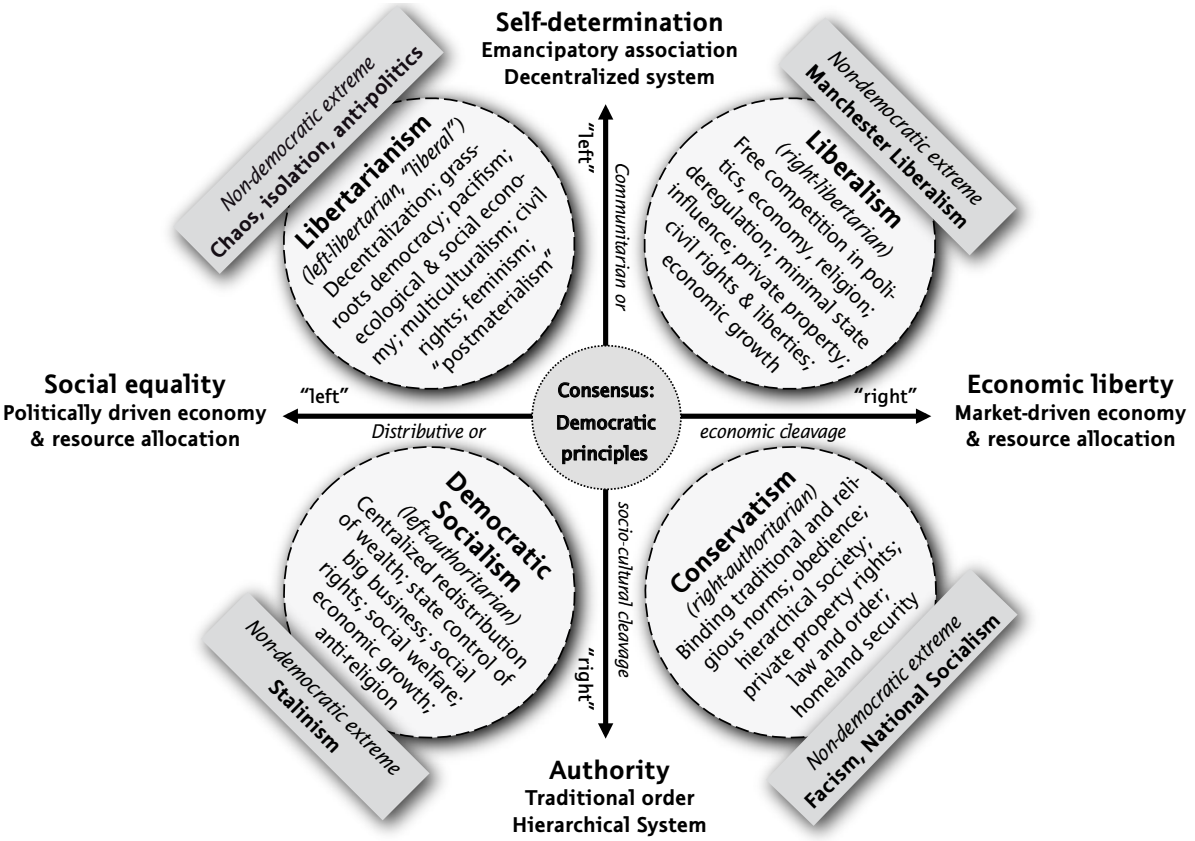
Thus, the simulation can be grouped within the tradition of "island-scenarios" or so-called "Robinsonades". In Adelson's (1971) famous study "The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent" interviewed adolescents were asked to imagine a thousand people venture to an island to form a new society. However, the village-scenario is more interactive and more "institutional", offering traces of a traditional three-class structure, a city hall, a prison, a market square, a church, a workshop and cropland. This "institutional scaffolding" animates students more likely to debate basic political issues (like government, social justice, economy, religion) without teacher invention, than the "naturalist" island does:

Fig. 1: Scenario of the "Found-a-Village" project (Petrik 2007, 2011b)



Interactive political microcosms like the village are meant to foster critical judgment and conflict resolution skills. They are especially appropriate to fill what I call "the ideology gap" in Civic Education (see Petrik 2010): The lack of effective, student-to-student, controversial classroom-debates that engender and elaborate deep-rooted political values and ideologies (see e.g. Niemi, Niemi 2007; Hess, Ganzler 2007). Mainly I'm interested in students' early traces of left-libertarian, market-liberal, democratic-socialist or conservative argumentation. Those four orientations are, following Kitschelt's (1994) influential work, broadly considered as basic political ideologies shaping individual value-systems, social movements and political parties. Hence, the following coordinate system based on Kitschelt's model comprises the horizon of possible political thought in an ideal-typically way (see in detail Petrik 2010):

Fig. 2: The political compass as horizon of political judgment (Petrik 2010)



The horizon of political judgment is characterized by two major cleavages that each society has to take position on: the distributive or economic cleavage about resource allocation and the procedural, communitarian or socio-cultural one about actors, power and decision-making. The left "equality"-pole is defined as the view that assets should be redistributed by a cooperative collective agency (the state, in a democratic socialist tradition or a network of communes, in the left-libertarian or anarchist tradition). The right "liberty"-pole is defined as the view that the economy should be left to the market system, to voluntary competing individuals and organizations. „Self-determination" describes the idea that personal freedom as well as voluntary and equal participation should be maximized. „Authority" is defined as the belief that existing hierarchies and religious or secular traditions should be followed to guarantee a stable society. In previous "Found-a-village" projects, those two cleavages always represented major conflicts. The congenial method to analyze student-to-student debates in "classroom governments" and "model cities" is Toulmin's argumentation pattern (see also Nussbaum 2002).

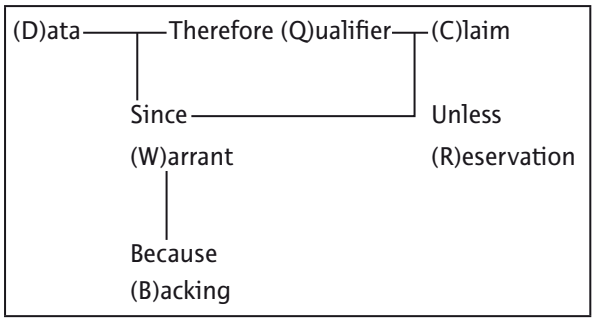
2. Argumentation analysis as method for Civic Education classroom studies

Traditionally the Toulmin model is used for teaching composition in German or English classes and for the training of rhetorical skills (see e.g. Geißner 1975, Fulkerson 1996). Recently it was also applied in qualitative educational research, mainly in order to analyze episodes of oral argumentation. Especially in Science Education we can talk about a broadly established method to analyze individual and collective learning processes (see Krummheuer, Naujok 1999; Duschl,

Osborne 2002; Simon 2008; overview in Cavagnetto 2010). One main aim is to foster teachers' competence to diagnose their students' tacit knowledge and to scaffold students' argumentation.

The Toulminian model operationalizes the argumentation process as a mental movement from data through a warrant to a claim, sometimes supported by a backing (Toulmin 1958, Fulkerson 1996). As everyday communication rarely realizes explicitly all relevant parts of reasoning, the model provides a tool to reconstruct even implicit parts of statements. First I will introduce the classical model which I will adapt later on for Civic Education purposes:

Fig. 3: The complete Toulmin model (Fulkerson 1996, 21)



1. The *claim* is a controversial statement or a conclusion that must be supported by the evidence provided within the argument. It is an assertion about what exists or about values and underlying emotions that people hold. Though claims seem easy to recognize, they are often heavily co-constructed so that it might already be complicated to reconstruct which topics speakers are (not) talking about (see Lundsford 2002).
2. The *ground* (also known as evidence, data or argument) consists of any information that will support the claim. Grounds can be based on statistics, quotations, reports or findings that are commonly shared in the communicative context. They must be regarded as valid or at least as likely.
3. The *warrant* logically connects or relates the non-controversial ground to the controversial claim. The evidence must be relevant, pertinent to the claim, and so the warrant justifies its presence within the argument. The warrant is typically unstated.
4. The *backing* serves to support the warrant, explaining what the claim's assumptions are rooted in. It represents sort of a "universal premise" to "justify the justification". Like the warrant it remains mostly implicit.
5. The *rebuttal* anticipates any potential objection to or restriction of the argument.
6. The *qualifier* increases or decreases the amount of certainty or scope of the claim by words such as *sometimes*, *often*, *potentially*, *perhaps*, and *few*.

The basic parts of Toulmin's model – claim, warrant, ground, and backing or premise – can easily be used to re-describe assimilation and accommodation processes of conceptual change in the tradition of Piaget (see Miller 1987, 1996). A simple claim shows an individual's assimilation to a certain point of view, inducing the individual not to pay much attention to developing alternative ways of arguing. This "confirmatory bias" and "weak situational modeling" of everyday argumentation (Davies 2009) can be perturbated (disturbed) by rebuttals, provoking either changes of opinion or the search for a better and deeper judgment as accommodation. When students are encouraged – by the teacher or by their classmates – to look for evidence against their own ideas and to consider alternative possibilities, they normally ameliorate their argumentation. This is also the outcome of one of the few argumentation studies within the domain of Social Studies (see Nussbaum 2002).

The lack of argumentation studies in Civic Education is even more striking as argumentation represents a basic tool or key competence of democratic thinking and acting. A "strong democracy" (Barber 1984) is necessarily a deliberative one where every individual's controversial claim has to be justified by a collectively accepted and relevant reason. To weigh up arguments is a genuine peaceful way of reification of conflicts by finding common grounds and by creating mutual understanding, compromise or consensus (see also Lundsford 2002). Thus, argumentation analysis is the genuine method for "needed studies" on the development of students' conceptual knowledge and attitudes through discussions in the "open classroom" (Hahn 2010, 17).

Unlike some doubts if Toulmin's model can be used to analyze interactive challenge-response-moves (Leitão 2001), several convincing interactive variations are possible (e.g. Miller 1996; Krummheuer, Naujok 1999). My own approach can be assigned to reconstructive educational research following the framework of the so-called Documentary Method (Bohnsack 2010). By analyzing narrative interviews, group discussions, pictures etc. researchers want to reconstruct how social reality is produced in accordance to the actors' perspective. So we deal with a constructivist stance. In the tradition of Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge the "genesis" or ongoing negotiation and accomplishment of meaning gets examined by focusing on tacit knowledge implied in practice. The so-called "documentary meaning" goes beyond the simple "immanent" or literal meaning of statements, trying to uncover their "implicit socio-genetic sense" by means of theoretical explication. In my case, the knowledge about possible contents and development stages of political ideology is crucial to interpret students' hidden premises about politics.

3. Warrants as plausible argument strategies

The core of an argument is its warrant, as it links individual and collectively shared claims. In contrast to Aristotelian Syllogism, Toulmin radically rejected formal logics as the main criteria for the quality of naturally occurring language. He promoted the notion of plausibility and adequacy in a certain context rather than universal criteria. With his emphasis on field-dependence, Toulmin is very much compatible with contemporary qualitative research.

There are several attempts to classify typical warrants. In the US-American context, many authors refer to Fulkerson's (1996) six types of argument strategies, known under their acronym "GASCAP". Kienpointner (1992, 1996) distinguishes 30 argumentation patterns that he subdivides into nine "main classes" of everyday argumentation. In my own adaption for political argumentation (Petrik 2007) I modeled six main classes comprising both Fulkerson's and Kienpointner's strategies:

Fig. 4: Different classifications of current argumentation patterns

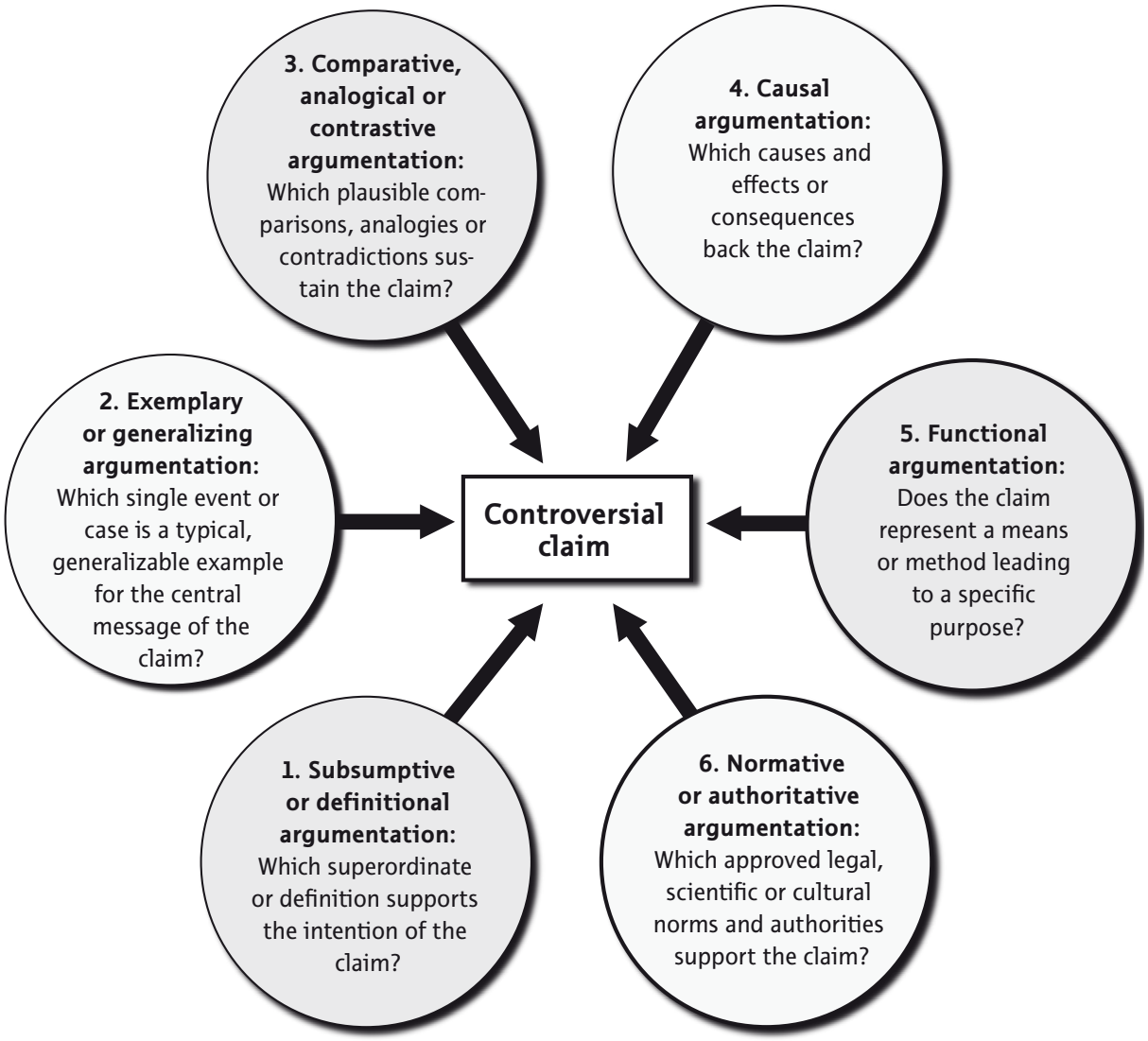
Fulkerson 1996	Kienpointner 1996	Petrik 2007
	1. Definitions: Content-based equivalence	
	2. Species-genus relationship: Subsumption and superordination	1. Definitions and subsumption
	3. Part-whole relationship: inclusion and membership	
1. Generalization	4. Examples: Generalizations and illustrations	2. Examples and generalization
	5. Analogies: Indirect comparisons	
2. Analogy	6. Comparisons: Similarities and differences	3. Comparisons, contradictions and analogies
	7. Contradictions and alternatives	
3. Sign/Clue	8. Causes and effects, means and purposes	4. Causation
4. Causation		5. Means and purposes
5. Authority	9. Authorities: Experts and "elders and betters"	6. Authorities and norms
6. Principle		

1. *Definitional and subsumptive argumentation:* An often underestimated strategy especially in political argumentation. The claim gets connected to a special context by definition or subsumption, like in Proudhon's left-libertarian phrase "property is theft" or in the conservative slogan "abortion is murder". As theft and murder are connoted negatively, property and abortion should be as well. Another famous example is Theodore Roosevelt's "Americanism" speech of 1915, where he re-defined Americanism as patriotic performance and therefore as a consequent willingness to enter World War I. If you are a true American, you have to participate (see Nash 2009). A typical rebuttal would put into question the stringency of the definitional links.
2. *Exemplary or generalizing argumentation:* A very common form of reasoning, assuming that what is true of a well chosen case or single event is likely to hold for a larger group. The case or event must contain generalizable messages or coherences that support the claim. Quantitative and qualitative research with polls and case studies provides us with insights in typicality. Every day experience is a further common, but less reliable source of generalization.
3. *Comparative, analogical or contrastive argumentation:* In general, comparisons aim at working out similarities and differences of related or similar phenomena. "Why doesn't Germany abandon its tiered school system, considering the fact that almost all Western countries have a comprehensive system?" Analogies are special kinds of indirect comparisons of two contexts that aren't clearly linked together. A common form are historical analogies, for example of the 2008 finance crisis and the stock market crash of 1929, e.g. to warn people about possible anti-democratic consequences. Contradictions are often used to rebut an argumentation by saying, when you say A, you can't say B at the same time: "How can you be a conservative and at the same time agree with the demolition of this Art Nouveau house to replace it by an office building?"
4. *Causal Argumentation:* Causal reasoning is one of the most frequent and most complex forms of warrants. An argument by causation needs the scientific knowledge if a given occurrence is the result of, or it is affected by the factor X. A causal argumentation against the claim to ban abortion could be: "Western Europe has one of the lowest average abortion rates because of a combination of liberal laws, early sex education and family programs. Apparently it's not abortion bans that minimize abortion". The typical danger is to confuse correlation and causation: When in a country a certain ethnic minority such as, e.g., Turkish immigrants

or Germans of Turkish origin in Germany, commit statistically more crimes, this wouldn't mean at all that those people are generally more criminal than Germans without an immigration background. In fact, not the ethnic background is the cause, but the social situation as a third factor: When you relate social background and criminality, you will get about the same results for Germans and Turkish immigrants or Germans of Turkish origin. Argumentation via signs or clues is a special form of causation applied when only symptoms or effects are perceptible, but the cause has to be supposed or extrapolated.

5. *Functional argumentation:* Functional or means-purpose-relations represent a special case of causality directed towards a future goal. Especially in political discussions certain measures are claimed to be an appropriate "remedy" for a certain social problem. Often, a commonly shared objective is used to justify unpopular or controversial means: Are lower taxes for big business the right tool to create new jobs through new investments? Or should governments rather raise taxes for higher incomes in order to increase the lower classes' economic demand by higher welfare rates? A counter-argument can either question the adequacy of means or reject the purpose.
6. *Authoritative or normative argumentation:* This pattern is a high-risk abbreviation-strategy. Especially if you rely on a cultural or even religious authority you can't convince anyone who doesn't accept the authority as such. On the other hand, a normative argumentation can also refer to celebrities, scientists or scholars that are broadly acknowledged. Third, social norms, existing laws or commonly accepted principles can be applied.

Fig 5: Plausible warrants: Six common argument strategies (Petrik 2007)



4. Levels of argumentation of political judgment and conflict resolution

There are several ideas for quality levels of argumentation. An analytical framework for science education assumes that the quality of argumentation increases with the number of Toulmin's elements (see Erduran, Simon, Osborne 2004, 928). Level 1 represents a simple claim versus a counter-claim, level 2 includes either data, warrants or backings, level 3 a series of claims or counterclaims with a weak rebuttal, level 4 a claim with a clearly identifiable rebuttal and level 5 an extended argument with more than one rebuttal.

I find it generally convincing that a higher degree of the elements' explicit realization has to do with the quality of argumentation. However, especially level 2 strikes me as a random choice of either data, warrants or backings, as if those elements were on the same intellectual level. Second, the warrant's and backing's role on higher levels remains unclear and also their possible connection. For the analysis of political arguments this framework remains too formal and quantitative.

Two further, quite similar approaches are coming from Business Studies and Geography Education (see Davies 2009), suggesting a scaffolding process inspired by Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development. This concept considers the difference between what a learner can do without help and under teacher guidance. The common core of both criteria catalogues "for improving arguments" looks like the following:

0. No argument to back the claim
1. One reason to support the claim
2. More than one reason (contradicting or adding up?)
3. Limitations to the reasons (rebuttals)
4. Relation of used reasons, considered by a wider viewpoint
5. Weighing up the strength of the evidence

There we find indeed a qualitative formal progression. It can be reframed with Bybees (1997) four levels of scientific literacy, in order to integrate the quality of the use of scientific knowledge: from a simple claim (nominal level) to relevant grounds and the rebuttal of counter-claims (functional level) over to the "objective" coordination of conflicting claims (procedural and conceptual level) to a meta-reflection of the argumentation process (multidimensional level, but in a less generalized way than Bybee defines it).

My own approach (see Petrik 2007, 2011a) is compatible with this one, adding a content-based gradation for political reasoning following the nature of political thought and Kohlberg's (1981) stages of moral development (based on Behrmann, Grammes, Reinhardt 2004). In the following, I will outline my proposition of four levels of argumentation that equally apply to critical judgment and conflict resolution skills, which I see, according to my previous research, in a dialectical relationship (see Petrik 2011a). The more students reflect on their own and conflicting value orientations, the better they can argue with dissenters; the more they are open for constructive conflict resolution, the faster they will be able to question and elaborate their personal value system.

Private level (1): The unfounded claim as pre-political and dissociating value-orientation

This level is defined by unfounded, only individually valid claims revealing a mostly unreflecting, often deeply emotionally rooted value orientation. It remains private, pre-political in so far as the speaker isn't willing or able (yet) to justify his or her concern to others. This stage involves a peer-centered perspective of dissociation with controversial opinions, leading either to the ignorance of existing conflicts or to verbal attacks of "dissidents". Though this stage is indispensable for finding peer-membership and developing a political orientation, it mostly results in unfounded dissents or verbal fights.

Public level (2): Relevant grounds as basis for the constructive exchange of political viewpoints

Using grounds with relevant warrants represents the base of political exchange, because an individual statement gets plausibly connected to collectively accepted insights. As to political judgment, a substantiated viewpoint is reached. Combined with the openness to understand others stating their views a "founded dissent" can be achieved. So we could distinguish between two public sublevels: the ability a) to use relevant reasons to state one's own view, b) to reconstruct opposed reasons of others.

Institutional level (3): Reflection of premises as coordination of conflicting claims

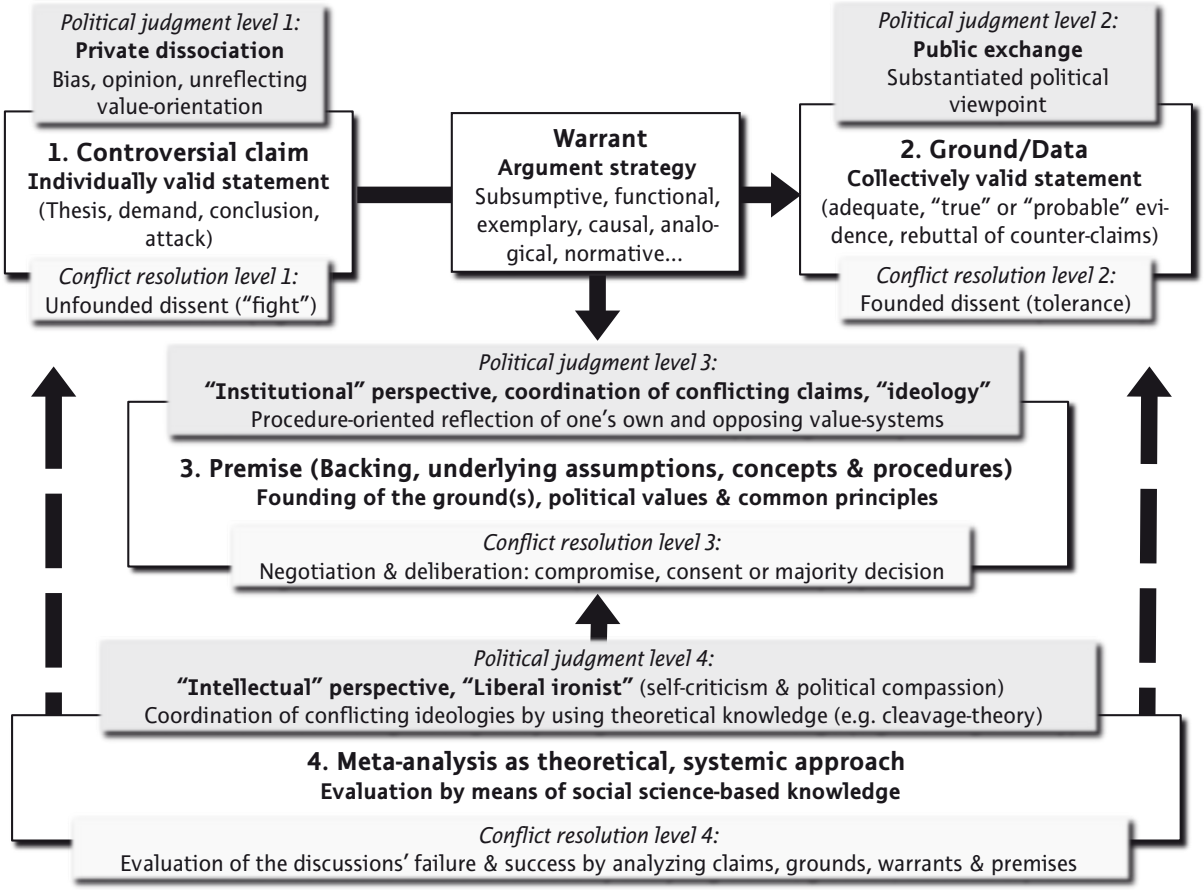
On the third level, one's own arguments and relevant counter-arguments get examined for underlying premises. Those are mostly unstated basic assumptions or backings as "justifications of the justification". The first sublevel is the ability to disclose and contrast one's own and opposing values and assumptions that underlie the formal warrant, taking a "wider viewpoint". Since hidden ideological structures of the argumentation get considered, we can talk about a conceptual level of judgment ability. The second sublevel represents the ability to coordinate conflicting ideological concepts by rebuttal, compromise or consent. Here a procedural or deliberative level is reached, implying the insight into the need to find common principles and methods to establish common decisions. This procedural "polity"-orientation leads me to call this the institutional level, since democratic institutions have mainly the task to peacefully negotiate and deliberate opposed political concepts.

Systemic level (4): Meta-reflection as empathic intellectual perspective

This fourth level needs theoretical knowledge about ideologies and conflict resolution. The highest level of political judgment can be described with Rorty's (1989) "Liberal Ironist", a person able to combine the consciousness of the contingency of their own ideology with the will to stand up for their values. The tolerance of ambiguity coming along with this stance is the self-ironic distance to oneself, necessary to stay open for liberal (in the sense of deliberative) dialogue. Basic knowledge about typical political cleavages and possible coalitions of political ideologies (see above) is indispensable for this intellectual level (see Petrik 2010). On the other hand, to be able to evaluate political discussions on this level, basic knowledge about argumentation strategies (claim, ground, warrant, premise) is required.

The following figure summarizes the four levels of argumentation both for political judgment and for conflict resolution skills:

Fig. 6: A Toulmin-based model for the development of political judgment and conflict resolution skills



In the following two chapters I will apply this argumentation model to two constitutive village meetings of two 8th grade classes' that participated in "Found-a-village"-projects. Both classes belong to the same urban grammar school (Gymnasium) in Germany. I myself was their teacher. The projects took place in 2004 and 2006 (for details about my data collection see Petrik 2011a). I will focus on segments of debates dealing with the procedural and the distributive dimension, with the communities' decision-making and resource allocation. For the latter, it is important to know, that the students drew lots to get a personal "monthly income" (play money) according to the average distribution of wealth of Western countries. Therefore, at the beginning of the simulation, there is a lower, middle and upper class. Of course, the students are completely free to re-arrange this "mainstream"-distribution.

5. Argumentation analysis I: The serious and "public" Village One

At the beginning of the first village meeting, Paul gets very quickly appointed as moderator to lead the discussion. Separately of this task some students muse about the need of a mayor. This is the moment when the first controversy arises. (In the following, I always start with the original German transcription to provide then an English translation):

Village One (procedural dimension): Representative or grassroots council?

Kerstin: Ich finde, wenn wir nen Dorfmeister haben, der darf dann aber nicht alleine entscheiden [Durcheinander]

Lars: Wir machen eine Dorfjury. [Durcheinander]

Manuel: Wir wäre es, wenn aus jedem Haus einer bestimmt wird und die sich dann zusammensetzen und dann die Vertreter die Meinung der Häuser vertreten?

Paul: Das finde ich gut.

Lars: Das finde ich auch.

Paul: Wollen wir das mal abstimmen, wer ist dagegen, dass wir etwas anderes machen? Wer ist gegen Manuel und will etwas anderes machen? Ja, jetzt wollt ihr wohl alle, dass wir das machen.

Marcus: Nein, das ist dumm. Ich finde das dumm.

Paul: Ja, dann sag doch was.

Marcus: Ja, weil der eine, der dann immer bestimmt und der eine sagt ...

Kerstin: Nein, der bestimmt nicht. Ja, der vertritt die ...

Marcus: ... ja, der vertritt die, aber...

Paul: Manuel, erklärst du noch mal deine Idee?

Manuel: Ja, der vertritt die. Im Haus wird dann besprochen, was man als nächstes, wenn die sich treffen, zusammen macht und da vertritt er eben nur die Meinung. Und jedes Haus kann bestimmen, welche. [...]

Birte: Ich melde mich. Nein, ich finde, der sollte schon auch, also der Vertreter, der sollte dann auch regelmäßig gewechselt werden, irgendwie jeden Monat oder alle zwei Wochen.

Paul: Aber das kann man dann auch hausintern besprechen. Ja OK, also dann sind alle dafür. [...]

Kerstin: I think, if we have a mayor, he mustn't decide on his own. [Chaos]

Lars: We'll have a village jury. [Chaos]

Manuel: How about electing one guy in each house and they would gather around and then represent the house's opinion as representatives?

Paul: I think this is good.

Lars I think so, too.

Paul: Could we vote on that, who is against that we do something different. Who is against Manuel and wants to do something different? OK, now all of you want us to do this.

Marcus: No, this is stupid. I find this stupid.

Paul: OK, so tell us something.

Marcus: OK, because the one who is always deciding and the one says...

Kerstin: No, he doesn't decide. Yes, he represents the...

Marcus: ... yes, he represents them, but...

Paul: Manuel, could you re-explain your idea?

Manuel: Yes, he represents them. Then, inside the house, will be discussed what to do next together, when they meet and there he only represents the view.

Birte: I put my hand up. No, I think, the one should also, I mean the representative, he should also be changed regularly, somehow every month or every two weeks.

Paul: But this can be discussed within the houses. OK, so everybody is for it.

Kerstin raises a counter-claim against the traditional idea of a powerful mayor. Taking this role, nobody should be able to decide on his own. Her claim remains unjustified, probably because she believes that the others share her opinion. We can assume an implicit liberal or egalitarian value orientation opposed to a conservative hierarchical approach. In fact, nobody contradicts her thesis. Instead Manuel proposes a representative system as a possible solution for her claim. His argumentation uses a functional warrant, as he considers a representative council as an appropriate means to decrease individual political power. His premise that such a council would be able to integrate everybody's interests remains unstated. Nevertheless he achieves consent. Paul quickly asks to vote for the proposal, explicitly demanding rejections to it. Obviously he wants to promote possible alternative suggestions, aiming at coordinating claim and counter-claim, although no deep controversy has arisen yet. Accordingly Paul's moderation reaches already the public level (2), with potential transition to the institutional one (3).

Now, Marcus (probably encouraged by Paul's moderation) gives an emotional counter-claim: to him the idea of representatives is stupid. Paul, confirming his moderation abilities by not accepting an unfounded claim, asks for a reason. Marcus then seems to be using a causal rebuttal: The representative would be authorized to decide for his house alone and would, as a result, disempower those he speaks for. Although Marcus doesn't clearly state his worry, the term "decide" already initiates Kerstin to interrupt him by insuring that according to her, representation doesn't include the power of decision. Though she is using a definitional counter-argumentation, Marcus isn't satisfied yet, probably because he understands the term representation in the Western countries' liberal tradition as a form of power with a free mandate. Obviously

this free mandate doesn't fit his unstated grassroots democracy value base. As neither Kerstin nor Marcus explicitly define their central terms, their possible consent or dissent remains unfounded at this point.

Paul who still takes his role very seriously tries to promote reification, gets back to Manuel, inviting him to re-explain his initial idea. Manuel clarifies his position: the house-communities decide and the representative "only" embodies their previously fixed view. Manuel defines a kind of grassroots-council whose representatives are endowed with an imperative mandate, meaning that elected representatives are to execute the will of those who elected them. But Birte isn't satisfied yet, postulating a rotation system for the representatives. Like Marcus she doesn't apply a clear warrant. Her argumentation contains an implicit comparison of different measures (types of council) to implement the common political goal "everybody decides". The exact functional reason for a rotation system remains unstated, probably appearing too obvious to Birte in this context of people who think in a similar way. The rotation system Birte suggests is a genuine left-libertarian idea that was practiced by the German Green Party during their first legislative period in the Bundestag between 1983 and 1987, where every representative had to be replaced after two years. At the end of the topic "mayor" Paul notes that a possible rotation system should be decided individually within the houses and concludes this debate by stating a final consent about Manuel's proposition. A new topic is raised.

This first "procedural" controversy during the constitutive village meeting is not about different government systems. The students rather debate the question how the common "grassroots premise" could be transformed into practical politics (functional warrants): What kind of counsil do we want? The whole debate remains consequently on the second public level where different relevant arguments aiming at a grassroots democracy are exchanged. Although not every ground and warrant gets fully elaborated, students mostly seem to understand mutually their argumentations. Apparently willing to establish a common ideological base the speakers succeed in clarifying misunderstandings and quickly reach a consensus about their governmental structures.

But as their underlying premises about the necessity of grassroots democracy and about potential dangers of a liberal representative system or an authoritarian mayor aren't stated and discussed, the consensus could only be superficial and therefore temporary. Without being the result of weighing up different value systems, and considering at the same time the policy and polity dimension a stable level-three consensus cannot be acquired. Hence, this consent is likely to be challenged later on: by experiencing its practical impacts (as it is less effective), by contradicting students who didn't raise their voice yet, or by realizing that their common understanding of representation is more controversial than the discussion suggested so far.

In the following, the class discusses economical topics like possible and necessary professions within the village community. The first serious disagreement occurs when a student proposes establishing a common fund where every villager deposits a part of his income. At this point, Anja opens the dispute:

Village One (distributive dimension): Communal or private property?

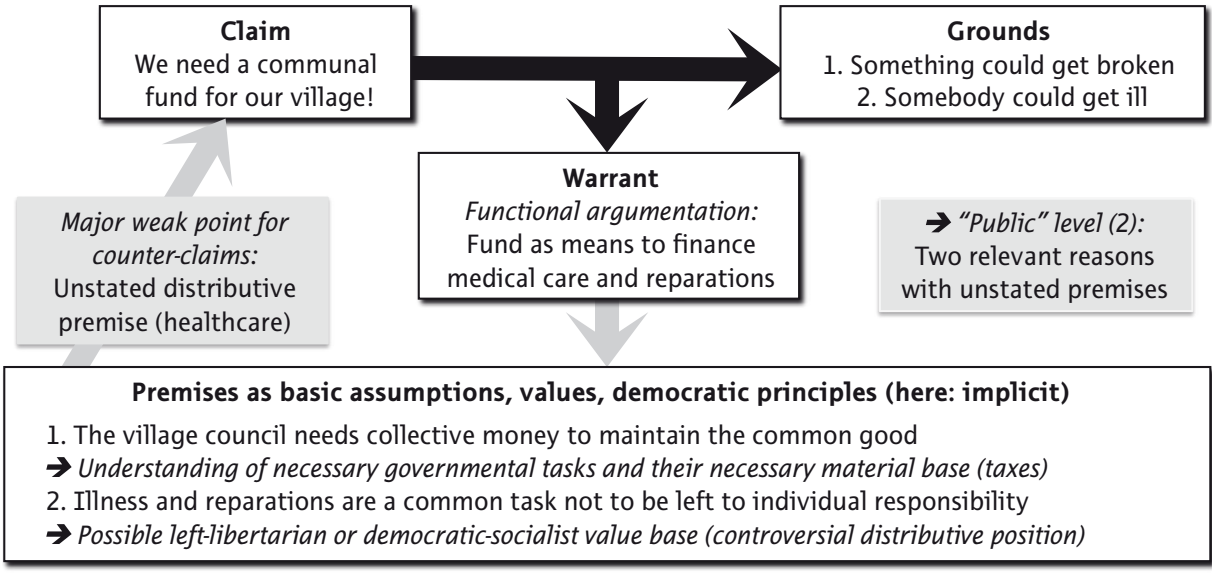
Anja: Aber was sollen wir denn für das ganze Dorf kaufen?
Paul: Alles Mögliche, Bibliotheken, Supermarkt, ...
Carsten: Hochspannungsleitung, Telefonanschlüsse ...
Paul: ... Saatgut, Samen für den Dingsda, Acker. [Durcheinander]
Thorsten: Das kann man doch auch selber kaufen.
Ramona: Ich find's eigentlich besser, dass man jetzt den Samen selber kauft.
Regina: Ja, aber es gibt noch die Telefonleitungen und alles Mögliche.
Birte: Hallo, wenn mal etwas kaputt geht oder so, ist doch Scheiße. [Durcheinander] Ja, oder zum Beispiel Medikamente. Wenn jemand krank wird [...]
Ramona: ... ja, aber wenn niemand von uns krank wird und wir dafür bezahlt haben und auch nicht das Telefon kaputt geht ... [...]
John: [...] Und ich denke, dass man um Geld nicht irgendwie abstimmen kann, dass man eine Dorfkasse macht. Weil im normalen Leben kann man auch nicht sagen, ich will jetzt Geld haben, gib mir was.

Anja: But what should we buy for the entire village?
Paul: Lots of things, library, supermarket, ...
Carsten: Electricity, telephone lines...
Paul: ... Seeds for the thing, farmland. [Chaos]
Thorsten: Everybody could buy this by himself.
Ramona: I think it's better to buy the seeds for oneself.
Regina: OK, but there are the telephone lines and lots of other things.
Birte: No kidding, if something gets broken or so, would be bullshit! Yes, or medication. If someone is getting ill. [...]
Ramona: Yes, but if nobody's getting ill and we paid for it and also the telephone doesn't get broken... [...]
John: And I think you can't vote on money to get a communal fund. Because in normal life you can't say either, I want to have money now, give me some.

Anja's counter-claim contains an implicit functional argumentation: There is no need for communal cash because there is no need to buy something for the entire village. Paul and Carsten refute her claim by listing several infrastructural essentials. But the most important part of their functional reasoning remains unstated: "Those investments are too expensive for individuals". As a consequence, Ramona and Thorsten support Anja's view by a simple unjustified counter-claim: Everybody or every house-community could buy seeds and so on independently. This call for economical independence could express the two students' need of autonomy and individuality – a need appropriate to an age concerned by the detachment of all kinds of authorities.

Regina then approves Paul's and Carsten's concern by repeating one of their examples. Now Birte starts an emotional attack on the adversaries of a communal fund. I will analyze her argumentation in detail. She defends the common cash idea with two functional arguments concerning the village's future: Something could break down, somebody could get sick. Both are factually correct and linked to her claim – a fund as means to finance medical care and reparations. By using two relevant grounds she reaches the public level of political judgment. The weak point for possible counter-claims of a level-two-argumentation is not the warrant; it can't be refused for formal reasons. In this case, the analysis of underlying premises is crucial to fully understand Birte's political judgment. First she seems to assume that a village council can't function without collective money, as otherwise infrastructural measures wouldn't be possible. In this premise she shows already a basic understanding of central governmental tasks and their material base: to establish and to maintain the common good. Without taxation (democratic) politics is impossible. At the same time, her argumentation contains a second controversial premise concerning specific governmental tasks like healthcare: Health, according to Birte, has to be a public affair, can't be left to individual responsibility. As we know especially from the recent US-American debate, this left-libertarian or democratic-socialist claim can be highly controversial. As her premises remain unstated and, therefore, unjustified, her understanding of the state's infrastructural and distributive role could be questioned easily. So we get the following argumentation scheme (grey arrows hint at implicit parts):

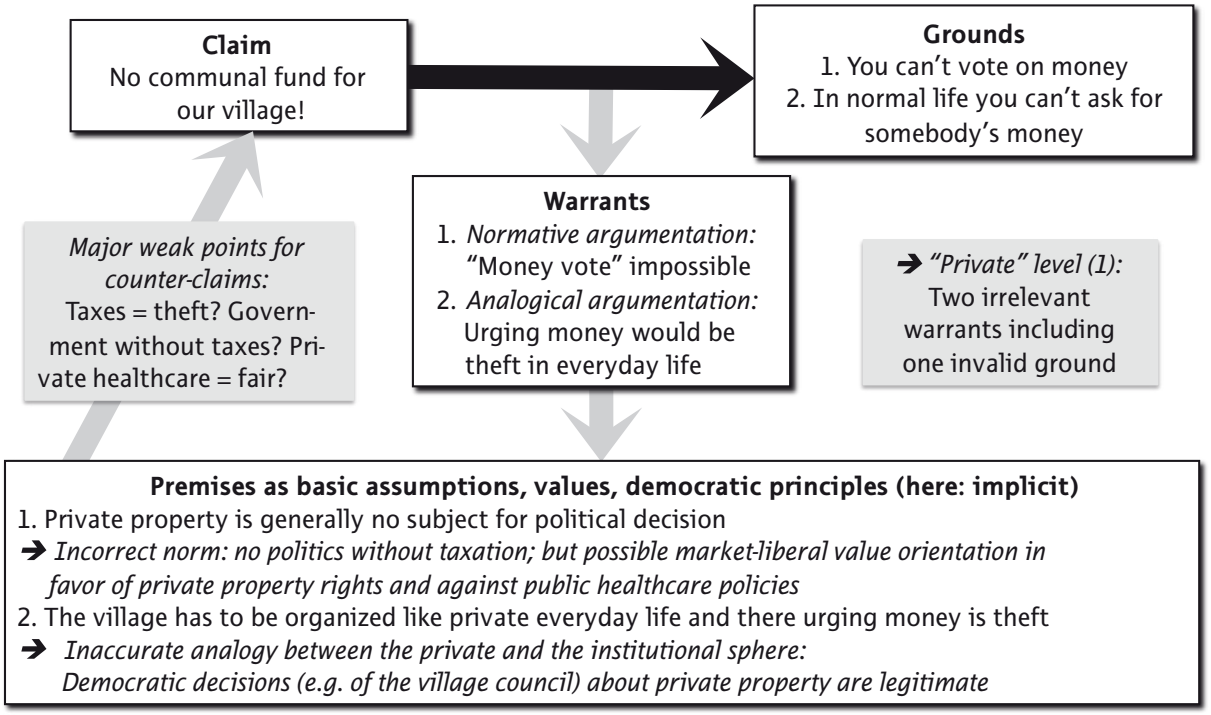
Fig. 7: Birte's argumentation on the "public" level: Substantiated political viewpoint



Ramona's rebuttal questions the factual base of Birte's claim: It is likely that nothing could break down, nobody could get sick. This argumentation pattern is very interesting. First, our human experience contradicts the factual base of Ramona's ground: There is no such paradise without diseases and deterioration. Factual contradiction represents the major weak point of an argument. So we can easily assume that in this class, Ramona's false assertion of the absence of typical human problems couldn't be maintained for a long time. Second, her implicit causal warrant "without illness no need for medical care" shows probably a certain rejection of the solidarity principle that most democracies are based on: Why should I pay into a common healthcare- fund if I don't get sick? This potentially radical market-liberal premise denies a mutual responsibility, especially for the weaker members of society. To pursue this direction of political thought I will now analyze in detail John's later market-liberal counter-argumentation to Birte's position. Here a typical political misconception gets manifested.

John is strictly opposed to a communal fund for the village. He applies two arguments: First, using a normative argumentation pattern, he views it as impossible to vote on money. The underlying premise suggests that private property is generally no subject to political decision. This norm obviously doesn't exist, since every political system has to be based on at least a minimal taxation – by taking money from people's incomes. Despite the fact that John's ground is irrelevant for his claim, we can impute a legitimate market-liberal value-base in favor of private property rights and an opposition to public healthcare policies. The term "irrelevance" is a technical label for arguments without a plausible warrant. The speaker's political position itself is not valued by this term at all. However, the denial of any kind of public fund remains a pre-political, "private" statement rather than a controversial political position. This interpretation gets confirmed, when we look at John's second ground that is analogical: In normal life you can't ask for somebody's money. In other words: In real everyday life what Birte and others proclaim would simply be theft. This argument by itself is indeed factually true for the private context. But it is irrelevant for his claim, as John uses a warrant consisting of a false analogy: A democratically elected village council is in fact authorized to urge money, since it represents an institutional and not a private setting. So John's premise to organize the village's politics according to the norms of private life can be rejected easily for factual reasons: Are taxes theft? How should governments work without income? Second John could be criticized – but of course not factually – for his implicit (and legitimate!) market-liberal value-orientation: How fair is a private healthcare system to those who are poor? So we get the following argumentation scheme (grey arrows hint at implicit parts):

Fig. 8: John's argumentation on the "private" level: Unreflecting value orientation



At the end of their first encounter the villagers establish indeed a communal fund – however it is based on a compromise: Only in case somebody gets sick or something breaks down, the council will collect money. For the most part, Village One shows a serious involvement in the simulation. The discussion stays mostly objective, there is almost no disorder, and emotional statements are directly linked to political issues. The discussion remains on the public level, with a final compromise pointing at the classes' prospect to reach the institutional level. At the same time, students like John and Ramona still argue on a pre-political level – which is appropriate to their age. However, even John states more than simple claims: he tries hard to find arguments and might, due to his involvement, be encouraged to elaborate his "market-liberal" values.

6. Argumentation analysis II: The playful and "private" Village Two

Right at the beginning of the first meeting, Thorsten and Joachim are sitting on the teacher's desk. They just got promoted to moderate the first village meeting. After a couple of side talks and during lots of chaotic verbal and non-verbal interaction between several subgroups (of mainly boys) Thorsten raises his voice:

Village Two (procedural dimension): Village ruler or team of representatives?

Thorsten: [laut, auf dem Pult sitzend und eine Schriftrolle entrollend, Joachim tut ihm gleich] Und wir wollen eine... hier so'n Dorfherrscher-Willen. [Unruhe, Zwischenrufe] Irgendwelche, irgendwelche Fragen hier zu?	Thorsten: [loudly, sitting on the teacher's desk enrolling a scroll, Joachim doing the same] And we want a ... here... such a village ruler's will [Chaos, interjections] Any, any questions to this?
Joachim: So, noch Fragen? Ja.	Joachim: OK, any questions left? Yes.
Kassandra: Was für Regeln wollt ihr denn aufstellen?	Kassandra: But what kind of rules do you want to establish?
Joachim: Ja, so was wie, ja so was wie Regeln halt.	Joachim: Yes, something like, simply like rules.
Thorsten: Was passiert, wenn, wenn jemand mal was verbricht, oder so, zum Beispiel...	Thorsten: What happens, if somebody commits a crime or so, for example...
Joachim: [lächelnd] Ja. So, Marc.	Joachim: [smiling] Yes. OK, Marc.
Nico: [laut] Die zehn Gebote... Mord! ...	Nico: [loudly] The Ten Commandments... murder!
Marc: Ich find, wir wählen nicht einen Dorfherrscher, sondern irgendwie so ein paar Leute, die das immer...	Marc: I think, we shouldn't elect a village ruler but somehow some people who always...
Nils: [laut] Eine Partei!	Nils [loudly] A party!
Joachim: Abgeordnete.	Joachim: Representatives.
Nils: Eine Partei.	Nils: A party.
Joachim: Abgeordnete.	Joachim: Representatives.
Marc: Ja.	Marc: Yes.
Thorsten: Ja, sowas brauchen wir noch. [Unruhe] Ja, Lisa.	Thorsten: Yes, we still need something like that. [Chaos] Yes, Lisa.
Lisa: Ich würd' auch sagen, wie Marcus, wir sollten keinen Herrscher oder so halt bestimmen, sondern wie jetzt zum Beispiel jetzt...	Lisa: I would say, like Marcus, we shouldn't appoint a ruler or something like that but like for example...
Nils: Partei.	Nils: ... party...
Lisa: Schul, Schul, Schul ...	Lisa: ... School... school... school...
Ines: Hey, könnt ihr mal ruhig sein. [Zwischenruf: Nein!]	Ines: Hey, could you shut up. [Interjection: no!]
Fiona: Sch, Schul, Schulsprecher.	Fiona: Sch... school... school council representatives.
Lisa: Schulsprecher. Genau, dass wir sozusagen so ein Team haben.	Lisa: School council representatives. Exactly, so we get a team.

Thorsten and Joachim claim to establish a "ruler's will" – accompanied by Thorsten's ceremonial voice and the theatre-like gesture to enroll a scroll that reminds of Roman emperors declaring a new law. The whole scenery appears more like an ironic citation of a historical stereotype than a serious claim within a students' village. Kassandra's question about possible rules seems to embarrass Joachim. Instead of giving a reason, he simply repeats Thorsten's claim: Rulers proclaim rules, that's it, a simple and well-known convention. This answer strengthens the impression that the moderation team isn't capable of taking their task seriously. They seem to prefer playing a non-democratic ruler's role without probably believing in it. Their premise could be: this village isn't real, it's like one of these historical role games we know from history classes (which they do indeed, as I know). So they misjudge the simulation character of the village situation. As their teacher I initially asked the students not to play a role but to act realistically, as if they had to set up a real village community.

But then Thorsten adds "crime" as a valid ground for rules, as means to determine sanctions. Nico interjects two more examples: the Ten Commandments as pre-political, historical set of rules and murder as a sort of crime – which is, however, unlikely to happen in this class. His interjections support Joachim's and Thorsten's attitude to treat the simulation as a funny role game.

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The content of these claims could hint at a (still) negative image of politics: Instead of regarding the village-council primarily as a chance of a restart, as a constructive institution to design their own community, a possibility to establish certain rights, activities, economic essentials and political visions, they define its dangers such as breaches of the rules, without talking about rules first. Without knowing the three boys' latent value orientation, we can notice them creating a conservative view on politics where "man is a wolf to [his fellow] man".

But then Marc's claim – like Kassandra's before – draws the attention back to the "real" village with its real community. While proposing that "some people" should be in charge of the village's political power, Marc undermines both the idea of a single ruler and of a historical role game. Nils sticks to his one-word interjections but his associations reach now the realm of democracy: a political party could rule the village. Joachim throws in a simple counter-claim: not a party but representatives. Nico repeats his claim once more, Joachim does the same with his one. There we have a typical claim-versus-claim situation, but without a real controversy. Both boys seem to continue playing rather than arguing: This time they stage an ironic verbal contest about political terms without really trying to define their understanding or to discuss different institutional options.

Yet, Thorsten seems to take his moderation role a little bit more seriously. Lisa picks up Marc's claim using the school's representative council as analogical argument for a possible village government. But as almost half of the boys are engaged in side talks or throwing things around, she can't express her concern without difficulty. Ines assists her by admonishing the boys to be silent and Fiona helps her by completing her argument. In doing so, the village-girls and Marc (as the only really seriously arguing boy) succeed in establishing the idea of a five people village-council.

However in the following, the meeting doesn't really get more serious. The class spends half of their time electing five students (Lisa, Thorsten, Joachim, Melanie, Moritz) – in a chaotic and ineffective way. The other half is used to discuss possible jobs, nutrition and a new name for the village. Those topics again represent rather a casting-show, a competition about the question who is the funniest boy in the class than a serious political or economic discussion. Consequently the village council doesn't come to any decision. Only at the end of the lesson the topic money comes up:

Village Two (distributive dimension): The poor clean up the rich men's houses

Nils: Ich will mein Geld wiederhaben, das mir gestohlen wurde.
Marcus: Ey, Nils...
Melanie: [laut] Ja Mann, Nils, wir wissen nicht, wer das geklaut hat...
Joachim: Wir werden...
Melanie: ... Und da können wir auch nichts machen, Pech gehabt.
Joachim: Du brauchst, du braucht einen ähm...[Unruhe]
Melanie: Wir kennen unsere Klasse ...
Dilan: Ich schenk dir nen Fünfziger, damit du auch Geld hast. Hier.
[...]
Melanie: Ich wollte sagen, dass unser Dorf ... von den Mittelreichen, wir bieten noch an, dass wir bei den Reichen putzen.
Thorsten: Also könnt ihr gemeinsam, hier... [?]
Moritz: Psch.
Lisa: Aber ihr bezahlt.
Dilan: Ja, fünfzig Euro pro Tag.
Lisa: Okay.
Pablo: Nee, ich geb nichts.
Dilan: Pro Woche.
Moritz: Ruhe!
Pablo: [lachend] Pro Monat.
Dilan: Pro Woche.
Pablo: Pro Monat.
Lisa: Okay.

Nils: I want to get my money back that got stolen.
Marc: Hey Nils.
Melanie: [loudly] Yes man, Nils, we don't know who stole this...
Joachim: We're going to...
Melanie: ... And we can't do anything about it, bad luck.
Joachim: You need, you need a ... [Chaos]
Melanie: We know our class ...
Dilan: I offer you 50 Euros so that you have some money, take. [...]
Melanie: I wanted to say that our village... we, the middle rich people propose to do cleaning jobs at the rich people's houses.
Thorsten: So you could together, here ...
Moritz: psst!
Lisa: But you pay for it.
Dilan: Yes, 50 Euros a day.
Lisa: Okay.
Pablo: Nope, I don't give anything.
Dilan: Per week.
Moritz: Quiet!
Pablo: [laughing] Per month.
Dilan: Per week.
Lisa: Okay.

Nils continues the role play by complaining that his (play) money got stolen. Melanie, Joachim and Dilan take issue with him. Now Melanie offers to do cleaning jobs in the rich people's houses. After that a little half-ironic dispute arises about the payment that the "middle rich" would get for their cleaning activities. This is the only moment in the course of the entire meeting where the village's (and therefore indirectly the society's) social inequality comes into play. Although 'cleaning up' for the rich is a realistic job option, we can assume that those students, coming mostly from the middle and upper middle class, wouldn't come up with the idea of earning their money by doing a cleaning job in real life. Hitherto, the play money seems to provoke the allusion of a funny Monopoly game. No discussion about individual incomes, let alone the funding of collective political structures occurs. The same lack of sobriety that the previous topic "government" brought about is repeated within "economic" issues.

Conclusion: Two argumentative stages of political identity formation

Apparently we witness here two very different kinds of political awakening. The first class is prepared and motivated to fill the gap the teacher left when renouncing at his normal guiding role. The students understand the village simulation as a real opportunity to state and negotiate political claims and to put into practice their own political ideas. The topics "council" and "communal fund" show a serious attempt to grasp the village as an institutional, therefore political and not only private setting. The controversy about these topics provokes the attempt to justify one's standpoint. Though some students don't succeed yet in formulating valid reasons they try at least to find some. Simple claim-to-claim-struggles are rare. Consequently the discussion level of a "stated consent" is quickly reached, building a starting point to deliberate and coordinate possible conflicting claims. The discussion (not each individual, of course) has reached the public level of conflict resolution – though the classes' consent about a governmental system might be only temporary. The general openness for mutual arguments fosters both an atmosphere of tolerance and puts peaceful pressure on those refusing to state their views or those having difficulties in finding relevant grounds. Thus, the genetic setting seems to provoke an interactive political learning process whose major outcome is the discovery of the principle of solidarity. This discovery could be even more sustainable, since it was adopted independently of the teacher's authority.

Contrary to the seriously debating "public" Village One, the second class doesn't seem to consider the simulation yet as political, but rather as a private opportunity to break out of the everyday instructional setting. The elements of role games, castings shows and Monopoly – mostly launched by a handful of boys – serve mostly to have fun, to provoke laughter, and to impress the girls. Thus far the lack of teacher guidance doesn't set free clear political interests but is understood as an arena to fulfill personal needs. On the other hand, the game-like mood might also be a sign of the students' protest against an excessive demand. Due to the absence of direct instructional scaffolding at the beginning of the simulation they might also reproduce the public stereotype of politics as theatre.

The lack of serious commitment resulting from that stance can also be observed on the formal level: The boys who lead the discussion almost always use (sometimes even ironically weakened) claim versus claim argumentations, without entering into reasoning. However there are a few moments where rebuttals provoke the search of relevant arguments. Especially some girls try to calm down the chaos in order to launch political options. Nevertheless they fail to change the prevailing game-like mood.

Yet on the whole this class remains on a private, pre-political level of conflict resolution. This stage typically results in both the denial of indispensable conflicts and verbal fights as unfounded dissents. In this context latent political values almost don't get a chance to be expressed and elaborated. Obviously, this second class will take a longer time to reach a public level of mutual acceptance than the first one did.

What are the consequences of the genetic approach in Civic Education? Should we consider the village-simulation's openness as inappropriate for possibly overwhelmed, conflict-denying, chaotic or simply playful classes? No, on the contrary. Both, the "natural state" of the students' society and their parody of "politics as theatre" provide in the long run the first deeply felt insights into the necessity of a (micro-)political organization. The own experience of collective chaos and failure goes along with the mutual critique of inappropriate behavior. This can have a much greater impact on the learning process than the well-known teacher authority – which can, during puberty, easier be ignored than the peers' view.

Indeed, this second class, while watching video excerpts of their first village meeting in the next lesson, was shocked about their own behavior. Hence, they were now seeking to establish strict rules providing a constructive atmosphere, along with sanctions (like "fines" and – most efficient – the temporary exclusion of the debates) to ensure the observance of rules. Instead of the initial parody games around the topics of "crime" and "murder" the village community now faces an authentic negative starting problem: Their own pre-democratic behavior. Of course, it still took them a while to really develop a deliberative level of discussion. But the initial minority of seriously arguing students did indeed increase over time. The provocative playful start expressed already a productive

"alienation effect" (Bertolt Brecht), provoking the students to take new perspectives on themselves.

The method of argumentation analysis seems indeed to be an adequate way to capture the dynamic formation process of political judgment and conflict resolution abilities in interactive settings. Above all, the quality of argumentation can be specified – often against our first impression. Especially unstated or slightly realized arguments can mislead us to devalue a student's argumentation. As to the case of Birte and John in Village One, two – at first sight –similarly simple argumentations revealed quite different stages of political thinking. Implicit but important political insights can be "carved out" and seemingly relevant reasons could be unmasked as being still pre-political misperceptions.

At the same time, our comprehension of pre-political, often times very emotional claims can be strengthened: By analyzing latent premises we get closer to students' basic social values as fundamental parts of their identity formation. It is important to clearly distinguish between our diagnosis of a formally incomplete or implausible argumentation and our reconstruction of political emotions as latent point of views. This is what I would call a synthesis between a deficit- and a difference-oriented approach. The deficit-perspective is important for assisting students to progress in their ability to convince others and to change their views themselves – in other words: to become democratic citizens. The difference-perspective is important in so far as it enables teachers and scholars to recognize the students' very individual approaches to develop political orientation.

I will continue my research using the "Found-a-Village" project for case studies to compare political argumentation patterns in different countries, starting with Germany, The United States and France. My first explorative study with German high school students led me to a first heuristics of eight "politicization types" which will I will differentiate and supplement in further studies. I define a politicization type as "typical argumentation patterns depending on the individuals' basic political value orientation" (see Petrik 2011a).

I hope this teaching example will encourage Civic Education teachers to experiment with open settings like the "Found-a-village"-project. In particular, socially and culturally diverse classes might profit from the project's typical moments of mutual self-correction. Of course teachers shouldn't leave their students alone during possibly destructive debates; they have to provide argumentation scaffolding whenever the village community fails to find a solution on their own. However, teachers shouldn't intervene too early because their interference would impede the students' own effort and creativity during moments of "productive confusion" (Wagenschein). The interactive training of collective conflict resolution skills is a crucial step to initiate value-debates fostering political identity development and democratic tolerance.

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Teacher Identity and the Marketizised Society

Discursive Constructions in Teachers' Discussion Groups

In the latest decennium, there have been several and gradual changes in the Swedish and other European school systems. The steering system has become more decentralized and the entire school system is now a part of the freedom of trade. Schools are competing with each other and this has, according to previous research, an effect on how teachers think about, and carry out their everyday activities (Gerwitz et al. 1995; Irisdotter 2006).

How teachers think about themselves, their students and the educational task is of great importance for the social climate of the classroom and, in the longer run, society in general. The current study dicusses how teachers' identities and self-understandings are influenced by the marketization of society. The material analysed consists of group discussions in three different teacher groups in compulsory school in Sweden.

Questions raised are: Can teachers work within the context of marketization and yet relate to it with an attitude of self-awareness and critical reflection? And how can teachers deal with both traditional teacher values and progressive, democratic values that may be in conflict with the conditions of a marketizised school system?

Keywords:
Teacher identity, marketizised society, identity construction, teacher discourses

Content

1. Introduction

In the latest decennium, there have been several and gradual changes in the Swedish and other European school systems. The steering system has become more decentralized and the entire school system is now a part of the freedom of trade. Schools are competing with each other and this has, according to previous research, an effect on how teachers think about, and carry out their everyday activities (Gerwitz et al. 1995; Irisdotter 2006). Speaking with the sociologist Richard Sennett (2006), the marketization of the education system in general (both in Europe and in the US) is an effect of the global boom of the high-tech industry in the 90s. The rushing global developments affected non-commercial institutions, not only administrative but also culturally. Not least the education system was influenced to adopt new ways of thinking about leadership and knowledge.

How teachers think about themselves, their students and the educational task is of great importance for the social climate of the classroom and, in the longer run, society in general. This calls for studies on how teachers' identities and self-understandings are influenced by the marketization of society in general, and the marketization of the school system in particular. Can teachers work within the context of marketization and yet relate to it with an attitude of self-awareness and critical reflection? And how can teachers deal with both traditional teacher values and progressive, democratic values that may be in conflict with the conditions of a marketizised school system?

2. Purposes and Method

The purposes of this article is to illustrate how a market oriented discourse seems to influence teachers' discursive practices and professional identities, and to discuss how traditional teacher values and democratic values may be in conflict with values embedded in a market oriented discourse. Hence, the article concentrates on the presumably contradictory and conflicting nature of different teacher discourses.

I take my point of departure from a theoretical perspective on discursive construction of identity. I will try to attain the purposes of the article by presenting a few teacher voices that point out some important aspects of teacher identity, notions of teaching and being a teacher in contemporary society. I claim the logics and values of a market discourse to be a determining factor in my empirical material.

The teacher voices are collected from one of my own empirical studies of three discussion groups from different schools in Sweden. Each discussion group consisted of six to twelve teachers in Swedish Compulsory School. The topic for the discussions was "ethical issues in teacher work" and the three groups met six times each during one year. The conversations were transcribed in verbatim before thoroughly analyzed (cf. Irisdotter 2006).

In this type of qualitative study, one can hardly claim the examples to represent generalized truths about the self-understanding of all teachers. Howev-

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er, my main purpose is not to say something about teacher identity in general, but to illustrate how conditions of the marketization of the school system can be identifiable in the discursive practise of teachers, and to show how these discursive influences may be in conflict with other crucial discourses. This can, I hope, contribute to further discussions on the construction of teacher identity of today.

A methodological problem in this article is that the quotes originally are in Swedish, but here translated into English. I still argue that it is possible to make discourse analytical claims with this material since my main analytical focus is problem oriented in the sense that I'm looking for ideas, ideologies and perspectives rather than linguistic categories. Several discourse theorists confirm this view as acceptable (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 2001; Meyer 2001).

3. Theoretical Perspectives

3.1 Contexts, identities and priorities

The theoretical concept "discourse" is used in this article to interpret and analyse how teachers apprehend and value their professional context. A discourse decides what can be said in a certain context, and should be understood partly as a general description of a verbal, social practise, partly as a way of pointing out separate ways of thinking. In the latter case, a discourse is understood as a certain perspective which has its origin in a certain context or practice but can influence and be included in new practises. When this happens, the new practise also develops values and notions typical for, or at least inspired by the original practise of the discourse. Every context has its core of traditional, central values, but contexts also influence each other over time. Therefore one can notice how societal trends and processes of development influences local contexts in different ways. This can be studied through discourse analysis, and the terms in focus are discourse and discursive changes (Fairclough 1995).

But there aren't only subtle phenomenons as language use and expressions that entail changes of valuing and acting. Political and administrative structures are, besides the informal influence of communication, also influencing our ways of thinking, valuing and acting (Fairclough 2003). Different steering forms generate different values and priorities. A contemporary market orientation of the school system creates for example new kind of values, which we will get back to below (cf Sennett 2006; Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2007; 2008).

When one participates in a practise one needs to be recognized, by others and oneself, as a person who belongs to a certain group. One talks, values, dresses, thinks and expresses oneself within a discursive practise, and creates one's own identity and self-understanding. We try to participate in ways that make sense and are meaningful within the context (Gee 2004). In the following, I will present three "Grande Discourses" that have been incorporated in the contexts of teaching. These discourses contribute in a crucial way to the construction of professional identities.

3.2 Teacher Discourses

Tradition oriented teacher discourse

The history of teaching includes several different contexts and practices, within which different values, notions and identities have developed. Thus, it can be said that the teacher identity and collective ideas of being a teacher, hold a core of traditional ideals and values. These values and ideals are reproduced in teaching contexts within a *tradition oriented teacher discourse* (cf. Fairclough 1995; Irisdotter 2006).

The power of this discursive pattern keeps the archetype of the traditional teacher, with an indisputable advantage in questions of knowledge as well as in moral matters, present even in in contemporary teacher education and among active teachers (Janks, Ivanic 1992; Hargreaves 1995). This archetype is based on old images from institutions of higher education, but also on images of the early elementary school, where the school, together with the church, represented the authority of the community (Hartman 2005; Hartman, Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2009).

However, the traditional ideals are not unanimous. Within what we can summarise as traditional, conventional teacher ideals, parallel tracks of diverse ideals can be found. A strong, modernistic emphasis on knowledge and understanding of subjects and teaching can be compared to a more didactic, teaching oriented track sprung from the early elementary school. A parallel practise worth mentioning is also the earliest child care system, kindergartens. In these practises a development from pure caretaking to a more pedagogic task can be followed (Hartman, Irisdotter Aldenmyr 2009).

Dialogical, democratic teacher discourse

Parallel with what I here have chosen to call a tradition oriented discourse, I want to emphasis a *dialogical, democratic teacher discourse*. This discursive pattern can be interpreted as a version of what Fairclough (1995) calls a *conversionalization* of discourse. When people start to communicate in a way that does not uphold hierarchical positions and asymmetric power relations, they contribute to a more democratic society. When this happens in schools, among teachers and students, one could say that the teacher profession becomes part of a late modern macro-discourse of democratization and reflexivity (Beck 1999; Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999). However, it would be unfair to say that a democratic ambition is something new in Swedish Compulsory School. The very idea of Compulsory School is a democratic one and one may find directives from as early as the 40's, where the government urges teachers to act upon democratic values in their profession (SOU 1948, 27).

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A dialogical, democratic discourse is a discourse in which both common-sense-knowledge and established notions and praxis are questioned. This is supported partly by democratic, pluralistic, critical political views in society (Janks, Ivanic 1992), and partly by school researchers who criticize traditional teaching (Garman 1995), or try to find new, non-hierarchical, ethically legitimate ways of communicating within the school context (Dahlberg, Moss 2005). The self-image of being a democratic role model can therefore be interpreted as a parallel self-image alongside of a more demanding and authoritarian one.

Market oriented teacher discourse

Contemporary influences are not always easy to identify. Nevertheless, I claim that the market orientation and the commercial values of today's society are important factors to take into account when analyzing school questions of today. In European, not at least in British school research, questions of marketization and its effect on relations, values, knowledge and school work have been raised for a couple of decades (cf. Gerwirtz et al. 1995; Goodson 2003). We are living in a post-modern era when change, speaking with Ivor F. Goodson, is a condition of our time. Many of the changes we experience in our school systems are driven by a trust in the benefits of market logic. Students and parents become consumers and schools provide with services (Goodson 2003; Sennett 2003; Irisdotter 2006).

In Swedish context, several school researchers have paid attention to freedom of choice in the educational field, and competition between schools. They consider these aspects to be crucial for our understanding of contemporary school development. Educational philosophers have mostly scrutinized these aspects from a critical point of view. According to this type of research, market orientation tends to result in instrumental attitudes, segregation and unjustness (e.g. Dahlstedt 2007; Linnér 2005; Lund 2006; 2007).

In contrast, researchers from other disciplines such as business management and economics see decentralisation and the marketization of schools as a good way of achieving better results and quality, which in the end will benefit the pupils (e.g. Prochazka, Bergström 2007; Lagrosen 1997). Michael Wohlgemuth (2005) argues that the market economy logic can inspire other social fields to communicate in more democratic ways. He points out that the type of communication that precedes commercial agreements is a good example of mutual exchange of information.

Political and administrative changes of our societal practises not only influence our ways of acting, but also our ways of valuing, speaking and expressing ourselves. Norman Fairclough (1995) claims that informal language use that is inspired from commercial practices can flatten hierarchal positioning between people in public spaces, thereby challenging traditionally established power relations and stimulating democratic progress. But it can also help to create new asymmetrical, controlling relations, thereby serving the interest of capitalism at the expense of the unprivileged groups. Changes in language use that are inspired by market thinking can be identified as a market oriented discourse. In school contexts I choose to speak of a *market oriented teacher discourse* (Irisdotter 2006).

A market oriented discourse can contribute to the construction of pseudo-therapeutic bonds of dependence between people, and violation of the limits of privacy, since it is strongly influenced by the type of personal message that is used in advertising and other commercial contexts (Fairclough 2003). The sociologist Richard Sennett (1993; 2003) claims this contemporary trend to be the reasons why democratic engagement, ethical awareness and notions of respect erode in modern western society. According to Sennett, the concept of respect towards each other has gone through a shift of meaning. Respect isn't any longer a human right, but something you can earn by self development, self efficiency and contributions to society. Thus, inequality plays an important role in the shaping of character in today's society (Sennett 2003).

I have now introduced three grand discourses which are relevant for the understanding of teacher context of today. Within different teacher contexts, these discourses contribute in different ways to self-understanding, professional identity, apprehensions of teachers' work and how it should be carried out. I have specially stressed the importance to scrutinize the expressions of a market oriented discourse, since it, if we believe the critical standpoints of both Fairclough and Sennett, reproduces problematic approaches and notions from a democratic or an ethical point of view.

4 Empirical Studies of Contemporary influences of market orientation

Now I will present some examples of how teachers express themselves in relation to their own role as a teacher, the character of their tasks and the students. I have a special focus on what is expressed within what I interpret as a *market oriented discourse* and how these expressions may relate to or be in conflict with expressions within traditional or democratic teacher discourses.

4.1 Instrumental notions

One approach within a market oriented discourse conveys an obvious exercise of power. Here, we find the same type of hierarchical relations as in a traditional, conventional discourse. However, instead of traditional, conventional values, values of efficiency and competitive qualities are expressed as goals.

In the quote below, the teacher borrows her logic from clear market thinking. „A good citizen" appears to be the result of a reasonable allocation of resources

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in production, whilst the qualities of human meetings are neglected. The students in question are reduced to "products" and they seem to play a very small part in their own education.

> I find it a bit sad... They say that school is so important... it's important to get members of society who has this or that culture or ethical perspective...But we are supposed to produce this without any material. We are supposed to get it done. .... I mean, they have to give us more recourses if we are supposed to get the members of society that we really want. Then it has to cost a bit.

The next example marks the distance between the positions of teacher and pupil. „Mass production" as a metaphor, represents the teacher's sense of producing knowledge for customers who expect to be served. The presence of market logic is obvious. The quote can be interpreted as part of a struggle to maintain a traditional teacher identity which is threatened by newer, commercial roles of society. In the struggle, however, the teacher seems to create an instrumental distance towards the students.

> There is just production. Mass production. But I believe that we have to go out and speak about this a lot more, on parents meetings. Why don't we just say it when they begin the 7th grade? 'You are here to learn. Not just to be served'.

In the next quotation the teacher weighs the students' needs against financial and time resources. The conditions of a market oriented school are clear. The teacher also seems to experience the increased need for individualized working methods as a threat to his own traditional notions of being a teacher. Teachers' task is to teach, not serve, and this needs to be emphasized. On the one hand a market oriented line of thought is expressed. On the other hand, a traditional teacher identity is watched over. A market oriented discourse and a traditional teacher discourse are combined in a rather instrumental attitude towards students' needs and teachers' professional tasks.

> But it would take a lot of recourses if we should adjust to every student's interests and needs. I'm not sure of if I want to function only as a supervisor. If I do I think that we have... reduced our role, from giving knowledge to... serving...

Instrumental understandings of one's own professional role are likely to lead to insensitivity and irresponsibility in meeting with others. The other is then easily reduced to a mean for one's own professional goals. In the following statement, it is tempting to understand students as products which are passed on to the next instance and judged on their qualities.

> But what signals do we get from the university? What is the quality of the students we send there?

Another manifestation of an instrumental view is an emphasis on the distinction between private and professional issues. The metaphor of „closing the door" indicates a strong need not to be involved in students' personal lives. This can of course, in some cases, be an adequate and necessary approach in a work situation that is stressful.

> It's much more important now, that we learn how to separate work from personal life. I believe it is. Like: ' Now I close the door'.

In the excerpts above, the metaphors or choice of words has a, sometimes subtle, sometimes obvious, connection to the logics of the profit gaining market. In these examples, the aspects of identity which are constructed under the influence of market thinking tend to stress the image of a professional who is working towards identifiable results, goals and efficiency but with less personal, ethical responsibility for the students.

4.2 The tyrannies of Intimacy

One can say, as implied above, that market orientation of teacher discourse drives teachers from warm, personal meetings to cold, instrumental non-meeting. Nevertheless, another aspect of the marketizised society is the increasing use of intimate, personal language, and openness towards private questions.

A commercially influenced language deals with personal, intimate questions in a free and outspoken way. The private, previously protected areas of life are now exploited and made public. Sennett (1993) identifies two phenomena closely attached to the contemporary change of language use, due to the marketization of society. The first is described as the concept *"tyrannies of intimacy"*, and refers to the contemporary unwillingness to go beyond one's own private sphere and engage in common, collective matters. This results in a "fall of the public man" (1993) and- in my interpretation- the raising of the narcissist who cannot take an interest in other things than personal issues, matters and relations.

In the quote below, we see an example of an attitude without borders, where the teacher sees her own participation in family affairs as something completely unproblematic. The statement also conveys a traditional understanding of the teacher's moral superiority.

> We have had personal development dialogues for several years now, and the parents know that we are interested in the home situation in another way now. You ask different things about the student. It's not just about how many right answers they had on the math test. We try to get a holistic view.

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In the following two quotes the confidence in one's own moral standards is even stronger. The teacher sees it as her task to alter the notions of lifestyles and life choices which are communicated in some students' homes.

> But you have to be very careful, because sometimes when you try to help the child to a better behaviour, to be more accepted in society, it can have the effect that you tell them 'something is wrong in your home, something is wrong with your parents.'
>
> We have to help her and make her think from different angels. Otherwise, she will only think as they do at home.

Another aspect of increased transparency of our private lives, is about is how the teachers deal with their own professional role versus their own personal life. An informal language and an increased interest in private issues also leads to a questioning of professional role-taking and the distance. This happens at the expense of the intrinsic worth of public society: One loses the possibility to meet an objective, managerial professional and instead one only gets to meet another private person with needs, values, whishes and apprehensions of his or her own. When this happens we are deprived of aspects of security and legal certainty (cf. Sennett 1993). This may be relevant in the interpretation of the following statement. In this statement, we find very little of the professional role. Instead we face the woman and the girl friend, who wants to use her private experience, her body and her life history as tools in the professional life.

> Teacher 1: I felt that it was very important to change with these girls, so they could se…. "but, you don't have to be skinny ". Because I live a happy life anyway, even though I weigh a few pounds to much. And I think it's important to se.
>
> Teacher 2: Maybe you can tell them that there are boys and men who like other things than push-up bras? Love can look like this, love can look like that…

The following quote can be interpreted as a similar approach. The teacher uses emotional and relational assets as tools to perform the unpleasant task of assessing students. The student can at worst become a hostage in the relationship with the teacher, unable to protest, contest or show his or her own feelings.

> Teacher 1: I have noticed that the better connection and relation I have to the child, the easier it is when it comes to grading.

Teachers' increased interest in students' private lives, and their own propensity to use themselves as private role models, can be interpreted as a variant of "the tyrannies of intimacy". Another concept described by Richard Sennett (1993) and interesting to this study, is the contemporary phenomena of *psychological authenticity* which refers to an unwillingness to take a public role, and "act" for a greater, collective purpose.

In the three following quotations the teachers accuse themselves of acting differently with students compared to how they act among colleagues. They question themselves since they are more morally demanding towards students. This can of course be understood as an expression of an ethical self-reflection. Hence, there is also a hint of self-accusation, which stems from an unwillingness to act within the framework of a public role. This may be due to an uncertainty about one's own authority as an official person and a personal reluctance to build professional relationships based on grounds other than private, emotionally genuine ones. The professional role is at risk when the teacher gets stuck in a self-critical vacuum.

> But it's interesting that we expect the pupils to be organized and do what they are obliged to, but we don't expect it from each other… /…/ I think that you should be fair, just and so on… But it's different when you are around colleagues. That's an interesting phenomenon. Why is it so? One talks about teacher integrity. Is that the explanation? Is that a part of the teacher role, that you act in one way in the classroom and in another way among your colleagues?
>
> Teacher 1: When you walk into a class room, and then when you walk in here (staff room) you… (makes a gesture that means "let go").
> Teacher 2: Yes, we take on a role somehow…a kind of moral that…
> Teacher 3: …we cannot live up to ourselves!
>
> It seems like it's easier to rip up the integrity of a child than to risk the integrity of each other… even if it's the same ethical question.

In this section I have shown examples of teacher notions that seem to be integrated in a current market orientated discourse of intimacy, authenticity and unwillingness to communicate as a role taking professional in a public area. In a school context, this tendency can result in teachers trying to act as therapists, or trying to establish private relations and act as private persons, maybe as parents, in their professional role. Private feelings, relations and needs are used as professional tools. These kinds of actions start, according to the theoretical perspective presented above, in a slightly changed professional identity and self-understanding. The changes are identifiable as well as constructed in discourse, as shown above.

4.3 Reflective discourse

Within a *dialogical, democratic teacher discourse,* inspired from critical, democratic contexts and practices, teachers can transform themselves intellectually and overcome both traditional, conventional ratio-

nalities, and problematic market oriented notions and self understandings. They can grow in awareness and be self reflective. These discursive turns of awareness can be called "technologisation of discourse", and should be understood as meta-discourses that reveals the perspectivism of other discourses (Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999).

Teacher researcher Janet Alsup (2006) offers another way to understand a more inclusive and reflective approach in teacher discourse. She uses the term „border-line discourse" to describe the meta-reflections on the paradoxical views among her informants. Alsup writes:

> I identified border-line discourse as a discourse in which there is evidence or contact between disparate personal and professional subjectivities and in which this contact appears to be leading toward the ideological integration of multiple senses of self. I argue that such integration through discourse can lead to cognitive, emotional, and corporeal change, or identity growth. (Alsup 2006, 36)

This dialogical meta-discourse or border line discourse can be seen as a separate phenomenon, cut off from the marketizised discursive patterns I have shown above. On the other hand, one could, from a larger, post-modern perspective, interpret democratization and marketization as two sides of the same coin, namely a broad deconstruction of the traditional, modern society (cf. Fariclough 2003). The crucial difference between a dialogic and a market oriented discourse would then be that the former is characterized by the awareness and critical insight that the latter lacks. The following examples show dialogical, discursive "turns" in the collegial conversation. One can also, speaking with Alsup, interpret it as examples of identity growth in discourse.

The following quotes show how teachers are trying to understand what they spontaneously interpret as laziness, irresponsibility and failure of the students. The teachers are in open view to the interpretation that the students' life worlds are radically different than their own, and that they as teachers therefore have limited ability to judge the moral and standards of students. This approach polarizes with a traditional self understanding of moral superiority. Openness towards other interpretations of life can lead to identity growth or a development of a clear self reflexive, democratic attitude.

> Maybe the students show responsibility in areas that we can't se, because it is another world to us. ... Maybe they are responsible, but we try to make them responsible in areas that aren't adequate to them? /.../ Maybe they (the students) live with feelings of insecurity. They know that everything is transient. Every choice they make. A cell phone is modern and really expensive, but next year it's cheap because there is a new model.

> There is a completely different world outside the school. *That* world is influencing the students. We talk about love, fellowship, and respect while they live in a world where you have to pay, show your breasts, sleep with someone or expose your self.

In the following quote the teacher is questioning how involved one should be in the students' private lifes. It seems that the teacher's gut feeling tells her to protect her own private life. This statement can also be interpreted as a criticism against the societal trend towards an increased interest in private issues that blurs the boundary between private and public life.

> I am a person, but at school I have my teacher role. But you are also a person, a private person. How much can I interfere with their lives? It's a very interesting question that we should discuss more often.

In dialogical approaches as in the examples above "the teacher" is constructed as a reflective professional with personal integrity *and* personal responsibility. In a discourse in which neither prejudices nor beliefs about other perspectives are taken for granted, one can deconstruct traditional understandings with openness towards new ones.

5. Discussion

Market processes in a globalized society are affecting not only structural processes, but also identities, relationships and values. This assumption is the basis for this article. Jürgen Habermas emphasises the difference between the rationality of the market economy and the communicative rationality of moral and political reasoning. That is why he considers the market orientation of late modern society as being the greatest threat to democracy (Habermas 2008; Dodd 1999). The warnings of Habermas and other critical theorists imposes further examination of identity issues, relationships and values of the market oriented society. Teachers' identity construction, professional relationships and values are of particular importance to study in today's society.

My theoretical starting point states that values, identities and relationships are constructed in discourse. This leads to the study of discursive expressions among teachers, with a certain interest in market oriented expressions. My studies show that a market oriented society affects teachers to adopt new approaches, self-understandings and notions of their students and their own professional tasks. Some approaches are indeed cause for concern since they are in direct conflict with a democratic teacher discourse in which the students are spoken about as equal human beings with rights and with integrity. Other approaches in the material presented above, shows how traditional notions of being a teacher are threatened by the roles, ideals and conditions of a marketizised

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school. Nevertheless, there are also expressions within a market oriented discourse that harmonize with the power relations of a traditional teacher discourse. In both discourses, there is a tendency of describing the teacher as superior to the student in several aspects. Several teacher voices, however, raise good hope about a reflexive development in the teaching profession. In this concluding discussion, I will first summarize the worrying approaches within a market oriented teacher discourse, and secondly develop some thoughts about a promising reflexive professional development of teacher identity.

One discursive influence from the market oriented society constructs an instrumental self-understanding among teachers. The ethically responsible teacher, who encourages students' personal maturity and knowledge, is replaced by an executive, objective servant who sees knowledge as a product and the student as a customer or –even worse – as a product. The risk from a democratic point of view is obvious: In a society where relationships are replaced by functions, we fail to take personal, ethical or democratic responsibility for our fellow human beings. In a democratic society one can never replace humanity and responsibility with an instrumental system. According to Habermas's (1987) terminology, we risk seeing the life-world impoverished and colonized by the system.

Another discursive pattern in the marketizised society can be identified as an increased interest in intimacy and privacy issues. Sennett (1993) speaks of the tyrannies of intimacy which make people unable to engage in collective issues and go beyond themselves. According to Fairclough (1995) we can talk about a "conversalisation" of discourse in the late modern society, which means that we abandon strict formal language use, in favour of informal, personal conversation in the public domain.

Among teachers, the consequence of this discursive trend can be an increased focus on the relationship with the student. This may lead to an excessive interest in the students' private lives which in worst cases may involve violation of students' integrity. The teachers' private life may also become exposed when teachers use themselves as examples when socializing with their students. The tendency to let private issues take place in public areas can be compared to a unbalanced demand for psychological authenticity, which leads to an unwillingness to take on a professional role (Sennett 1993). Students who do not get to meet a professional teacher but rather an equal person, may risk developing an unhealthy dependency that does not take into account the vulnerability of the student. The professional role is an important element in democratic, public institutions in which we are assigned different roles and responsibilities (cf. Sennett 1993). In this way the "tyrannies of intimacy" endanger our democratic government abilities. Related threats to our democratic abilities are the increasing individualization of society (Bauman 2001) and excessive self-criticism that rather makes us insecure and self-centred than self-reflexive (cf. Sennett 1993).

In sum, one can say that private matters, demands to be strictly authentic, emotional expressions and tighter intimate bonds between people in the public sphere threatens the important task of professional role taking, public areas and free zones where people can act as, and be protected as citizens with integrity (Sennett 1993). These kinds of intimacies can, according to Fairclough (1995), produce new asymmetrical power relations, and controlling strategies.

But how could we prevent the market orientation from interfering with the values of democracy that school should promote? Is there a way? I think there is. In parallel with increased instrumentalisation and excessive intimacy we also find traces of a more reflexive awareness in teachers' attitudes. In times of change, whether we refer to the post-modern era, the globalization, or the marketization, there are also new opportunities for critical reflection (cf. Beck 1999).

Within a discourse analytical approach, we find the term „technologisation of discourse", which stands for the awareness we can achieve through critical analysis of the ideologies that are embedded in our language use. This awareness also makes it possible to examine one's own language use, and actively change it in accordance with more equalizing, democratic purposes (Fairclough, Chouliaraki 1999). I think that the teachers in my study make several such attempts when they question their own frames of reference and thus raise awareness of their own assumptions.

This potential is something to develop further in teacher training, continuing education and in daily communication between teachers. A critical awareness of the power of language could be a first step towards a deliberate and radical democratization of the discursive practice of education. Knowledge about the practises that have influence over our school can also create relevant caution to handle emerging trends and new ways of thinking and valuing. Knowledge about the different faces of marketization is important for teachers of today and tomorrow.

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How to Deal with Party Politics at School?
[Parteipolitik in der Schule?]

> A little rebellion now and then…is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government. The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all.
>
> [Thomas Jefferson]

Might the teacher's political point of view not have an impact on his pupils concerning the way he is going to deal with current political issues? According to the above discussed caricature [interpreting a political caricature is the previous case Engelhardt discusses, HL], this neither caused any difficulties nor did it have a negative effect in a political sense. Hence, whatever political party the teacher might belong to or favor, it should not have an effect on the way this caricature is interpreted or evaluated.

However, what happens if domestic political affairs become a subject of discussion within a lesson? No doubt it is evident that these discussions are good and necessary, but pupils will not be satisfied with that as such. They want to know which side is actually right or, at least more righteous: either the one or the other. Does a teacher not have to pronounce either for or against a side, and, will his way of thinking not always give a subjective perspective on his most favorable party? Can this fact be prevented at all? Further on if, apparently, this issue could not be prevented, do we have to accept that the so-called *principle of actuality* ["Aktualitätsprinzip"] is obsolete?

Considering the case that the teacher might be able to evade his political point of view – however, is not the mere decision of discussing a certain issue in his lessons a subjective one? Even though he might not be conscious of it, is he not going to favor those affairs which will shed a rather positive light on the party he favors? Clearly spoken: Will not a *CDU* (Christian Democratic Union)-orientated teacher have more trouble in discussing the *Spiegel*-affair than a teacher who favors more the *SPD* (Social Democratic Party) or *FDP* (Free Democratic Party)? Moreover, will he not – in order to ease his conscience – try to persuade himself of the fact that the lessons learned are not likely to be developed according to this subject matter but rather to another topic?

Asking such questions means affirming. Yet, do we have to ask the questions, at all?

For instance, a teacher steps into his classroom in order to teach an art lesson. The 15 year-old secondary school pupils are awaiting him – the latest edition of the weekly magazine *Spiegel* lies on the table in front of more or less half of them; nobody is prepared for an art lesson. Nothing about it is supposed to be provocative – a discussion about the *Spiegel*-affair is considered as more vital than an art lesson. This has been a result of their teacher's way of "spoiling" his pupils concerning discussions about political issues: As soon as anything occurred, which attracted public attention, he did not hesitate to answer their questions. However, they have not been spoiled but moreover have been used to talk about those issues particularly with him, rather than with other adults who have refused to discuss with them so far. ("This is not suitable for a child of your age, you lack the knowledge to understand the issue", and so on). Although, it is supposed to be a generalization to assume that all pupils always ask for a discussion on current issues, it is said: as soon as pupils recognize that their teacher might be a sparring partner – whom they do not find anywhere else – their interest and awareness in mass media and information increases significantly.

Now, how to raise interest? Talk about the world's issues, since your pupils are part of this world! As one learns English only, where English is spoken, and mathematics, where something is calculated, one will only start to become interested in politics, where politics take place. Obviously – Heinrich's [medieval king] *Walk to Canossa* or *Bismarck's Opus*, the great issues of politics -, those have been dealt with at school for ages. However, the small cases of political parties such as lacking concepts, fighting jealousy or, their revengefulness and those subtle aspects of humanity?

Genuinely, these characteristics are closely related to our fortune of today and tomorrow. Therefore, I have to learn one important aspect: Firstly, before I am allowed to discuss and participate in current issues – which everyone does unconsciously, e.g. while having a conversation with one's neighbor. Secondly, before I will have an influence on those issues, which are meant to be the public opinion and henceforth this opinion is supposed to have a larger effect on today's policy than it has in general: I must have learned to consciously take a closer look. The skillful way of looking – which could be seen as a piece of art -, is a politi-

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cal-related act of collecting facts, of becoming mature and involved in order to judge and therefore willing to have an influence on decision-making: what should have a larger impact on a lesson in politics than this? Although newspapers are a *primer* for those who start to look out for, observe and evaluate politics, these at the same time misuse current issues in order to make a mockery of everyday politics.

Not everything that is related to current political issues is suitable for school. Therefore, we have to decide which topic we favor according to the above-mentioned principles. For instance, *Spiegel*-affair, *Cuba crisis*, *Telephone-affair*, elections or a strike that affects pupils and parents – should I exclude those topics from my lessons because my pupils are not "mature" enough for it? Or, considering these topics, do they not contribute to the pupils' maturity? Further on, if school does not talk about that in particular – who else could explain it to them? Which other institution than school could filter the huge amount of information for these adolescents?

It is said, that it would appeal to more teachers to accept responsibility for this, if they saw the opportunity to teach these issues in a proper way, so to speak, bound hand and foot, with a clearly stated beginning and an ending. This, in particular, is seldom successful at a start; for instance, in terms of methodological aspects that might or might not be suitable for this topic or, because of the necessity to improvise hopelessly. Every failure, and, to be overwhelmed by the issue seems to prove that "there is no way to deal with *this* in a lesson"; pupils lack all prerequisites. This is the reason why we will focus on the *Spiegel*-affair and considerate it as a topic of a lesson. The affair should set an example, i.e. the developed model based on the case must be – in a wider sense – transferred to almost every issue of domestic politics.

The following outlines of lesson-planning and lessons themselves, which dealt with that topic, date back to approximately three to four weeks after the *Spiegel*-affair had happened: There was no need for a warm-up in class, due to the fact that the word *Spiegel* already triggered plenty of utterances. As far as the above-mentioned teacher is concerned, , she provided a brief, almost objective introduction on the case according to the known facts of the affair. The pupils' sympathy was remarkable, they asked for more and more details on the circumstances. However, the teacher seemed not to be satisfied after she had finished the lesson. She asked herself, "What was the pupils' sympathy all about? Wouldn't the pupils have followed any other presentation as attentively as they did, regardless of which political or other subject matter?" In addition, the teacher had to ask herself if she had had an impact on their political knowledge at all, and, if she, although she tried not to, had not had presented the topic from a rather subjective point of view. Had she not excluded important contextual information due to her refined ("didactic") reduction of the topic? Hence, the most unease feeling was undoubtedly related to how she should carry on after that outline? Of course, pupils discussed it, added new details, asked, considered, stated. Eventually, after an hour the lesson was over and the topic finished. Regarding the case, did this recent discussion really cover the most important political aspects? Moreover, how should she check the pupils' comprehension?

We will now focus on a more detailed analysis of a best practice example. The matter of concern deals with the so-called *Ahlers Case* which had been the epicenter of public attention at that point of time.

First Lesson:

The teacher of a ninth grade asked to take notes of the facts, without saying a word about it during the lesson. The pupils worked on the task for almost fifteen minutes. This was the weakest work of a student:

1. Konrad Ahlers – editor of the *Spiegel*
2. Ahlers was arrested with a woman in a hotel room by night.
3. He sat in prison.
4. He came back to Germany placed under arrest, protected by the police.
5. He was arrested at Frankfurt Airport.
6. Arrest in Spain was illegal.

After fifteen minutes one of the pupils, who wrote down most of the facts, took the lead of the discussion: He read out aspect by aspect while his colleagues agreed or disagreed; they reached an agreement on the final statement as a group. Those who did not mention one of the key points added it to their notes. By the end of the lesson every pupil had written down the same amount of key points. The above mentioned six key points of the weakest pupil were developed to seventeen due to the moderation; it was added:

7. It would only be allowed to arrest him, if he committed a murder or another crime.
8. A telegram was sent to Spain.
9. Signed by Interpol; this signature was forged because Strauß sent it.
10. German Federal Criminal Office (= FBI) says: "Arrest in Spain is illegal"
11. Strauß had lied to Bundestag (= congress) and to the Germans.
12. He made use of the rights of the minister for foreign affairs.[2]
13. He placed arrest on Ahlers. However, this was only allowed by the minister of justice Stammberger.
14. No apologies for his action.
15. Therefore: government crisis
16. FDP (Free Democratic Party, Germany) ministers resigned.

2 Strauß was minister of defense.

17. New government election should take place.

Purposely, the teacher asked for a discussion leader among the pupils, because he did not want to interfere in the first place. This strategy minimized the risk to correct the answers immediately or, to avoid that some of the pupils might fear that they could say something wrong. The result of the lesson: The pupils gained knowledge of several facts without the teacher's input.

Second lesson

The pupils had to prove their key notes by articles published in newspapers and weekly magazines. Afterwards, they had to study the facts that were given in the press releases in order to judge their key points right or wrong. In addition, uttering such as "I am sure, I heard it on the radio the day before yesterday" was accepted as long as nobody opposed.

Result of the lesson: The pupils learned the difference between facts on the one hand, and, assumptions and judgments on the other hand. The facts had been proven by the collected material.

Third lesson

This time, the pupils should find out more about the assumptions made during the last lesson, such as: the government wants to destroy the *Spiegel*. Now, in the third lesson, the discussions became lively and class routine was broken up. However, those teachers who oppose to the *principle of actuality* believe that every lesson that deals with current affairs is as chaotic as this one seems to be. In the classroom, rumors and suspicions, based on discussions out of school, clashed. Such a confrontation usually happens in those cases where we talk about opinions and not about facts. Young people have to make such an experience, too – here, they got the opportunity. The teacher himself was asked to pass on a statement afterwards: "Nobody is able to resist any of those assumptions; but, it is not worth to argue about it – in a couple of days, after the investigations in the Bundestag are finished, we will know more about it and can talk about facts again."

This class needed not to watch the investigation in the Bundestag together: more than half of them listened to it at home. The next lessons should now deal with this investigation, which had been recorded partly by the teacher.

Forth and Fifth Lesson

Where had our assumptions been proven by facts, where had these been disapproved? However, the most important thing seemed to be, that we got a detailed view inside the structure and tasks of the parliament. Moreover, they showed us how to control power; governance, which has to be followed by every party because any party and any politician is not free to resist the misuse of power. Further on, in particular young people should know about this abuse of power – that had happened in the discussed case.

In fact, this aspect – to come to power – is one of the most vital aspects of democratic, political education. Where, if not in school, agree pupils on the importance of a politically strong opposition! However, it is essential that the teacher does not construct a case SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) contra CDU (Christian Democratic Union, Germany). Moreover, he should establish this case as an example in order to show that power needs to be controlled. It is not about victory or defeat of the one or the other party – it is about the victory of our democratic base. Therefore, these two lessons should be considered to gain knowledge of the institution – in fact, these two lessons are supposed to be taught as such: this sets the pupils' minds to it forever.

Now, it is obvious why we have refused to consider knowledge as something that has to be learned by heart: If pupils do not realize, why constant confrontation between government and opposition is necessary to protect misuse of power and, why democracy without parties is no democracy – then, how should this be provided by a canon of knowledge, which had been learned by heart? In particular, children develop deeper understanding on this purely by talking about the *Spiegel*-affair in school, and not because they are guided or even manipulated.

Sixth lesson

This lesson should show how the former lessons set an example for teaching. In order to do that we do not focus on current affairs such as C*ases Augstein, Ahlers, Strauß* anymore, but concentrate on the underlying concept: The existence of a major and peculiar difference between the legitimate need for security of the state (national security) on the one hand, and the legitimate need of the citizen to be informed about everything that has happed in the state on the other. If we do not oppose to the need of the state to declare everything as top secret, any information would be blocked. However, if we do not oppose to the individual need of the citizen to receive as much information as possible, any reasonable state secrets could not be kept. Both cases will harm democracy: Concerning the former, democracy will deny the freedom of information – concerning the latter, democracy can be established under specific circumstances. With regard to these, secrets could be kept because otherwise this democracy could not be defended militarily against foreign enemies. Between the necessity of the freedom of information and the equal necessity of secrecy has to be reached a compromise. Yet, assumption of an agreement that is set "in the middle" is an illusion. Nobody is able to tell where this middle is situated. Further on, the formula "As much freedom as possible, but also as much secrecy as necessary" will not

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lead to a solution. We are already successful, if pupils recognize these different tendencies. We put an emphasis on this assumption if we deal with both cases and show which impacts these might have on democracy: Firstly, the claim for freedom of information will distract the claim for secrecy if it is maintained in an absolute and radical way. Secondly, the claim for need of secrecy will also distract the freedom of information if it is maintained in the same radical way. (As far as the *Telephone*-affair in 1961 is concerned, this antinomy becomes even more obvious.)

As long as pupils learn that neither the one nor the other extreme claim will result in a solution, but moreover, will be dangerous to the basis of democracy, they might realize that only one single law can solve these different interests between two claims in order to conduct political activities. If this law carries out either more needs of information or more needs of national security – this is no decision of "right" or "wrong", since either the one or the other decision is legitimate for democracy: The imagination of the elected parties, which claim is more legitimate, and, which have the power to govern, have an impact on what the law resembles; apparently, the decision is based on a "more" or "less" concerning the freedom of information or the national security, respectively. It will never be based on a "neither-nor-solution" for or against these claims. The reason for that can be found in the basic law or in the constitution.

Afterwards, the pupils might want to argue for or against a "more right" or "less right" law; the one side will favor more freedom of information, the other side will favor more national security – the pupils should get the chance to discuss this issue. Thus, teachers should try to show them how pointless such discussions might become, according to their age. This is the edge of a mind of fourteen or fifteen year-olds. The mission is complete when they accepted and experienced the difficulty of the problem and how those contradictions differ in reality. Teachers should state that even if they reach the age to be allowed to vote, they are under an illusion to believe that they could have an influence on these decisions: Which party they ever might vote for, hoping that this would favor more freedom of information compared to another – as soon as the former governs, it will, regardless of its former principles, now favor more national security. In contrast, the latter party, now opposition, will force the government to introduce a law, which will have a beneficial impact on freedom of information. This is not meant to be disloyal to former principles or even opportunism; it is the intrinsic nature of government and opposition.

In conclusion, if we succeed in transferring higher politics into an example such as the *Spiegel*-affair, then we are able to cope with any allegation of bringing party politics into the classroom because of the *principle of actuality*. This allegation has only little impact on teaching. Yet, it will be encouraged by taking a view on the next lesson.

Seventh lesson:
Meanwhile, an hour of investigation at the Bundestag on the behavior of the minister of defense (Strauß) cleared up the situation. On the one hand, some claimed to force him to resign. Alternatively, the others want him to be rehabilitated in the interest of national security. In the classroom, pupils feel uneasy; they want to go beyond the importance of the discussed example. Now, after they have gained deeper knowledge of it, they want to know more about this unique case: They want to allude to the "Case Strauß". They want to be informed of what will happen to the minister or, furthermore to the government? The teacher cannot provide an answer. They ask: What could happen? The teacher advises them to consult the basic law and in particular, to search for articles §§ 62-69, called "federal government".

According to the advice, something amazing occurred: The pupils read the basic law, not because it is part of a lesson and they have to read it by no reason, but because they want to know something particularly, and the answers that are given in §§ 64-67 become a part of their knowledge without the teacher's ambitions. On the contrary, if they had acquired this knowledge only a year ago by learning it by heart, they would not be able to reactivate it for a test now.

Finally, according to the following step, the teacher might finish the sequence: Everyone observes how the case develops during the next weeks. How to observe correctly has been learned before! However, the pupils want to know after all, what their teacher thinks regarding the case: Should Strauß retire or not? The more teachers tried to be as objective as possible, the more explicit they can now reveal their opinion by the end of the investigation. – Provided that they do this explicitly as their private opinion, and provided that they allow other opinions, or even provoke these. All opinions exist parallel and without the attempt to harmonize them, especially, if they are (hopefully) controversial and as long as they have been argued correctly. Extreme opinions need to be discussed or corrected according to the above-mentioned effects.

Further, the teacher needed not to guide his pupils through the following process of the affair; he enabled his pupils of how to take a closer look, a political related skillful way of observing. Actually, it is only necessary to spend a couple of hours on the case if changes in the government take place and a trial is stood.

Those overlook the impact of the exemplified character of our picture, who either state: "Yes, I can consider holding a couple of social study lessons once a year like that", or those, who understand this kind of

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lesson as something that occurs or occurs not because not always is a *Spiegel*-affair waiting for us. In fact, arguments – if not always compared to that affair – happen daily as soon as we have a glimpse into the newspapers. It is not the importance for "big politics" that counts, but it is essential that the matter of concern produces discernment.

The basis of our work were the following discernments: "Political power can be misused – Democracy without parties does not work – Permanent discussions between government and opposition prevent us from dictatorship – We face a tremendous danger of freedom as long as not enough people feel responsible for public welfare – The liberal democracy relies on the fact that everybody feels responsible for everybody and that as many as possible have the obligation to act responsible."

According to those statements, it is not limited to the *Spiegel*-affair to produce these discernments, but basically every political discussion that catches the pupils' interest due to the fact that it will have an impact on their lives. It seems to be pointless to show which knowledge had been gained within these no more than ten lessons: operation of the parliament, task of the president of the Bundestag, the meaning of an hour of investigation in the parliament, the opposition's role, parliamentary committees and their work, Articles §§ 62-69 of the basic law, different courts that were involved in the case and so on and so forth. But, this knowledge and comprehension are not required to be met by pupils in order to discuss an actual problem – if this would be the case, we might have to wait until doomsday. This knowledge will be conveyed at the same time as the problem will be displayed. Those who criticize that we will need more time to explain the opposition's role and importance only than we need for the *Spiegel*-affair in whole, should consider this: Even though the opposition's identity is explained in a historical way and covers the beginnings of democracy – what opposition is meant to be and what impact it has, can only be clearly displayed through the current case. Furthermore, teachers can spend hours on well-meant indoctrinations to show that public opinion has much more influence on politics today compared to the past: However, if you do not explain how public opinion influences a concrete case, your pupils might not understand your underlying theory.

Social science lessons are training for political thinking. Complaints are based on apolitical thinking that has been heard, according to the *Spiegel*-affair. Complaints such as Germany "seems to be at that point again" were heard, which is supposed to be a comparison to Nazi-Germany. Here, the incompetence of many well-meant, but in the end apolitical people occurs: The incompetence to see the difference "between governments, which rely on law, but sometimes violate it, and regimes, which basically deny the prevalence of law in favor of pure usefulness or subjective force".

How our democratic state works, and that it is healthy as long as public opinion and press are free – to show this, was the aim of our lessons. From that point of view the *Spiegel*-affair was not a scandal – it would have been a scandal for a democrat, if a not informed public and an idle opposition had not had an influence on its development.

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Rudolf Engelhardt

Parteipolitik in der Schule?

> Ich bin dafür, daß es ab und zu eine kleine Rebellion gibt. Der Geist des Widerstandes gegen die Regierung ist bei manchen Gelegenheiten so wertvoll, daß ich mir wünsche, er möge immer lebendig erhalten werden. Er wird sich oft betätigen, wenn's falsch ist, aber es ist besser so, als wenn er sich überhaupt nicht betätigt. (Thomas Jefferson)

Wird die Aktualisierung des Unterrichts den Lehrer nicht in Versuchung führen, seine parteipolitischen Ansichten den Schülern zu suggerieren? Die eben besprochene Karikatur war in dieser Hinsicht durchaus unproblematisch und kein heißes Eisen im Sinne der Parteipolitik. Welcher Partei der Lehrer auch an-[87/88]gehören oder welcher er auch nahestehen mag, auf die Deutung und Auswertung der Karikatur dürfte das keinen Einfluß haben.

Was aber, wenn innenpolitische Auseinandersetzungen zum Unterrichtsgegenstand werden? Sicher, man kann nachweisen, daß sie gut und notwendig sind, aber die Schüler werden sich damit kaum zufriedengeben. Sie wollen auch wissen, wer denn nun eigentlich recht oder zumindest mehr recht habe, die eine oder die andere Seite. Muß dann der Lehrer nicht Stellung nehmen, und wird sie nicht immer subjektiv und im Sinne der Partei ausfallen, mit der er sympathisiert? Läßt sich das überhaupt verhindern? Und wenn es sich offenbar nicht verhindern läßt, ist damit das Aktualitätsprinzip nicht erledigt?

Gesetzt aber selbst den Fall, dem Lehrer gelänge es, sich jeder Meinungsäußerung, die parteipolitisch gewertet werden könnte, zu enthalten – liegt nicht bereits in der Entscheidung, diesen oder jenen aktuellen Stoff in den Unterricht einzubeziehen, ein subjektives Moment? Wird er nicht, auch wenn es ihm gar nicht bewußt wird, gerade die Fälle auswählen, die seine Partei in günstigem Licht erscheinen lassen? Ohne Umschweife gesagt: wird nicht ein CDU-orientierter Lehrer mehr Hemmungen zu überwinden haben, die Spiegel-Affäre anzupacken, als ein SPD- oder FDP-orientierter, und wird er sich dabei nicht mit bestem Gewissen einzureden verstehen, daß die dabei möglicherweise herausspringenden Einsichten sich nicht unbedingt an diesem Stoff, sondern einleuchtender an einem anderen erarbeiten lassen?

Die Frage stellen, heißt sie bejahen. Aber muß sie überhaupt gestellt werden?

Ein Lehrer betritt seine Klasse, auf dem Plan steht eine Zeichenstunde. Die fünfzehnjährigen Realschüler erwarten ihn – zumindest die Hälfte hat vor sich die letzte Spiegel-Nummer liegen; niemand hat den Zeichenblock auf dem Tisch. Nichts wirkt dabei provozierend – man hält einfach die Dis-[88/89]kussion über die Spiegel-Affäre für notwendiger als Zeichnen. Das liegt natürlich an dem Lehrer, der seine Schüler in dieser Hinsicht „verwöhnt" hat: sobald etwas aufkam, das die Öffentlichkeit bewegte, stand er den Schülern zur Verfügung; sie waren nicht verwöhnt, sondern gewohnt, daß man mit ihm über solche Fragen sprechen konnte, für die alle andern Erwachsenen nicht zu sprechen waren. („Das ist zu früh für euch, euch fehlen die Sachkenntnisse" usw.) Die Behauptung, die Schüler verlangten immer nach einer Aufklärung über Tagesfragen, wäre eine Verallgemeinerung. Hingegen läßt sich sagen: sobald die Schüler merken, daß sie im Lehrer dafür einen Gesprächspartner haben, den sie selten genug anderswo finden, wachsen Interesse und Anteilnahme an Massenmedien und Informationen ungemein.

Wie man Interesse erweckt? Sprecht über Sachen, die ringsum in der Welt, von der die Schüler ein Teil sind, vorgehen! Wie man Englisch nur lernt, wo englisch gesprochen wird, und Rechnen, wo gerechnet wird, so gewinnt man ein Verhältnis zum Politischen nur da, wo Politik gemacht wird. Natürlich – Heinrichs Gang nach Canossa oder Bismarcks Werk, große Politik also –, die hat man ja schon immer in der Schule behandelt. Aber die kleine Parteipolitik mit ihrer Konzeptionslosigkeit, mit ihren Eifersüchteleien, ihrer Ranküne und den kleinen Menschlich-Allzumenschlichkeiten?

Gerade dies – denn darin liegt unser Schicksal heute und morgen beschlossen. Bevor ich in der Tagespolitik mitrede und durch Mitreden ihren Kurs bestimme – jeder tut das bereits im Gespräch mit seinem Nachbarn, dadurch das bewirkend, was als öffentliche Meinung heute bestimmender ist für das, was in der Politik geschieht, als allgemein angenommen wird –, bevor ich mir erlauben darf, Meinungen zu haben und sie auszusprechen, muß ich eines gelernt haben: ich muß gelernt haben hinzusehen. Die Kunst des Hinsehens, die fachgerechte, das heißt hier die politikgerechte Art der Sammlung von Fakten, [89/90] das Reifwerden für Urteile und letzten Endes das sich daraus entwickelnde Engagement, auf die Entscheidungen Einfluß gewinnen zu wollen: was sollte politischer Unterricht bewirken, wenn nicht eben dies! Das gegenwärtige Geschehen, die ungerechterweise verketzerte Tagespolitik, wie sie in den Zeitungen ihren Niederschlag findet, die Zeitung selbst ist die Fibel für den Anfänger in der Kunst, Politisches zu sehen, zu beobachten und zu bewerten.

Nicht alles aus der Fülle des politischen Geschehens unserer Tage kann Unterrichtsstoff werden. Auch hier müssen wir auswählen nach den im theoretischen Teil

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herausgestellten Prinzipien. Spiegel-Affäre freilich, Kuba-Krise, Telefon-Affäre, Wahlen oder der die Eltern der Schüler betreffende Streik – kann ich all das aus dem politischen Unterricht auslassen, nur weil die Schüler nicht „reif" dafür wären? Oder ist nicht vielmehr dieser Stoff geeignet, die Schüler reifer werden zu lassen? Und spricht die Schule nicht davon – wer könnte sonst die Aufgabe der Klärung übernehmen? Welcher Katalysator gegen den Anprall der Informationsflut stünde sonst den Jugendlichen zur Verfügung?

Es ist wohl so, daß sich mehr Lehrer diesem Appell öffneten, wenn sie nur unterrichtliche Möglichkeiten sähen, daraus wirkliche Unterrichtsstunden zu machen, die Hand und Fuß haben, einen Anfang und ein Ende. Gerade das gelingt bei Anfangsversuchen selten, man bekommt die Themen nicht methodisch in den Griff und ist hoffnungslos aufs Improvisieren angewiesen. Jeder Fehlschlag, jedes Überwältigtwerden vom Stofflichen wird sofort als Beweis angesehen, daß „das eben im Unterricht nicht zu machen ist", es fehlten ja den Schülern alle Voraussetzungen. Daher wollen wir im folgenden auf die Behandlung der Spiegel-Affäre im Unterricht eingehen, sie will exemplarisch verstanden sein, das heißt, das zu entwickelnde Modell muß auf alle nur denkbaren Fragen innenpolitischer Auseinandersetzung in großen Zügen übertragbar sein. [90/91]

Der Zeitpunkt der Unterrichtsbeispiele und -versuche liegt etwa drei bis vier Wochen nach Beginn der Affäre. Eines Einstieges bedurfte es nicht, schon das Wort Spiegel löste eine Unmenge Äußerungen aus. Die angesprochene Lehrerin übernahm die Aufgabe, zunächst einmal in einer knappen Erzählung die objektiven Tatbestände, wie sie zur Zeit vorlagen, darzustellen. Die Anteilnahme der Schüler war beachtlich, sie fragten nach immer mehr Einzelheiten – indes zeigte sich die Lehrerin hinterher wenig befriedigt. Was besagte schon die Anteilnahme? Wären die Schüler nicht ebenso gespannt jeder andern Darstellung gefolgt – gleichgültig ob politischen oder sonstigen Inhalts? Zudem mußte sich die Lehrerin fragen, ob sie damit überhaupt einen politischen Effekt erzielt habe und ob sie, trotz besten Willens, die Tatsachen nicht schließlich doch subjektiv gefärbt habe? Hat sie bei der geforderten Raffung des Stoffes nicht entscheidende Zusammenhänge unberücksichtigt gelassen? Das größte Unbehagen rührte indes zweifellos daher: wie sollte nach der Darstellung weiter verfahren werden? Gewiß, die Schüler diskutierten darüber, steuerten Einzelheiten bei, fragten, vermuteten, behaupteten. Aber dann war man schließlich nach gut einer Stunde mit dem Thema fertig. War das wirklich alles, was politisch in dem Fall steckte? Und wie stand es mit den Einsichten?

Als günstiger erwies sich ein anderer Weg, den wir einige Stunden hindurch verfolgen wollen. Er beschränkte sich zunächst auf den Fall Ahlers, der gerade im Mittelpunkt des öffentlichen Interesses stand.

1. Unterrichtsstunde:
Der Lehrer eines 9. Schuljahres ließ, ohne daß vorher im Unterricht ein Wort darüber gefallen wäre, die Tatsachen stichwortartig notieren. Die Arbeit nahm nicht ganz fünfzehn Minuten in Anspruch. Hier die schwächste Arbeit. [91/92]

1. Konrad Ahlers — Chefredakteur des Spiegel.
2. Ahlers nachts mit Frau im Hotelzimmer verhaftet.
3. In Zelle gesessen.
4. Nach Deutschland mit Haftbefehl zurück, Polizeischutz.
5. Im Frankfurter Flughafen verhaftet.
6. Verhaftung in Spanien gesetzwidrig.

Nach fünfzehn Minuten übernahm der Schüler, der die meisten Punkte notiert hatte, die Aufgabe des Diskussionsleiters: er verlas Punkt für Punkt, die Mitschüler äußerten sich zustimmend oder kritisch; gemeinsam einigte man sich auf die endgültige Formulierung. Wer einen Punkt nicht erwähnt hatte, trug ihn auf seinem Zettel nach, so daß mit dem Klingelzeichen jeder Schüler über etwa dieselben Stichworte verfügte. Die oben erwähnten sechs Punkte der Schülerin waren durch das Klassengespräch auf siebzehn angewachsen; hinzugekommen waren:

7. Durfte nur verhaftet werden, wenn Mord oder anderes Verbrechen vorlag.
8. Telegramm nach Spanien.
9. Unterschrift von Interpol draufgeschrieben, war gefälscht, weil Strauß das Telegramm schickte.
10. Bundeskriminalamt sagt: „Verhaftung in Spanien geht nicht."
11. Strauß hat Bundestag und das deutsche Volk belogen.
12. Er hat in die Rechte des Außenministers eingegriffen.
13. Er hat Verhaftung veranlaßt. Das durfte nur der Bundesjustizminister Stammberger.
14. Er hat etwas getan, was nicht zu entschuldigen ist.
15. Dadurch Regierungskrise.
16. FDP-Minister sind zurückgetreten.
17. Neue Regierung soll gewählt werden.

Bewußt hatte in dieser ersten Stunde der Klassenlehrer sich zurückgehalten und einen Diskussionsleiter bestimmt: so entging er der Gefahr, sofort korrigierend oder gar hemmend auf die einzelnen Äußerungen einzuwirken. [92/93]

Das Ergebnis der Stunde: eine Sammlung von Fakten, über die die Schüler von vornherein, auch ohne Zutun der Schule, verfügten.

2. Unterrichtsstunde:
Die Schüler waren aufgefordert worden, für ihre Äußerungen Belege beizubringen, vorwiegend Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenausschnitte. Die nunmehr an der Tafel stehenden Punkte wurden daraufhin durchgesehen, welche Tatsachen sie enthielten, die laut Presseinfor-

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mation als solche gekennzeichnet waren. Auch Äußerungen „Das habe ich bestimmt vorgestern im Radio gehört" ließ man gelten, wenn keine Gegenmeinung laut wurde.

Stundenergebnis: Die Schüler hatten sich im Unterscheiden von Fakten einerseits und von Vermutungen und Werturteilen andererseits geübt. Die Tatsachen selbst waren auf Grund der Informationsmittel belegt worden.

3. Unterrichtsstunde:

Hier nahm man sich der Vermutungen an, die in der vergangenen Unterrichtsstunde geäußert worden waren wie: die Regierung will den Spiegel kaputtmachen. Jetzt erst, in der 3. Stunde, ging es lebhaft her, und der Unterricht nahm eine Form an, von der die Gegner des Aktualitätsprinzips annehmen, so sähen grundsätzlich alle Stunden aus, die sich mit Gegenwartsfragen befassen. Gerüchte und Verdächtigungen, genährt und gestützt von außerschulischen Gesprächen, prallten aufeinander. Solch ein Aufeinanderprall bleibt ja nirgendwo aus, wo über Ansichten und nicht über Fakten gesprochen wird. Auch diese Erfahrung müssen junge Menschen machen – hier war Gelegenheit dazu, und der Lehrer hatte hinterher, als er um eine eigene Stellungnahme gebeten wurde, leichtes Spiel: „Kein Mensch kann sich bei solchen Fällen irgendwelchen Vermutun-[93/94]gen entziehen; aber es ist müßig, sich darüber zu erhitzen – in einigen Tagen, wenn die Fragestunden im Bundestag vorbei sind, wissen wir mehr und können uns dann wieder über Tatsachen unterhalten."

Diese Klasse brauchte keinen Gemeinschaftsempfang: weit über die Hälfte der Schüler verfolgte die Fragestunden im Bundestag. Hat sie der Lehrer gar mit Tonband aufgenommen und die entscheidenden Stellen markiert, die er dann der Klasse vorspielt, werden damit die beiden nächsten Unterrichtsstunden bestritten.

4. und 5. Unterrichtsstunde:

Wo wurden unsere Vermutungen durch Tatsachen bestätigt, wo widerlegt? Der Hauptgewinn aber: hier wurde ein gründlicher Einblick in Wesen und Aufgabe eines Parlamentes gewährt. Hier wurde Machtkontrolle aufgezeigt; eine Kontrolle, die sich jede Partei gefallen lassen muß, weil es keine Partei und keinen Staatsmann gibt, der frei von den Versuchungen des Machtmißbrauches wäre. Und nichts ist wohl absurder als die Behauptung, daß hier schmutzige Wäsche gewaschen worden wäre, deren Anblick man jungen Leuten tunlichst vorenthalten sollte.

Gerade der Aspekt der Machtkontrolle, wie er dabei zutage trat, ist einer der wichtigsten Aspekte demokratischer, politischer Bildung. Wo, wenn nicht hier, sehen Schüler die Notwendigkeit einer funktionierenden Opposition ein! Dabei ist freilich an die Fairneß des Lehrers zu appellieren, daß er den Fall nicht als Fall SPD contra CDU darstellt, sondern daß er das Exemplarische daran aufzeigt: wo es Macht gibt, muß Macht kontrolliert werden. Nicht um Sieg oder Niederlage der einzelnen Parteien geht es – es geht um den Sieg der demokratischen Grundlage. In diesem Sinne sind diese beiden Stunden als ein Stück Institutionskunde anzusehen – sie sollte überhaupt so erteilt werden: das lebt und bleibt haften. [94/95]

Jetzt dürfte auch verständlich werden, wieso wir uns immer wieder mit Entschiedenheit dagegen verwahrt haben, Einsichten als eine Art Merkstoff zu behandeln: wenn hier den Schülern nicht aufgeht, wieso uns eine ständige Auseinandersetzung zwischen Regierung und Opposition vor Machtmißbrauch bewahrt und wieso eine Demokratie ohne Parteien keine Demokratie ist – wie sollte das ein aufsagbarer Wissenskanon von Einsichten ermöglichen? Ohne daß die Kinder gelenkt oder gar manipuliert werden, stoßen sie, lediglich bestimmt von den Eindrücken bei der unterrichtlichen Behandlung der Spiegel-Affäre, auf diese Einsicht.

6. Unterrichtsstunde:

Sie soll den Modellcharakter der bisherigen Unterrichtsstunden herausarbeiten. Wir lassen alle tagespolitisch bestimmten Einzelheiten wegfallen, so daß es nicht mehr um den Fall Augstein, Ahlers, Fall Strauß geht, sondern sichtbar wird, was dahintersteht: der unaufhebbare Gegensatz zwischen dem berechtigten Bedürfnis des Staates, sich zu sichern (Staatssicherheit) und dem ebenso berechtigten Bedürfnis des Bürgers, sich über alle Vorkommnisse im Staate ausreichend zu informieren. Setzte man dem staatlichen Bedürfnis keine Grenzen, so würde die Tendenz, möglichst alles als Geheime Kommandosache zu erklären, letztlich jede Information unmöglich machen; setzte man dem individuellen Bedürfnis des Bürgers nach Information keine Grenzen, so würde dies jede notwendige Geheimhaltung unmöglich machen. In beiden Fällen würde das Ganze Schaden leiden: im ersten Fall wäre Demokratie unmöglich, deren eine Säule Informationsfreiheit heißt – im zweiten Fall wäre zwar Demokratie möglich, aber infolge absoluten Mangels an Geheimhaltung würde unter anderem der militärische Schutz eben dieser Demokratie gegenüber außenpolitischen Gegnern nicht mehr gewährleistet. Zwischen der notwendigen Informationsfreiheit und der ebenso notwendigen Geheimhaltung muß ein [95/96] Kompromiß geschlossen werden, aber die Annahme, dieser Kompromiß läge „irgendwo in der Mitte", ist Fiktion. Niemand kann sagen, wo diese Mitte ist, und auch die Formel „Soviel Freiheit wie möglich, soviel Geheimhaltung wie notwendig" bringt uns nicht weiter. Es ist schon viel erreicht, wenn die Schüler überhaupt sehen, daß sich die beiden gegensätzlichen Tendenzen im Schach halten. Wir verstärken die-

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se Einsicht, indem wir beide Fälle durchspielen und die Folgen herausstellen: zum einen, wenn die Forderung nach Informationsfreiheit absolut und radikal auf Kosten der entgegengesetzten verwirklicht würde; zum andern vergegenwärtigen wir uns die Folgen, wenn es dem Bedürfnis nach Geheimhaltung gelänge, sich auf Kosten der Informationsfreiheit ebenso radikal durchzusetzen. (Noch deutlicher tritt dieselbe Antimonie bei der ein Jahr jüngeren Telefon-Affäre zutage.)

Sobald den Schülern aufgegangen ist, daß sowohl die eine wie die andere extreme Lösung im Grunde keine Lösung ist, sondern die Grundlage demokratischen Lebens aufs Spiel setzt, begreifen sie, daß nur ein Gesetz dieses Spannungsverhältnis zwischen zwei Notwendigkeiten wenn auch nicht aufheben, so doch in eine solche Form bringen kann, daß politisches Handeln möglich wird. Ob das Gesetz nun freilich mehr den Bedürfnissen nach Information oder mehr den Bedürfnissen nach Staatssicherheit gerecht wird – das ist keine Entscheidung über „richtig" oder „falsch", denn sowohl die eine wie die andere Entscheidung ist demokratisch legitim: wie das Gesetz aussieht, das hängt davon ab, welche Parteien, legitimiert durch Wahlen, die Regierungsmacht in Händen halten und welche Vorstellung sie von der Vorrangigkeit der beiden legitimen Forderungen haben; immer aber kann es nur um ein „Mehr" oder „Weniger" zugunsten oder zum Nachteil der Informationsfreiheit bzw. der Staatssicherheit gehen – niemals um ein Entweder-Oder. Der Grund dafür ist von den Schülern in Grundgesetz und Verfassung nachzuschlagen (32). [96/97]

Wahrscheinlich werden sie anschließend dafür reden wollen, wie ein „richtigeres" oder „weniger richtiges" Gesetz aussehen müßte; die einen werden mehr für Informationsfreiheit, andere mehr für Staatssicherheit plädieren – man sollte die Schüler auch darüber diskutieren lassen, jedoch dabei versuchen, ihnen die Müßigkeit solcher Auseinandersetzung in ihrem Alter klarzumachen. Hier sind wir an die Grenze des Verständnissen [sic] von Vierzehn-, Fünfzehnjährigen gekommen. Haben sie die Schwierigkeit des Problems eingesehen und erfahren, wie in der Wirklichkeit die Gegensätze aufeinanderstoßen, ist nichts mehr hinzuzufügen. Man sollte ihnen sogar die Illusion nehmen, als könnten sie selbst im wahlberechtigten Alter Einfluß auf diese Entscheidung nehmen: welche Partei sie auch wählen, hoffend, daß diese dann mehr auf seiten der Informationsfreiheit stehe als eine andere – sobald diese die Regierung übernommen hat, wird sie, ungeachtet ihrer früheren Prinzipien, auf die Linie der Staatssicherheit umschwenken, indes die bisherige Regierungspartei, nunmehr in der Opposition, auf ein Gesetz oder auf Auslegung eines bestehenden Gesetzes dringen wird, das mehr der Informationsfreiheit zugute kommt. Das hat nichts mit Prinzipienuntreue oder gar mit Opportunismus zu tun; es liegt im Wesen von Regierung und Opposition.

Ist es uns gelungen, dergestalt zum Exemplarischen an der Spiegel-Affäre durchzustoßen, können wir uns befriedigt nach dem Vorwurf umsehen, wir brächten durch das Aktualitätprinzip [sic] Parteipolitik in die Schule: der Vorwurf hinkt nur lahm hinterher. Jedoch findet er Ermutigung, wenn wir uns nunmehr der nächsten Unterrichtsstunde zuwenden.

7. Unterrichtsstunde:

Inzwischen ist nämlich durch die Fragestunden im Bundestag über das Verhalten des Verteidigungsministers weitaus mehr Klarheit entstanden als vorher. Die Forderung nach seinem Rücktritt wird ebenso lebhaft diskutiert wie der Versuch, ihn [97/98] als rehabiliert [sic] im Sinne der Staatssicherheit anzusehen. Auch die Schüler werden unruhig, sie begnügen sich nicht mehr mit der exemplarischen Bedeutung des Falles. Nachdem sie so gründlich in die Materie eingedrungen sind, wollen sie auch das Besondere des Falles, und das heißt eben den „Fall Strauß", besprechen. Sie wollen wissen, was wird daraufhin mit dem Minister oder gar mit der Bundesregierung geschehen? Der Lehrer kann das nicht sagen. Sie fragen: Was könnte geschehen? Der Lehrer verweist sie auf das Grundgesetz „Die Bundesregierung" (§§ 62 bis 69).

Und das Erstaunliche geschieht: jetzt nehmen sie das Grundgesetz in die Hand, nicht weil es Unterrichtsgegenstand ist und man es aus unerfindlichen Gründen lesen muß, sondern weil sie etwas erfahren wollen, und die Antworten, die sie auf ihre Frage in den §§ 64 und 67 finden, werden ohne Ambitionen des Lehrers und ohne daß es die Schüler merken, zum abfragbaren Wissen. Daß sie dieses Wissen, auch wenn es nur ein Jahr vorher auf Vorrat erworben wäre, nunmehr nicht parat hätten, bedarf keines besonderen Nachweises.

Mit diesem letzten Schritt könnte es der Lehrer sein Bewenden haben lassen: man beobachtet im Laufe der nächsten Wochen weiter – das Beobachten haben wir ja geübt –, wie sich der Fall entwickelt! Aber die Schüler wollen jetzt endlich wissen, was der Lehrer von der ganzen Sache hält: sollte Strauß gehen oder nicht? Je mehr der Lehrer sich bisher um Objektivität bemüht hat, desto eindeutiger kann er jetzt, zum Schluß der Untersuchung, seine Meinung sagen, vorausgesetzt, daß er sie deutlich als seine private Meinung kundtut, und vorausgesetzt, daß er andere Meinungsäußerungen nicht nur zuläßt, sondern möglichst provoziert. Die Meinungen bleiben dann – solange dem Alter der Schüler entsprechend sauber argumentiert wurde –, auch wenn sie (hoffentlich) gegensätzlich ausgefallen sind, unverbunden und ohne den Versuch, sie zu harmonisieren, stehen. Zu korrigieren durch Erörterung der möglichen Folgen [98/99] sind lediglich Meinungen extremer Natur, wie sie oben charakterisiert wurden.

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Danach kann der Lehrer seine Schüler bei Verfolgung des weiteren Verlaufes der Affäre getrost allein lassen; die Voraussetzungen für ein politikgerechtes Beobachten sind gegeben. Allenfalls werden abschließend einige Stunden notwendig werden, wenn der Fall durch Regierungsumbildung und durch Gerichtsverhandlungen zu einem Abschluß kommt.

Wer nach der Skizzierung dieser Stundenbilder sagt: ja, so könne man es schon einmal im Jahr mit dem Sozialkundeunterricht halten, dagegen sei nichts einzuwenden; wer diesen Unterricht als Gelegenheitsunterricht versteht, weil ja nicht immer eine Spiegel-Affäre auf unterrichtliche Behandlung warte, der übersieht den exemplarischen Charakter unserer Darstellung: Auseinandersetzungen – wenn auch nicht in der Größenordnung dieser Affäre – gibt es tagtäglich; davon überzeugt uns jeder Blick in die Tageszeitungen. Nicht ihre generelle Wichtigkeit für die große Politik ist entscheidend, allein bedeutsam ist ihre Einsichtenhaltigkeit.

Im Hintergrund unserer Arbeit standen die Einsichten: „Politische Macht kann mißbraucht werden – Demokratie ohne Parteien funktioniert nicht – Die ständige Auseinandersetzung zwischen Regierung und Opposition bewahrt uns vor der Diktatur – Eine große Gefahr für die Freiheit besteht darin, daß sich nicht genug Menschen für das Gemeinwohl einsetzen – Die freiheitliche Demokratie ist darauf angewiesen, daß sich jeder einzelne mitverantwortlich fühlt und daß möglichst viele mitverantwortlich handeln“ (3).

Nicht nur die Spiegel-Affäre ermöglicht das Anpeilen dieser Einsichten, sondern grundsätzlich jede politische Auseinandersetzung, für die wir das Interesse der Schüler gewinnen können durch den Nachweis, inwieweit sie persönlich davon berührt werden. [99/100]

Fast scheint es müßig zu sein, nun auch noch herauszustellen, was in diesen knapp zehn Unterrichtsstunden an Kenntnissen erworben wurde: Arbeitsweise des Parlaments, Aufgabe des Bundestagspräsidenten, die Bedeutung der parlamentarischen Fragestunde, die Rolle der Opposition, die parlamentarischen Ausschüsse und ihre Arbeit, die §§ 62 bis 69 des Grundgesetzes, die verschiedenen Gerichte, die für diesen Fall zuständig usw. usw. Aber dieses Wissen und diese Kenntnisse sind nicht eine Voraussetzung, die von den Schülern erfüllt sein muß, bevor man überhaupt an ein aktuelles Problem herangehen kann – das wäre dann wahrscheinlich erst am St.-Nimmerleins-Tag möglich. Die Kenntnisse werden in einem Zug zugleich mit dem Problem vermittelt, und wer uns hier ins Wort fällt, daß man allein für Rolle und Bedeutung der Opposition längere Unterrichtszeit brauche als für die Spiegel-Affäre insgesamt, dem sei entgegengehalten: auch wenn man das Wesen der Opposition noch so gewissenhaft aus den Anfängen der Demokratie in einem geschichtlichen Rückblick darbietet – was Opposition ist und bewirkt, kann nur der aktuelle Fall zeigen. Ebenso kann man Stunden mit gutgemeinten Belehrungen verbringen wie der, daß die öffentliche Meinung heute mehr als je zuvor Einfluß auf die Regierungspolitik hat: wenn man nicht zeigt, wie die öffentliche Meinung den jeweiligen Fall beeinflußt, ist alles Reden umsonst.

Politischer Unterricht ist Übung in politischem Denken. Auf unpolitischem Denken aber beruhen viele Klagen, die anläßlich der Spiegel-Affäre gehört wurden, Klagen, daß man in Deutschland wohl „wieder einmal soweit sei,“ womit man die Bundesrepublik mit dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland verglich. Hier wurde die Unfähigkeit vieler gutgesinnter, aber letztlich unpolitischer Menschen deutlich, die Unfähigkeit nämlich, den Unterschied zu sehen „zwischen Regierungen, die am Recht orientiert sind, aber ab und zu dagegen verstoßen, und Regi-[100/101]men, die die Geltung des Rechts grundsätzlich verneinen zugunsten reiner Zweckmäßigkeit oder subjektiver Willkür“ (33).

Wie unser demokratisches Staatswesen funktioniert und daß es so gesund ist, wie die öffentliche Meinung und die Presse frei ist – das zu zeigen war Aufgabe unseres Unterrichts. Die Spiegel-Affäre war unter dieser Sicht kein Skandal – zu einem Skandal für einen Demokraten wäre sie erst geworden, wenn eine unkundige Öffentlichkeit und eine lässige Opposition die Entwicklung nicht entschieden beeinflußt hätten.

Anmerkungen [137-139]

(3) Den Einsichtenkatalog drucken wir im Anschluß an diese Anmerkungen ab. […]
(32) Eine ausgezeichnete Darstellung des hier knapp angedeuteten didaktischen Prinzips finden wir in W. Hilligens Aufsatz „Worauf es ankommt« in »Gesellschaft—Staat—Erziehung“ 8/1961, dem meine Darstellung sehr verpflichtet ist.
(33) H. Buchheim: „Die Kritik aus Unlust“ in FAZ vom 14. August 1963.

Quelle:

Engelhardt, Rudolf. 1964. Politisch bilden – aber wie? Essen: nds, S. 87-101, 137-139.

Wir danken dem Verlag Neue Deutsche Schule http://www.nds-verlag.de/, dem Verlag der Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen, für die freundliche Genehmigung zur Online-Veröffentlichung und Abdruck dieses Textes.

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Commentary: Categorial conflict-based teaching methodology as a paradigm of civic education

Content:

Keywords:
Beutelsbacher Konsens, Categorial pedagogy, civic education and its pedagogy, Wolfgang Klafki, Kurt Gerhard Fischer, Reinhardswaldschule, Rudolf Engelhardt, civics, *Spiegel*-affair, didactics (*Didaktik)*.

Rudolf Engelhard presents a lesson model in his article *How to Deal with Party Politics at School?* that dates back to the 1960s, when civic education was revived in the Federal Republic of Germany (West-Germany). In order to improve civic education at school, the former Ministers of Education of German states reached a joint decision on the new subject. This was as a reaction against the first massive scribbling of Nazi propaganda since the end of World War II. Therefore, a new subject in secondary education was introduced to serve this purpose. This subject was called *Sozialkunde*[1] (civic education) or *Gemeinschaftskunde*[2] (social studies).

1. Author and context: In-service courses for teachers at Reinhardswaldschule, Germany

In 1962, the Federal center of in-service training for teachers at Reinhardswaldschule, located in Fulda, in the Federal state of Hesse (Germany), launched a teachers' professional development programme in order to qualify them for teaching the then new subject civic education. These courses took place for fourteen days and were lead by Rudolf Engelhardt himself. He was born in 1919. In 1937, he passed his *Abitur*[3] in Nazi-Germany. Not before 1945, he became a determined democrat. As far as his profession is concerned, he started as a teacher at a primary and secondary school and later became responsible for in-service courses for teacher[4].

The above-mentioned in-service course on civic education provided their participants with a detailed, new syllabus that contained units of lessons. Topics were, for instance on *Mass Media and Advertisement*, O*ur Community*, N*o Freedom without Rights – No Rights without Freedom*, C*ommunism – Illusion and Reality,* and *The Status of Women in Modern Society.* In a next step, teachers worked in groups on these lesson units to prepare their own lesson plans. The aim was to develop units in which students were not primarily confronted with materials for examinations. Moreover, they should be able to gain insight into the foundation of a civilized society by contemplating deeply on current topics. These lesson units were collected and published (e.g. Engelhardt/Jahn 1964).

2. The *Spiegel*-affair – An exemplary lesson report

As a result of these IN-SERVICE courses, Rudolf Engelhardt published a lesson report on the *Spiegel-Affäre (Spiegel*-affair), which is dealt with in this commentary (Engelhardt 1964, 87-101).

To gain an initial idea on the Spiegel-affair, please browse: https://secure.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/wiki/Spiegel_scandal[5].

1 *Sozialkunde* as citizenship education includes mostly civics, economics, law, and questions concerning every day social life.

2 *Gemeinschaftskunde* is an integrated subject. It is taught from 11th till 13th grade and includes history, geography and citizenship education (including economics, law, civics, and sociology).

3 Abitur = traditional expression for the final exam at German *Gymnasium* after 13 years (A-Level)

4 Rudolf Engelhardt published a variety books on teacher's further education and observations of his students. He succeeded in explaining general pedagogic considerations on the basis of specific classroom realities in an unsurpassed manner. His prolific way of writing is definite, often amusing, but nonetheless provides insight into complex theoretical considerations. In order to oppose to the current, predominant jargon of social sciences, teacher's further education needs to be inspired by an easy to access book, for instance by Rudolf Engelhardt.

5 Further information on the S*piegel* affair: http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/01642006453512595568594735924988,2,0,Das_Ende_der_%C4ra_Adenauer.html, http://www.spiegel.de/thema/spiegel_affaere/, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSvT2SFoY34, in English: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spiegel_scandal

The *Spiegel*-affair of 1962 was one of the major political scandals in Germany. In fact, the affair divided the country: On the one hand, some accused the influential political magazine of treason because it had revealed military top secret information of the German army. The then Chancellor Konrad Adenauer called it an "abyss of treason" as well. On the other hand, some saw it as an attack on the liberty of press as well as on the young democracy of Germany. These controversial events were discussed in depth in mass media, at working places, and at home. With regard to the teachers' in-service training, it is very likely that a course took place immediately after the *Spiegel*-affair; this caused a heated debate amongst the participating teachers on how to deal with this topic in the classroom.

A number of teachers probably reported on their lessons, of which Engelhardt developed a draft that helped to clarify fundamental problems in civic education. In the course of this essay, Rudolf Engelhardt will indicate three varieties of teaching which are linked to three different kinds of teachers (variations 1-3):

The first variation, for instance, he introduces a teacher who steps into his classroom in order to teach the regular art lesson. The 15 year-old 8th graders are awaiting him – but more or less half of them own the latest edition of the so-called weekly magazine *Spiegel*; nobody is prepared for an art lesson. Nothing about it is supposed to be provocative – a discussion about the *Spiegel*-affair is considered to be more vital than an art lesson at that moment. This has been a result of their teacher's way of "spoiling" his students concerning discussions about political issues: As soon as anything occurred which attracted public attention, he did not hesitate to answer their questions.

This posed a considerable problem to the teachers in their role as political educators: Should the students be allowed to express their own view-points in class? And if so how? The students were possibly exposed to a different lesson with opposing opinions depending on whatever political party the teacher might belong to or favor; there is always a risk to be overwhelming or indoctrinating (Snook 1972/2010). The arts teacher (variation 1) simply did not hesitate to answer their questions on those things for which other adults considered the students either to be too young or too ignorant. Instead of advancing their artistic skills, they decided to discuss the *Spiegel*-affair as this is more important to the students, now. The teacher took them for serious; therefore, they liked to talk to him, particularly.

In the second variation another teacher asked the students to collect material on this controversial issue.

Both teachers paid attention to the needs of the students; however, the lesson remains unsatisfying. It is not sufficient to simply deal with current issues in class. Moreover, the teacher has to have an aim for his lesson: "What should be the lesson learned for students beyond current events?" Primarily, the aim is to empower the students in general to understand and to judge current political issues independently. In order to be able to do that, they have to learn the political system's structure and how political decision-making takes place.

Further, Engelhardt introduced a third variation to the reader. He reported on a number of lessons of this teacher. Afterwards he enhanced and probably added content to the report. This lesson report has resulted in a best practice example of civic education in Germany until today. In addition, lots of authors have further refined this type of lesson since then.

Engelhardt's lesson unit could be still considered to be a model for teacher trainings, and moreover, should be part of the classical canon of subject matter didactics in the field of civic and citizenship education.

In the beginning, the third teacher is purely concerned with the particular aspect of the *Spiegel*-affair that provoked the public's reaction: the illegal arrest of the article's author abroad (http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25673830.html). In the first lesson, the students were asked to take notes of the facts that they had heard of in the media, primarily newspapers and the radio, rarely television. They wrote their notes on the blackboard. Thus, the previous knowledge established a shared basic understanding of the situation in order to review these together in the course of the following lessons. Further on, the students presented their collected material either to prove or correct their previous knowledge. In fact, the students should challenge their own knowledge: "What do I know for sure, what do I assume, what is just a view-point, and what is a judgment?" As a result, the students are now able to justify their opinion. Nevertheless, assumptions need to be shared.

Unfortunately, it is a part of politics in which involved persons and the public know too little about the critical event than is necessary to react to it adequately. Furthermore, every point-of-view is lead by intentions and interests. Hence, it is crucial to politically involved persons to succeed and to be superior to someone else. This fact causes politics to be polemical as well as it is often considered to be a (hopefully only rhetorical) showdown. Both comprehension and alignment are the aims of a civic education lesson.

The political discussion was resolved by a debate in the *Bundestag* (Federal Parliament), which had been broadcasted on the radio and on television during the next days.[6] The students informed themselves at home independently. They experienced how the opposition politically controlled the government in parliament. As far as the lesson is concerned, it is not important

6 Television at schools was not yet fully developed at that time. Therefore, TV broadcasting at school could not be considered to be standard.

which political party succeeded in this debate. Moreover, this heated debate provided "an example in order to show that political power needs to be controlled." The students discovered a fundamental problem of the political order: The existence of a major and peculiar difference between the legitimate need for security of the state (national security) on the one hand, and the legitimate need of the citizens to be informed about everything that has happed in the state on the other. Whatever the answer to that might be, there need to be a solution that solves the problem at least temporarily.

It is therefore not only necessary but also obvious that clarifying and generally binding rules are obligatory and support the role of laws.

Fachdidaktische (subject matter didactic) Perspective: Content + raising a certain question = (results in a) topic of a lesson

Content (here: *Spiegel*-affair) results into a topic due to an extracted and problem-based presented question (topic): National security or freedom of information? This algorithm is called building a *fachdidaktische* perspective.

In the seventh lesson, the students continued to follow the course of the *Spiegel*-affair (so-called civics education that is taught parallel to the event: *politikbegleitender Unterricht*). Both public and Federal Parliament demanded the resignation of the Federal Minister of Defence named Franz-Josef Strauß[7]. He is accused for deception of the parliament. The students wanted to understand what consequences could follow his resignation. Consequently, they consulted the basic law, the German *Grundgesetz* (constitution), and searched for the appropriate articles. By the way, they became acquainted with the structure, operation and tasks of the *Bundesregierung* (federal government). Inevitably, the students were looking for knowledge of the institutions themselves (institutionenkundliches Wissen). The class can be provided with a brief insight into the parliamentary system of government by these few articles of the basic law, since it was previously examined in class what happened in the Federal Parliament and what the relationship between the government and the opposition looked like. Now, the students are able to follow the case's development, as long as it takes place within the important political institutions. This poses an opportunity for the students to express their opinions; the teacher is now able to fuel the discussion and openly share his own opinion, too, for which his students might ask apparently.

3. The Case Study Method

The *Spiegel*-affair had been widely discussed at that time. Hermann Giesecke (*1932), who was - concerning the development of civic education in class - at that time another important author, who focused on how to deal with this affair in class in his dissertation (http://www.hermann-giesecke.de/diss2.htm). With regard to the *Spiegel*-affair, he developed his own particular method of teaching, which has been influential for civics classes in Germany until today that is so-called *conflict-based methodology*.[8] The two central elements of conflict-based methodology are the principle of actuality and the case study method. In terms of the lesson, the *case* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Case_method) and its different aspects, which are to be studied, need to be put into a chronological order.

Giesecke describes the case, its way of broadcasting by the media, its demands on the capabilities of comprehension of the citizens, and their possible reactions to it. Yet, this is only a first approach of methodological opportunities of this case; should this case serve as a good example, then its learners must be able to gain basic understanding of the political system from it as well. On that account, Bernhard Sutor (*1930), another important author in citizenship education and subject matter didactics, described the course of lessons in a case analysis as follows:

"We essentially differentiate ... for the course of lessons between

1. Stage of introduction (in terms of learning theory, stage of motivation that involves the preparatory planning of a discussion)
2. Stage of examination (to get knowledge to orientate and to take a critical view of the initial question)
3. Stage of problem solving (including discussions aimed at having a result and to form an opinion), decision-making
4. Stage of integration and generalization as a result of orientated learning." (Sutor 1971; Schattschneider/May 2011)

What structure does Engelhardt's teaching model have? On the basis of the public's discussions of the *Spiegel*-affair – of which the students will have any knowledge –, it will be dealt with as follows:

1. The previous knowledge and the students' predispositions towards the case will be discussed.
2. Afterwards, a verification phase of the previous knowledge and the predispositions gained by media (newspapers and radio) follows, in which the former are examined and, if necessary, corrected.
3. Insights are gained during the discussion by examination and correction: The world looks some-

7 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz-Josef_Strau%C3%9F

8 There are similar developments in the USA concerning the "controversial issues" approach, for the first time mentioned by Oliver/Shaver 1966. http://www.learner.org/workshops/civics/workshop7/otherlessons/index$1.html. Actually, the approach of "socially acute questions" in France should be taken in consideration . (Simmoneaux/Legardez 2010 http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-4/pdf/Simonneaux-et-al-JSSE-4-2010.pdf).

what different from what the students previously assumed, a new view is formed by meta-reflection.
4. Since new insights into and knowledge of different political fields are gained, which are all important to clarify the case, these will be enhanced, and new ways to judge the course of the case or other cases are established.

Engelhardt follows a former German, *Didaktik* tradition – probably without knowing it as he did not make any references. According to Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbart), the worldly-known founder of German scientifically-based pedagogy and who followed Immanel Kant and had been appointed to the chair at Königsberg / Prussia, the pure system of knowledge does not educate at all.

Since the process of acquiring knowledge is divided in two main parts – experience of different perspectives ("*Gewinnung der Anschauungen*") as well as development of content from descriptive subject matter ("*Entwicklung des Begrifflichen aus dem anschaulichen Stoffe*"[9]) – a more or less fixed sequence in lessons and in each lesson's unit can be identified.

In the 19th century, Herbart's heirs, that is *Herbartians*, founded a system of formal steps for lesson planning for in-service courses for teachers (http://www.xtimeline.com/evt/view.aspx?id=356620). Engelhardt followed this tradition and structured his lesson units adequately:

	Herbartians	Engelhardt
1	To identify the previous knowledge. To introduce the new subject matter.	To get to know the new case and one's own previous knowledge. To examine previous knowledge and prejudices to the case by comparison and coherence to other materials.
2	To compare and to link the new subject matter.	To link the case to the political system. To gain knowledge of the political system simultaneously.
3	To deduce definitions and to establish a systematic approach.	To link knowledge and insights in a new way, to get new perspectives and insights.
4	To use this knowledge.	To use this newly gained knowledge in further lessons and to link it to future political incidents.

4. Categorial conflict-based teaching methodology and insight

According to Engelhardt – who refers to Kurt Gerhard Fischer (1928-2001, compare Fischer, Hermann, Mahrenholz 1965 with additional lesson reports; Schattschneider/May 2011), another important author in the German discussion on citizenship education and subject matter didactics –, students should be provided with fundamental *insights*. Fischer himself states that we need to differentiate between (definition-based single) knowledge and systematic and fundamental insights. Students have the opportunity to gain basic, definition-based knowledge to a number of areas, for instance parliamentary democracy and its establishment in the basic law concerning the lessons that the *Spiegel*-affair dealt with. This opportunity offered knowledge of several single words and definitions (categories). In a whole, these categories provide a *field of ideas*, which supports to understand the way a parliament works, the mission of the Federal President, the importance of a parliamentary Question hour, the opposition's role, the legal status of the government and its members. This gives the students an overview of the political system. On this basis, Engelhardt and his colleagues established their general pedagogical concept of *categorial conflict-based teaching methodology* for civics lessons.

Wolfgang Klafki's (*1927) work „Das pädagogische Problem des Elementaren und die Theorie der kategorialen Bildung[10]" paved the way for this theory, which referred to the German tradition of *Didaktik* (didactics) (http://books.google.de/books?id=Gp9Xg42YWesC&pg=PA101&lpg=PA101&dq=klafki+categorial+education&source=bl&ots=9KkXiQw4sx&sig=_KhxlFmL97uIxs4eAs58Pas0LKA&hl=de&ei=bK0wTZQlysKzBtS4YoK&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=klafki%20categorial%20education&f=false).

These knowledge and awareness can be provided by fundamental political insights. To establish these fundamental insights in terms of a deeper understanding (orientation towards a common sense) is meant to be *education* (Bildung) according to the German *Didaktik* tradition: "Political power could be abused – democracy without parties does not work – permanent discussion between government and opposition prevents dictatorship – fundamental freedom is under risk if not enough people support public welfare – liberal de-

9 Wolfgang Hilligen focused on the so-called "pulse theory" („Pulsschlagtheorem") concerning German civic education pedagogy in terms of case and definition / systematic approach (http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/interview-hilligen.htm). Case study method and teacher training support one another as well as the deductive and inductive procedure.

10 Klafki, Wolfgang: Das pädagogische Problem des Elementaren und die Theorie der kategorialen Bildung, Weinheim: Beltz 1959, ders: Kategoriale Bildung. Zur bildungstheoretischen Deutung der modernen Didaktik, in: ders: Studien zur Bildungstheorie und Didaktik, Weinheim: Beltz 1963.
Some of his works have been translated into English and are listed at the end. Horst Leps *Journal of Social Science Education Kommentar: Kategoriale Konfliktdidaktik als Paradigma politischer Bildung* Volume 9, Number 3, 2010, pp. 94–101

mocracy needs to be supported by each and everyone who feels and acts responsible." (Engelhardt 1964, 99) Conflicts are crucial to democracy; conflicts are the content, on which lessons of democracy are based and from which students can learn. Therefore, *categorial conflict-based methodology is the paradigm of subject matter didactics in the field of citizenship/civic education regarding the German tradition*.

According to Engelhardt, fundamental insights provide "... guidance and orientation in a democratic, pluralistic, industrialized society, they should contribute to an understanding of their problems and their art of *recte vivere* in a society that is not easy to comprehend." (Engelhardt 1964, 11) Further on, they do not add up to specialist profound knowledge, but they do add up to an attitude that is based on consideration of and experience with basic questions of politics.

To gain knowledge, to raise awareness, to provide insights

In order to define knowledge (expertise and information), it is supposed to be the teaching and learning of words, which signify something. This denotes to establish a definition; the latter plays a vital role in civic education. However, its importance should not lead to the assumption that civic education is only about defining expressions and nothing else. For instance, a student says: "The - SPD, CDU, CSU, FDP, NPD, KPD ... – is a political party." Awareness is supposed to be a judgment *a posteriori*, which is followed by - a direct or connected - experience and its reflection. For instance:

"In A-town has been B-company on strike since days. Workers and employees have refused to work because they demand higher payments. Their employer, however, has refused to agree because of several reasons such as market prices have risen, raw materials are needed, and necessary investments have to be done in order to improve the company's competiveness. Moreover, he argues that otherwise he cannot guarantee any jobs in the future." The result is: "because ... therefore" argumentative strategies mark adequate connections of a variety of information (payments, strike, worker, employee, employer, market price, competition, investments, etc.). Hence, adequate generalizations are based on gained experiences, which the individual mind has to consider. These are fundamental to analyze social phenomena and social experiences on a highly abstract level and assert a claim for several other phenomena in societies, which can be compared to the analysis' subject matter. Therefore, the abovementioned reflections and its influence on civic education show the following: Apparently, a subject matter of civic education could only refer to cases (*casus*), in other words to a detail of social reality for a critical analysis. This analysis of social reality and experience cannot be limited to statements; the statement has to be questioned, to be compared to other facts, and to be applied to accepted standards of political acting. However, statements are not issued because they should be, neither by social sciences nor by those who "make" politics; they raise questions on reasons and background, or they instruct to make announcements and measures according to the statement.

Obviously, the described process of awareness is considered to be the center of civic education.

> "As far as our mind is concerned, enlightened civic education ends in the solution of a case, an incident. The lesson's result provides an inductively gained description of an incident and the explanation of its background." Fundamental insights are meant to be statements which fit to the kind of judgments in an *a priori* sense. Furthermore, insights are judgments, which closely anticipate all gained experiences. This anticipation applies to a logical idea and not in the sense of physical time." *Fischer, Kurt Gerhard 1971: Einführung in die Politische Bildung (Introduction into civic education), Stuttgart: Metzler, 2. Auflage, S. 91-96, shortened.*

However, how should these fundamental insights be taught? They cannot be taught directly since students would only learn definitions by heart and will forget them right away. Moreover, insights should have an influence on the students' attitude towards specific fields of life. Civic education has to be political upbringing which forms the character and attitudes from early years on.

> "Knowledge can be taught – fundamental insights, however, have to be discovered by every student independently, he has to gain these and cannot memorize them as easy as a political catechism. ... Knowledge can be tested – but, if someone is able to provide fundamental insights, this will be shown by judgments of political incidents only." (Engelhardt 1964, 10f.).

In order to provide students with fundamental insights, a teacher has to offer experience-based lessons: How does he give the impression that the perspective of a debate in the Federal Parliament is inside the classroom and not far away outside?

According to Engelhardt's draft, he introduces the *Spiegel*-affair to the classroom; the affair was not only an unknown object in the past, but moreover, the classroom was part of the participating public of the affair (so-called *politikbegleitender Unterricht*).

5. Concept of the exemplary in teaching and lesson reports

In terms of German educational science, the case study method is called concept of the exemplary in teaching (*exemplarisches Lernen*). In the 1950s and 1960s, Martin Wagenschein (1896-1988) (http://www.natureinstitute.org/txt/mw/index.htm) developed a unit for physics and mathematics on this basis. As a result, he has dominated the German academic discussion of teaching at school for decades and has had huge practical influence on lesson planning schemes

in German schools until today (browse: http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lehrkunst-english-berg.htm). According to his papers on general pedagogy, Wagenschein had not only stated his principles of teaching, but moreover, had described his lessons in detailed lesson reports. In the preface of a paper (1953) he puts forward:

„The developed units will be revealed step by step with most of particularity and thoroughness. However, I do not recommend readers and teachers to imitate this procedure exactly. On the contrary, every seeking and working group (of learners; HL) will find its own way. The *kind* of thoroughness should be displayed, and this could have only been done in a specific way. The aim is to give ideas and not regulations." (Wagenschein 1953/1975, 8)

As well as Wagenschein, Rudolf Engelhardt developed and explained his principles of teaching from a concrete case. This tradition of a concrete and well reflected lesson report, which is very descriptive and invites to imitate it, should be revived in teacher's training. In addition, it suits certainly for international communication on subject-related pedagogical concepts and teaching practice.

According to this lesson report the paradigm of catergorial conflict-based didactics is developed which has determined the subject matter didactics in the field of civic education in Germany until today (Gagel 1994). With regard to school's reality, qualitative, empirical teaching research has identified fundamental problems when this approach is put into practice since it is necessary for teachers to have fundamental knowledge of the subject matter as well as a high *pedagogical beat* (pädagogischer Takt) in order to deal with the students' ideas adequately.

6. Opportunity for today's teaching

How might a lesson unit look like today – almost half of a century later, according to Engelhardt? This could be the subject matter of a seminar for future teachers. I will make a suggestion only, as follows.

With regard to the challenges that democracy faces today, these are different. Rudolf Engelhardt worked and wrote for a young, German democracy – gifted by the allies –, firstly, in order to anchor it in the students' minds, and secondly in order to prevent it from failing again like democracy in Weimar Republic in 1933. This democracy has changed as the economic and social environment has, in which it was embedded. Today, according to Colin Crouch, western democracies[11] face a phase, in which the democratic process is continuously caved. Since the 1970s, the state's ability to regulate the economy and society has declined. Political parties lose their members to the thousands and the participation in political elections decreases. Although all forms of political participation have remained, the expectation that politics would "make a change" has decreased at the same time; whole groups of society have backed out of the political system.

An analysis of concrete politically-based questions reveals political-ideological questions of principle: What is the state's responsibility? What areas should not be regulated by the state? This has an impact on democracy: On the one hand, what areas should be regulated in democratic processes, and on the other, what should be regulated by those forces who are in power concerning different social areas? Questions of principle in a political sense are always strongly related to arguments on concrete political concepts, viewpoints, and interests. However, this is nothing new.

With regard to classical Greek discussions on democracy, this was linked to the genuine structure of society and those disparities in terms of power, authority, and influence, which threatened democracy as well as enriched it. (Schmidt 2008, 36, on Aristoteles: Politics IVth book) Therefore, the relation between political equality in a democracy and social inequalities in a pedagogical draft has to be regarded as crucial; however, it has often been forgotten. Practically, according to Engelhardt's model and including questions of principle on political order in the sense of Klafki and Fischer, a lesson unit could look like this (in the moment in which I am writing this):

1. The current case: The disputes over the period of time until nuclear power stations are to be shut down in Germany[12]. Actors: major corporations, (new) small public utilities and other suppliers of regenerative energies, the current government, and the opposition. The previous knowledge and the media – newspapers, television, Internet (YouTube) – provide an overview.
2. One week later: What progress is made? Statements to the press of the major corporations and of the other suppliers of regenerative energies, negotiations in the chancellery, topic is analyzed by the ruling parties and the government, government's decision, discussion between government and opposition takes place. Media reports as soon as possible. At the same time, students examine the exposition of the political system and the law.
3. Generalizations are made in order to create a definition-based system. According to the individual lesson unit, viable insights are: "Actually, democracy needs to be supported anytime, in order to establish a strong democracy in a society that faces huge social inequalities and offers only more or less reasonable ways to take influence for the

11 Crouch, Colin: Postdemokratie, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2008

12 For initial information: http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2022333,00.html

individual."[13] – "The alternative to a lack of democracy does not mean to abandon politics to the others, but moreover to lay emphasis on democracy."

This unit could establish a field of expressions for the current German political system, as Engelhardt showed. At the same time, this unit may cause a deeper knowledge on this particular political system, since it makes the relationship between society and political order a subject of discussion.

7. Questions on the concept of the exemplary in teaching in seminars

In Germany, this report on the concept of the exemplary in teaching civics is used as an example itself in seminars for future teachers in terms of pedagogic theory as well as of planning and managing civic education lessons. The initial question in such seminars might be: How to deal with party politics at school?

In Germany, after a phase of ideological discussion in the field of education within the 1968 movement and later (1976), this question was answered by the so-called *Beutelsbacher Konsens* (http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html, Consensus of Beutelsbach) in 1976.

According to this consensus, the three principles of a professional and democratic lesson are the following: prohibition of overwhelming[14], command of controversy, and orientation on interests.

Each lesson has to be judged by these three criteria. In sum, these principles are closely related to a concrete idea of the civics teachers' role. In order to approach the lesson's report, further questions might be the following:

- How is the lesson unit structured? (structure of phases)
- How is the lesson reported? (style of the report)
- Should the content of a civic education lesson always be related to current political cases or problems, or are there elements of basic knowledge as well? (relationship between case and curriculum, the exemplary in teaching and structure.
- What could be and should be subject matter of civic education? (canon, curriculum) Should there be a principle opportunity to react to current topics in civic education – according to the principle of actuality?
- Do current topics exist, which should not be dealt with because students are not mature enough for these? Or, may every topic be presented by the teacher according to the students' background and age in order to broaden their horizons?
- How does the relationship between the particularities of the case on the one hand and the systematic content to learn on the other look like? Does the particular case introduce into the subject matter, only? Or has the case to be chosen on the basis that students will be able to access the basic principles of the subject matter? The case: Pure introduction or continuous case study?
- How could we avoid the problem that students need to know more than is necessary in order to work on the case appropriately, and might therefore give up too early?
- Is the teacher allowed to express his or her political opinion in the lesson? Is it allowed to encourage political action? How does forming an opinion relate to an action? How is the relationship between reflection and political involvement established?
- Consequently, the future teachers gain their professional idea of their subject-related work with students in the classroom.

"The best practice exemplary in teaching does not mean to teach it better, but moreover, that it will inspire you to create a new one." (Wolfgang Hilligen http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/interview-hilligen.htm)

13 In addition to Fischer's latest insight: „Der politische Unterricht" S. 33

14 **Link this to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of thinking about up**bringing and education (liberal education) and what is discussed traditionally in terms of indoctrination. See e.g.. Snook (1972).

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Kommentar: Kategoriale Konfliktdidaktik als Paradigma politischer Bildung

Gliederung:

Keywords:
Beutelsbacher Konsens, Kategoriale Didaktik, civic education, politische Bildung, Politikdidaktik, Wolfgang Klafki, Kurt Gerhard Fischer, Reinhardtswaldschule, Rudolf Engelhardt, Sozialkunde, SPIEGEL-Affäre

Das Unterrichtsmodell von Rudolf Engelhardt „Parteipolitik in der Schule?" stammt aus einer Zeit Anfang der 1960er Jahre, in der der Politikunterricht in (West-) Deutschland auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt wurde. Die ersten Nazischmierereien an Synagogen führten zu einem gemeinsamen Beschluss der für die Schulen zuständigen Minister der deutschen Bundesländer, die politische Bildung in den Schulen zu verstärken. Dazu wurde für die älteren Schüler ein eigenes Unterrichtsfach mit dem Namen „Gemeinschaftskunde" oder „Sozialkunde" eingeführt.

1. Autor und Kontext: Die Lehrerfortbildung in der Reinhardtswaldschule

Das Lehrerfortbildungswerk „Reinhardtswaldschule" im Bundesland Hessen bildete im Jahr 1962 in 14tägigen Lehrgängen Lehrerinnen und Lehrer für dieses neue Fach aus. Rudolf Engelhardt leitete diese Kurse. Engelhardt (Jahrgang 1919) machte 1937 unter der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur Abitur und wurde erst nach der „Götzendämmerung" von 1945 zu einem entschiedenen Demokraten. Zunächst war Engelhardt nach dem Krieg Lehrer an einer Volksschule und danach in der Lehrerfortbildung in leitender Position.

Die Lehrerinnen und Lehrer bekamen in der Fortbildung den recht detaillierten neuen Lehrplan, in dem Unterrichtseinheiten wie „Massenmedien und Reklame", „Die Gemeinde, in der wir leben", „Keine Freiheit ohne Recht – Keine Rechte ohne Freiheit", „Kommunismus – Schein und Wirklichkeit", „Wie die Wirtschaft funktioniert" und „Die Stellung der Frau in der heutigen Gesellschaft" vorgegeben waren. Die Lehrerinnen und Lehrer entwickelten dann in Gruppen diese Einheiten für konkreten Unterricht. In diesen Unterrichtseinheiten sollten die Schüler und Schülerinnen nicht in erster Linie abprüfbares Wissen lernen. Sie sollten dort vielmehr durch eine vertiefende Behandlung aktueller Themen Einsichten über die Grundlagen des Zusammenlebens in der Demokratie gewinnen. Diese Unterrichtseinheiten wurden gesammelt und veröffentlicht (Engelhardt/Jahn 1964).[1]

2. Die SPIEGEL-Affäre – Eine Unterrichtserzählung

Aus dieser Arbeit entstand das Unterrichtsmodell von Rudolf Engelhardt über die SPIEGEL-Affäre (Engelhardt 1964, 87-101).

Über die SPIEGEL-Affäre kann man sich hier informieren: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spiegel-Aff%C3%A4re[2]. Die SPIEGEL-Affäre erschütterte damals die Republik. Sie spaltete das Land: Die einen sahen das Vaterland in Gefahr, weil der SPIEGEL militärische Geheimnisse veröffentlicht habe. Der damalige Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer sah einen „Abgrund von Landesverrat". Andere dagegen sahen einen Anschlag auf die Pressefreiheit, damit auf die noch junge Demokratie in Deutschland. Die Vorgänge wurden in den Massenmedien, an den Arbeitsplätzen und in den Familien intensiv, kontrovers und erregt diskutiert.

1 Rudolf Engelhardt hat Bücher über die Lehrerausbildung und über seine Schüler geschrieben. In diesen Büchern gelingt es Engelhardt in einer bis heute nicht übertroffenen Weise, allgemeine pädagogische Überlegungen an konkreten Vorkommnissen zu erklären. Seine Sprache ist konkret, oft amüsant und dennoch erhält der Leser einen Einblick in komplexe theoretische Überlegungen. Die Lehrerbildung könnte in Deutschland als Gegenmittel zum gegenwärtig vorherrschenden sozialwissenschaftlichen Jargon ein „Rudolf-Engelhardt-Lesebuch" sehr gut gebrauchen.

2 Weitere Materialien zur SPIEGEL-Affäre: http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/01642006453512595568594735924988,2,0,Das_Ende_der_%C4ra_Adenauer.html, http://www.spiegel.de/thema/spiegel_affaere/, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSvT2SFoY34, in englischer Sprache http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spiegel_scandal

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Man darf vermuten, dass kurz nach der SPIEGEL-Affäre ein Lehrgang stattfand. Es gab eine aufgeregte Diskussion unter den teilnehmenden Lehrern darüber, wie diese Affäre im Unterricht zu behandeln ist. Einige Lehrer berichteten aus ihrem Unterricht und Engelhardt führte diese Berichte zu einem Entwurf weiter, mit dem grundsätzliche Probleme des Politikunterrichts geklärt wurden.

Die Schüler wollten darüber im Unterricht reden. Für Lehrer entstand ein besonderes Problem für die professionelle Rolle des Politiklehrers: Sollten die Schülerinnen und Schüler ihre eigene Auffassung in den Unterricht einbringen und wenn ja, wie? Die Schülerinnen und Schüler bekämen möglicherweise einen unterschiedlichen Unterricht mit gegensätzlichen Ausrichtungen, je nachdem, welche parteipolitische Einstellung ihr Lehrer hat – die Gefahr der Überwältigung und Indoktrination (Snook 1972). Der Kunstlehrer stellt sich ihnen einfach als Gesprächspartner für all das zur Verfügung, wofür Erwachsene sie sonst für zu jung und unwissend erklären. Statt zu zeichnen wird über die SPIEGEL-Affäre diskutiert, das ist den Schülern wichtiger. Er nimmt sie ernst und deshalb reden sie mit ihm. Eine andere Lehrerin lässt sie alles zusammentragen, was die Schüler aktuell zum Thema erfahren können. Beide Lehrer kommen den Bedürfnissen der Schüler entgegen, aber der Unterricht bleibt unbefriedigend. Es reicht nicht aus, im Unterricht einfach nur „aktuell" zu sein. Der Lehrer muss mit seinem Unterricht eine Absicht verfolgen: „Was soll in dieser Unterrichtseinheit über das Aktuelle des Tages hinaus gelernt werden? Die Schülerinnen und Schüler sollen später ja ohne den Lehrer die Ereignisse in der Politik verstehen und beurteilen können. Dazu müssen Kenntnisse über die Struktur des politischen Systems erworben werden, die Einsichten in dessen Funktionsweise ermöglichen.

Engelhardt verfolgt deshalb den Unterricht eines dritten Lehrers über viele Stunden hinweg, baut ihn aus und ergänzt ihn. In dieser Unterrichtserzählung entsteht vor dem inneren Auge des Lesers ein Unterricht, der bis heute für den Politikunterricht in Deutschland als maßgebend gilt. Andere Autoren haben diesen Typ von Unterricht bis hin in die 1980er Jahre immer weiter verfeinert. Die Unterrichtseinheit von Rudolf Engelhardt gehört zum klassischen Fundus. Sie hat Modellcharakter und spielt deshalb bis heute in der Lehrerausbildung eine wichtige Rolle.

Diesem Lehrer geht es zunächst nur um den Aspekt des Falles, der in der SPIEGEL-Affäre die schärfsten öffentlichen Reaktionen auslöste: die ungesetzliche Verhaftung des Autors des SPIEGEL-Artikels http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-25673830.html im Ausland. In der ersten Stunde schreiben die Schülerinnen und Schüler an die Tafel, was sie aus den Massenmedien – damals Zeitung und Rundfunk, nur selten schon das Fernsehen – mitbekommen haben. Auf diese Weise wird ein gemeinsamer Horizont des Vorwissens erstellt, um dessen gemeinsame Überprüfung es dann im Laufe der folgenden Stunden des Unterrichts geht. In der nächsten Stunde bringen die Schülerinnen und Schüler Zeitungsausschnitte mit, die ihr Vorwissen belegen oder korrigieren sollten. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler sollen ihr eigenes Wissen prüfen: „Was weiß ich sicher, was wird bloß vermutet, was ist Meinung, was ist Urteil?" Von dort her wissen die Schülerinnen und Schüler dann, womit sie ihre Meinung begründen können und womit nicht. Aber auch die Vermutungen müssen ausgetauscht werden. Denn zur Politik gehört es leider, dass die Beteiligten und die Öffentlichkeit bei kritischen Vorgängen weniger wissen, als sie wissen müssten, um angemessen handeln zu können. Obendrein ist jede Sicht von Absichten und Interessen bestimmt, es geht den politisch Handelnden immer erst einmal darum, sich durchzusetzen, dem anderen überlegen zu sein. Das macht Politik polemisch, sie findet oft genug im (hoffentlich nur rhetorischen) Handgemenge statt. Auch das muss im Unterricht nachvollzogen werden, damit es eingeordnet werden kann.

Der politische Streit soll durch eine Bundestagsdebatte geklärt werden. Sie wird in den nächsten Tagen im Rundfunk und im Fernsehen übertragen. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler informieren sich zu Hause selbstständig[3]. Die Schüler erleben, wie im Parlament die Regierung von der Opposition kontrolliert wird. Es ist für den Unterricht nicht von Bedeutung, welche politische Seite in diesem Streit den Sieg davon getragen hat. Eine scharfe Debatte lässt vielmehr „das Exemplarische erkennen: wo es Macht gibt, muss Macht kontrolliert werden." Und die Schüler erkennen ein grundlegendes Problem der politischen Ordnung: Soll der Staat so viel wie möglich geheim halten können, um seine Aufgaben effektiv erfüllen zu können, oder haben die Bürger einen Anspruch darauf, grenzenlos informiert zu sein? Welche Antwort man auch immer auf diese Frage gibt, es muss eine Regelung gefunden werden, die das Problem mindestens zeitweilig löst. Die Notwendigkeit einer klärenden und allgemein verbindlichen Regelung wird einsichtig, damit die Funktion von Gesetzen.

Fachdidaktische Perspektive:
Inhalt + Fragestellung = (Unterrichts-) Thema
Ein Inhalt (SPIEGEL-Affäre) wird hier durch eine auschnitthafte und problemhafte Fragestellung zum Thema: Staatliche Sicherheit oder private Informationsfreiheit? Dies wird als die Bildung einer didaktischen Perspektive bezeichnet.

In der folgenden 7. Unterrichtsstunde begleiten die Schülerinnen und Schüler den Verlauf der SPIEGEL-

3 Das Schulfernsehen war damals in Deutschland gerade in der Entwicklung, so dass eine Übertragung in der Schule noch nicht als medialer Standard vorausgesetzt werden konnte.

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Affäre weiter (sog. politikbegleitender Unterricht): Im Deutschen Bundestag und in der Öffentlichkeit wird der Rücktritt des Bundesverteidigungsministers Strauß verlangt, ihm wurde vorgeworfen, das Parlament belogen zu haben. Die Schülerinnen und Schüler wollen nun verstehen, welche Folgen ein Rücktritt hätte. Sie nehmen also das Grundgesetz, die deutsche Verfassung, in die Hand, suchen die entsprechenden Artikel und informieren sich auf diese Weise über den Aufbau und die Aufgaben der Bundesregierung.

Die Schüler verlangen nun also selbst nach institutionenkundlichem Wissen. Aus diesen wenigen Grundgesetz-Artikeln kann man im Unterricht durchaus einen kleinen Überblick über das parlamentarische Regierungssystem machen. Es wurde ja im Unterricht schon erfahren, was im Bundestag geschieht und wie Regierung und Opposition in einem parlamentarischen Regierungssystem aufeinander bezogen sind.

Von hier aus können die Schülerinnen und Schüler nun die weitere Entwicklung des Falles mitverfolgen, jedenfalls soweit der Fall sich im Bereich der wichtigen politischen Institutionen abspielt. An dieser Stelle ist dann Gelegenheit dafür, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler ihre Meinung zum Fall äußern; der Lehrer kann sich in die Diskussion dann mit seiner Meinung einschalten, vermutlich werden ihn die Schülerinnen und Schüler sogar danach fragen.

3. Die Fall-Didaktik

Die SPIEGEL-Affäre war zu ihrer Zeit ein viel diskutierter Vorgang. Hermann Giesecke (*1932), ein anderer wesentlicher Autor zur Entwicklung des Politikunterrichts, stellte zur gleichen Zeit die unterrichtliche Behandlung der SPIEGEL-Affäre in den Mittelpunkt seiner Dissertation http://www.hermann-giesecke.de/diss2.htm und entwickelte an diesem aktuellen Fall seine eigene, für den Politikunterricht in Deutschland einflussreiche Didaktik (Giesecke 1965; Schattschneider/May 2011). Die sog. „Konfliktdidaktik" war geboren.[4] Zentrale Elemente sind das Aktualitätsprinzip und die Fallarbeit (case study method).

Für den Unterricht muss der „Fall" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Case_method und die verschiedenen Aspekte, die an ihm zu lernen sind, in eine zeitliche Ordnung gebracht werden. Giesecke beschreibt den Fall, seine Vermittlung über die Medien, die Anforderungen, die er an die Verstehensmöglichkeiten der Bürger stellt, und deren mögliche Reaktionen. Das kann aber nur ein erster Zugriff auf die didaktischen Möglichkeiten des Falles sein. Soll der Fall exemplarische Qualität haben, dann muss vom ihm her auf Grundlegendes des politischen Systems durchgestoßen werden können. Folglich beschrieb Bernhard Sutor (*1930), ein anderer wesentlicher Autor der Didaktik des Politikunterrichts (Sutor 1971; Schattschneider/May 2011), etwas später den Unterrichtsverlauf in der Fallanalyse so:

„Wir unterscheiden ... für den Unterrichtsverlauf im wesentlichen

1. die Stufe des Einstiegs (lernpsychologisch gesehen Stufe der Motivation, zu der arbeitsunterrichtlich das Planungsgespräch gehört),
2. die Stufe der Untersuchung, auf der Orientierungswissen gewonnen und durch Rückbezug auf die Ausgangsfrage problematisiert wird,
3. die Stufe der Problemlösung (mit Zieldiskussion, Urteilsbildung), Entscheidung,
4. die Stufe der Integration und Generalisierung durch orientierendes Lernen." (Sutor 1971, 298ff., Gliederung durch HL)

Welche Gliederung hat die Unterrichtseinheit von Engelhardt?

Ausgehend von den öffentlichen Auseinandersetzungen um die SPIEGEL-Affäre, von der die Schülerinnen und Schüler in jedem Fall (irgendwelche) Kenntnis haben, werden

1. das Vorwissen und die Voreinstellungen der Lernenden zum Fall zum Gegenstand gemacht, dann gibt es
2. eine Phase der Prüfung dieses Vorwissens an Hand von wesentlichen medialen Erfahrungen (Zeitungen und Rundfunk), dabei werden Vorwissen und Voreinstellungen geprüft und gegebenenfalls korrigiert,
3. Einsichten werden während Diskussion über diese Überprüfung und Korrektur gewonnen: Die Welt sieht vielleicht doch anders aus, als die Schüler es sich bisher dachten, eine neue Sichtweise wird durch eine Metareflexion gewonnen. Die neu gewonnenen Einsichten werden
4. durch neue Kenntnisse und Erkenntnisse in die verschiedenen politischen Bereiche, die zur des Falles Klärung notwendig sind, so vertieft, dass Wege zum weiteren Verlauf des Falles oder zu anderen Fällen angebahnt werden.

Engelhardt folgt damit einer älteren deutschen allgemeindidaktischen Tradition – möglicherweise ohne sie bewusst zu kennen, jedenfalls wird sie im Text nicht zitiert. Nach Johann Friedrich Herbart http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbart (1776-1841), dem weltweit rezipierten Begründer der deutschen Unterrichtswissenschaft und Nachfolger Immanuel Kants in Königsberg, ist das reine System des Wissens nicht bildend. Weil der Lernprozess in die beiden Hauptakte „Gewinnung der Anschauungen" und „Entwicklung des

4 Es gibt parallele Entwicklungen in den USA in dem Ansatz „controversial issues", erstmals bei Oliver/Shaver 1966. Nach http://www.learner.org/workshops/civics/workshop7/otherlessons/index$1.html. Aktuell in Frankreich der Ansatz bei "socially acute questions" (Simmoneaux/Legardez 2010 http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-4/pdf/Simonneaux-et-al-JSSE-4-2010.pdf).

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Begrifflichen aus dem anschaulichen Stoffe“[5] zerfällt, ist im Unterricht in jeder Lerneinheit eine bestimmte Reihenfolge zu finden. Im 19. Jahrhundert wurde daraus bei seinen Nachfolgern in der Lehrerausbildung, den sogenannten „Herbartianern“ (Meyer 2001, S. 170ff.) ein System formaler Stufen im Unterricht http://www.xtimeline.com/evt/view.aspx?id=356620.

Engelhardt gliedert seine Unterrichtseinheit in genau dieser Tradition:

	Herbartianer	Engelhardt
1	Das Vorwissen erheben. Das Neue einführen.	Den neuen Fall und das eigene Vorwissen kennen lernen. Das Vorwissen und die Voreinstellungen zum Fall durch Vergleich und Verknüpfung mit anderen Materialien prüfen.
2	Das Neue vergleichen und verknüpfen.	Den Fall in das politische System einordnen können. Dabei Kenntnisse zum politischen System gewinnen.
3	Begriffe ableiten und Systematik herstellen.	Kenntnisse und Erkenntnisse neu verknüpfen, neue Sichtweisen und so die Einsichten gewinnen.
4	Das Wissen anwenden.	Dieses neu erworbene Wissen bei weiteren Unterrichtseinheiten und bei späteren politischen Ereignissen anwenden können.

4. Kategoriale Bildung und Einsichten

Die Schülerinnen und Schüler sollen im Politikunterricht „Einsichten“ gewinnen, wie Engelhardt es mit Kurt Gerhard Fischer (1928-2001, vgl. Fischer, Hermann, Mahrenholz 1965 mit weiteren Unterrichtsbeispielen; Schattschneider/May 2011), einem weiteren wichtigen Autor der damaligen Diskussionen zum Politikunterricht, sagt. Unterscheidet man mit Fischer (begriffliche Einzel-) Kenntnisse und (begrifflich-systematische) Erkenntnisse, so haben die Lernenden in diesem Unterricht zur SPIEGEL-Affäre grundlegende begriffliche Kenntnisse zur parlamentarischen Demokratie und zu ihrer Fundierung im Grundgesetz, der deutschen Verfassung, gewonnen. Sie ermöglichen Wissen über die Bedeutung vieler einzelner Wörter und Begriffe (Kategorien). Diese Kategorien stellen insgesamt ein kognitives „Netz von Vorstellungen“ zur Verfügung, mit dem die Arbeitsweise des Parlaments, die Aufgabe des Bundespräsidenten, die Bedeutung der parlamentarischen Fragestunde, die Rolle der Opposition, die verfassungsrechtliche Stellung der Regierung und ihrer Mitglieder von den Schülerinnen und Schülern besser verstanden werden. Sie gewinnen so eine Übersicht über das politische System. Auf diese Weise wurde von Engelhardt und seinen Freunden das allgemeindidaktische Konzept der „kategorialen Bildung“ für den Politikunterricht (Fachdidaktik) realisiert. Es wurde in der wegweisenden Arbeit „Das pädagogische Problem des Elementaren und die Theorie der kategorialen Bildung“ von dem Allgemeindidaktiker Wolfgang Klafki[6] (*1927) aus der deutschen Didaktiktradition entwickelt, vgl. http://books.google.de/books?id=Gp9Xg42YWesC&pg=PA101&lpg=PA101&dq=klafki+categorial+education&source=bl&ots=9KkXiQw4sx&sig=_KhxlFmL97uIxs4eAs58Pas0LKA&hl=de&ei=bK0wTZQlysKzBtS4-YoK&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=klafki%20categorial%20education&f=false

In, mit und unter diesen Kenntnissen und Erkenntnissen hinaus können diese politischen Einsichten angebahnt werden. Erst mit Einsichten als Tiefenverstehen (Sinnorientierung) entsteht, was in der deutschen didaktischen Tradition mit dem Wort „Bildung“ umschrieben wird: „Politische Macht kann mißbraucht werden – Demokratie ohne Parteien funktioniert nicht – Die ständige Auseinandersetzung zwischen Regierung und Opposition bewahrt uns vor der Diktatur – Eine große Gefahr für die Freiheit besteht darin, daß sich nicht genug Menschen für das Gemeinwohl einsetzen – Die freiheitliche Demokratie ist darauf angewiesen, daß sich jeder einzelne mitverantwortlich fühlt und daß möglichst viele mitverantwortlich handeln.“ (Engelhardt 1964, 99) Demokratie ist ohne Konflikte nicht denkbar; Konflikte sind der Stoff, an dem Demokratie unterrichtet und gelernt werden kann. Deutsche Politikdidaktik ist deshalb „kategoriale Konfliktdidaktik“.

Einsichten sind für Engelhardt „... Wegweiser zur Orientierung in einer demokratischen, pluralistischen Industriegesellschaft, sie sollen zum Verständnis ihrer Probleme und zur Kunst des recte vivere in einer solch schwer durchschaubaren Gesellschaft beitragen.“ (Engelhardt 1964, 11) Sie sind nicht eine Steigerung der fachlichen Erkenntnisse, sondern eine aus Überlegung und Erfahrung gewonnene Haltung zu den Grundfragen von Politik.

5 Für die deutsche Politikdidaktik hat Wolfgang Hilligen dieses Verhältnis von Fall und Begriff/Sytematik als das „Pulschlagtheorem“ formuliert (http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/interview-hilligen.htm; Schattschneider/May 2011). Fallarbeit und Lehrgang ergänzen sich. Ebenso deduktives und induktives Vorgehen.

6 Einige Arbeiten von Klafki liegen in englischer Übersetzung vor und sind im Literaturverzeichnis aufgeführt.

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Kenntniserwerb, Erkenntnisfindung, Einsichten

Unter Kenntnissen (Wissen, Information) wird hier das Lehren und Lernen von Wörtern verstanden, die etwas bezeichnen. Begriffsbildung hat hier ihren Ort; sie ist eine eminent wichtige Aufgabe des Politischen Unterrichts, ohne daß jedoch ihre Wichtigkeit dazu verführen sollte, Begriffe zu selbständigen Lerninhalten zu machen. Ein Beispiel sei eingefügt: Ein Schüler sagt: „Die – SPD, CDU, CSU, FDP, NPD, KPD ... – ist eine politische Partei."

Erkenntnisse sind Urteile a posteriori, d.h., sie folgen aus der – unmittelbaren oder vermittelten – Erfahrung und ihrer Reflexion.

Wiederum sei ein Beispiel eingefügt: „In A wird im B-Werk seit einigen Tagen gestreikt. Die Arbeiter und Angestellten haben die Arbeit niedergelegt, weil sie höhere Löhne respektive Gehälter fordern, der Arbeitgeber jedoch ihre Forderung unter Hinweis auf die gestiegenen Marktpreise für die im B-Werk zu bearbeitenden Rohstoffe und unter Hinweis auf erforderliche Investitionen zur Verbesserung der Konkurrenzfähigkeit und mithin zwecks Erhaltung der Arbeitsplätze ablehnt."

Wir sehen: ‚weil ... deshalb' kennzeichnet angemessene Verknüpfungen einer Vielzahl von Informationen (Lohn, Gehalt, Streik, Arbeiter, Angestellter, Arbeitgeber, Marktpreis, Konkurrenz, Investition usw.). Angemessene Verallgemeinerungen sind also durch die Erfahrung gewonnene Sätze, hinter die der Verstand nicht mehr zurückgehen kann. Sie sind die Endstation der Analyse von gesellschaftlichen Phänomenen und gesellschaftlicher Praxis auf hohem Abstraktionsniveau und mit Geltungsanspruch für mehrere andere Erscheinungen in Gesellschaften, die in wesentlichen Merkmalen mit dem Analysegegenstand übereinstimmen.

Aus der hier vorgetragenen Reflexion von Erkenntnis und ihrer Funktion im Politischen Unterricht folgt: Bildungsinhalte des Politischen Unterrichtes können regelmäßig nur „Fälle" (casus), mit anderen Worten: Ausschnitte gesellschaftlicher Realität zwecks kritischer Analyse sein. Die Analyse gesellschaftlicher Realität und Praxis kann sich auch nicht aufs Feststellen beschränken; das Festgestellte ist jeweils weiter zu befragen, mit anderen Tatsachen zu vergleichen und mit Maßstäben für politisches Handeln zu verbinden. Feststellungen werden jedoch nicht um ihrer selbst willen getroffen, weder in den Sozialwissenschaften noch von den „Politikmachern"; sie lösen Fragen nach den Gründen und Hintergründen aus, oder sie veranlassen Stellungnahmen und Maßnahmen zum Festgestellten.

Selbstverständlich ist der hier vorgeführte Erkenntnisprozess die Mitte des Politischen Unterrichts. „Aufklärerischer Politischer Unterricht endet mit und in der Aufklärung eines Falles, eines Ereignisses, soweit unsere Geisteskräfte dazu reichen. Das Ergebnis des Unterrichts ist mithin die induktiv gewonnene Deskription des Ereignisses und die Erhellung seiner Hintergründe."

Unter Einsichten werden hier Aussagen verstanden, die der Urteils art der apriorischen Sätze entsprechen. Einsichten sind Urteile, die aller Erfahrung vorausgehen. Dieses Vorausgehen gilt natürlich nicht im Sinn der physikalischen Zeit, sondern als logisches Vorausgehen.

Fischer, Kurt Gerhard 1971: Einführung in die Politische Bildung, Stuttgart: Metzler, 2. Auflage, S. 91-96, gekürzt

Aber wie sollen diese „Einsichten" unterrichtlich vermittelt werden? Sie können nicht unmittelbar unterrichtet werden, dann wären sie bloße Sätze, die die Lernenden auswendig lernen und wieder vergessen würden. Sie sollen vielmehr die Haltung der Schülerinnen und Schüler zu einem bestimmten Bereich des Lebens bestimmen. Politische Bildung muss politische Erziehung sein, die den Charakter und die Einstellungen formt.

> „Wissen ist lehrbar – zu Einsichten aber muß der Schüler durchstoßen, er muß sie gewinnen und kann sie nicht in Form eines politischen Katechismus auswendig lernen. ...Wissen ist abfragbar – ob einer Einsichten hat, zeigt sich erst bei der Beurteilung politischer Vorgänge (Engelhardt 1964, 10f.).

Um Schülerinnen und Schülern Einsichten zu ermöglich, muss ein Lehrer auf den Erlebnisgehalt seines Unterrichts achten: Wie schafft er es, mit den Schülerinnen und Schülern, eine Perspektive auf den Streit im Bundestag zu gewinnen, als wären sie nicht außerhalb, sondern innerhalb dieses Streites? Engelhardts Entwurf holt die SPIEGEL-Affäre ins Klassenzimmer; sie war nicht (nur) fremder Gegenstand außerhalb der Schule, das Klassenzimmer war vielmehr Teil der an der SPIEGEL-Affäre teilnehmenden Öffentlichkeit.

5. Exemplarisches Lernen und Unterrichtsberichte

Die „Fallanalyse" ist jene Art von Unterricht, die in der deutschen Unterrichtswissenschaft „exemplarisches Lernen" (Klafki 1985) heißt. Martin Wagenschein (1896-1988) http://www.natureinstitute.org/txt/mw/index.htm hat solchen exemplarischen Unterricht für den Physik- und Mathematik-Unterricht in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren entwickelt und damit für Jahrzehnte die deutsche Diskussion über den Schulunterricht bestimmt. Sein Einfluss auf den Unterricht in deutschen Schulen ist bis heute unübersehbar (vgl. http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/lehrkunst-english-berg.htm). Wagenschein hat nicht nur in allgemeindidaktischen Schriften seine Unterrichtsprinzipien dargelegt, sondern seinen Unterricht auch konkret in modellhaften Unterrichtsberichten beschrieben. Im Vorwort einer Schrift von 1953 heißt es: „Den einzelnen Schritten der entworfenen Lehrgänge wird hier in aller Ausführ-

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lichkeit und Gründlichkeit nachgegangen. Das ist aber nicht so gemeint, als solle dem Leser und Lehrer empfohlen werden, dieses Vorgehen genau so und nicht anders nachzuahmen. Im Gegenteil: jede ursprünglich suchende und arbeitende (Lern-; HL)Gruppe wird ihren eigenen Weg finden. Was gezeigt werden soll, das ist die *Art* der Gründlichkeit, und das konnte nur an irgend einem besonderen Weg geschehen. Es sollen also nicht Vorschriften, sondern Anregungen gegeben werden." (Wagenschein 1953/1975, 8)

Rudolf Engelhardt hat genauso wie Wagenschein die Prinzipien seines Unterrichts am konkreten Fall entwickelt und erläutert. Diese Tradition des konkreten und gleichwohl theoretisch reflektierten Unterrichtsberichts, der sehr anschaulich ist und zum Nachmachen auffordert, sollte für die Lehrerausbildung wieder belebt werden. Sie eignet sich sicher auch für die internationale Kommunikation über fachdidaktische Konzepte und Praxis.

Mit diesem Unterrichtsbericht ist das Paradigma der kategorialen Konfliktdidaktik entwickelt, dass die normative Fachdidaktik Politik (subject matter didactics in the field of civic edcuation) in Deutschland bis heute bestimmt (Gagel 1994). In der Unterrichtspraxis hat die qualitative empirische Unterrichtsforschung allerdings erhebliche Probleme mit der Umsetzung dieses Ansatzes feststellen können, da er erhebliche fachliche Kenntnisse und einen hohen „pädagogischen Takt" (Herbart) des Lehrenden erfordert, um flexibel auf Schülervorstellungen reagieren zu können.

6. Eine mögliche Wiederholung heute

Wie könnte eine Unterrichtseinheit, wie Engelhardt sie beschrieben hat, heute – fast ein halbes Jahrhundert später – aussehen? Darüber könnte in einem Seminar der Lehrerausbildung nachgedacht werden. Ich mache hier nur einen Vorschlag.

Die Herausforderungen, vor denen die Demokratie heute steht, sind andere. Rudolf Engelhardt arbeitete und schrieb für die junge, von den westlichen Alliierten „geschenkte" deutsche Demokratie, damit sie bei den jungen Bürgerinnen und Bürgern verankert werde und nicht wieder scheitert wie die Demokratie der Weimarer Republik. Diese Demokratie hat sich seitdem genauso gewandelt wie das ökonomische und soziale Umfeld, in das sie eingebettet ist.

Heute befinden sich, folgt man Colin Crouch (2008), die westlichen Demokratien in einer Phase, in der der demokratische Prozess immer weiter entkernt wird. Seit den 1970er Jahren ist die Fähigkeit des Staates, in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft steuernd einzugreifen, zurück gegangen. Die Parteien verlieren in dramatischer Weise ihre Mitglieder und die Teilnahme an politischen Wahlen sinkt. Alle Formen der politischen Beteiligung bleiben erhalten und gleichzeitig sinkt die Erwartung, Politik würde „was ändern", ganze Gruppen der Gesellschaft steigen einfach aus dem politischen System aus.

Die Auseinandersetzungen um konkrete politische Fragen sind durchzogen von politisch-ideologischen Grundsatzfragen: Wofür ist der Staat zuständig? Was soll außerhalb des Staates von alleine sich regeln? In der Demokratie heißt das: Was soll in demokratischen Prozessen geregelt werden, was von jenen Kräften, die in den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen die Macht haben? Grundfragen der politischen Ordnung sind mit dem Streit konkreter politischer Konzepte, Anschauungen und Interessen untrennbar verknüpft.

Aber das ist nichts Neues. Schon die klassische griechische Diskussion über die Demokratie verknüpfte sie mit der gegebenen Gesellschaftsstruktur und jenen Ungleichheiten an Macht, Ansehen und Einfluss, die die Demokratie immer bedrohten (Schmidt 2008, 36, über Aristoteles: Politik IV. Buch) – und auch bereicherten. Deshalb ist das Verhältnis von politischer Gleichheit in der Demokratie und sozialer Ungleichheit im didaktischen Entwurf immer schon mit zu bedenken, wir haben es nur vergessen.

Eine Unterrichtseinheit, die sich an Engelhardts Vorlage orientiert, und grundlegende Fragen der politischen Ordnung im Sinne von Klafki und Fischer einbezieht, könnte dann so aussehen (In dem Moment, in dem ich das hier schreibe):

1. Der aktuelle Fall: Der Streit um die Verlängerung der Laufzeiten der Atomkraftwerke in Deutschland[7]. Akteure: Die großen Konzerne, die (neuen) kleinen kommunalen Stadtwerke und andere, alternative Anbieter („Ökostrom"), die jetzige Bundesregierung, die Opposition. Das Vorwissen und die Medien: Zeitungen, Fernsehen, Internet (YouTube) im Überblick.
2. Eine Woche später: Was hat sich getan? Presseerklärungen der Konzerne und der Anbieter alternativer Energien, Verhandlungen im Kanzleramt, Auseinandersetzungen in den Regierungsparteien und in der Regierung, Beschluss der Regierung, Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Regierung und Opposition. Medien so zeitnah wie möglich. Blick in Darstellungen zum politischen System und in Gesetzestexte.
3. Verallgemeinerungen, ein begriffliches System erstellen. Die möglichen „Einsichten", hier je nach Gang der Unterrichtseinheit: „Um Demokratie muss in einer Gesellschaft mit starker sozialer Ungleichheit und unterschiedlich starken Einflussmöglichkeiten immer wieder neu gerungen werden."[8] – „Die Alternative zu schlecht funktionierender Demokratie heißt nicht, Politik den ande-

7 Für eine erste Information: http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2022333,00.html

8 Eine Ergänzung zu Fischers letzter Einsicht in „Der politische Unterricht" S. 33

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ren zu überlassen, sondern besser funktionierende Demokratie."

Dieser Unterricht könnte ein Begriffsnetz zum gegenwärtigen deutschen politischen System erzeugen, wie Engelhardt es vorgemacht hat. Zugleich kann er ein tieferes Verständnis dieses politischen Systems hervorrufen, indem er den Zusammenhang von Gesellschaft und politischer Ordnung thematisiert.

7. Fragen zur Arbeit im Seminar

Dieser Bericht über exemplarischen Politikunterricht wird in Deutschland in Seminaren für angehende Lehrer selbst als Exempel für die didaktische Theorie, für Planung und Durchführung von Politikunterricht verwendet. In solchen Lehrveranstaltungen kann die Ausgangsfrage sein: Wie „(partei-)politisch" darf Politikunterricht sein? Diese Frage nach der Lehrerrolle wurde nach einer Phase ideologischer Auseinandersetzungen in der Pädagogik der 1968er Bewegung später (1976) in Deutschland mit dem „Beutelsbacher Konsens" http://www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html befriedet. Die dort genannten drei Prinzipien einer professionellen demokratischen Unterrichtsarbeit sind das Überwältigungsverbot[9], das Kontroversgebot und die Interessenorientierung des Unterrichts. Jeder Unterricht muss sich an diesen drei Kriterien prüfen lassen. Damit ist eine Vorstellung von der Rolle des Politiklehrenden verbunden.

Weitere Fragen, die Zugänge zum Unterrichtsbericht eröffnen, können sein:

- Wie ist die Unterrichtseinheit aufgebaut? (Phasengliederung)
- Wie ist der Unterrichtsbericht „gemacht" (Stil der Reportage)?
- Sollen sich die Inhalte des Politikunterrichts immer an aktuellen politischen Fällen oder aktuellen Problemen orientiert sein? Oder gibt es auch Gegenstände von grundlegender Bedeutung? (Verhältnis von Fall und Lehrgang, von Exemplarik und Systematik)
- Was kann und sollte im Politikunterricht zum Unterrichtsstoff werden? (Kanon, Kerncurriculum) Sollen die Inhalte politischer Bildung nach dem Aktualitätsprinzip prinzipiell austauschbar sein?
- Gibt es tagespolitische Themen, die nicht behandelt werden sollten, weil die Schülerinnen und Schüler noch nicht reif genug für dieses Themen sind? Oder kann jedes Thema vom Lehrenden so aufbereitet werden, dass es sach- und altersangemessen in den Horizont der Schüler gebracht werden kann?
- Wie soll das Verhältnis zwischen den besonderen Angelegenheiten des Falles und dem beschaffen sein, was systematisch zu lernen ist? Ist der besondere Fall nur Anlass, um in einen Gegenstandsbereich einzuführen, oder muss er so gewählt werden, dass an ihm der Gegenstandsbereich in seinen Grundzügen erschlossen werden kann? Fall als Einstieg („Aufhänger") oder als durchgehende case study?
- Wie kann das Problem vermieden werden, dass die Schüler zu viel wissen müssen, um den Fall zu bearbeiten und deshalb vorzeitig aufgeben?
- Darf der Lehrer/die Lehrerin im Unterricht seine/ihre politische Meinung äußern? Darf zu einer politischen Handlung aufgefordert werden? Wie ist das Verhältnis von Urteilsbildung und Handlungsorientierung? Wie ist das Verhältnis von Reflexion und Engagement?

Die angehenden Lehrerinnen und Lehrer erarbeiten sich auf diese Weise ein professionelles Verständnis von ihrer fachlichen Arbeit mit den Schülerinnen und Schülern im Klassenzimmer.

> „Das gelungenste Lehrstück besteht nicht darin, dass man es selbst dann weiter noch besser lehrt, sondern dass man zu einem Neuen angeregt wird." (Wolfgang Hilligen http://www.jsse.org/2004/2004-1/interview-hilligen.htm)

9 Damit ist angesprochen, was in der angelsächsischen Tradition des Nachdenkens über Erziehung und Bildung (liberal education) traditionell unter dem Begriff „Indoktrination" diskutiert wird. Vgl. z.B. Snook (1972).

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Anu Toots

New International Study on Youth Civic Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviours is Available for the Research Community

In November 2010 the largest international study ever conducted on civic education in secondary schools has been released in Brussels. The study was performed under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), an independent consortium that brings together educational researchers and policy makers in 62 countries around the world. The IEA is probably more widely known in connection of large-scale comparative studies on educational assessment in math and science (TIMSS) and in reading (PIRLS). Yet, the association has longstanding and impressive expertise also in civic education. The first study in this area has been carried out already in 1971 (Torney et al., 1975), the second – so called CIVED in 1999 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and now, ten years later, 38 counties around the world participated in the third study – the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). The study tested in 2008–2009 over 140,000 lower secondary students, over 62,000 teachers and headmasters from 5,300 schools in order to analyse how young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens.

Keywords:
ICCS, comparative research in citizenship education, adolescents' civic competences, youth civic engagement

While keeping previous knowledge and expertise in making large scale surveys it was decided to bring also some new features into the ICCS. Firstly, the survey data will be complemented by the national context surveys and the ICCS Encyclopaedia, which includes country chapters written by the national experts. Secondly, the increasing number of participating countries produced also an increasing variety in social and educational circumstances that the study aims to grasp. Therefore, besides the international core different regional modules for European, Asian and Latin American countries have been developed. 24 European countries took part in the European module, which assessed students' knowledge about the European Union and attitudes toward EU-related policies and issues such as European identity and freedom of movement.

Thus, generally the study and its results have become more complex that poses new challenges to the researchers and users of the ICCS results. On the one hand, the ICCS Encyclopaedia provides excellent inside information that helps to understand results of the quantitative data analysis. At the same time, readers should be careful to descry, where the information comes from. Sometimes responses of the surveyed headmasters differ from those given by the experts in the national context survey (respectively in chapters 6 and 2 in the International Report). In cases when the contradiction concerns the curriculum or legal acts on civic and citizenship education it may be wise to consult the forthcoming ICCS Encyclopaedia, or (in case of the European countries) the Eurydice database on education systems and policies.

Partly because of the increasing sophistication of the study, publication of the reports and release of the database takes longer as users would like to see. By the end of 2010 two international reports and the European regional report are publicly available:

- Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., Losito, B. (2010) *Initial Findings from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study.* Amsterdam: IEA, 109 pp.
- Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Kerr, D., Losito, B. (2010) *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, an Engagement among Lower-secondary School Students in 30 Countries*.'' Amsterdam: IEA, 311 pp.
- Kerr, D., Sturman, L., Schulz, Burge, B. (2010) *ICCS 2009 European Report: Civic Knowledge, Attitudes, an Engagement among Lower-secondary School Students in 24 European Countries*.'' Amsterdam: IEA, 181 pp.

The international database is expected to be open for the free access in the end of January 2011. All reports and the database together with the codebooks and the user manual can be found at the IEA homepage www.iea.nl

Hopefully did this brief overview to enthuse researcher to undertake secondary analysis on the ICCS data. This is probably the richest database currently freely available to study civic and citizenship competences, democratic values, behavioural intention and current behaviour of adolescents worldwide. At this point let me point just on some highlights from the primary reports that can serve as departing points for the further in-depth investigations.

The study included an extensive test of civic and citizenship knowledge, which allows to relate students attitudes and behaviour to their cognitive competences. Moreover, the achievement level can be analysed in the broader social and educational context. The results reveal notable differences between students in their level of civic knowledge, with significant gaps between 'high' and 'low' achievers and between males and females. In the very top one can see the same countries, which score high in other

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educational assessments (such as PISA) - Finland, Republic of Korea, Chinese Taipei. At the bottom end of the achievement scale are Latin-American and some Asian countries. Although in general European countries scored higher there was a considerable variation across them, even within the Western and within the Eastern European country groups.

The first IEA Civic Education Study in 1971 showed that males scored significantly higher than females, in CIVED 1999 this gap was almost closed and in the recent ICCS girls outperform boys in all countries. This result can be partly explained by the general trend in educational achievements apparent also in other studies (TIMSS, PIRLS, PISA). On the other hand, girls' higher scores may reflect alteration of the civic and citizenship education itself. Compared to the 1970s the contemporary civic education pays much more attention to the "soft" issues such as social movements, consumer citizenship and volunteering that make the subject more attractive to the girls.

Twenty of the 38 participating countries included a specific subject on civic education, but this did not bring to the any systemic cleavage in terms of students' knowledge. This finding confirms previous arguments on citizenship education as a topic largely influenced by the extra-curricular activities and social environment. According to the same approach, citizenship education is supposed to promote active participation of the youth in civil society and in the later political life. Therefore it was surprising to find out that nor teachers neither headmasters share this view. Most of them regarded promoting of knowledge and cognitive skills by far the more important than preparing students to the future political participation or equipping them with the effective strategies to fight xenophobia. For example, only 18% of surveyed European teachers mentioned promoting students' participation in the school life amongst three main aims of the civic education. The fact that most teachers and principals in ICCS countries considered the development of "knowledge and skills" as the most important aim of civic and citizenship teaching points to the need to broaden the focus of education to foster participatory skills and strategies in students.

Primary analysis does not allow estimating what is the effect of teachers' and schools' neglect to the civic engagement to the students' real participation. However, what we can observe is a quite modest level of active participation. Although the vast majority of students (about 80%) are expected to vote in national elections as adults and 48% have some political party preferences already, approximately only 26% said that they would join a political party or stand as a candidate in a local election. About 40% of students have participated in the school governance; engagement in organisational activities outside the school remains even lower and participation in sport events and cultural activities tend to be dominating**.** What is, then, troubling the youth citizenship participation? We can argue that adolescents are simply not interested in taking an active stance in social and political life. Yet, we can also have a critical look at the survey instruments and think, whether we did not fail to ask some important questions on modern youth political engagement? Possibilities of the young people to be engaged into policy making and policy implementation have enriched enormously during the last decade. For example, in many European countries youth parliaments or assemblies exist, youth organisations are regularly engaged in policy making from the local up to the European level. Until we keep asking students on traditional forms of social involvement as sport and drama clubs, human rights organisations and charity, we will probably miss new emerging trends of youth engagement into public policy. Thus, as the democracy and governance evolve the research instruments studying them need also permanent elaboration. This makes the next IEA study on citizenship education, which is planned preliminary for 2017 an extremely exciting effort.

Anu Toots was the National Research Coordinator of ICCS in Estonia.

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Review

Diana Hess

Controversy in the Classroom. The Democratic Power of Discussion

New York/London: Routledge 2009, 198 pages
Price: $ 37.95
ISBN: 978-0-415-96229-2

Tilman Grammes (Hamburg/Germany)

"One warm day in the spring of 2006, I visited a U.S. History class at a public charter school in a large Midwestern city ..." (p. 1) This is the beginning of Diana Hess' book about the methods of democratic discussion in classroom and it indicates its strong narrative quality including several teacher portraits and scenic vignettes. The book is winner of the 2009 "Exemplary Research in Social Studies" award from the National Council for the Social Studies. In an interview with Kerry G. Hill for the campus journal (School of Education, University of Wisconsin http://campusconnections.education.wisc.edu/post/LEARNING-Diana-Hess.aspx) the author roots the book's content back to her own biography and socialization: While growing up in northern Illinois, Diana Hess recalls members of her family engaging in lively, raucous political discussions. "Disagreement wasn't a negative thing," she remembers.

Diana Hess received her PhD at University of Washington, College of Education under the mentorship of Walter Parker. Once a former high school teacher, she works now as professor in *Curriculum and Instruction* at the University of Wisconsin - Madison School of Education, where she currently teaches courses for undergraduate and graduate students in social studies education. More than a decade she has been researching what young people learn from deliberating highly controversial political and constitutional issues in schools and became a highly respected expert in the field worldwide.

Teachers are often tempted to avoid controversial issues in preference for „safe" knowledge and „safe" teaching practices. This question about the epistemic status of knowledge is not only relevant in history teaching but in civic education as well (compare the approach of Bürgler and Hodel in this issue http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/contents-jsse-3-2010). There is always a strong tendency of closing up questions to create "positive" knowledge. There's a lot of self-censorship as well. Instead, curricula and teaching should be based on controversial issues.

Teaching controversial issues is a project which has a relevant tradition. The "jurisprudential" approach has been famous and influential until now (Oliver 1957; Oliver/Shaver 1966; Newmann, Oliver 1970) within the so-called new *Social Studies movement* (compare Totten, Pederson 2006; Bohan, Feinberg 2008). Infusing controversial political issues into the curriculum now remains within the mainstream conceptions of democratic education (28). This means preaching the mainstream (for international discussion compare Chavet 2007 or http://www.deliberating.org). But there remain various problems in classroom practice. Hess examines empirical evidence about how discussions affect students with respect to three dimensions: democratic values, content knowledge, and political civic engagement (31-36; compare Fine 1993). The reader will look forward to Hess' future empirical research here.

Controversial political issues are defined as questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement. In the first section Hess starts defining why democracy demands controversy by relating to political theorists like Amy Gutmann (Democratic education, 1987, revised 1999) and others. However, concerning everyday politics in a conservative educational climate that is dominated by policies like "No Child Left Behind", her diagnosis is that in the US "the trend is clearly moving in a non-deliberative direction" (12). This pessimistic statement is surprising because it seems a little bit un-controversial. Is there not constant struggle about what is legitimately controversial - the curriculum material on 9/11 as an ultimate teachable moment (131-160)? Hess could relate controversial issues discussions in classrooms to communication culture in other contexts more systematically: What distinguishes a discussion in class from a (parliamentary) debate, a family conflict, a talk show or business negotiations and so on? Thus discussions in classroom as a method could be compared to other "natural" forms of discussion outside school. The problem of (false) analogy and misconception is obvious here.

Throughout her argumentation Hess prefers the term "democratic discussion" instead of "civic educa-

tion" because to her mind the latter suggest "fitting in" to society as it currently operates (14). By the deliberate use of "democratic" she wants to highlight the dynamic and contested dimensions inherent in a democracy.

Hess has a lot to give to practitioners. In spite of all difficulties and mental reservations Hess observes an astonishing openness and affinity towards controversial issues among teachers and students. Good teaching depends on differentiating and it is a characteristic of an expert teacher that he or she understands to differentiate. In the course of her book, Hess points out the relevance of making distinctions which are important for lesson planning and conceptualizing a learning environment for discussion. A professional teacher is able to distinguish between a topic and an issue (and a problem), unfortunately used in everyday communication to mean the same thing (see Leps http://www.jsse.org/2010/2010-3/contents-jsse-3-2010). For instance, "immigration" is a topic whilst "Should the United States increase the number of people who can enter legally?" stands for an issue. Another important difference is the one between public and private issues. Public issues demand public decisions and have an impact on the majority of people, for example "Should the United States reinstate the military draft?" Private issues, while clearly linked to public decisions, are dealt with on an individual level ("Should I join the military?"). Hess points out that issues once regarded as controversial in one era — such as whether women should have the right to vote — might be considered settled by another. On some issues, whether a question is open or closed might be fodder for a discussion in and of itself (Teaching in the Tip, 113-130).

Hess also explores the different ways in which policy and constitutional issues are conceptually distinct, yet overlap. Even constitutions differ from state to state. The European reader may look forward to one of Hess' forthcoming books on "courting democracy" (Hess 2012).

It is a challenging question if diversity really is a deliberative strength. Are discussion results better in more homogeneous classrooms or in more heterogeneous ones where diversity is in our midst? There might be a third group, the apathetic classroom. Hess is quite sceptical about simply tossing out a topic and offering students an opportunity to chime in on the spot. Spontaneous discussion is rarely successful (?). Should we disclose a question or should we not? What about online discussions? These and other practical questions are considered in the large chapter two "inside classrooms" (53-112). What about student's who prefer to remain silent in large group discussions? Should they be forced to communicate orally? Are there inter-cultural differences in talking, negotiating, or discussing? For example, some students are born talkers, while others are only listeners. What about learning cultures in Asian or Arabic-Persian countries where listening to a mentor is a core value? Therefore, apart from many other factors influencing, "the single most important factor is the quality of a teacher's practice". (53) Another four examples of teachers effectively engaging students in controversial issues discussions are presented. Especially the first one is interesting because it represents an example of failure and falls "completely flat" and counteracts the somewhat optimistic touch of the book. A meta-analysis of the appropriate style of reporting would be worthwhile: Who is talking in the scenic vignettes we read – the observer, the teacher, the students in the multivocal classroom ...?

Hess is currently the lead investigator of a five-year study that seeks to understand the relationship between various approaches to democratic education in schools and the actual political engagement of young people after they leave high school. The study involves 1,000 students from 21 high schools in Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana. When interviewed several years later, students recall classroom discussions with astonishing specificity!

Teaching controversial issues is seen as a cross-subject matter task: curriculum projects in English, literature, and language art classes; even in science, curricula are infusing political issues into courses in order to make the curriculum more authentic (27). In addition, it is seen as a matter of school culture. Perhaps a further edition could integrate empirical information on the rich culture of student participation in school councils or in simulated mock trials or debating clubs and competitions.

The target group of readers are teachers of high school classes. But a propaedeutic approach is possible in elementary schools as well (Beck 2003, Parker 2009). The book can certainly contribute to what is called "pedagogical tact" (van Manen 1991) in the Herbartian tradition of educational wisdom. The overarching messages from Hess research is: "Teachers are really key!" Much of the scenic vignettes in the book could contribute to a social studies case archive!

Forthcoming projects and publications by Diana Hess:

Website:
http://www.education.wisc.edu/ci/faculty/details.asp?id=dhess
http://www.wcer.wisc.edu/people/staff.php?sid=554

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Hess, Diana/McAvoy, Paula (expected publication December 2011). The Political Classroom: Ethics and Evidence in Democratic Education. New York: Routledge.

McLeod, J./Shah, D./Hess, Diana/Lee, N.J. (in press). Education and Communication: Creating Competence for Socialization into Public Life. In: Sherrod, L. (Ed.). Handbook on research and policy on civic engagement in youth. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Stoddard, J./Hess, Diana/Hammer, C. (in press). The Challenges of Writing „First Draft History": The Evolution of the 9/11 Attacks and their Aftermath in School Textbooks in the United States. In: Yates, L./Grumet, M. (Eds.). 2011 World Yearbook of Education: Curriculum in today's world: Identities, politics, work and knowledge. New York: Routledge.

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Selected Links: Qualitative Research

All information is taken from the related websites (31-12-2010).

1. Case archives in the field of education
2. Web-portals: video sequences of (social science) lessons
3. Journals
4. Project

1. Case archives in the field of education

A good description of the purpose of such case archives is given on the website of No. 5 Arbeitsstelle pädagogische Kasuistik: "At research places loads of data and material is collected in folders and shelves. However, the decision what happens to all the data and material after the research project is finished, is not at all an easy one: Frequently, nobody wants to delete these. However, it is not clear, if and how these data and protocols can be used adequately in the future. Since one year the department of pedagogical casuistry has started to archive protocols of the pedagogical practice, such as observation protocols in the sense of "dense description", video-/audio-recordings, or transcripts of pedagogical interactions (interviews, group discussions, etc.). In order to make the material accessible, we established categories for subject headings. Our work's aim is to provide protocols for researchers and teachers and their didactic purposes as well as for the analysis of secondary literature. We would appreciate it, if you had any material - no longer needed, but interesting for a professional audience – that could be provided to our archive in order to make it available for public use. If you have any material for us, please do not hesitate to contact us or send us the following response paper. Thank you very much for your cooperation!" (From the website, Translation TG)

Additional hints to case archives in the field of social studies worldwide appreciated!

1.1 GOLD – La buone pratiche della scuola Italiana

Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione per l'Innovazione e la Ricerca Educativa, Firenze/Italy
http://gold.indire.it/gold2/

The Italian agency responsible for the support to school autonomy (ANSAS) was originally also the Italian documentation agency on education (INDIRE). The website presents examples of school activities both curricular and extracurricular, projects, and innovative experiences developed at a school level („good practices"). The decision on the inclusion of the practices in the archive is up to the agency. All the materials are in Italian.

1.2 Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT)

Case studies.
http://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk/case_studies
This section of the site contains examples of how other teachers have delivered various aspects of Citizenship across all phases of education.

1.3 Fallarchiv Universität Kassel, Germany

www.fallarchiv.uni-kassel.de

1.4 Archiv für pädagogische Kasuistik (APAEK)

Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität Frankfurt/Main, Germany, Prof. Andreas Gruschka
www.apaek.uni-frankfurt.de

More than 1116 files including more than 350 lesson transcripts .

1.5 Arbeitsstelle pädagogische Kasuistik

Technische Universität Berlin/Germany, Prof. Sabine Reh
www.ah-ewi.tu-berlin.de/menue/arbeitsstelle_paedagogische_kasuistik/

2. Web-portals: video sequences of (social science) lessons

2.1 Unterrichtsvideos

University of Zurich/Switzerland, Institute of Educational Science et al.
www.unterrichtsvideos.ch

Broad collection of videotaped lesson sequences. Designed for use in teacher training as well as empirical research. A few citizenship topics can be found under the subject "Geschichte" (history). Topics are voting processes or international conflicts, i.e. Iraq war, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, war and peace.

2.2 Videodatenbank Schulunterricht in der DDR

[Data base with lesson from the former GDR]
German Institute for International Educational Research (DIPF), Frankfurt/Germany
http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/filme/filme.html

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Unique collection from the former Academy of Educational Sciences (Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften) in the German Democratic Republic until 1989. Access for research purposes only but can easily be applied for. Contact Prof. Dr. Henning Schluss, University of Vienna http://bildungswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/fe1/bildungsforschung-und-bildungstheorie/personal/schluss-henning/

2.3 Comparative Education Review (CER)

http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublication?journalCode=compeducrevi&

The journal temporarily provided video clips made by Joseph Tobin, author of the famous study "Preschool in Three Cultures Revisited" in the moderated discussion in the May 2009 issue. The access to the video clips was part of the electronic edition of the journal. Readers could share their reactions to the clips and to the moderated discussions by posting comments in the discussion forum within the Web site of the Comparative and International Education Society (http://www.cies.us/forum). "Doing so will produce a truly multivocal discussion of Preschool in Three Cultures Revisited." The Tobin-study could be re-analyzed regarding the relation of educational styles and "open" democratic education.

2.4 Making civics real. A workshop for teachers.

http://www.learner.org/workshops/civics/

Center for Civic Education (http://new.civiced.org/)/Calabasas/CA and the National Council for the Social Studies (http://www.socialstudies.org/).

Making Civics Real is a video workshop for high school civics teachers. It includes eight one-hour video programs, a print guide to the workshop activities, and an accompanying Web site. Each of the eight programs presents authentic teachers in diverse school settings modeling constructivist teaching strategies. The goal of this workshop is to give teachers new resources and ideas to reinvigorate civic education. Topics of the workshops are e.g. Civic Engagement or Controversial Public Policy Issues. Highly recommended.

Workshop 6. Civic Engagement

This program shows a group of 11th- and 12th-grade students at Anoka High School in Anoka, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis, engaging in a significant way to improve the quality of their community. All students in Anoka are required to participate in service learning in order to graduate from high school. Students begin with simple teacher-defined activities in the ninth grade and become progressively more involved and self-directed as they progress through their high school years. In this Human Geography class taught by Bill Mittlefehldt, a 30-year veteran of the classroom, students work in teams to define a project, choose and meet with a community partner who can help educate them about the seriousness of the issue and its current status, conduct further research on the identified problem, and present the problem and their proposed solutions first to their peers, and then to a special session of the Anoka City Council. This lesson satisfies state and national standards while helping deal with the needs of today's teens and today's communities. The primary methodology presented in this lesson is service learning.

Workshop 7. Controversial Public Policy Issues

In this 12th-grade law class at Champlin Park High School in Champlin, Minnesota, JoEllen Ambrose engages students in a structured discussion of a highly controversial issue—racial profiling—and connects student learning both to their study of due process in constitutional law and to police procedure in their study of criminal law. She begins by having students individually complete an opinion poll, which they then discuss as a group, realizing that the issue of profiling becomes increasingly complex as examples of it get closer to their personal experience. By physically engaging the students (they move around from "Agree" to "Disagree" to "Undecided"positions as the discussion proceeds), they get both a visceral and visual sense of the controversy. The poll is primarily a motivating activity to engage students' interest. Next, working in pairs, they delve into studying a research packet that Ambrose has prepared, reading local and national sources on the topic of racial profiling. The next activity pairs students in a structured debate. The framework for this debate, which comes from the Center for Cooperative Learning at the University of Minnesota, is highly specific with regard to both time and task and is designed to have each partnership argue both sides of the issue. Each group of four is next charged with the task of developing a consensus position on the issue and presenting it to the class. A debriefing discussion completes the lesson. The methodologies highlighted in this lesson include role playing and structured academic controversy. (http://www.learner.org/workshops/civics/supportmaterials/civics_intro.pdf)

2.5 Grammes, Tilman/Gagel, Walter/Unger, Andreas, eds. 1992. Politikdidaktik praktisch. Mehrperspektivische Unterrichtsanalysen.

Ein Videobuch. [Citizenship education in practice. Multiperspective analysis of a lesson. A video book.] Schwalbach: Wochenschau (including videotape).

This material is not online, but an early example of a multimedia book including a videotape of a civic lesson. The topic of the lesson is migration policy in Germany. The single lesson was video-taped and

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is given with full transcript, teacher's and students' stimulated recall to the lesson. It is analyzed from multi-perspectives by different subject matter didactic researchers. Two other so called "video book" projects followed.

3. Journals

3.1 Forum: Qualitative Social Research (FQS)

2009-1 http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/issue/view/30[1])

Open access. Peer-reviewed multilingual online journal for qualitative research established in 1999. FQS is interested in empirical studies conducted using qualitative methods, and in contributions that deal with the theory, methodology and application of qualitative research. Innovative ways of thinking, writing, researching and presenting are especially welcome.

3.2 Ethnography and Education

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/REAE

International, peer-reviewed journal that publishes articles illuminating educational practices through empirical methodologies, which prioritise the experiences and perspectives of those involved. The journal is open to a wide range of ethnographic research that emanates from the perspectives of sociology, linguistics, history, psychology and general educational studies as well as anthropology. The journal's priority is to support ethnographic research that involves long-term engagement with those studied in order to understand their cultures; uses multiple methods of generating data, and recognises the centrality of the researcher in the research process.

3.3 Comparative Education

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/CCED

This international peer-reviewed research journal engages with theoretical and empirical analyses and debates in the field of comparative education, of relevance to scholars, policy-makers and practitioners. Since its inception in 1964, *Comparative Education* has contributed to the growing importance of comparative perspectives on educational issues in national, international and global contexts.

3.4 International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/tqse

The aim of the journal is to enhance the practice and theory of qualitative research in education, with "education" defined in the broadest possible sense, including non-school settings. *QSE* publishes peer-reviewed empirical research employing a variety of qualitative methods and approaches, such as ethnographic observation and interviewing, grounded theory, life history, case study, curriculum criticism, policy studies, narrative, ethnomethodology, social and educational critique, phenomenology, deconstruction, genealogy, autoethnography, etc. In addition, innovative or provocative approaches to qualitative research as well as the way research is reported are encouraged. Theoretical papers are welcome. Publishes discussions of epistemology, methodology, or ethics of qualitative research from a range of perspectives, including (but not limited to) interpretivism, constructivism, critical theory, feminism, and race-based, lesbian/gay/bi/transgender (including queer theory), and poststructural ones.

3.5 Classroom Discourse

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/RCDI

The Journal focuses on research that considers discourse and interaction in settings where activity is deliberately organised to promote learning. While most papers focus on the discourse of classrooms, others report research in more informal, naturalistic settings in which, while learning is certainly still taking place, it is not occurring in the typical and 'traditional' space of a classroom. Examples might include online tutorials, peer-peer interactions of work-in-progress, and dialogues between 'trainer and trainee' in a workplace context. In order to deal with the range of phenomena identified in the Journal's wide interpretations of both 'classroom' and 'discourse', contributions are invited from across the range of theoretical perspectives and research methods. Thus, articles are welcomed which use such perspectives as ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, discursive psychology, multimodal analysis, systemic functional linguistics, genre theory, studies on 'voice', identity studies, critical discourse analysis (CDA), sociocultural theory, cultural-historical activity theory, communities of practice, linguistic ethnography and linguistic anthropology, and poststructuralist discourse analysis.

3.6 Educational Action Research

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/09650792.asp

Fully refereed international journal concerned with exploring the dialogue between research and practice in educational settings. The considerable increase in interest in action research in recent years has been accompanied by the development of a number of different approaches: for example, to promote reflective practice; professional development; empowerment; understanding of tacit professional knowledge; curriculum development; individual, institutional and community change; and development of democratic management and administration. Proponents of all these share the common aim of ending the dislocation of

1 Hiller 2009 for example uses the critical incident method. This qualitative research method could be very interesting for qualitative research in citizenship education.

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research from practice, an aim which links them with those involved in participatory research and action inquiry. This journal publishes accounts of a range of action research and related studies, in education and across the professions, with the aim of making their outcomes widely available and exemplifying the variety of possible styles of reporting. It aims to establish and maintain a review of the literature of action research. The impetus for Educational Action Research came from CARN, the Collaborative Action Research Network, and since its foundation in 1992, EAR has been important in extending and strengthening this international network.

3.7 Reflective Practice

http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=g927922488~tab=summary

Refereed journal publishing papers which seek to address one or more of the following themes: The different kinds of reflective practice and the purposes they serve; Reflection and the generation of knowledge in particular professions; The ways reflection is taught and learned most meaningfully; The links between reflective learning and the quality of workplace action.

4. Project

VOICE

"Developing Citizens – Paths to core competencies through a problem-based learning project in civic education"

http://www.ipw.uni-hannover.de/5656.html

Project under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Dirk Lange, Leibniz-University Hannover. Sponsored by Life Long Learning Programm of the European Commission. Educational experts and practitioners from nine different institutions of Estonia, Slowenia, Austria, Turkey and Germany are participating.

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