JSSE

Insights into Citizenship Classrooms: The Art of Documentation & Description

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Editorial: Insights into Citizenship Classrooms. The Art of Documentation & Description

1 An estimation: Quantifying civic education

Imagine a colleague from another country would like to present an example of a typical social studies (citizenship or civics or moral education) class from your country to their students or teachers. Indeed, ideally they would like to present several different types of lessons in order to overcome the artificial nature of the "typical" and the resultant need to present more than one example. Therefore, they ask you to provide materials to assist with this task, a video clip, perhaps, or, failing that, a series of photographs, transcripts or project reports. Accessing suitable material would not be an easy task for many of us.

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Post-PISA, a great deal of data was collected in order to test assumptions around causal relationships between inputs into citizenship education and their outputs (see for example de Weerd, Gemmecke, Rigter and van Rij 2005; Manning 2014). However, there remains a dearth of phenomenological "dense" description from within the classroom. In other words, the teaching and learning process itself has been somewhat neglected and not enough is known, in practice, about how the 'intended' curriculum, as articulated in policy documents and course guidelines is actually 'implemented' in the classroom or 'attained', i.e. experienced, by students (Davis 2005; Goodland, Klein and Tye 1979). It could be argued that the issue here is not a shortage of research but a shortage of coherent and coordinated research capable of aiding progression in this field. In addition, producing research about citizenship education is insufficient. The findings emerging from such research must also be implemented in the classroom. Sadly this does not yet appear to be the case to a sufficient extent.

The significance of this fact is underlined by the sheer volume of classes in citizenship education and related areas delivered every week around the world. Accompany us, if you will, in a quick and rough calculation. In your estimation, how many classes in citizenship education are taught in your country every week? If we limit ourselves to a conservative estimate and eliminate primary and vocational education from our calculation, this leaves us with a focus on secondary education. Let us also assume that there is only one lesson per week dedicated to civic/political or related issues on average. Often this lesson is delivered over approximately three school years.

For a large EU-member state such as the United Kingdom this would involve approximately 2.1 million students. Assuming 30 students per classroom, this would suggest that approximately 70,000 lessons in political education and related areas take place every week. Over a 40 week school year, the total comes 2.8 million citizenship related classes annually. Even accepting the fact that some classes would be cancelled for various reasons, some two million hours remain. For EU-member states with smaller populations, such as the Republic of Ireland or Croatia, this would result in a figure closer to 5,700 hours a week (except school

holidays) or 228,000 hours annually. The sheer quantity of civic education in itself is reason enough to cultivate case archives in the field or indeed, in some instances, to initiate them.

The focus of this issue is, therefore, on the art of documentation and description of citizenship education in the classroom. For many years, the "Cinderella" of the official school curriculum in many countries, citizenship education has in recent times gradually begun to claim its rightful place. This has led the emergence of what some have referred to, in some cases critically, as a "citizenship industry" (Splitter 2011).

Against the backdrop of the quantitative data available, this issue contains contributions which underpin this data using qualitative approaches to observation and documentation. Pioneering studies have been Hahn (1998), Schiffauer et.al. (2002) and Nonnenmacher (2008); an excellent state of the art review can be found in Hahn (2010). Documentation, preferably in digitalized archives, is indispensable in encouraging ground-breaking research. As an initial online case archive, our objective is that this issue should provide a certain impetus for the establishment of a broader systematic research tradition in comparative cultures of citizenship education and its delivery.[1] Most contributions in this issue make use of digital publishing in that they integrate pictures from textbooks, other teaching materials, stills and screen shots, video clips, and finally podcasts with commentaries from teachers and students. The goal is to provide vivid insights from multiple perspectives into the culture(s) of citizenship education.

2 Entering today's citizenship classroom: Ireland, Indonesia and Germany

In their article, *Practice as Prize: Citizenship Education in two Primary Classrooms in Ireland*, *Fionnuala Waldron, Brian Ruane* and *Rowan Oberman*, all of whom are based in St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, in Ireland, present illustrative cases based on the experiences of two experienced primary-school teachers of citizenship education, Bróna and Zoe. The first case relates to the conservation of water and the second to the right to education in the context of global justice. The researchers draw on thick description and the teachers' narratives in both cases and consider particular issues which arise from these cases in the broader context of citizenship education in Ireland more generally. As such they contribute to our understanding of the curriculum as it is implemented worldwide with regard to environmental discourse (Bromley, Meyer, Ramirez 2011). In addition, a central focus of the article is on a tension between professional practice, on the one hand, and particular agendas of external agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), on the other, with these NGOs significant providers of teaching resources, awards and professional development. Issues around the notion of competition and the focus by the pupils on winning rather than learning are also considered. JSSE is

pleased to have a contribution from Ireland, a country, where citizenship education has been somewhat controversial since the foundation of the state (Bruen 2014), its introduction as a subject in schools initially having been opposed by the Catholic Church as likely to encroach upon its perceived remit as the moral educator of the young (Gleeson 2009).

Mohammad Imam Farisi (Terbuka University, Indonesia) introduces *"Bhinneka Tunggal Ika"* [Unity in Diversity], the national motto of Indonesia and a core tenet of Indonesian philosophy. He goes on to trace its development from a concept underpinning dynastic policy to one underpinning classroom practice via content analyses of textbooks and curricula. It is hoped that these first tantalising glimpses into the practice of citizenship education in Indonesia will be followed, perhaps in later editions of this journal, by participant observation. Specifically, Mohammad Imam Farisi considers how the concept *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), is brought to life in five citizenship education textbooks and realised in practice in the citizenship education classroom. In other words, he documents the transformation of the concept from a more abstract, ideological one to an underlying pedagogical philosophy. The content analyses of the textbooks with a focus on family, school, state, religious ceremonies and architecture, is presented alongside teachers' reports concerning their implementation of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the classroom. Its manifestation in the guise of *Gotong Royong* (working together) is also considered. The importance of pupils actually experiencing these concepts in their schools and communities is highlighted and their role in terms of the state's broader cultural and educational goals touched upon (see also Zhao et.al. 2011, Li 2012). This article can usefully be read in tandem with the Sinic tradition of "harmonious society" outlined in the contribution to this issue by Changqing, Guo and Ren. In addition, the challenges associated with the coordination of plurality and complexity in modern societies are further explored in the paper on Herbart (below).

Marie Winckler (Marburg University, Germany) considers the potential value of videographic documentation in assisting researchers in gaining more in-depth insights into political education in the classroom and regrets the fact that its focus to-date has been primarily on the training and evaluation of teachers. Winckler does not shy away, however, from potential pitfalls associated with the use of videographic documentation in her discussion of the challenges associated with its use in the context of a research project designed to produce videos of ten individual lessons which together make-up a unit of civic education. By focusing in her paper on what is revealed by one particular video sequence and comparing this with information gleaned from other sources (group work and interviews) about the same sequence, it is possible for her to discover both what videographic documentation

reveals and, significantly, what it may fail to document. Thus, videography does not necessarily represent a progression from other forms of documentation but instead a complementary source of information. Here, Winckler references a previous edition of JSSE (2010-3) where the focus was on 'voices from the civic classroom' and describes how videography presents, often complementary, visual insights instead. An additional emphasis in the paper on how the experience of the political education classroom itself contributes to the formation of political self-image among students allows for initial insights to be obtained into the types of questions to which videographic documentation might hold some of the answers.

3 Entering yesterday's classroom:
The German Democratic Republic

Benita Blessing and *May Jehle* (both of the University of Vienna, Austria) accompany the reader on a virtual journey to the German Democratic Republic and its culture of teaching and learning. They provide a sensitive presentation of (the beginning of) an East German[2] civics lesson as it was delivered to an 8th grade class. The topic is "The right and duty to work" and the class thus negotiates the "consequences of unemployment in the capitalist west", with the objective of affirming another kind of "socialist harmonious society" (see below) in their homeland. The art of documentation is discussed along with its challenges including the complexity of videographic data and the different perspectives from which it can be considered. Furthermore, this attempt at entering yesterday's classroom may illuminate further several of the points made in the preceding edition of JSSE (2013-4) on citizenship and civic education in post-communist countries. One of the issues considered is the extent to which previous experience of communism or socialism continues to be relevant in teaching and transmitting moral values and political culture in such societies today.

The GDR, itself, has been labelled as "Aufhebegesellschaft" (Stefan Wolle), or a "society of hoarders". In addition, there was constant observation and reporting on teaching as it was felt that the goals of socialist education were not being achieved in the classroom (Grammes 2014). The German Institute for International Pedagogical Research maintains a fascinating database, prepared by the Chair of Empirical Educational Research and Educational Philosophy at the University of Vienna http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/forschungsdaten_bildung/ddr_filme.php. It remains to be seen whether similar archives containing video recordings, audio files and verbal protocols exist in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the former Czech Republic, Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union. If so, JSSE would be keen to document these in a future issue.[3]

4 Lesson (document) archive:
China and Turkey – in the footsteps of Dewey

In the following, we present just two lessons, a mere drop in the ocean in the light of our estimation at the outset. The single case is the building block of a case archive facilitating future comparative research in subject matter didactics (Hamilton, Corbett-Whittier 2012). "Internationalism" as one of the JSSE core quality criteria is met by the particular "national" and "typical" single case.

The two cases selected, follow in some sense the route taken by the noted philosopher, psychologist and educational reformer, John Dewey. For example, on his visit to China in 1919, Dewey raised the question of whether it is possible for a Westerner to understand Chinese political psychology and culture (Dewey 1919). Like in a concave mirror, a citizenship lesson provides an ideal opportunity to address this question "in the making", in other words, to examine the "doing" of political habitus and culture. JSSE has had the privilege of publishing several articles on the Chinese classroom (Changqing 2012). The contribution in this issue by *Liu Changqing, Jianqiang Guo* and *Ping Ren*, entitled "*An ideological and political lesson from China*", includes a video recording in Chinese with English subtitles[4]. It was recorded in September 2013, in a special classroom with two cameras, one of which is focused on the teacher and the other on the students. While, at first glance, the topic may appear to fall under the rubric of the study of economics rather than citizenship, it soon becomes clear that considerations around the cost of goods and services and their value to the citizen are themselves embedded in particular ideological contexts. The notion of a "harmonious society" or "harmonious socialist society with Chinese characteristics", as it is referred to in official documents, reappears towards the conclusion of the lesson as the connection between economic, moral and political education becomes evident (see also Kwan-Choi Tse 2011).

1: Lesson study laboratory, Faculty of Education, East China Normal University, Shanghai

Dewey also visited Turkey, shortly after the founding of the Kemalist republic and, in the Republican Era, his ideas and thoughts on education have been eagerly observed and implemented by Turkish authorities, who have explicitly recognized his competence and authority in the field of education. His impact on the Turkish education system is still visible as policy makers continue to refer to his works (Tarman 2011). Questions remain nonetheless regarding the relevance of his influence on the culture of communication in the classroom (Altinyelken 2011, Cahir & Bagli 2011). Somewhat ironically, even though Dewey did not actually visit any classrooms, arriving as he did during the long Turkish summer holidays, his report entitled "The Report and Recommendation on Turkish Education" (1924) is considered to provide deep insights into educational practice still relevant today. However, in this edition, we go a step further and actually enter the classroom itself. To the best of our knowledge, the contribution "*A Social Studies Lesson from Turkey: Human Rights*" of *Mehmet Acikalin* (Istanbul University, Turkey) is the first full length transcript on a Turkish citizenship classroom, to be published.[5] The lesson was videotaped in March 2013, using two cameras. The videotape is for research purposes only, but stills from the video give the reader an impression of the classroom setting and interaction, as this is something that remains unchanged throughout the class. As observed in the case of the Chinese lesson, a predictable pattern is followed in terms of the teacher-student interaction and the lesson might appear somewhat restrained. Again, the climax comes at the end of the classroom, when the teacher starts to play with the students and motivates them to judge a fictious case as follows: "Imagine … when you enter Istikal Street you got searched", thus questioning the epistemological framework of thinking in the field of human rights. Only a few weeks after this lesson, the so called Gezi Park (which is situated in Istanbul nearby Istikal street and Taksim place) protest movement started. An impressive array of topics relating to current domestic and international affairs are also touched upon during this lesson.[6]

2: Teacher, I know the answer! (Yücel 1951)

Methodological issues and challenges

Let us shift the focus at this point to two systematic methodological problems in the art of documentation. Both of these must be addressed when "going the distance" (Bettmann & Roslon 2013) in interpreting intercultural research. Documentation and description is not only an integral and indispensable part of scientific analysis. It constitutes challenging and time consuming scientific research in itself:

The first issue concerns research ethics, for example, relating to questions around access to the field, copyright, etc. There are also significant issues around maintaining the anonymity of the participants[7]. In practical terms, this means, and has meant for our contributors, building strong and trusting relationships with schools, teachers and students. In the Chinese project for example, several attempts were made before a successful relationship was established. A useful approach might be to cooperate as a team and to include practitioners in the authorship process. For example, in his article, *Liu Changqing* describes his decision to involve the teacher, *Jianqiang Guo*. Clearly, there is no "perfect" lesson and the aim of the researcher is never to heap criticism on the teacher or the student, on the contrary.

A second issue concerns challenges relating to the representation, interpretation and, in some cases, translation of video and audio data. For example, in order to ensure professional quality, all audio recordings must first be transcribed in their original language and then translated into English. Therefore, the editors decided to present documentation bilingually. This involves two stages with the first involving the representation of the video and audio material, here in the form of a verbatim protocol. Experience with transcription quickly reveals the main challenges to be associated with understanding the audio material and deciding on the optimum approach to its documentation. Thus, many of the difficulties associated with the transcription of aural material can be studied on the basis of contributions to this issue. For further methodological discussion of video ethnography and video transcription in the educational and social sciences see Corsten, Krug and Moritz (2010), Derry, Pea, Barron et al. (2010) and Moritz (2014).

The second stage involves the translation of the protocol into English. Our Chinese and Turkish authors both discuss their options in selected passages and consider possible alternative translations of key terms. This process clearly required considerable teamwork. In both cases, native speakers in Germany and the UK discussed and refined the English version of the verbatim protocols, in the case of Ping Ren becoming a true co-author.

On the basis of these documents, a range of issues could usefully be addressed. One of the most challenging might be the question of how legitimized knowledge is negotiated in the classrooms, to establish the classifications and codes of control about "good" and

"bad", ingroup and outgroup, legal or illegal, etc. How does the teacher present official knowledge and how is it co-constructed by the students? Is knowledge presented in a positivistic mode ("This is given fact!") or as a question ("Is this a fact?")? Which epistemological frameworks and limits of thinking and speaking can be identified, the zone of the undoubted and taken-for-granted knowledge? Such questions will require interdisciplinary integration within the social sciences of such areas as comparative political culture research (Zapf 2012), comparative and contextualized sociology of knowledge (Morais, Neves, Davies, Daniels 2001) and intercultural comparative learning psychology (Li 2012). Such integration would facilitate the development of an enhanced comparative approach to cultural studies in education (Hudson, Meyer 2011; Hummrich, Rademacher 2013, JSSE 2012-1: Comparative Studies of Civic and Citizenship Education).

Citizenship universes: Pictorial, spatial, performative, material … and other 'turns'

New departures in JSSE digital publishing are displayed in our gallery *Symbols of Citizenship at Schools*. The idea is to simulate a walk through a school building as it appears to a pupil/student/teacher over the course of a day. The contributions from Japan, Poland, Luxemburg, Germany and Denmark document five examples of the performed citizenship education curriculum, the "symbolic universes" of the citizenship curriculum. For a long time, citizenship lessons have been regarded exclusively as discourse (Kolbe et.al. 2008). However, the gallery approach is in line with several recent disciplinary and methodological 'turns' in contemporary educational science. The first is the so called pictorial turn. Collections/archives of educational images and illustrations as well as related photography have a long tradition in the history of education studies.[8] Our gallery materials also allow references to other recent "turns", as for example the performative, the spatial or the material turn. Many of the examples in the gallery lend themselves to further interpretation and the exploration of questions concerning for example the representation or otherwise of specific regional or national cultures by way of the implicit and explicit codes contained within the photographs. A more detailed description of the sequence of motifs is contained within an introduction to the gallery by *Tilman Grammes*.

The German tradition: Herbart and didactics

This issue opens with a strong contribution to the theory of citizenship education and its development over time. In this vein, *Thomas Rucker* (Bern, Switzerland) introduces *Political Bildung in the Context of Discipline, Instruction, and Moral Guidance* and thus the works of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), successor to Immanuel Kant in Königsberg, and assesses Herbart's significance in the development of political education.

3: Johann Friedrich Herbart (Butts 1954, p. 404)

Among many other things, Herbart was a precise observer of human development and this might be reason enough to include him in an issue on the art of documentation.[9] Rucker documents two passages, drawn from later works of Herbart, which give an impression of his skills in theorizing based on observation, meticulously generalizing on the basis of the single case. Herbart is considered one of the founding fathers of educational science. He is mentioned in such works as the "Cultural History of Western Education" (Freeman 1955, 404-406; and similarly in Meyer 1965, 358-366) as well as in Routledge's more recent "Key Guide to Fifty Major Thinkers on Education" (Oelkers 2001). In the latter, he is counted among one of the key German language educational theorists alongside Fichte, Humboldt, Kant, Froebel, Hegel, Nietzsche, Pestalozzi, Buber and Steiner (Phillips 2011). However, as a German scholar attending an education conference in Asia, you could easily find yourself listening to scholarly lectures on Herbartian philosophy with which you are completely unfamiliar. The reason for this is that Herbart is not and indeed has rarely been considered a seminal or even significant author in educational studies in Germany let alone in the field of citizenship education. There are two notable reasons for this:

Firstly Herbart is regarded by some as "conservative" or even "reactionary". This is primarily because he continued to act as Dean of his faculty at the University of Göttingen, where he had moved from Königsberg, while seven Professors (the "Göttinger Sieben"), protested against a change of constitution proclaimed by the King of Hannover, Ernst August, in 1837.

More generally, questions have been posed around the relevance of Herbart's work to modern society. In his paper, Rucker argues that Herbart can be viewed as a "virtual contemporary" in that many of his concepts continue to be relevant today.[10] In presenting his arguments, Rucker addresses both an international and a German speaking audience. This is the reason for the publication of this paper in both German and English facilitating the reader in their choice of language and, in addition, allowing for reflection on the choices made during the translation process itself. This is particularly relevant for concepts such as "Erziehung" or "Bildsamkeit", the "einheimische Begriffe" (domain-specific concepts), as Herbart calls them. It is the hope of the editors that this contribution will be discussed not only by members of the Internationale Herbart Gesellschaft, the International Herbart Association (www.herbart-gesellschaft.de), but also by citizenship educators.

The authors and editors hope, that this issue of JSSE provides a rich variety of insights into the teaching and learning process taking place within citizenship education classrooms internationally as well as into the materials used to support this process and the outputs arising from it. As such, it is intended that this edition should contribute to and stimulate further theoretical debate in comparative citizenship education, the development of criteria for the identification of international best practice in citizenship education and in particular methodological questions around its documentation and description. It should also assist in the dissemination of information and resources potentially useful in both initial teacher training and continuing professional development. In her final passages of "Becoming Political", Hahn (1998) evokes a dream, that one day we will be able to show videos from our citizenship classrooms to our foreign colleagues and compare them. We share this goal.

Finally, the next edition of JSSE will continue to tease out many of the issues raised above. Apart from a particular focus on higher education, it will contain further insights into classrooms from Israel, Japan, Sweden and again entering yesterday's classroom, Nazi Germany.

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Endnotes:

[1] Other subject matter didactics are far more advanced, especially mathematics education, for inspiration see Leung, Graf, Lopez-Real 2006.

[2] In line with common practice in English language literature in these field, the term 'East German' is used to refer to the eastern part of Germany that constituted the German Democratic Republic until its collapse in 1989 while 'eastern Germany' is used to describe the five new Länder (federal states) constituted on the territory of the former German Democratic Republic.

[3] Alternative methodological approaches include the simulation of historical civics lessons. The Schulmuseum Leipzig, a pedagogical museum, provides an excellent example of such an approach in their reconstruction of a "typical" lesson in the subject "Heimatkunde" by 3rd graders, see www.schulmuseum-leipzig.de/html/heimatkundestunde.html. Whether the simulation of 'a GDR' in German history and civics lessons is ethically acceptable is discussed particularly regarding the danger of such an approach potentially trivialising an authoritarian society.

[4] For the sake of brevity, the English subtitles in the video differ slightly from the verbatim protocol provided.

[5] For JSSE monitoring of citizenship education in Turkey see also Cayir & Gürkaynak (2008).

[6] The second lesson, briefly summarized here, focuses on visual presentation and awaits further interpretation (e.g. compared to Mark's classroom, see Erixon 2010).

[7] For example: stills could be replaced by scenic drawings/sketches where necessary to ensure the anonymization of research material.

[8] See for example Hilker (1956) or more recently the UNESCO photo archive at
http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/photos-video/photo-archive/ containing images relating to the theme of education for all under the auspices of the UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report. A further digital ressource is the archive Scriptura Paedagogica Online of the Bibliothek für bildungs-geschichtliche Forschung (Library for Research on the History of Education Studies) in Berlin accessible at:
http://bbf.dipf.de/bbf/bilder-bbf/pictura-paeagogica-online/view

[9] As a young man he worked as a private tutor in Switzerland from 1797 until 1799, educating the three sons of the family of Herr von Steiger, the Governor of Interlaken, to whom he sent annual progress reports. These reports are inspiring historical examples of the art of documentation. The reports are accessible in English:

Herbart, Johann Friedrich. 1901: Letters and Lectures on Education. London: Sonnenschein, 1-101.

[10] A question posed by one of our anonymous reviewers concerned whether the society envisioned by Herbart in the early 19th century could be described as "modern" given that it was only during the first decade of the 19th century that Germany began to experience the separation of different spheres beyond the classical division between the political and the private.

Thomas Rucker

Political *Bildung* in the Context of Discipline, Instruction, and Moral Guidance*

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) is considered the founding father of the science of education. In this article, I will try to show that Herbart sees the promotion of political *Bildung* as the task of discipline, instruction, and moral guidance, and that his work presents important components of a theory of political *Bildung* within an educational setting. According to Herbart, the political relationship to self and the world relates to issues that not only affect the lives of some but of a majority of people. But it is not people's collective life as such that is the point of orientation for the political relationship to self and the world, but only the collective life where problems have arisen. According to Herbart, politics results from a conflict about the question as to how to regulate people's collective life. While discipline, by providing the basic preconditions for instruction and moral guidance, makes merely an indirect contribution to political Bildung, the two latter forms of education – instruction and moral guidance – serve as the actual means by which political Bildung is achieved.

1 Introduction

Johann Friedrich Herbart was born in Oldenburg in 1776 and died in Göttingen in 1841. After studying under Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) in Jena, he worked as a private tutor in Switzerland from 1797 until 1799 when he moved to the University of Göttingen. In 1809, he was appointed to the chair previously held by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) in Königsberg, where he remained as a professor of philosophy and education for twenty-four years before returning to the University of Göttingen in 1833. During his time in Königsberg, Herbart published mostly on psychology and philosophy. Prior to that, he had already written important works on education, in which he took issue with Kant's philosophy for being an inadequate reference point for educational thought and practice (see Herbart 1804/1908, 58ff.) while adhering to the notion that the "one and the whole work of education" is to help develop "Morality" (ibid., 57).[1] In 1806, Herbart published his treatise *The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aims*, in which he urges the science of education to use "intrinsic conceptions" and cultivate "an independent mode of thought" (Herbart 1806/1908, 83). Since then, Herbart has been considered the founding father of the science of education.

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Herbart's disciples are called "Herbartians." Authors such as Karl Volkmar Stoy (1815-1885), Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882), Otto Willmann (1839-1920) or Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929) have variously picked up on and developed Herbart's theories. Subsuming the resulting theories under the term "Herbartianism" is possible only at the cost of considerable simplification (see Coriand, Winkler 1998). In the nineteenth century, Herbartianism had a major influence on the training of teachers in Europe, and its concepts spread throughout the world. For this and other reasons, Herbart's work has had major international impact, as has been shown by numerous studies on its reception in a wide variety of countries, including the United States (see Lorenz 1997). American philosophers and educationists, most notably William James (1842-1910) and John Dewey (1859-1952), closely studied Herbart's work and further developed his ideas (see English 2007; Prange 2006).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Herbart was one of the most frequently cited authors in the writings of European and American educators, psychologists, and philosophers (see Adams 1898; Compayré 1907; De Garmo 1895, 1896; Felkin 1906; Gockler 1905; Hayward 1904; Leary 2000; Mauxion 1894, 1901; McMurry 1903; Williams 1911). His work continues to receive a lot of attention today, most notably in Russia (Zajakin 2004, 2009), Poland (Stepkowski 2010), Hungary (Bicsák 2012), Austria (Hopfner, Gerdenitsch 2009), Italy (Moro 2006; Pettoello 1988, 1991), Belgium (Martens 2009), Finland (Siljander 2012), Japan (Dobashi, Marsal 2007; Suzuki 2012), and China (Liou 2006, 44ff.). In the United States, there has been a renewed interest in Herbart's mathematical psychology (see Boudewijnse, Murray, Bandomir 2001).

Both during his lifetime and for a long time after his death, Herbart was considered to be one of the most eminent scholars. His work has significantly influenced

the so-called "foundational crises" in the sciences that led to the evolution of a modern understanding of logic, mathematics, psychology, and other disciplines. Gottlob Frege (1848-1925), the founder of modern logic, pointed out that he would not have developed his ground-breaking insights, had it not been for Herbart (see Frank 1993; Gabriel 1997; Sullivan 1991). In the field of mathematics, it is noted that modern mathematics would have been unthinkable without Herbart (Banks 2005; Huemer, Landerer 2010; Scholz 1982). Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) have variously referred to Herbart's work in their efforts to advance the field of psychology. Freud, for example, took up Herbart's notion of a "threshold of consciousness" and of the significance of pre- and unconscious mental ideas, while Wundt, through his engagement with Herbart's ideas, helped psychology evolve into a scientific discipline.

In order to bring the work of Herbart and his successors into a productive dialogue with current debates and discourses, the International Herbart Society was founded in 2005. Its mission is to preserve an awareness of the problems and issues that find expression in the writings of Herbart and the Herbartians, and to develop them further with a view to current and future challenges.[2]

In this article, I will try to show that Herbart sees the promotion of political *Bildung* as the task of discipline, instruction, and moral guidance, and that his work presents important components of a theory of political *Bildung* within an educational setting. I will demonstrate that Herbart's notion of "political *Bildung*," when viewed systematically, can be seen as an original answer to the situation of perspectivity typical of modern societies. To do this, I will first explain some current self-descriptions of modern society (section 2). Next, I will define the forms of education that Herbart differentiated and described as "discipline" (*Regierung*), "instruction" (*Unterricht*), and "moral guidance" (*Zucht*). The focus here will be on what Herbart sees as the purpose of instruction, namely to support the development of "many-sidedness of interest" (section 3). In the third section, I will look at Herbart's definition of political interest, or men's political relationship to self and the world (section 4.). On this basis, it will then be possible to describe discipline, instruction, and moral guidance as the means by which political *Bildung* is achieved. The focus here will be on clarifying the term "political *Bildung*" within the framework of Herbart's educational thinking (section 5).

2 Modern societies: Individual and collective life in a situation of perspectivity

Modern societies are defined by an irreducible *perspectivity* (see Anhalt 2010a). By this we mean a space where men, when looking at issues, are confronted with a multitude of perspectives without being able to determine and single out the one "right" perspective

(see Rucker 2013a, 242ff.). When broken down into its components, the perspectivity of modern society is a situation

- that encompasses a multiplicity of heterogeneous worlds, which form contexts for men's orientation and
- which relate to each other by way of "different,"
- as a result of which people find themselves in a state of uncertainty (Haltlosigkeit),
- in which they search for orientation.

2.1 Worlds of orientation

Modern society consists of a multiplicity of heterogeneous worlds of orientation. *Worlds of orientation* are the social contexts in which people judge, act, and communicate: law, science, religion, art, business, ethics, education, politics, etc.

Every context is governed by constitutive and regulative rules of orientation. Constitutive rules specify what counts as a social context in which people orient themselves. The sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998) describes these kinds of rules as distinctions: A person who wants to find his bearings in the world of science has to be guided by the distinction between "truth" and "untruth." In contrast, a person who operates in the world of ethics needs to be guided by the distinction between "good" and "bad." For the field of law, yet another distinction is the constitutive one, namely that between "justice" and "injustice" (see Luhmann 2012, 2013). In contrast, regulative rules define how people judge, act, and communicate within a given context. For example, a Christian conduct of life is not constitutive of the world of religion, just as a liberal conduct of life is not constitutive of the world of politics. Rather, they are regulative rules of orientation within the world of religion and politics, respectively, to which there are always alternative religious or political rules.

When people go by specific rules, they take positions and thus adopt perspectives on issues. For example, a person who goes by the constitutive rules of an economic context, takes an economic perspective on an issue. An issue is thus constituted as an economic issue. The particular issue, however, can also be viewed from an alternative perspective – for example, an aesthetic perspective –, which makes it possible to see aspects that would not be visible from a different perspective.[3]

2.2 Differend

In democratic societies, not all rules of orientation are prescribed. People are instead given the opportunity to lead self-determined lives, as long as they comply with the existing laws, in whose making they in turn participate. According to Jürgen Habermas (*1929), the citizens of a state are not just the addressees of the law but at the same time the authors of the rules they give themselves to organize their collective life. The philosopher Karl Raimund Popper (1902-1994) calls a "society in which individuals are confronted with personal decisions" an "open society" (Popper 1971,

173). The fact that people seize the opportunity to define their own positions means that, in open societies, every public debate on an issue is made up of a multiplicity of perspectives.

The interplay of perspectives is irreducible, since open societies do not admit of determining the one "right" perspective, thereby identifying all other perspectives as "wrong." The constitutive and regulative perspectives of social contexts are thus in a *different*. A term coined by the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998), "different" denotes a "case of conflict, between (at least) two parties, that cannot be equitably resolved for lack of a rule of judgment applicable to both arguments" (Lyotard 1988, xi). To disentangle the web of perspectives, it would take a rule that makes it possible to determine the "right" order of perspectives. In a world of multiple perspectives, however, every rule to determine the "right" order of perspectives can also be confronted with alternatives, so that the question of the "right" rule of orientation arises anew.[4]

2.3 Uncertainty

In a situation of different, people's lives hold the possibility and necessity to choose between alternative perspectives. Every decision taken precludes alternatives that would also have been possible (see Berger, Luckmann 1996).

Since decisions in favor of certain rules of orientation are thus contingent (see Luhmann 1992), people living in a situation of perspectivity operate in a state of uncertainty (see Anhalt 2010b). Uncertainty does not mean that people in modern society are no longer guided by rules. Rather, there are countless rules, many of which contradict each other, but all of which are simultaneously valid. As a result, there are no longer any rules in modern society that provide all people with safe and firm guidance. The question as to the only "right" rules of orientation rather marks an unsolvable problem, which people can deal with in their individual and collective lives, but for which there can be no definitive solution.

2.4 Search for orientation

In this sense, modern man is engaged in a search for orientation (see Anhalt 2010a). Elmar Anhalt (*1964) uses this term to describe the search for rules that guide people's judgments, actions, and communications to help them cope with the situation of perspectivity in an ever-changing environment. Since we do not know for certain what rules are "right" for all and should be complied with, the search for orientation is a permanent problem, for which there are no definitive rules, and thus a fundamentally unfinishable process where every found "certainty" (*Halt*, literally: (foot)hold, support) serves as a contingent point of departure for the further individual or collective search for orientation. In this sense, modern man is denied the possibility to take up a position that might offer firm support, immune as it would be to being challenged from a different perspective.

3 "Many-sidedness of interest"

According to Herbart, the purpose of education is to support the development of morality (see Herbart 1804/1908). In light of this definition of purpose, Herbart distinguishes three forms of education, each of which fulfills specific functions to help develop morality. Herbart calls these forms discipline, instruction, and moral guidance. *Discipline* performs the function of establishing "a spirit of order" (Herbart 1806/1908, 96). We would speak of discipline, for example, when a teacher admonishes a student to stop talking with her neighbor and return her attention to what's going on in class. In this sense, discipline helps make instruction and moral guidance possible. For Herbart, *instruction* has the purpose of supporting the development of a "many-sided interest" (see ibid., 122ff.). Finally, helping develop "moral strength of character" is the work of *moral guidance*. While instruction, according to Herbart, helps children and young people gain insights and form their own opinions with the aid of a third factor – for example, through dealing with the topic of "unemployment" –, moral guidance helps people act on their insights and opinions. For example, if the students define for themselves that unemployment, seen scientifically, is rooted, among other things, in social inequality, if they decide that this might be morally problematic and thus require political action, one measure taken by moral guidance could be to help students make this position public, for example by way of a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

In order to define what Herbart means by "political *Bildung*," it is most of all necessary to clarify his term of the "many-sidedness of interest." The term "interest" is used by Herbart in its original Latin sense of "inter-esse," meaning "to be between." By "interest" he means that individuals take up a position *in relation to their individual and collective lives*. Anticipating that modern man's individual and collective life takes place within many and diverse worlds of orientation, Herbart called this fact the "subdivision of ways of life" (Herbart 1810/1964, 76).

For Herbart, instruction should enable the learner to develop "susceptibility, easy empathy with judgment and sensibility for everything that can be called human affairs" (Herbart 1919, 507). Through instruction, learners are to develop into people with many-sided interests who take up their own positions within the many and diverse worlds of orientation and who are capable of assessing issues in an interplay of perspectives.

During instruction, issues are explored in the context of many and diverse perspectives. "Many-sidedness," wrote Herbart, "ought to multiply (…) the person" (Herbart 1913, 175). Depending on one's perspective, it is possible to grasp different aspects of an issue. Herbart here talks

about the "variety of objects," as distinct from their "number" (Herbart 1841/1913, 85), with "variety" denoting the wide range of aspects of an issue. If we take, for example, the issue of abortion, we can differentiate between moral, economic, scientific, political, and religious aspects. Herbart thus initially defines many-sidedness as a feature of issues. "*Objectively* speaking," the term of many-sidedness denotes a "diverse *content* of what we imagine and feel" (Herbart 1913, 175).[5]

Instruction is to prompt men to actively deal with, and take a position on, issues that affect their individual and collective lives within the context of many and diverse perspectives. "*Interest* means self-activity. The demand for a many-sided interest is, therefore, a demand for many-sided self-activity" (Herbart 1841/1913, 60). Self-activity in dealing with specific aspects of an issue results in the "many-sided man" (Herbart 1913, 175) who is capable of determining rules for himself and of acting on these rules within the framework of many and diverse social contexts. For this reason, Herbart defines many-sidedness not only as a feature of an issue, but also as a feature of a learning individual. "*Subjectively* speaking," Herbart writes, the term of many-sidedness refers to a "human trait" (ibid.).

Instruction helps people develop rules to orient themselves in a world of many and diverse perspectives; thereby are created "*parts* in the individual," and "the personality" develops into "a unity *composed* of many parts" (ibid.). Developing rules of orientation thus leads to a differentiation of the relationship to self and the world. Herbart calls this process "the culture of the circle of thought" (Herbart 1806/1908, 100). The "circle of thought" is where man reflects on himself and the world and develops rules of orientation.

According to Herbart, it is the work of instruction to help develop a circle of thought with many and varied dimensions. During instruction, people are urged to actively deal with issues in light of the multitude and diversity as well as the interplay of perspectives in order to "traverse in all directions the realms of human thought" (ibid.) and to "cultivate (…) a large circle of thought closely connected in all its parts" (ibid., 92).

4 Politics: Regulating people's collective life which has become problematic

According to Herbart, political interest is a specific form of the relationship to self and the world. To explain what he means by that, I would like to cite a passage from Herbart's 1806 *Science of Education*, where he gives a succinct statement of his understanding of the term "politics." Stating that "the conflicting claims of humanity extort the social spirit of order out of sympathy" (Herbart 1806/1908, 135), Herbart describes "*social* sympathy" as follows:

"If sympathy simply affects the affections it finds in human minds, follows their course, enters into their

varieties, collisions, and contradictions, it is merely a fellow feeling. (…) But it can also abstract the varied affections of many men from the individuals, it can seek to reconcile their contradictions, it can interest itself in the welfare of the whole, and then again distribute this interest in thought amongst the individuals. This is *social* sympathy. It disposes of the particular, that it may attach itself to the general. It requires exchange and sacrifice, opposes actual emotions, and imagines possible better ones in their place. This is the attitude of the politician" (ibid., 134ff.).

Herbart here defines political interest as "*social* sympathy." The political relationship to self and the world relates to issues that not only affect the lives of some people, but people's collective life. But it is not people's collective life as such that is the point of orientation for the political relationship to self and the world, but only the collective life where problems have arisen. This is the case, for example, when established rules of interaction are being challenged and subject to criticism. Where people judge, act, and communicate in order to solve problems in their collective life, they constitute the world of politics. Politics is thus the world of orientation that governs people's collective life where problems have arisen.

Politics for Herbart is not limited to the state. The state is a set of institutions whose job is to regulate people's collective life that has become problematic: "The state may be One, but it is a unity of the interaction of as many different elements as possible" (Herbart 1810/1964, 77). In the state, political judgment and action have been made permanent, since regulating people's collective life is a permanent problem of society. Politics, however, is not limited to the state. For Herbart, the object of political *Bildung* is not just politics within, but also outside of the state (see Herbart 1808/1964, 387).

The necessity of politics results from a conflict about the question as to how to regulate people's collective life. The conflict arises from the fact that people take up different positions or perspectives when it comes to the question of how to properly regulate their collective life. Therefore, it takes judgment and action that is designed to "reconcile [the] contradictions" that result from the "varied affections of many men" (Herbart 1806/1908, 134).

A "spirit of order" is essential to the world of politics. This spirit "gives laws" (ibid., 135) and thus serves, at least temporarily, to order people's collective lives. By "order," I mean a temporarily stable state in people's collective life based on collectively shared rules of orientation. In a state of disorder, it is necessary for people to submit to collective rules of orientation to restore order to people's collective life. Since, in a situation of perspectivity, the "right" rules governing people's collective life are not known, there is always the possibility that the rules will be challenged again in the

future. In Herbart's words, political issues are "matters (…) that will always remain open to debate" (Herbart 1838/1964, 31).[6]

Given this description of the political relationship to self and the world, how shall we define political *Bildung* as well as discipline, instruction, and moral guidance as media of political *Bildung*?

5 Political *Bildung*

While discipline, by providing the basic preconditions for instruction and moral guidance, makes merely an indirect contribution to political *Bildung*, the two latter forms of education – instruction and moral guidance – serve as the actual means by which political *Bildung* is achieved. Herbart explicitly defines *Bildung* as the aim of instruction and moral guidance (see Herbart 1806/1964, 111), whereas discipline, as I have already shown, merely serves to create order. To put it succinctly: "*Bildung* and non-*Bildung* – that is the contradictory opposite that separates actual education from discipline" (Herbart 1814/1964, 166).

In the following discussion, I hope to clarify the term "political *Bildung*" within the framework of Herbart's thoughts on education. Political *Bildung* as defined by Herbart encompasses the process by which learners self-actively deal with political issues and develop an ability to judge and act, which makes it possible for them to politically orient themselves by self-determined rules in the world of politics within the framework of political ideas. In this sense, men are not formed (*gebildet*), but form themselves within an educational setting. They take an active part in their *Bildung*.

In the following paragraphs, I will describe the key components of political *Bildung* by means of instruction and moral guidance:

- Based on the anthropological condition of men's political indeterminacy and
- the social-theoretical condition of the ignorance of the "right" rules of political orientation in world of multiple perspectives,
- political *Bildung*, according to Herbart, must be defined as an open process,
- in which active learners define for themselves their rules of orientation in an interplay between concentration and reflection on the one hand and within the framework of political ideas on the other hand
- and, by acting on these rules, develop moral strength of character.

5.1 Indeterminacy

Herbart's definition of political *Bildung* by means of instruction and moral guidance is based on the anthropological condition of the political "indeterminacy" *(Unbestimmtheit)* of man (Herbart 1841/1964, 69). By "political indeterminacy" he means that the rules of political orientation are not given by nature but learned. It is man's ability to learn – or, to use

Herbart's term, man's *Bildsamkeit* (ebd.) – that constitutes man as an active learner not determined by nature.[7] Men are not determined by nature to follow specific rules in the world of politics. By virtue of their *Bildsamkeit*, they rather have available unfathomable possibilities to develop a political relationship to self and the world. Conversely, individuals are only capable of learning their own political position because it is not determined by nature. Men's political indeterminacy and their ability to learn are thus two sides of the same coin.

5.2 Ignorance of rule

Herbart's description of political *Bildung* not only has an anthropological basis, but also a basis in social theory, namely in the condition of a fundamental ignorance of rules in the situation of perspectivity which is typical of modern societies. This ignorance does not only apply to the relationship between the different social contexts, but also applies within the political context. Given the multitude and diversity of offers, it has become impossible to give a convincing reason for the only "right" rules of political orientation. In a situation of perspectivity, any attempt to define the only "right" rules can be confronted with alternatives, without making it possible to give reasons for what constitutes men's "actual" political position.

Given that we do not know the "right" political positions in a world of multiple perspectives, it is no longer convincing, according to Herbart, to positively define men's political relationship to self and the world and, based on that, develop a definition of political *Bildung*. In light of men's political indeterminacy as well as their ignorance of the "right" rules of orientation, political *Bildung* for Herbart is rather a process open to the future.

5.3 Openness

Given the impossibility to define the only "right" political position in a situation of perspectivity, Herbart considers it an "unreasonable demand" of instruction and moral guidance "to educate youth for the machinery of *our* states" (Herbart 1919, 515). Rather, "right education" is the education "that does not care about the state, that is not excited by political interests," but that "wants to educate everybody only for himself" (Herbart 1810/1964, 77). Herbart does not say what rules of political orientation are essential for men; for him, defining these rules is the active learner's own responsibility. When a learner takes on this task, he will develop his own position to "look out (…) in his way on the world and on the future." Finding their own position allows humans "to get on with the world and themselves" (Herbart 1806/1908, 258) in their own way. In the process of political *Bildung*, we are "only bound by the law of our own choice which we prepare by careful thinking and judgment and perfect by our decision" (Herbart 1807/1964, 260). Active learners are not bound by choosing only between those political rules that are

presented to them. Rather, they are also able to choose *not* to choose between given alternatives and instead develop their own alternatives to the rules of political orientation offered by the world of politics.

Political *Bildung* thus develops a dynamism that is open to the future (see Rucker 2013b). By openness, we mean that political *Bildung* is not geared towards rules of political orientation that are determined a priori. What rules active learners define as essential for themselves is rather decided in the interplay between concentration and reflection on political issues.

5.4 Interplay

Herbart describes an individual's educational engagement with a political issue as interplay between "concentration" and "reflection." For Herbart, concentration on a political issue is a basic requirement for reflection. Conversely, reflection on an issue serves as a starting point for the learner's concentration on further political issues. Concentration on a political issue means to "withdraw awhile from all other thoughts" and to accord it "suitable attention" in order to understand the issue's aspects both individually and in relationship to each other (Herbart 1806/1908, 124). In reflection, active learners take a reflective approach to the issue at hand. Herbart describes reflection as an "inner world" where individuals "step outside the stream of time and are able to forget the moment" (Herbart 1825/1964, 155f.) in order to take a political position based on the knowledge they have acquired through concentration.

Determining one's position is achieved by means of developing rules of political orientation and therefore is neither given nor final. Active learners define for themselves what rules of political orientation they deem essential while also remaining open to future transformations of their political point of view. The starting point for such transformations are not least other political circles of thought that may disrupt one's own circle of thought: "That he may be free from his embarrassing confinement within his habitual circle of thought, he enters the sphere of other opposing opinions" (Herbart 1806/1908, 268). Such disruptions present the active learner with the task to search for new rules of orientation, without holding out the prospect of a political circle of thought that would be immune to future disruptions.

5.5 "Welfare of the Whole"

An active learner develops rules of political orientation by self-actively examining political issues within the framework of the difference between "good" and "bad." He "opposes actual emotions, and imagines possible better ones in their place" by interesting himself in "the welfare of the whole" (Herbart 1806/1908, 134). For Herbart, the "welfare of the whole" defines a successful social order. The "welfare of the whole" is the moral framework for the judgments, actions, and communications of active learners within the world of

politics. Herbart describes this framework with the aid of five original, or primary, ideas of political orientation, which he calls the ideas of

- the "legal society,"
- the "system of rewards and punishments,"
- the "system of administration,"
- the "system of culture," and
- the "animated society" (see Herbart 1808/1964, 385ff.).

Together, the ideas of political orientation describe a social order that is guided by the principle of respect for human dignity.[8] These ideas do not provide a concrete definition of what the "welfare of the whole" means; rather they formulate the assignment that men first have to seek and find what constitutes the "greatest possible sum of the welfare of the whole" (ibid., 387) in a process of mutual coordination.[9] Only when people judge, act, and communicate in the context of the ideas of political orientation, will they create what Herbart calls an "animated society" (*beseelte Gesellschaft*): a society that collectively and thus always publicly searches for orientation to order men's collective life in light of the idea of human dignity.[10]

"The great work of education, to make the sense of right active early in youth, would proceed of itself without difficulty, if combined with good discipline and government; the moral perceptions which belong thereto would be the first and most natural among them all, if children were allowed to accommodate themselves to and associate with each other in their own way, and could be judiciously left to themselves. For where human beings, big or little, rub against each other, the relationships with which those moral perceptions are connected develop abundantly and spontaneously. Each one soon has something individual which the others acknowledge; the children associate with each other and exchange things and services at prices more or less fixed. The interference of adults, and the anticipation of this possible interference alone, make justice among children uncertain, and deprives it of their respect; well-meaning government has this effect in common with every other which is despotic. It is obviously impossible to rule children like citizens; but we may lay it down as a principle, never to disturb what exists among children without good reasons, nor change their intercourse into forced politeness. When disputes arise, we must first ascertain what has been settled and agreed upon amongst the children themselves, and must take the part of the one who in any sort of way has been deprived of his own. Then we must try to help each one to what he deserves, so far as this is possible without violent injury to justice. And finally we must point beyond all this to what is best for the common good, as that to which it is right that both property and merit shall be spontaneously sacrificed, and which will be for all the chief measure for future agreements." (261)

Herbart, Johann Friedrich. 1806/1908. The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim. In: Johann Friedrich Herbart. The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim, and The Aesthetic Revelation of the World. Translated from the German with a biographical introduction by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin and a preface by O. Browning. Boston, 78-268.

5.6 "Moral Strength of Character"

Political *Bildung* by means of moral guidance presupposes political *Bildung* in the context of instruction. The task of moral guidance is to support active learners in developing "moral strength of character" in the world of politics. "Character is the continuously defined way of how man relates to the world" (Herbart 1919, 524). For Herbart, a *moral* character manifests itself in "man looking out on the world with free eyes and doing not what the others are doing, but what is good and necessary and may be all the more necessary because the others are not doing it" (ibid., 505). Political education thus not only has to help the learner develop the ability to independently define political rules of orientation and evaluate them in light of the difference between good and bad. Education also has to help people act on the rules they have deemed to be good. According to Herbart, "character" is defined by the fact that it is "formed solely through acting of one's own volition" (Herbart 1806/1964, 19).

Herbart assumes that all human beings, as a result of their socialization, already have "very marked features of character" (Herbart 1806/1908, 201). On the one hand, these features of character determine men's action; on the other hand, they can also be disrupted in the interplay between concentration and reflection. This interplay is capable of "robbing a man of his unity with himself, and setting him at discord with himself," namely, when experiences are "sowing dissension between the subjective and the objective" (ibid., 214). This is the case when active learners find that their rules of political orientation can no longer be deemed essential for their relationship to self and the world, and it therefore becomes necessary to develop, and act on, new rules. For Herbart, this inevitably leads to a "*conflict*" (ibid., 245). When this happens, newly developed rules clash with the already given features of character.

For Herbart, it is the task of moral guidance to help individuals successfully deal with this conflict and develop new features of character. The measures of moral guidance are therefore not aimed at teaching individuals to adopt an affirmative attitude to a certain world view. Instead, its methodological key question is: "How ought egoistic action to be *limited* and *encouraged*?" (ibid., 239)[11] It is a question that continues to play an important role in the theory and practice of citizenship education both at the national and international level.[12]

"I am, however, convinced that the proper hardening principle for man, who is not merely corporeal, will not be found until we learn how to arrange a mode of life for the young, whereby they can pursue, according to their own and indeed, their right mind, what in their own eyes is a serious activity. A certain publicity of life would contribute in no small degree to this. But the public activities customary up till now will not bear criticism; for in most cases they lack the first requisite of an activity which forms character. They do not proceed from the youth's own mind; they are not the acts through which the inward desire determines itself as will. Consider our examinations through all school classes, from the lowest up to the disputations for the doctor's degree. Add, if you like, the speeches and the theatrical exercises by which young people are sometimes made forward and smart. The art of appearance may gain by all this; but the future man, whom you guided through such exercises, will perhaps one day search in himself painfully, as vainly, for that power of self-manifestation and self-control on which character is based." (219)

Herbart, Johann Friedrich. 1806/1908. The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim. In: Johann Friedrich Herbart. The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim, and The Aesthetic Revelation of the World. Translated from the German with a biographical introduction by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin and a preface by O. Browning. Boston, 78-268.

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Endnotes

[1] All emphases in quotations are in the original. I will mainly refer to Herbart's German writings, but will quote from the existing English translations where available. This applies to the following works: *The Aesthetic Revelation of the World* (1804/1908), *The Science of Education: Its General Principles Deduced from Its Aim* (1806/1908), and *Outlines of Educational Doctrine* (1841/1913). Quoting from these works is not without its problems, however, and I would like to briefly point out three translation problems. First, the standard translation translates the term *Zucht* as "discipline." As Andrea English has pointed out, this translation does not do justice to the meaning of the original term. According to Herbart, *Zucht* derives from the German word *ziehen*, i.e. "to draw" or "to pull" (see Herbart 1806/1908, 227). For Herbart, *Zucht* thus means that a teacher encourages a learner to develop a moral character. In English's opinion, "discipline" would rather be a more appropriate translation for *Regierung*, which, in the English translation, has been given as "government" (see English 2013, 17). I agree with English and will follow her suggestion to translate *Zucht* as "moral guidance" and to use the word "discipline" as a translation for the term *Regierung*. Second, in this article, the term *politische Bildung* is translated neither as "political education" nor as "citizenship education." For Herbart, *Bildung* means the process of man's active engagement with the world; *Erziehung* (education) is the means by which we influence this process. The term "culture," however, which has been used for *Bildung* in the standard English translation, is highly problematic (Herbart 1806/1908, 229), as it fails to distinguish, or mark the commonalities and differences, between *Bildung* and *Kultur*. I have therefore chosen to keep the German word *Bildung* and to use the phrase "political *Bildung*." Third, the word *Bildsamkeit*, which Herbart introduced into the language of education, also has no adequate equivalent in English, where it has been translated as "plasticity" and "educability" (Herbart 1841/1913, 1). Here, too, I will not follow the standard English translation, but will be using the German term *Bildsamkeit*.

[2] http://www.herbart-gesellschaft.de/

[3] The philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) describes "*perspectivism*" as "the fundamental condition of all life" (Nietzsche 1886/2002, 4). "The world," writes Nietzsche, "does not exist as a world 'in-itself'; it is essentially a world of relationships: under certain conditions it has a *differing aspect* from every point" (Nietzsche 1901/1968, 306). According to Nietzsche, this is not without consequences: "There are many kinds of eyes (…) and consequently there are many kinds of 'truths,' and consequently there is no truth" (ibid., 291). Even though it is impossible to find the only "right" rules of orientation in a situation of perspectivity, Nietzsche holds out the possibility of viewing things from different perspectives and of trying for orientation in the interplay

of perspectives. "The *more* eyes, various eyes, we are able to use for the same thing, the more complete will be our 'concept' of the thing, our 'objectivity'" (Nietzsche 1887/2007, 87).

[4] Based on the differentiation of worlds of orientation typical of modern societies, the educationist Dietrich Benner (*1941) has formulated the "principle of the non-hierarchical order of all human practice" (Benner 2012, 115ff.). According to this principle, no world of orientation can or may claim primacy over another; since every world of orientation operates by its own rules, it is no longer convincing to give a certain world – and its internal logic – priority over all others.

[5] Herbart here seems to have anticipated what prompted the philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) to develop his "philosophy of symbolic forms." As Cassirer points out, when we refer to an issue, we are always involved in sets of rules that structure the context in which individuals grasp an issue. Or to put it more succinctly: "The world for us takes the shape given to it by the mind." (Cassirer 1922/1956, 60) The mind, however, contains "a concrete multitude of different directions," as a result of which "one's being and its classes, connections, and differences appear to be different when looked at through different intellectual media" (ibid.).

[6] Herbart's understanding of politics turns out to be highly contemporary, if one compares it with current definitions of politics. The constitutional theorist Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde (*1930) defines politics on the basis of the following characteristics: 1. Form of relationship to self and the world: "Politics is (…) a form of thinking and acting" (Böckenförde 1995, 3). 2. Governance or regulation of people's collective life: "Politics (…) deals with (…) issues that affect the governing of people's collective life" (ibid., 2). 3. Public sphere: "Politics and political behavior belong to the public sphere, not the private sphere. They deal with issues of regulating and governing people's collective life, which are always public issues" (ibid.). 4. Conflict: "A debate on an issue or a matter to be solved becomes political to the extent that people form groupings around different opinions and objectives, that commonalities or differences are accentuated and thus determine action and interaction" (ibid., 4). 5. Universality: "Every issue has the potential (…) to become the subject of efforts and struggles about the right order of people's collective life and thus a subject of politics: religious issues as well as issues of clothing (swimwear fashion, Islamic headscarves), security issues as well as issues of public speech, child education as well as birth control and sexual practices. The question, too, to what extent people's collective life can be authoritatively governed at all and what constitutes an individual's autonomous sphere of privacy is often, and can always become, a subject of politics and thus is itself a political issue" (ibid., 3).

[7] Herbart uses *Bildsamkeit* to denote what Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) calls *perfectibilité*, i.e. man's ability to learn as well as the indeterminacy of human nature that comes with this ability to learn.

[8] Immanuel Kant has formulated this principle in the second formulation of his Categorical Imperative, generally referred to as the formula of the end in itself: "Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end, never simply as a means" (Kant 1785/1993, 30). In Germany, the principle of respect for human dignity has found expression in Article 1 Section 1 of the German Basic Law, which reads: "Human dignity shall be inviolable. To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority." As Benner makes clear, Herbart's political ideas can be read as an attempt to formulate "elementary ideas of a political judgement of social conditions," which "flesh out Kant's categorical imperative for social subsystems and, by doing so, (…) develop principles of a good social order which recognizes the mutual recognition of individuals as an end in itself (…) as a task of public and political practice" (Benner [2]1993, 167).

[9] Along similar lines, the political scientist Ernst Fraenkel (1898-1975) has contrasted a common good *a priori* to a common good *a posteriori*. According to Fraenkel, what we call common good cannot be determined a priori in modern democratic societies. Rather, the common good first has to be defined in a public dialogue of different positions (see Fraenkel 1964, 199ff.).

[10] Jürgen Habermas defines the "public sphere (…) as a network for the communication of information and points of view" (Habermas 1996, 360). As far as I know, Herbart's political ideas have not yet been analyzed in light of the definition of the public sphere developed by Habermas, most notably in his work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (see Habermas 1989). It would, I think, be a very rewarding undertaking.

[11] In *The Science of Education*, the translators Henry M. and Emmie Felkin themselves point out that the translation "egoistic" for *nach eigenem Sinn* is misleading and comment in a footnote: "*Self* action, not *selfish* action is here meant" (Herbart 1806/1908, 239).

[12] For example, consider issues such as civil courage or dealing with plurality and heterogeneity.

Thomas Rucker

Politische Bildung im Kontext von Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht*

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) gilt als der Begründer der wissenschaftlichen Pädagogik. In diesem Beitrag wird zu zeigen versucht, dass Herbart die Unterstützung politischer Bildung als eine Aufgabe von Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht bestimmt und in seinem Werk wichtige „Bausteine" für eine Theorie der politischen Bildung unter den Bedingungen von Erziehung vorlegt hat. Nach Herbart ist das politische Selbst- und Weltverhältnis auf Sachverhalte bezogen, die nicht nur die Lebensführung einzelner Menschen, sondern die Lebensführung einer Mehrzahl von Menschen betreffen. Nicht das Zusammenleben von Menschen generell ist jedoch Orientierungsgesichtspunkt des politischen Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses, sondern nur das problematisch gewordene Zusammenleben. Politik ergibt sich nach Herbart aus einem Konflikt hinsichtlich der Frage, wie das Zusammenleben von Menschen geregelt sein sollte. Während die Regierung lediglich mittelbar einen Beitrag zur politischen Bildung leistet, indem sie die Voraussetzungen für Unterricht und Zucht bereitstellt, fungieren die beiden zuletzt genannten Formen von Erziehung als die eigentlichen Medien, in denen die politische Bildung im Sinne Herbarts ihren Ort hat.

Keywords:

Politik, Bildung, Erziehung, Regierung, Unterricht, Zucht, moderne Gesellschaft, Perspektivität, Regeln der Orientierung, Widerstreit, Ungewissheit, Selbstbestimmung, Vielseitigkeit des Interesse, Moralität, Charakterstärke der Sittlichkeit

1 Einleitung

Johann Friedrich Herbart wurde 1776 in Oldenburg geboren und ist 1841 in Göttingen gestorben. Nach seinem Studium bei Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) in Jena war er von 1797-1799 als Hauslehrer in der Schweiz tätig. Von dort ging er an die Universität Göttingen. 1809 wurde er auf den ehemaligen Lehrstuhl Immanuel Kants (1724-1804) in Königsberg berufen. Herbart blieb 24 Jahre Professor für Philosophie und Pädagogik in Königsberg, ehe er 1833 wieder an die Universität Göttingen wechselte. In der Zeit in Königsberg verfasste Herbart insbesondere Werke zur Psychologie und zur Philosophie. Bereits in den Jahren zuvor hatte Herbart wichtige Schriften zur Pädagogik vorgelegt, in denen er zwar Kants Philosophie als ungeeigneten Bezugspunkt pädagogischen Denkens und Handelns problematisierte (vgl. Herbart 1804/1964, 260ff.), zugleich jedoch an dessen Auffassung festhielt, dass „die *eine* und ganze Aufgabe der Erziehung" die Unterstützung der Entwicklung von „*Moralität*" sei (ebd., 259).[1]

Herbart hat eine *Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung* abgeleitet verfasst, die 1806 erschienen ist. In dieser Schrift verlangt er von der Pädagogik, dass sie „einheimische Begriffe" verwenden und „ein selbständiges Denken" entwickeln soll (Herbart 1806/1964, S. 8). Seitdem gilt Herbart als Begründer der wissenschaftlichen Pädagogik.

Herbarts Schüler werden als „Herbartianer" bezeichnet. Autoren wie Karl Volkmar Stoy (1815-1885), Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882), Otto Willmann (1839-1920) oder Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929) haben Herbarts Theorieentwurf in unterschiedlicher Hinsicht aufgegriffen und auf verschiedene Art und Weise daran angeknüpft. Hierdurch sind Theorieentwürfe entstanden, die nur um den Preis einer erheblichen Vereinfachung unter dem Begriff „Herbartianismus" subsumiert werden können (vgl. Coriand, Winkler 1998). Der Herbartianismus hat im 19. Jahrhundert die Lehrerausbildung in Europa maßgeblich geprägt. In der ganzen Welt hat man sich an diesen Konzepten orientiert. Auch deswegen hat Herbart international einen großen Einfluss ausgeübt, wie zahlreiche Studien über die Rezeption Herbarts in verschiedenen Ländern zeigen. Diese Rezeption fand nicht nur in Europa, sondern u.a. auch in Amerika statt (vgl. Lorenz 1997). Vor allem William James (1842-1910) und John Dewey (1859-1952) haben sich intensiv mit Herbarts Werk auseinandergesetzt und an seine Überlegungen angeknüpft (vgl. English 2007; Prange 2006).

Im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert ist Herbart einer der wichtigsten Referenzautoren pädagogischer, psychologischer und philosophischer Texte für europäische und amerikanische Wissenschaftler gewesen (vgl. Adams 1898; Compayré 1907; De Garmo 1895, 1896; Felkin 1906; Gockler 1905; Hayward 1904; Leary 2000; Mauxion 1894, 1901; McMurry 1903; Williams 1911). Herbarts Werk wird auch heute noch insbesondere in Russland (Zajakin 2004, 2009), Polen (Stepwoski 2010), Ungarn (Bicsák 2012), Österreich (Hopfner, Gerdenitsch 2009), Italien (Moro 2006; Pettoello 1988, 1991), Belgien (Martens 2009), Finnland (Siljander 2012), Japan (Dobashi, Marsal 2007; Suzuki 2012) und China (Liou 2006, 44ff.) rezipiert. In den USA ist wieder ein Interesse

an Herbarts Mathematischer Psychologie erwacht (vgl. Boudewijnse, Murray, Bandomir 2001).

Herbart galt zu Lebzeiten und lange nach seinem Tod als einer der größten Gelehrten. Er hat einen bedeutenden Einfluss ausgeübt auf die sogenannten „Grundlagenkrisen" in der Wissenschaft, die zur Entwicklung eines modernen Verständnisses in der Logik, der Mathematik, der Psychologie und anderer Disziplinen geführt haben. Gottlob Frege (1848-1925), der Begründer der modernen Logik, hat darauf hingewiesen, dass er ohne Herbart nicht zu seinen bahnbrechenden Erkenntnissen gefunden hätte (vgl. Frank 1993; Gabriel 1997; Sullivan 1991). In der Mathematik weist man darauf hin, dass die moderne Mathematik ohne Herbart nicht denkbar gewesen wäre (Banks 2005; Huemer, Landerer 2010; Scholz 1982). Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) und Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) haben sich unterschiedlich auf Herbarts Werk bezogen, um die Psychologie weiterzuentwickeln. So hat Freud z.B. an Herbarts Auffassung von einer „Schwelle des Bewusstseins" und der Bedeutung vor- bzw. unbewusster Vorstellungen angeknüpft, während Wundt in der Auseinandersetzung mit Herbarts Position die Psychologie zur wissenschaftlichen Disziplin entwickelte.

Um Herbarts Werk sowie das seiner Nachfolger für aktuelle Diskurse zu erschließen ist im Jahre 2005 die Internationale Herbart Gesellschaft gegründet worden. Diese hat es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, das Problembewusstsein, das in Herbarts Schriften und in denen der Herbartianer zum Ausdruck kommt, zu bewahren sowie mit Blick auf gegenwärtige und zukünftige Herausforderungen weiterzuentwickeln.[2]

In diesem Beitrag wird zu zeigen versucht, dass Herbart die *Unterstützung politischer Bildung* als eine Aufgabe von *Regierung*, *Unterricht* und *Zucht* bestimmt und in seinem Werk wichtige „Bausteine" für eine Theorie der politischen Bildung unter den Bedingungen von Erziehung vorlegt hat. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass Herbarts Begriff der politischen Bildung – systematisch betrachtet – als eine originäre Antwort auf die für moderne Gesellschaften typische Situation der Perspektivität begriffen werden kann. Hierzu werde ich zunächst aktuelle Selbstbeschreibungen der modernen Gesellschaft erläutern (Abschnitt 2). Anschließend werden die von Herbart unterschiedenen und von diesem als Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht bezeichneten Formen von Erziehung beschrieben. Fokussiert wird hierbei insbesondere auf Herbarts Aufgabenbestimmung des Unterrichts, nämlich die Unterstützung der Entwicklung einer „Vielseitigkeit des Interesse" (Abschnitt 3). In einem dritten Abschnitt gehe ich auf Herbarts Bestimmung des politischen Interesse bzw. des politischen Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses ein (Abschnitt 4.). Auf dieser Grundlage ist es schließlich möglich, eine Beschreibung von Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht als den Medien politischer Bildung sensu Herbart anzufertigen. Im Zentrum steht dabei eine Klärung des

Begriffs der politischen Bildung im Horizont von Herbarts pädagogischem Denken (Abschnitt 5).

2 Moderne Gesellschaften: Leben und Zusammenleben in der Perspektivität

Moderne Gesellschaften sind gekennzeichnet durch eine nicht reduzierbare *Perspektivität* (vgl. Anhalt 2010a). Gemeint ist damit ein Raum, in dem Menschen sich einer Vielzahl von Perspektiven ausgesetzt wissen, wenn Sachverhalte in den Blick genommen werden, ohne dass es möglich wäre, den Zusammenhang von Perspektiven aufzulösen, indem die allein „richtige" Perspektive bestimmt wird (vgl. Rucker 2013a, 242ff.). Die Situation der Perspektivität der modernen Gesellschaft ist, im Einzelnen betrachtet, eine Situation,

- die aus einer Vielzahl heterogener Welten besteht, die Kontexte der Orientierung von Menschen bilden, und
- die in Widerstreit zueinander stehen,
- weshalb Menschen sich in einem Zustand der Haltlosigkeit befinden,
- in dem sie auf der Suche nach Orientierung sind.

2.1 Welten der Orientierung

Die moderne Gesellschaft ist ein Zusammenhang, der aus einer Vielzahl heterogener Welten der Orientierung besteht. Als *Welten der Orientierung* bezeichne ich die gesellschaftlichen Kontexte, in denen Menschen urteilen, handeln und kommunizieren – Recht, Wissenschaft, Religion, Kunst, Wirtschaft, Moral, Erziehung, Politik usw.

Jeder Kontext folgt konstitutiven und regulativen Regeln der Orientierung. *Kontextkonstitutive* Regeln legen fest, was ein gesellschaftlicher Kontext ist, in dem Menschen sich orientieren. Der Soziologe Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998) beschreibt diese Art von Regeln als Differenzen: Ein Mensch, der im Kontext der Wissenschaft zurechtkommen möchte, hätte sich nach Luhmann an der Unterscheidung von „Wahrheit" und „Unwahrheit" zu orientieren. Demgegenüber findet ein Mensch, der in der Welt der Moral operiert, Orientierung an der Differenz zwischen „gut" und „böse". Für das Recht ist wiederum eine andere Unterscheidung konstitutiv, nämlich die zwischen „Recht" und „Unrecht" (vgl. Luhmann 1997). Im Unterschied hierzu bestimmen *kontextregulative* Regeln, wie Menschen in einem gegebenen Kontext urteilen, handeln und kommunizieren. So ist beispielsweise eine christliche Lebensführung nicht konstitutiv für die Welt der Religion oder eine liberale Lebensführung nicht konstitutiv für die Welt der Politik. Vielmehr handelt es sich in beiden Fällen um regulative Regeln der Orientierung innerhalb der Welt der Religion bzw. der Welt der Politik, zu denen es jeweils alternative religiöse bzw. politische Regeln gibt.

Indem Menschen sich an spezifischen Regeln orientieren, nehmen sie *Standpunkte* und – damit verbunden – *Perspektiven* auf Sachverhalte ein. So nimmt ein Mensch, der sich an den konstitutiven Regeln des ökonomischen Kontextes orientiert, einen

Sachverhalt in ökonomischer Perspektive in den Blick. Ein Sachverhalt wird hierdurch als ein ökonomischer Sachverhalt konstituiert. Der jeweilige Sachverhalt kann jedoch auch in einer alternativen, z.B. in ästhetischer Perspektive in den Blick genommen werden, wodurch Aspekte erfasst werden, die in anderer Perspektive wiederum nicht thematisiert werden können.[3]

2.2 Widerstreit

In demokratischen Gesellschaften werden Menschen nicht alle Regeln ihrer Orientierung vorgeschrieben. Ihnen wird stattdessen die Möglichkeit gegeben, ihr Leben selbstbestimmt zu führen, solange sie sich an die jeweils geltenden Gesetze halten, an deren Bestimmung sie selbst wiederum beteiligt sind. Nach Jürgen Habermas (*1929) sind die Bürger eines Staates nicht nur die Adressaten der Gesetze, sondern immer zugleich auch die Urheber der Vorschriften, die sie sich zur Ordnung des Zusammenlebens geben. Eine solche „Gesellschaftsordnung (…), in der sich die Individuen persönlichen Entscheidungen gegenübersehen" wird von dem Philosophen Karl Raimund Popper (1902-1994) als „offene Gesellschaft" bezeichnet (Popper 1992, 207). Der Umstand, dass Menschen die Möglichkeit ergreifen, eigene Standpunkte einzunehmen, hat zur Folge, dass sich in offenen Gesellschaften jede Auseinandersetzung über einen Sachverhalt in der Öffentlichkeit in eine Vielzahl von Perspektiven gliedert.

Das Wechselspiel der Perspektiven ist irreduzibel, da offene Gesellschaften es nicht zulassen, die einzig „richtige" Perspektive zu bestimmen und damit zugleich alle anderen Perspektiven als „falsch" auszuweisen. Die konstitutiven und regulativen Perspektiven gesellschaftlicher Kontexte stehen stattdessen im *Widerstreit* miteinander. Als „Widerstreit" bezeichnet der französische Philosoph Jean-François Lyotard (1924-1998) einen „Konfliktfall zwischen (wenigstens) zwei Parteien, der nicht angemessen entschieden werden kann, da eine auf beide Argumentationen anwendbare Urteilsregel fehlt" (Lyotard 1987, 9). Um das Geflecht der Perspektiven aufzulösen, wäre eine Regel erforderlich, die es ermöglicht, die „richtige" Ordnung der Perspektiven zu bestimmen. Jede Regel zur Bestimmung der „richtigen" Ordnung von Perspektiven kann in der Situation der Perspektivität jedoch ebenfalls mit Alternativen konfrontiert werden, was dazu führt, dass sich die Frage nach der „richtigen" Regelorientierung erneut stellt.[4]

2.3 Haltlosigkeit

In der Situation des Widerstreits führen Menschen ihr Leben in der *Möglichkeit* und *Notwendigkeit*, zwischen alternativen Perspektiven zu *wählen*. Jede Entscheidung, die Menschen hierbei treffen, schließt Alternativen aus, die ebenfalls möglich gewesen wären (vgl. Berger, Luckmann 1996).

Weil Entscheidungen für bestimmte Regeln der Orientierung in diesem Sinne *kontingent* sind (vgl.

Luhmann 1992), operieren Menschen in der Situation der Perspektivität in einem Zustand der *Haltlosigkeit* (vgl. Anhalt 2010b). Haltlosigkeit heißt nicht, dass Menschen sich in der modernen Gesellschaft nicht mehr an Regeln orientieren würden. Es gibt vielmehr unzählige Regeln, von denen sich viele widersprechen, die aber gleichzeitig in Geltung sind. Das führt zu der Konsequenz, dass es in der modernen Gesellschaft keine Regeln mehr gibt, die die Funktion erfüllen, allen Menschen einen verbindlichen und sicheren Halt zu bieten. Die Frage nach den allein „richtigen" Regeln der Orientierung markiert vielmehr eine unlösbare Problemstellung, die im Leben und Zusammenleben von Menschen zwar bearbeitet, jedoch nicht in eine endgültige Lösung überführt werden kann.

2.4 Suche nach Orientierung

In diesem Sinne befindet sich der moderne Mensch auf einer *Suche nach Orientierung* (vgl. Anhalt 2010a). Elmar Anhalt (*1964) bezeichnet damit die Suche nach Regeln, an denen Menschen sich im Urteilen, Handeln und Kommunizieren ausrichten, um in der Situation der Perspektivität unter sich ständig wandelnden Bedingungen zurechtzukommen. Weil wir kein sicheres Wissen darüber haben, was die für alle „richtigen" Regeln sind, an die man sich halten soll, ist die Suche nach Orientierung ein *Dauerproblem*, für das keine endgültigen Regeln bereitstehen, und damit ein prinzipiell unabschließbarer Prozess, in dem jeder gefundene „Halt" als kontingenter Ausgangspunkt der weiteren individuellen und kollektiven Suche nach Orientierung fungiert. In diesem Sinne ist dem modernen Menschen die Möglichkeit verwehrt, eine Position aufzusuchen, die einen letzten Halt bieten könnte, weil sie davor gefeit wäre, von anderer Perspektive aus in Frage gestellt zu werden.

3 „Vielseitigkeit des Interesse"

Zweck der Erziehung ist nach Herbart die Unterstützung der Entwicklung von *Moralität* (vgl. Herbart 1804/1964). Im Lichte dieser Zweckbestimmung unterscheidet Herbart drei Formen von Erziehung, die jeweils spezifische Funktionen für die Unterstützung der Entwicklung von Moralität erfüllen. Herbart bezeichnet diese Formen als Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht. Die *Regierung* erfüllt die Funktion, „Ordnung" (Herbart 1806/1964, 19) zu stiften. Von Regierung wäre z.B. dann zu sprechen, wenn ein Lehrer einen Schüler dazu ermahnt, das Gespräch mit dem Banknachbarn zu unterlassen und seine Aufmerksamkeit stattdessen wieder dem Unterrichtsgespräch zuzuwenden. In diesem Sinne trägt die Regierung nicht zuletzt dazu bei, Unterricht und Zucht allererst zu ermöglichen. Hierbei kommt dem *Unterricht* nach Herbart die Aufgabe zu, die Entwicklung einer „Vielseitigkeit des Interesses" (vgl. ebd., 37ff.) zu unterstützen. Die Unterstützung der Entwicklung einer „Charakterstärke der Sittlichkeit" ist hingegen die Aufgabe der *Zucht*. Während im Unterricht

nach Herbart Kinder und Jugendliche vermittelt über ein Drittes – z.B. über das Thema „Arbeitslosigkeit" – Einsichten gewinnen sowie eigene Urteile entwickeln sollen, werden Menschen in der Zucht darin unterstützt, den eigenen Einsichten und Urteilen gemäß zu handeln. Bestimmen Schüler beispielsweise die Regel für sich selbst als maßgeblich, dass Arbeitslosigkeit – wissenschaftlich betrachtet – u.a. in gesellschaftlicher Ungleichheit gründet und dass dies moralisch problematisch sei, weshalb politisch gehandelt werden müsse, so könnte eine Maßnahme der Zucht etwa darin bestehen, den Schülern dabei zu helfen, diese Position auch öffentlich kund zu tun, z.B. in Form eines Leserbriefes in einer Zeitung.

Um den Begriff der politischen Bildung sensu Herbart zu bestimmen, ist es vor allem erforderlich, Herbarts Begriff der „Vielseitigkeit des Interesse" zu klären. Der Ausdruck „Interesse" wird von Herbart in der ursprünglichen lateinischen Bedeutung von „inter-esse", d.h. „dazwischen-, dabei sein" gebraucht. „Interesse" bezeichnet den Umstand, dass ein Mensch sich *im Verhältnis zu den Angelegenheiten des Lebens und Zusammenlebens von Menschen* positioniert. Herbart hat antizipiert, dass das Leben und Zusammenleben von Menschen in modernen Gesellschaften in einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Welten der Orientierung stattfindet, und diesen Umstand als „Theilung der Lebensarten" (Herbart 1810/1964, 76) bezeichnet.

Aufgabe des Unterrichts sensu Herbart ist es, dem lernenden Menschen die Möglichkeit zu eröffnen, „Empfänglichkeit, leichtes Eingehn mit Urteil und Empfindung, für alles was menschliche Angelegenheit heißen kann" (Herbart 1919, 507) zu entwickeln. Der Mensch soll sich im Medium des Unterrichts zu einem vielseitig interessierten Menschen entwickeln, der eigene Standpunkte im Horizont der Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Welten der Orientierung besitzt und der dazu in der Lage ist, über Sachverhalte in einem Wechselspiel der Perspektiven zu urteilen.

Im Unterricht werden Sachverhalte im Horizont einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Perspektiven thematisiert. „Vielseitigkeit", so Herbart, „soll die Person (…) vervielfältigen" (Herbart 1913, 175). Je nach Perspektive ist es möglich, verschiedene Aspekte von Sachverhalten zu erfassen. Herbart nennt dies die „Mannigfaltigkeit der *Gegenstände*" und unterscheidet jene von deren „Menge" (Herbart 1841/1964, 155). „Mannigfaltigkeit" sensu Herbart bezeichnet den Aspektreichtum eines Sachverhalts. So lassen sich z.B. im Hinblick auf das Thema „Schwangerschaftsabbruch" u.a. moralische, ökonomische, wissenschaftliche, politische oder religiöse Aspekte unterscheiden. Herbart bestimmt Vielseitigkeit deshalb zunächst als ein Merkmal von Sachverhalten. „*Objektiv* genommen" bezeichnet der Begriff der Vielseitigkeit „einen mannigfaltigen *Inhalt* unseres Vorstellens und Fühlens" (Herbart 1913, 175).[5]

Menschen werden im Unterricht dazu aufgefordert, sich im Horizont einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Perspektiven selbsttätig mit Sachverhalten des Lebens und Zusammenlebens von Menschen auseinanderzusetzen und sich diesen gegenüber zu positionieren. „Interesse ist Selbstthätigkeit. Das Interesse soll vielseitig seyn; also verlangt man eine vielseitige Selbstthätigkeit" (Herbart 1841/1964, 145). Das Ergebnis der selbsttätigen Auseinandersetzung mit spezifischen Aspekten eines Sachverhalts ist „der vielseitige Mensch" (Herbart 1913, 175), der dazu in der Lage ist, sich im Horizont der Vielzahl und Vielfalt gesellschaftlicher Kontexte an selbstbestimmten Regeln zu orientieren. Aus diesem Grund bestimmt Herbart Vielseitigkeit nicht nur als ein Merkmal des Sachverhalts, sondern auch als ein Merkmal des sich bildenden Menschen. „*Subjektiv* genommen", so Herbart, ist mit dem Begriff der Vielseitigkeit eine „Eigenschaft der Person" gemeint (ebd.).

Im Medium des Unterrichts entwerfen Menschen Regeln der eigenen Orientierung im Horizont einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Perspektiven, wodurch „*Teile* im Menschen" entstehen und „die Persönlichkeit" sich „zu einer aus Vielem *zusammengesetzten* Einheit" entwickelt (ebd.). Der *Entwurf von Regeln der Orientierung* führt insofern zu einer *Ausdifferenzierung des Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses*. Herbart bezeichnet diesen Prozess als „Bildung des Gedankenkreises" (Herbart 1806/1964, 21). Der *Gedankenkreis* ist der Ort, an dem ein Mensch reflexiv auf sich selbst und die Welt Bezug nimmt und Regeln der Orientierung entwirft.

Aufgabe des Unterrichts ist nach Herbart die Unterstützung der Entwicklung eines *vielseitig dimen-sionierten Gedankenkreises*. Aus diesem Grund werden Menschen im Unterricht dazu aufgefordert, sich selbsttätig mit Sachverhalten im Lichte einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt sowie in einem Wechselspiel von Perspektiven auseinanderzusetzen, um dabei „die Weite des menschlichen Gedankenfeldes nach allen Richtungen zu durchwandern" (ebd.) und „einen großen und in seinen Theilen innigst verknüpften Gedankenkreis" (ebd., 16) zu entwickeln.

4 Politik: Regelung des problematisch gewordenen Zusammenlebens

Eine spezifische Form des Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses ist nach Herbart das politische Interesse. Zu dessen Bestimmung greife ich auf eine Stelle aus Herbarts *Allgemeiner Pädagogik* aus dem Jahr 1806 zurück, in der dieser den eigenen Begriff von Politik prägnant zum Ausdruck bringt. Herbart beschreibt dort die „Theilnahme für die Gesellschaft" im Unterschied zu *der* Form der Teilnahme, die er als „Sympathie" bezeichnet:

„Die kreuzenden Forderungen der Menschen [treiben] aus der Sympathie den geselligen Ordnungs-geist hervor", so Herbart. „Nimmt die Theilnahme ganz einfach die Regungen auf, die sie in menschlichen Gemüthern findet, folgt sie dem Lauf derselben, läßt sie sich ein in deren Verschiedenheiten, Collisionen,

Widersprüche: so ist sie bloß sympathetisch. (…) Aber sie kann auch die mannigfaltigen Regungen vieler Menschen von den Individuen absondern, deren Widersprüche auszugleichen suchen, und sich für Wohlseyn im Ganzen interessiren, das sie dann wieder in Gedanken unter die Individuen vertheilt. – Das ist die Theilnahme für die Gesellschaft. Sie disponirt über das Einzelne, um sich ans Allgemeine zu hängen; sie verlangt Tausch und Aufopferung, widerstrebt den wirklichen Regungen, und denkt mögliche bessere an deren Stelle. So der Politiker" (Herbart 1806/1964, 45).

Herbart bestimmt hier das politische Interesse als „Theilnahme für die Gesellschaft". Das politische Selbst- und Weltverhältnis ist auf Sachverhalte bezogen, die nicht nur die Lebensführung einzelner Menschen, sondern das Zusammenleben der Menschen betreffen. Nicht das Zusammenleben von Menschen generell ist jedoch Orientierungsgesichtspunkt des politischen Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses, sondern nur das *problematisch* gewordene Zusammenleben. Von einem solchen ist z.B. dann zu sprechen, wenn etablierte Regeln des Zusammenlebens einer Kritik unterzogen und in Frage gestellt werden. Indem Menschen bezogen auf die Regelung eines problematisch gewordenen Zusammenlebens urteilen, handeln und kommunizieren, konstituieren sie die *Welt der Politik*. Politik ist somit *die* Welt der Orientierung, in der das Zusammenleben von Menschen geregelt wird, das problematisch geworden ist.

Politik ist nach Herbart nicht auf den Staat beschränkt. Der *Staat* ist ein Zusammenhang von Institutionen, deren Funktion in der Regelung eines problematisch gewordenen Zusammenlebens von Menschen besteht. „Der Staat ist zwar Eins, aber eine Einheit der Zusammenwirkung möglichst verschiedener Elemente" (Herbart 1810/1964, 77). Im Staat ist politisches Urteilen und Handeln auf Dauer gestellt, weil es sich bei der Regelung des Zusammenlebens von Menschen um ein *Dauerproblem* in der Gesellschaft handelt. Allerdings ist die Welt der Politik nicht auf den Staat beschränkt. Gegenstand politischer Bildung sensu Herbart ist nicht nur Politik innerhalb, sondern auch außerhalb des Staates (vgl. Herbart 1808/1964, 387).

Die *Notwendigkeit von Politik* ergibt sich aus einem Konflikt hinsichtlich der Frage, wie das Zusammenleben von Menschen geregelt sein sollte. Der *Konflikt* besteht darin, dass Menschen hinsichtlich der Frage nach der richtigen Ordnung ihres Zusammenlebens unterschiedliche Standpunkte bzw. Perspektiven einnehmen. Aus diesem Grund ist ein Urteilen und Handeln erforderlich, das darauf bezogen ist, so Herbart, die „Widersprüche auszugleichen", die aus den „mannigfaltigen Regungen vieler Menschen" entstehen (Herbart 1806/1964, 45).

Für die Welt der Politik ist ein „Ordnungsgeist" maßgeblich. Dieser „*giebt* Gesetze" (ebd.), so Herbart, und erfüllt dadurch die Funktion, – zumindest vorläufig –

eine Ordnung des Zusammenlebens von Menschen herzustellen. Als *Ordnung* bezeichne ich einen vorläufig stabilen Zustand des Zusammenlebens von Menschen. Dieser Zustand basiert auf *kollektiv geteilten Regeln der Orientierung*. Kommt es zu einem ungeordneten Zustand, ist es notwendig, dass Menschen kollektive Regeln der Orientierung entwerfen, deren Befolgung die Funktion erfüllt, Ordnung im Zusammenleben von Menschen wiederherzustellen. Da in der Situation der Perspektivität die allein „richtigen" Regeln des Zusammenlebens nicht bekannt sind, besteht stets die Möglichkeit, dass Regeln zukünftig erneut in Frage gestellt werden. Politische Sachverhalte sind, mit Herbart gesprochen, „Gegenstände (…), die immer disputabel bleiben werden" (Herbart 1838/1964, 31).[6]

Wie sind vor dem Hintergrund dieser Beschreibung des politischen Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses *politische Bildung* sowie *Regierung, Unterricht und Zucht als Medien politischer Bildung* zu bestimmen?

5 Politische Bildung

Während die Regierung lediglich mittelbar einen Beitrag zur politischen Bildung leistet, indem sie die Voraussetzungen für Unterricht und Zucht bereitstellt, fungieren die beiden zuletzt genannten Formen von Erziehung als die eigentlichen Medien, in denen die politische Bildung sensu Herbart ihren Ort hat. Explizit bestimmt Herbart den „Zweck Bildung" als den Zweck von „Unterricht" und „Zucht" (Herbart 1806/1964, 111), wohingegen die Regierung nach Herbart – wie bereits erläutert – lediglich die Funktion besitzt, Ordnung zu stiften. Pointiert formuliert: „*Bildung* und Nicht-Bildung, das ist der contradictorische Gegensatz, welcher die eigentliche Erziehung von der Regierung scheidet" (Herbart 1814/1964, 166).

Die folgenden Überlegungen dienen dazu, den Begriff der politischen Bildung im Horizont von Herbarts pädagogischem Denken zu klären. Als *politische Bildung* sensu Herbart bezeichne ich den Prozess, in dem ein Akteur sich selbsttätig mit politischen Sachverhalten auseinandersetzt und eine Urteils- und Handlungsfähigkeit entwickelt, die es ihm erlaubt, sich in der Welt der Politik im Horizont politischer Ideen nach selbstbestimmten Regeln zu orientieren. In diesem Sinne wird ein Mensch nach Herbart nicht gebildet, sondern er *bildet sich selbst* unter erzieherischen Bedingungen. Er ist *Akteur* der Bildung.

Im Folgenden werde ich zentrale Komponenten politischer Bildung im Medium von Unterricht und Zucht beschreiben:
- Ausgehend von der anthropologischen Voraussetzung von der *politischen Unbestimmtheit* des Menschen und
- der gesellschaftstheoretischen Voraussetzung von der *Unkenntnis der „richtigen" Regeln der politischen Orientierung* in der Situation der Perspektivität,
- ist politische Bildung sensu Herbart als ein *offener Prozess* zu bestimmen, in dem ein Akteur

▪ in einem *Wechselspiel zwischen Vertiefung und Besinnung* einerseits sowie im *Horizont politischer Ideen* andererseits Regeln der Orientierung für sich selbst als maßgeblich bestimmt,

▪ und – vermittelt über ein Handeln gemäß der jeweils entworfenen Regeln – eine *Charakterstärke der Sittlichkeit* entwickelt.

5.1 Unbestimmtheit

Herbarts Bestimmung von politischer Bildung im Medium von Unterricht und Zucht beruht auf der anthropologischen Voraussetzung von der politischen „Unbestimmtheit" (Herbart 1841/1964, 69) des einzelnen Menschen. Der Begriff der *politischen Unbestimmtheit* bezeichnet den Umstand, dass die Regeln der politischen Orientierung eines Menschen nicht von Natur aus gegeben sind, sondern von diesem erlernt werden. Die *Lernfähigkeit* – mit Herbart gesprochen: die „Bildsamkeit" (ebd.) – des einzelnen Menschen ist es, die diesen als einen von Natur aus nicht festgelegten Akteur konstituiert.[7] Ein Mensch ist nicht von Natur aus dazu bestimmt, sich in der Welt der Politik an spezifischen Regeln zu orientieren. Aufgrund seiner Bildsamkeit steht ihm vielmehr ein nicht auslotbarer Horizont an Möglichkeiten bereit, ein politisches Selbst- und Weltverhältnis zu entwickeln. Umgekehrt ist ein Mensch nur deshalb dazu fähig, die eigene politische Bestimmung zu erlernen, weil diese nicht schon von Natur aus feststeht. Politische Unbestimmtheit und Lernfähigkeit bilden insofern zwei Seiten einer Medaille.

5.2 Regelunkenntnis

Herbarts Beschreibung von politischer Bildung besitzt nicht nur eine anthropologische, sondern auch eine gesellschaftstheoretische Basis, nämlich die Voraussetzung einer prinzipiellen *Regelunkenntnis* in der für moderne Gesellschaften typischen Situation der Perspektivität. Diese Unkenntnis gilt nicht nur für das Verhältnis zwischen gesellschaftlichen Kontexten, sondern auch innerhalb des politischen Kontextes. Angesichts einer Vielzahl und Vielfalt von Angeboten ist es unmöglich geworden, die allein „richtigen" Regeln der politischen Orientierung eines Menschen überzeugend zu begründen. Jeder Versuch, die allein „richtigen" Regeln zu bestimmen, kann in der Situation der Perspektivität mit Alternativen konfrontiert werden, ohne dass mit Gründen gezeigt werden könnte, worin die „eigentliche" politische Bestimmung des einzelnen Menschen besteht.

Angesichts dessen, dass wir in der Situation der Perspektivität die „richtigen" politischen Standpunkte nicht kennen, ist es nach Herbart nicht mehr überzeugend, das politische Selbst- und Weltverhältnis eines Menschen positiv zu bestimmen und hiervon ausgehend einen Begriff der politischen Bildung zu entwickeln. In Anbetracht der politischen Unbestimmtheit des einzelnen Menschen sowie der Unkenntnis der „richtigen" Regeln seiner Orientierung ist

politische Bildung sensu Herbart vielmehr als ein in die Zukunft hinein offener Prozess zu markieren.

5.3 Offenheit

Angesichts der Unmöglichkeit, in der Situation der Perspektivität die einzig „richtigen" politischen Standpunkte zu bestimmen, wäre es, so Herbart, eine „Zumutung" für Unterricht und Zucht, „für die Maschinerie *unserer* Staaten die Jugend zu bilden" (Herbart 1919, 515). „Rechte Erziehung" sei vielmehr die, „die sich um den Staat nicht bekümmert, die gar nicht von politischen Interessen begeistert ist", sondern die „jeden nur für sich selbst bilden will" (Herbart 1810/1964, 77). Welche Regeln der politischen Orientierung für einen Menschen maßgeblich sind, wird in der von Herbart angefertigten Beschreibung nicht festgelegt, sondern vielmehr dem Akteur der Bildung als eine selbst zu bewerkstelligende Aufgabe überantwortet. Indem ein Akteur diese Aufgabe bearbeitet, entwickelt er eigene politische Standpunkte, um „auf *seine* Weise in die Welt, in die Zukunft hinauszuschauen" und „mit sich und der Welt (…) zurecht zu kommen" (Herbart 1806/1964, 133). Im Prozess der politischen Bildung sind wir, so Herbart, „nur an das Gesetz der eigenen Wahl gebunden, welche wir vorbereiten durch Ueberlegung und Urtheil, und vollenden durch den Entschluß" (Herbart 1807/1964, 260). Ein Akteur der Bildung ist hierbei nicht daran gebunden, nur zwischen politischen Regeln, die an ihn herangetragen werden zu wählen. Er besitzt vielmehr auch die Möglichkeit zu wählen, *nicht* zwischen gegebenen Alternativen zu wählen und stattdessen selbst *Alternativen* zu den Regeln der politischen Orientierung zu entwerfen, die ihm in der Welt der Politik angeboten werden.

Politische Bildung gewinnt hierdurch eine in die Zukunft hinein offene Dynamik (vgl. Rucker 2013b). Die *Offenheit* besteht darin, dass politische Bildung nicht auf bereits vorab festgelegte Regeln der politischen Orientierung hin finalisiert ist. Welche Regeln ein Akteur für sich selbst als maßgeblich bestimmt, entscheidet sich vielmehr in einem Wechselspiel zwischen Vertiefung in und Besinnung auf politische Sachverhalte.

5.4 Wechselspiel

Herbart beschreibt die bildende Auseinandersetzung eines Menschen mit einem politischen Sachverhalt als ein Wechselspiel zwischen „Vertiefung" und „Besinnung". Die Vertiefung in einen politischen Sachverhalt ist nach Herbart die Voraussetzung für die Besinnung. Umgekehrt fungiert die Besinnung auf einen Sachverhalt als Ausgangspunkt für die Vertiefung eines Akteurs in weitere politische Sachverhalte. *Vertiefung* in einen politischen Sachverhalt heißt, „eine Zeitlang von allem Andern die Gedanken abzuziehen" und dem Sachverhalt „eine eigne Sorgfalt" zukommen zu lassen (Herbart 1806/1964, 38), um dessen Komponenten sowohl einzeln als auch im Zusammenhang zu bestimmen. In der *Besinnung* setzt sich ein Akteur zu dem jeweiligen Sachverhalt in ein reflexives Verhältnis.

Die Reflexion wird von Herbart als eine „*innere Welt*" beschrieben, in der ein Menschen „aus dem Strome der Zeit einen Fuß herauszusetzen, und den Augenblick zu vergessen vermag" (Herbart 1825/1964, 155f.), um sich auf der Grundlage des in der Vertiefung angeeigneten Wissens politisch zu positionieren.

Die eigene *Positionierung* erfolgt mittels des *Entwurfs* von Regeln der politischen Orientierung und ist in diesem Sinne weder vorgegeben noch endgültig. Ein Akteur bestimmt Regeln der politischen Orientierung für sich selbst als maßgeblich und bleibt zugleich offen für zukünftige Transformationen des eigenen politischen Standpunktes. Ausgangspunkt solcher Transformationen sind nicht zuletzt andere politische Gedankenkreise, die die Ordnungen des eigenen Gedankenkreises irritieren können. „Um der Befangenheit im gewohnten Gedankenkreise los zu werden, tritt man in die Sphären andrer, entgegengesetzter Meinungen" (Herbart 1806/1964, 139). Irritationen stellen einen Akteur vor die Aufgabe, nach neuen Regeln der Orientierung zu suchen, ohne dass eine Ordnung des politischen Gedankenkreises in Aussicht steht, die davor geschützt wäre, zukünftig erneut irritiert zu werden.

5.4 „Wohlseyn im Ganzen"

Ein Akteur der Bildung entwirft Regeln der politischen Orientierung in der selbsttätigen Auseinandersetzung mit politischen Sachverhalten einerseits sowie im Horizont der *Differenz* zwischen „*gut*" und „*böse*" andererseits. Er „widerstrebt den wirklichen Regungen, und denkt mögliche bessere an deren Stelle", indem er sich am „Wohlseyn im Ganzen" orientiert (Herbart 1806/1964, 45). Als „Wohlseyn im Ganzen" bezeichnet Herbart die Ordnung eines gelingenden Zusammenlebens von Menschen. „Wohlseyn im Ganzen" ist der moralische Horizont des Urteilens, Handelns und Kommunizierens von Akteuren der Bildung in der Welt der Politik. Herbart hat diesen Horizont anhand von fünf *Ideen* bzw. *Elementarurteilen der politischen Orientierung* beschrieben, die er als Ideen

- der „Rechtsgesellschaft",
- der „Lohngesellschaft",
- des „Verwaltungssystems",
- des „Kultursystems" und
- der „beseelten Gesellschaft" bezeichnet (vgl. Herbart 1808/1964, 385ff.).

Die Ideen der politischen Orientierung beschreiben zusammen die Form der Ordnung eines Zusammenlebens von Menschen, das an dem *Prinzip von der Achtung der Würde des Menschen* orientiert ist.[8] Dabei legen sie nicht fest, worin Gemeinwohl konkret besteht. Vielmehr formulieren sie die Aufgabe, dass das, worin „die größte mögliche Summe des Wohlseyns" (ebd., S. 387) besteht, im Prozess der wechselseitigen Abstimmung von Menschen allererst gesucht und gefunden werden muss.[9] Indem Menschen im Horizont der Ideen der politischen Orientierung urteilen, handeln und kommunizieren, entsteht schließlich das, was

Herbart als *beseelte Gesellschaft* bezeichnet: Eine Gesellschaft auf der kollektiven und damit immer auch öffentlichen Suche nach Orientierung des Zusammenlebens im Lichte der Idee menschlicher Würde.[10]

„An sich nämlich würde die große Angelegenheit der Erziehung, daß in der Jugend der rechtliche Sinn früh lebhaft werde, bey übrigens guter Zucht und Regierung ohne Schwierigkeit von selbst gehen, - die sittlichen Auffassungen, welche hieher gehören, würden unter allen die ersten und natürlichsten seyn: wenn man die Kinder mehr nach eigner Weise sich unter einander schicken und gesellen ließe, und füglich lassen könnte. Denn wo Menschen, - kleine oder große - zusammenstoßen, da erzeugen sich die Verhältnisse, worauf sich jene Auffassungen beziehen, haufenweise von selbst. Es hat sehr bald Jeder etwas eignes und von den Andern zugestandenes; sie verkehren auch mit einander, und tauschen Sachen und Leistungen nach mehr oder minder fest bestehenden Preisen. Nur das Eingreifen der Erwachsenen, und das Vorhersehen eines solchen möglichen Eingreifens, macht alles Rechtliche unter Kindern ungewiß, und entzieht es ihrer Achtung: - die wohlmeinende väterliche Regierung hat diese Wirkung mit jeder despotischen gemein! - Es ist nun offenbar unmöglich, Kinder wie Bürger zu regieren. Aber man kann sich wohl die Maxime festsetzen: *nie ohne bedeutende Gründe* das *Bestehende* unter den Kindern zu zerrütten; noch ihren Verkehr in erzwungene Gefälligkeit zu verwandeln. Bey entstandnen Streitigkeiten sey immer die erste Frage nach dem unter den Kindern Verabredeten und Anerkannten; man nehme sich zuerst dessen an, der - in irgendeinem Sinn - um das Seine gekommen ist. Dann aber suche man auch Jedem zu dem Verdienten zu verhelfen, so fern es ohne *gewaltsame* Kränkung des Rechts nur immer geschehen kann. Und endlich zeige man über das Alles hinweg auf das gemeinschaftliche Beste, als auf dasjenige, welchem das Seine und das Verdiente freywillig zu opfern sich gebühre, und welches für alle auf die Zukunft zu treffende Verabredungen der wesentliche Maaßstab sey." (S. 134)

Herbart, Johann Friedrich. 1806/1964. Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet. In: Kehrbach, Karl; Flügel, Otto, Hrsg. Joh. Fr. Herbart's Sämtliche Werke in chronologischer Reihenfolge. Bd. 1. Aalen, 1-139.

5.5 „Charakterstärke der Sittlichkeit"

Politische Bildung im Medium der Zucht setzt politische Bildung im Kontext von Unterricht voraus. Aufgabe der Zucht ist es, einen Akteur dabei zu unterstützen, eine „Charakterstärke der Sittlichkeit" in der Welt der Politik zu entwickeln. „Charakter ist die stetig bestimmte Art, wie der Mensch sich mit der Außenwelt in Verhältnis setzt." (Herbart 1919, 524) Ein *moralischer* Charakter kommt nach Herbart darin zum Ausdruck, „daß der

Mensch mit freien Augen in die Welt schaue, und darin tue, nicht was die andern tun; sondern was gut und nötig und vielleicht eben darum, weil es die andern nicht tun, desto nötiger ist" (ebd., 505). Politische Erziehung im Sinne Herbarts besitzt insofern nicht nur die Aufgabe, einem lernenden Menschen dabei zu helfen, dass dieser die Fähigkeit entwickelt, politische Regeln der Orientierung selbst zu bestimmen und im Lichte der Differenz von gut und böse zu beurteilen. Aufgabe der Erziehung ist es darüber hinaus, Menschen dabei zu unterstützen, den als gut beurteilten Regeln im Handeln zu folgen. Der „Charakter" ist nach Herbart nämlich dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass ihn „einzig das Handeln aus eignem Willen bildet" (Herbart 1806/1964, 19).

Nach Herbart ist davon auszugehen, dass der einzelne Mensch infolge von Sozialisation immer schon über spezifische „Charakterzüge" (ebd., 91) verfügt. Einerseits bestimmen diese zwar das Handeln eines Menschen, andererseits können diese aber im Wechselspiel von Vertiefung und Besinnung auch irritiert werden. Das besagte Wechselspiel kann „den Menschen der Einheit mit sich selbst berauben, und ihn desorientieren", nämlich dann, wenn Erfahrungen „Zwietracht stiften, zwischen dem Subjectiven und dem Objectiven" (ebd., 101). Dies ist der Fall, wenn ein Akteur die Erfahrung macht, dass die Regeln der eigenen politischen Orientierung nicht mehr als maßgeblich für das eigene Selbst- und Weltverhältnis angesehen werden können, und es deshalb notwendig ist, neue Regeln zu entwerfen und *diesen* Regeln zufolge zu handeln. Dies führt nach Herbart unweigerlich zu einem „Kampf" (ebd., 123). In diesem Zustand treffen neu entworfene Regeln auf die Charakterzüge, die einen Akteur bereits auszeichnen.

Den einzelnen Menschen dabei zu unterstützen, den besagten Kampf siegreich zu bestreiten und neue Charakterzüge zu entwickeln, ist nach Herbart die Aufgabe der Zucht. Maßnahmen der Zucht sind dementsprechend nicht darauf gerichtet, einen Menschen zu einer affirmierenden Haltung gegenüber einer bestimmten Weltanschauung zu erziehen. Ihre methodische Leitfrage lautet stattdessen: „Wie soll das *Handeln nach eignem Sinn beschränkt* und *ermuntert* werden?" (ebd., 119) Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Fragestellung, die in der Theorie und Praxis der politischen Erziehung und Bildung sowohl national als auch international auch heute noch eine wichtige Rolle spielen dürfte.[11]

> „Ich bin aber überzeugt, daß man das eigentlich *härtende* Princip für den *Menschen* - der nicht bloß Körper ist - nicht eher finden wird, als bis man eine Lebensart für die Jugend einrichten lernt, wobey sie nach eignem, und zwar nach eignem *richtigen* Sinn, eine in ihren Augen *ernste Wirksamkeit* betreiben kann. Sehr viel würde dazu eine gewisse *Öffentlichkeit* des Lebens beytragen. Aber diejenigen öffentlichen Acte, welche bisher gewöhnlich sind, dürften die Kritik schlecht bestehen. Denn es fehlt ihnen meistens das

erste Erforderniß eines charakterbildenden Handelns; sie geschehen nicht aus eignem Sinn, sie sind nicht *die That, durch welche das innere Begehren sich als Wille entscheidet*. Man bedenke unsre Examina, durch alle Schulklassen von unten an bis hinauf zur Doctor-Disputation! Man nehme wenn man will, die Reden, die theatralischen Uebungen hinzu, wodurch zuweilen junge Leute dreist und gewandt gemacht werden. Künste des Scheins können gewinnen durch das Alles; - die Kraft, sich selbst darzustellen und festzuhalten, worauf der Charakter beruht, wird der künftige Mann, den Ihr durch jene Uebungen führtet, vielleicht einmal eben so schmerzlich als vergeblich in sich suchen!" (S. 104)

Herbart, Johann Friedrich. 1806/1964. Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet. In: Kehrbach, Karl; Flügel, Otto, Hrsg. Joh. Fr. Herbart's Sämtliche Werke in chronologischer Reihenfolge. Bd. 1. Aalen, 1-139.

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Endnoten:

* Für die kritische Lektüre des Manuskripts und die vielen hilfreichen Informationen zur Rezeption Herbarts gilt mein Dank Elmar Anhalt.

[1] Im Folgenden entsprechen alle Hervorhebungen in Zitaten dem Quellentext.

[2] http://www.herbart-gesellschaft.de/

[3] Der Philosoph Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) beschreibt „das Perspektivische" als „die Grundbedingung alles Lebens" (KSA 5, 12). „Die Welt", so Nietzsche, „existiert nicht als Welt ‚an sich'; sie ist essentiell Relations-Welt: sie hat, unter Umständen, von jedem Punkte aus ihr verschiedenes Gesicht" (KSA 13, 271). Dieser Umstand bleibt nach Nietzsche nicht folgenlos: „Es giebt vielerlei Augen (…) und folglich giebt es vielerlei ‚Wahrheiten', und folglich giebt es keine Wahrheit" (KSA 11, 498). Ist es auch nicht möglich, in der Situation der Perspektivität die allein „richtigen" Regeln der Orientierung ausfindig zu machen, so bleibt nach Nietzsche noch die Möglichkeit, Sachverhalte im Lichte verschiedener Perspektiven in den Blick zu nehmen und uns in einem Wechselspiel der Perspektiven um Orientierung zu bemühen. „Je mehr Augen, verschiedne Augen wir uns für dieselbe Sache einzusetzen wissen, um so vollständiger wird unser ‚Begriff' dieser Sache, unsre ‚Objektivität' sein" (KSA 5, 365).

[4] Ausgehend von der für moderne Gesellschaften typischen Ausdifferenzierung von Welten der Orientierung hat der Erziehungswissenschaftler Dietrich Benner (*1941) das „Prinzip einer nicht-hierarchischen Ordnung der menschlichen Gesamtpraxis" formuliert (Benner 2012, 115ff.). Dieses Prinzip besagt, dass keine Welt der Orientierung eine übergeordnete Stellung gegenüber den jeweils anderen beanspruchen kann und darf. Da jede Welt der Orientierung nach eigenen Regeln funktioniert, ist es nach Benner nicht mehr überzeugend, einer Welt und deren Eigenlogik den Vorrang vor allen anderen einzuräumen.

[5] Herbart scheint hier bereits antizipiert zu haben, was den Philosophen Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) später dazu veranlasst hat, eine *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* zu entwickeln. Wie Cassirer darlegt, ist die Bezugnahme auf einen Sachverhalt stets in Zusammenhänge von Regeln involviert, die den Horizont strukturieren, in dem

ein Mensch einen Sachverhalt erfasst. Pointiert formuliert: „Die Welt hat für uns die Gestalt, die der Geist ihr gibt." (Cassirer 1922/1956, 60) Der Geist aber ist „eine konkrete Mannigfaltigkeit verschiedener Richtungen", was zur Folge hat, dass das „Sein und seine Klassen, seine Zusammenhänge und seine Differenzen als ein anderes erscheinen, je nachdem es durch verschiedene geistige Medien erblickt wird" (ebd.).

[6] Herbarts Politikbegriff erweist sich als höchst aktuell, vergleicht man ihn mit gegenwärtigen Bestimmungen von Politik. Der Verfassungsrechtler Ernst Wolfgang Böckenförde (*1930) bestimmt den Begriff der Politik anhand der folgenden Merkmale: 1. *Form des Selbst- und Weltverhältnisses*: „Politik ist (…) eine Denk- und Handlungsform" (Böckenförde 1995, 3). 2. *Regelung bzw. Ordnung des Zusammenlebens von Menschen*: „Politik (…) hat es (…) mit Fragen zu tun, die die Ordnung des Zusammenlebens betreffen." (ebd., 2) 3. *Öffentlichkeit*: „Politik und politisches Verhalten gehören der öffentlichen Sphäre zu, nicht der Sphäre der Privatheit. Das folgt aus ihrer Bezogenheit auf Fragen der Ordnung und Gestaltung des Zusammenlebens von Menschen, die stets öffentliche Fragen sind." (ebd.) 4. *Konflikt*: „Eine Auseinandersetzung um eine Sachfrage, um ein zu lösendes Problem wird in dem Maße politisch, wie sich dabei die Menschen nach unterschiedlichen Auffassungen und Zielen gruppieren, Gemeinsamkeiten oder Gegensätze hervortreten, und von dorther die Aktion und Interaktion bestimmen." (ebd., 4) 5. *Universalität*: „Potentiell gesehen, kann (…) jede Frage Gegenstand von Bestrebungen und Auseinander-setzungen um die richtige Ordnung des Zusammenlebens von Menschen und Menschengruppen und damit Gegenstand von Politik werden: Glaubensfragen ebenso wie Kleiderfragen (Bademoden, Kopftücher islamischer Mädchen), Sicherheitsfragen wie Fragen der öffentlichen Sprache, Kindererziehung wie Geburtenregelung und Sexualpraktiken. Auch die Frage, wieweit denn überhaupt das Zusammenleben der Menschen verbindlich zu regeln ist und wo die autonome Privat- und Persönlichkeitssphäre der einzelnen beginnt, ist oftmals ein Gegenstand von Politik und kann es immer wieder werden, ist also selbst eine politische Frage." (ebd., 3)

[7] Herbart gebraucht den Ausdruck *Bildsamkeit*, um das zu bezeichnen, was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) *perfectibilité* nennt, d.h. sowohl die menschliche Fähig-keit, lernend Fähigkeiten zu entwickeln, als auch die mit dieser Lernfähigkeit verbundene Unbestimmt der menschlichen Natur.

[8] Immanuel Kant hat dieses Prinzip in der Selbstzweck-formel seines Kategorischem Imperativs wie folgt formuliert: „*Handle so, daß du die Menschheit sowohl in deiner Person, als in der Person eines jeden andern, jederzeit zugleich als Zweck, niemals bloß als Mittel brauchest*" (Kant 1786/1922, 287). In Deutschland hat

das Prinzip von der Achtung der Würde des Menschen seinen Niederschlag im Art. 1 Abs. 1 des deutschen Grundgesetzes gefunden. Dort heißt es: „Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar. Sie zu achten und zu schützen ist Verpflichtung aller staatlichen Gewalt." Wie Benner deutlich macht, können die politischen Ideen bei Herbart als der Versuch gelesen werden, „Elementarurteile einer politischen Beurteilung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse" zu formulieren, „die Kants kategorischen Imperativ für gesellschaftliche Teilsysteme konkretisieren und auf diese Weise (…) Prinzipien einer guten gesellschaftlichen Ordnung entwickeln, in der die gegenseitige Anerkennung der Individuen als Selbstzweck (…) als Aufgabe öffentlich-politischer Praxis anerkannt wird" (Benner 1993, 167).

[9] In diesem Sinne hat der Politikwissenschaftler Ernst Fraenkel (1898-1975) einem *Gemeinwohl a priori* ein *Gemeinwohl a posteriori* gegenübergestellt. In modernen demokratischen Gesellschaften könne nach Fraenkel das, was Gemeinwohl heißt, nicht als bereits vorab gegeben betrachtet werden. Vielmehr müsse das Gemeinwohl in der öffentlichen Auseinandersetzung differenter Positionen allererst bestimmt werden (vgl. Fraenkel 1964, 199ff.).

[10] Jürgen Habermas markiert „Öffentlichkeit (…) als ein Netzwerk für die Kommunikation von Inhalten und Stellungnahmen" (Habermas 1992, 436). Die sicherlich lohnenswerte Untersuchung von Herbarts politischen Ideen vor dem Hintergrund des von Habermas insbesondere in seiner Schrift *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* entwickelten Öffentlichkeitsbegriffs steht meines Wissens bis heute noch aus (vgl. Habermas 1962).

[11] Man denke hier z.B. an Themen wie Zivilcourage oder den Umgang mit Pluralität und Heterogenität.

Fionnuala Waldron, Brian Ruane and Rowan Oberman

Practice as Prize: Citizenship Education in two Primary Classrooms in Ireland

While citizenship education forms part of the formal curriculum at primary level in Ireland, its inclusion as a strand unit of Social, Personal and Health Education, rather than as a discrete subject, tends to make it less visible. In practice, citizenship education is strongly influenced by external agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) active in the field as the dominant producers of teaching resources and programmes in the area. In many cases, these programmes are award-driven, requiring schools to compete with others for recognition or to exemplify a particular standard of practice. Using thick description (Geertz 1973) and teachers' narratives, this article presents two cases based on the practice of two experienced primary teachers who negotiate the complex space between professional practice and the particular agendas of external agencies and NGOs. Focusing on two exemplars of their teaching, the article locates their work within the broader context of citizenship education in Ireland, highlighting the extent to which the exemplars chosen typify or challenge existing practice. The article includes the outline plans used by the participating teachers and draws on an extended dialogue between the participants and the researchers in which issues relating to citizenship education, classroom and whole school practice and the broader educational context were discussed and probed.

Citizenship education lesson on the theme of water: An exerpt

The lesson began by introducing the theme of water. The children were asked to discuss: why water was important; where you could find water on Earth; how much of the water on Earth was useful for humans; where water was more available and less available and if access to water was a human right. The children were then asked to work in pairs and brainstorm how they used water in everyday life. In their pairs, the children suggested uses like washing, drinking and cooking. These were fed back and Zoe wrote the suggestions on the board.

The children were shown a two-litre bottle of water and asked to imagine that the bottle represented all the water their class had for a day. The children were then divided into groups of five or six with each group being given a glass to represent their share of the bottle. The

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children: estimated how much water, on average, each person in Ireland used per day and how many litres were used by different daily activities, like showering and using the toilet. They recorded their estimates on small white boards and checked them against a record of the *actual* average amount. The children were asked to decide on ways they could use less water and they made suggestions like taking shorter showers and half-filling the kettle. They then estimated how much water they would save by making each of these changes. A "class bowl" was introduced.

For each litre they felt they could save, the children took a spoonful of water from their group's glass and added it to a "class bowl" representing a common resource. Each group needed to conserve water to ensure that the class did not run out. The children were then led in discussing the activity and their learning, including who had responsibility for providing clean water and which ways of saving water were realistic for them.

1 Introduction

This exerpt describes a citizenship education lesson on the theme of water that took place in an Irish primary classroom. Occurring in the context of the school's involvement in a national environmental award scheme, it typifies a prominent approach to citizenship education in Ireland and will be interrogated in greater depth later in this paper as one of the two cases presented. Based on the idea that learning experiences cannot be viewed in isolation from the broader levels of context that surround them (Dewey 1938; Cole 1996), this paper begins by sketching out dimensions of context before presenting the exemplars of practice that lie at its core. Some of these aspects will be shared by other national systems while others will be specific to the Republic of Ireland. While strongly influenced by the international human rights framework and by how Education for Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) is conceptualised and implemented by the Council of Europe (CoE 2010), for example, citizenship

education in the primary sector in Ireland is also influenced by the philosophies underpinning its curriculum and by a range of traditions, beliefs and practices relating to teaching and learning. It is influenced further by the affordances (Gibson 1979) offered by structural and systemic dimensions and by the socio-economic, cultural and political constraints of life in Ireland in the second decade of the twenty-first century. It is also worth recognising that practice may differ as much within systems as across systems, and that "classroom level boundaries can transcend geographical boundaries in terms of learning" (Monaghan 2013, 30). The paper will focus mainly on those aspects of context necessary to support translation and interpretation across systems, while acknowledging that this inevitably underestimates the complex and dynamic interactions between teachers' practices, children's learning and different levels of context.

Conceptualising citizenship education

While it is generally accepted that schools represent key sites of education for democratic citizenship, there is less agreement on what citizenship education should look like, or on what constitutes the 'good' citizen in the first place. Tensions are evident between the notion of citizenship education as character formation and more radical visions of citizenship education as education for social justice (Westheimer, Kahne 2004a, 2004b); between a focus on citizenship as a shared national identity and the potential of cosmopolitan citizenship as a model for diverse and globalised societies (Osler; Starkey 2005) and between the idea of citizenship as an adult status and recognition of children and young people as citizens-in-the-present (Howe; Covell 2005). In the context of this paper, which focuses on citizenship education in the primary sector, the latter tension presents a critical point of differentiation between approaches to citizenship that seek to empower children and those that are more likely to reinforce traditional patterns of control and subordination within a school community.

The holistic vision of EDC/HRE, characterised as teaching about, for and through education for democratic citizenship/human rights education (EDC/HRE) implies a focus on a range of interrelated dimensions: cognitive (development of knowledge, concepts and understanding), participative (action-based skills development) and cultural (immersion in democratic culture through whole-school approaches) (Gollob, Krapf, Weidinger 2010). Consistent with Dewey's conceptualisation of democracy as "a mode of associated living" (1966, 87) is this idea that citizenship education should permeate all aspects of school life, providing opportunities for democratic engagement, shared deliberation and active participation for children as citizens in their school communities. In contrast, more traditional approaches to citizenship, that

prioritise learning about (rather than for and through democracy), present a "deficit model of the young" (Osler, Starkey 2005, 38) as citizens-in-the-making (Marshall, 1950, 25) rather than present citizens. The concept of child citizenship has been strongly influenced by the participation rights afforded to children by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Such shifts in understanding have also been supported by paradigmatic changes in how children and childhoods are conceptualised, which recognise childhoods as multiple and socially and historically constructed, and see children as agents in that construction (Qvortrup, Bardy, Sgritta, Wintersberger 1994; Prout, James 1997).

If opportunities for children to participate as present citizens could be seen as one measure of citizenship education, the authenticity of that participation is a critical determinant of programme outcomes. Authentic participation requires meaningful opportunities to make decisions and to have those decisions implemented (Lundy 2007), which in turn implies a re-balancing of the adult-child relationship characterised by a devolution of power and control to children. Some would question the extent to which authentic participation is possible in the context of formal education. Biesta, Lawy and Kelly (2009), for example, suggested that, despite some democratization of practice, children's lack of control in school settings limit their effectiveness as sites of citizenship education (21). Moreover, even if children are given authentic opportunities to participate, the direction of that participation will be determined by the vision of citizenship on which the citizenship education programme is premised. Arguing the need for schools to examine what notions of citizenship underpin their programmes, Westheimer and Kahne (2004a, 2004b), for example, found that many citizenship education programmes privilege personal responsibility through "individual acts of compassion and kindness over social action and the pursuit of social justice" (2004b, 243).

In summary, citizenship education presents a complex array of ideas and practices, all of which are informed by particular visions of desired outcomes in terms of what constitutes the 'good' citizen and, by extension, the 'good' society. Key determinants of outcomes include the extent to which children are conceptualised as present citizens with rights of participation; whether participation is expressed through meaningful opportunities for children to exercise control over their environment and consequent democratisation of relations in the context of whole-school practice. The following section examines the Irish context in light of the above discussion.

2 Citizenship education in Irish primary schools: context, policy and practice
2.1 Wider policy and legislative context:

In June 2004, a constitutional amendment was passed by referendum in the Republic of Ireland, which removed the right to citizenship by birth in Ireland

derived from the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. Drawing on an historic mono-cultural rhetoric of nationhood, and a growing tendency evident in Ireland from the early 2000s to conflate the rights associated with social citizenship (e.g. welfare rights) with political citizenship, the referendum endorsed a racialised and exclusionary concept of citizenship articulated by the government as "commonsense citizenship" (Fanning, Mutwarasibo 2007, 452). By contrast, in 2006, the government set up the Task Force on Active Citizenship, which put forward a concept of citizenship that was participative, civically engaged and intercultural (Report of the Task Force on active Citizenship 2007a). Rooted in the philosophy of civic republicanism, it was inclusionary in its definition of adult citizenship (Task Force on Active Citizenship 2007b). However, the Report gave limited support to the idea of child citizenry, confining its discussion and recommendations to children over the age of twelve in the context of post-primary education.

This failure to conceptualise younger children as citizens was not unique. The ratification of the UNCRC by the Republic of Ireland in 1992 was followed by a range of initiatives focused on children, including legislation such as the Education Act (1998). The act provided a statutory basis for student councils at post-primary level only, excluding children in the primary sector from its provisions in this regard. The National Children's Strategy (NCS) 2000-2010 provided the policy context for the realisation of children's participation rights more generally. Incorporating discourses around diversity, anti-racism and child citizenship (Deegan 2004, 237), the NCS gave rise to a number of initiatives, such as the appointment of the first Ombudsman for Children in 2004, and the establishment of participatory structures at local and national levels for children and young people between the ages of 12 and 18 years. Consultation with younger children, however, has tended to be at best sporadic. Children under the age of 12 years have been found to be among the groups least consulted by statutory and non-statutory agencies (Roe, McEvoy 2011, 6) and least represented in existing participatory structures (Murphy 2005, 58).

2.2 Curriculum context:

The Irish Primary Curriculum (1999) is premised on a child-centred and social constructivist approach to learning and underpinned by values such as respect for diversity, solidarity and the promotion of equality in local and global contexts. Seen by commentators as open to intercultural and rights-respecting practice (Ross, Faas, 2012; Ruane et al. 1999), its "ideological elasticity" has also been seen as supporting a range of contradictory practices, from traditional, teacher-oriented practice to that which could be seen as child-directed and participatory (Waldron 2004, 229). Although many of the underpinning values and concepts associated with citizenship education are integrated across a range of subjects in the curriculum, it is located

formally within Social, Personal and Health Education (SPHE), where it forms part of a wider strand entitled 'Myself and the Wider World'.

While it pre-dates the Task Force on Active Citizenship by several years, the conceptualisation of citizenship embraced by the Primary School Curriculum draws on a similar philosophy of civic republicanism. The view of citizenship articulated in the curriculum documentation is that of "active and responsible" citizenship in the context of a "just and caring society" (NCCA 1999b, 2). The subject itself seeks to prioritise the individual development of the child and promotes positive self-image, self-confidence, self-awareness, relationship building, health-promoting practices and personal responsibility (NCCA 1999a, 3). Premised on a participative and active approach to children's learning, the SPHE curriculum articulates a vision of schools as democratic spaces where children can experience "the democratic process in action"(NCCA 1999b, 3). Rights and responsibilities are seen in the context of an interdependent world and a diverse society. Care for the environment, inclusion and equality are presented as core values (NCCA 1999b, 4). While attributes and skills relating to citizenship, such as conflict resolution and decision-making, are distributed across the SPHE curriculum, the 'Myself and the wider world' strand provides a specific focus. It includes two units: Developing Citizenship and Media Education. Described as enabling children "to explore the various communities in which they live", the language used to elaborate on the strand is infused with ideas of social responsibility, shared purpose, interdependence and respect for diversity (NCCA 1999a, 5-6).

The SPHE curriculum has been described elsewhere as "fairly close" to providing a model citizenship education curriculum (Waldron 2004, 224). Characterised by participative methodologies, it foregrounds the importance of engaging children in democratic processes in their school communities, supports the development of dispositions and skills that are integral to democratic citizenship, enables multiple identifications with interlinked local, national and global communities, promotes equality, justice and fairness as underpinning values and prepares children to recognise and engage with manifestations of prejudice, inequality and discrimination. Furthermore, it engages learners with formal democratic structures and processes at national and European levels.

However, while the idea of children's participation is integral to the curriculum, in its conceptualisation it is limited and constrained, confined to safe and innocuous spaces where active citizenship can be realised without threatening the status quo or challenging adult-child power relationships (Waldron 2004, 225-226). Although there is a real emphasis on self-realisation and actualisation within the curriculum, this is rarely tied to the idea of children's rights. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, for example, makes but one

appearance in the curricular texts (NCCA 1999b, 4), while the weight of language in both the curriculum itself and the accompanying teachers' guidelines prioritises responsibilities over rights, and collective rights or the rights of others over the rights of the child. This tendency to emphasise responsibilities at the expense of rights, characteristic also of other systems, has been labeled elsewhere as 'miseducation' (Howe, Covell 2010, 92), suggesting that rights are dependent on the fulfilment of responsibilities (99)? Moreover, prioritising responsibilities over rights shifts the focus to behaviour management and control rather than empowerment (Trivers, Starkey 2012; Waldron et al. 2011; Howe, Covell 2010; Osler, Starkey 2005).

2.3 The context of practice:

Despite the affordances associated with an open curriculum, the practice of citizenship education is constrained by a range of structural and systemic factors relating to time, class size and the availability of adequate resources (NCCA, 2008). Other constraints include the influence of textbooks and the survival of more traditional teacher-centred practice (NCCA, 2008), low levels of teacher knowledge of key international and European human rights documents, and an historic deficit in terms of teacher education, which is only now being tackled at initial teacher education level (Waldron et al. 2011; Dillon, O'Shea 2009). While there is little direct evidence of the implementation of citizenship education in a primary context, a recent survey of Irish primary teachers' understanding of human rights and human rights education suggests the dominance of a responsibility-led conceptualisation of rights education and a charity orientation relating to issues of inequality. In addition, few teachers reported displays of the UNCRC, children's charters or other rights-related posters in their schools, while the dominant mode of children's participation related to their involvement in school committees related to Green Schools (Waldron et al. 2011).

Although the presence of student councils does not guarantee opportunities for authentic participation (Keogh, Whyte 2005; McLoughlin 2004), their relative absence at primary level (Waldron et al 2011), is significant, while not surprising in light of the failure to provide a statutory basis for such participation for younger children. As noted earlier, implementing the practice of democracy in a formal school context can be challenging (Biesta, Lawy; Kelly, 2009). Devine (2002), for example, illuminated the extent to which children's use of time and space were externally controlled and regulated in Irish primary schools and the absence of consultation (2002, 310). More recently, a study of fourteen-year old students in a post-primary context, conducted as part of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, found that, while Irish students valued participation, they saw themselves as having considerably less influence on decision-making in

a school context than their international counterparts (Cosgrove, Gilleece 2012; Cosgrove, Gilleece, Shiel 2011).

The dependence of the Irish education system on external non-governmental (NGOs), governmental and quasi-governmental agencies in terms of human rights education initiatives has been noted (Hammarberg 2008). The role of NGOs as 'expert' providers of resources and professional development for teachers is not exclusive to Ireland (see, for example, Mejias, Starkey 2012), and NGOs are conceived of as stakeholders in CDE/HRE in the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (CoE 2010). Nonetheless, given the need for the practice of citizenship education to embed itself within the whole school context, going beyond curriculum to include school governance, structures and relations, the dependence on external agencies, characteristic of the Irish system may be problematic. As noted earlier, for example, Green-Schools represents the dominant model of participation currently in Irish primary schools, with a reported involvement of over 92% of all schools (primary and second-level) in the environmental education programme (GreenSchools 2013). Organised by the Irish NGO, An Taisce, in partnership with local authorities, and part of the international ECO School movement, it puts forward a model of environmental citizenship premised on personal responsibility and action rather than system critique.

2.4 The structural context

While Irish primary schools are state funded and implement a national curriculum, they are controlled by Patron Bodies. The majority of schools are denominational. Recent years have seen an increase in the number of multi-denominational schools under the patronage of Educate Together. While most of the 3,152 primary schools are co-educational, almost 17 % of children attend single-sex schools (DESa 2013). In 2011, the government responded to the growing diversity of Irish society by establishing a Forum on Patronage and Pluralism in the Primary Sector to address issues of school patronage, which prompted an ongoing process of diversification in the sector (DESb 2013). Irish children generally attend primary education for eight years, between the ages of four and twelve years. Classes are organised according to age and grouped, for curriculum purposes, in bands of two: Junior and Senior Infants; First and Second Class; Third and Fourth Class and, finally, Fifth and Sixth Class.

In summary, the context of citizenship education in the Irish primary school sector is complex and sometimes contradictory, embracing a range of affordances and constraints: policy at state level which is ambivalent on the issue of child citizenship; an open and generally facilitative curriculum which supports a range of practices; the persistence of traditional and

teacher-directed classroom practice and limited approaches to human rights education; few opportunities for children to exercise control over their environment and a high dependence on external agencies such as NGOs to drive citizenship education initiatives.

3 Methodology

While there is growing evidence relating to the teaching of areas such as mathematics and literacy through lesson study (see, for example, Corcoran 2012) and school-based professional development (see, for example, Kennedy 2010) respectively, there is no existing archive or documentation of practice relating to citizenship education or related areas in an Irish context. This paper documents the practice of experienced primary school teachers who work in mainstream settings in urban schools. The cases focus on exemplars chosen by the teachers as illustrative of their practice. The participating teachers were known to the researchers as committed citizenship educators who focused regularly on citizenship themes in their classrooms. For both participants, the exemplar chosen can be seen as part of a broader and informed practice, as opposed to an isolated and singular instance of practice. The exemplars are also indicative of existing trends in the practice of citizenship education at primary level in Ireland in that both are award-driven and instigated by agencies external to the school or education context. Each case draws on three main sources of data: observation of the school context, a series of interviews and an outline plan of the exemplar. The cases are set in the broader context of how citizenship education is conceptualised and actualised within the primary sector in Ireland.

Qualitative interviewing has been described variously as "collecting talk" (Powney, Watts 1987), a "series of friendly conversations" (Spradley 1979, 58) and a conversation with a structure and a purpose (Kvale 2007, 7). The approach to interviewing used in this study is conceptualised by the researchers as an extended dialogue to signify both its open-ended and iterative character and the mutuality of the engagement between interviewer and interviewee. In each case, a series of three interviews was conducted. The first two interviews gathered biographical and contextual data, explored the participating teachers' philosophies of teaching and their conceptualisation of citizenship education and engaged the participants in discussion around the exemplar. In addition to the interviews, further contextual data were gathered through a site visit to the schools, which allowed for observation of the school environment with a view to identifying whether citizenship education had a visible physical presence in the school. The plans developed by each participant were also analysed to clarify the process undertaken by the teachers and to examine the extent to which the

exemplars were embedded in a broader curricular and whole school context (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Interview data from the first two interviews were analysed thematically and integrated with the contextual data and the analyses of the lesson plans to construct a case narrative incorporating thick description (Geertz 1973). The narratives were then shared with participants in the final interview to check their accuracy and to provide teachers with the opportunity to provide additional or alternative interpretations.

The two cases presented are followed by a commentary, which considers the ways in which these examples of practice illuminate the key issues around citizenship education in an Irish context signalled in the previous section and identifies a range of questions through which the examples could be interrogated further in a teacher education context.

In developing this paper we were concerned to present, as far as possible, the authentic voices of the participating teachers and to enact a democratic research practice. To this end, we left the choice of example to the teachers and used extensive quotes when constructing the narrative. In addition, constructing the third interview around the emerging narrative and commentary ensured that the participants could exert some control over this public articulation of their practice. Even so, it must be acknowledged that documenting the practice of others inevitably results in a power imbalance. Yet, there is value in attempting a "critical conversation" between writers of teacher narratives and teachers as "a form of shared inquiry" (Atkinson, Rosiek 2009, 191).

Case 1: Bróna's global justice programme

Bróna qualified as a primary school teacher in 1994 and has spent most of her teaching career in schools serving socially and economically disadvantaged areas in large urban centres in Ireland and in the USA. She spent two years as principal of a school for children with special educational needs and has undertaken summer volunteer placements in schools and colleges in Belize, Romania, Zambia and Uganda. She is now in her third year as a resource teacher in Redtown Educate Together National School. Resource teachers do not have responsibility for a class and instead support teaching and learning in a range of areas such as providing learning support for children with special educational needs.

The school is situated in a large commuter town, which has recently experienced a significant rise in population due to immigration and the availability of affordable housing close to Dublin. The school has DEIS (Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools) status which is a government scheme for schools with socially or economically disadvantaged populations. Schools on the scheme have lower pupil-teacher ratios and a range of additional resources and supports compared to the

majority of schools in the State. As well as being multi-denominational, Educate Together schools operate according to three other key principles in that all its schools are obliged to be co-educational, child centred and democratically run (Educate Together 2006). Their *Learn Together Curriculum* (Educate Together 2004), which is a programme in ethical education, includes a strong human rights and social justice focus.

The five-year plan of Redtown Educate Together National School identifies citizenship and human rights education as one of four key priorities and commits itself to "provide opportunities that promote active and participative citizenship in a multicultural society". This commitment is evident in the school environment where artefacts, such as posters and quotations related to citizenship, are displayed and in structures such as student councils and human rights month.

The school plan identifies the Irish Aid Our World Awards as an opportunity to promote active citizenship. Irish Aid is the Irish Government's programme for overseas development and it has an active development education programme in schools. Hundreds of Irish primary schools participate in the programme each year. The stated aim of the Our World Awards is:

"…to increase primary pupils' awareness and understanding of global development issues, in particular the MDGs and the work of Irish Aid, and to help them to explore the links between their lives and the lives of children in developing countries (Irish Aid 2013)."

While citizenship education is a priority area for the school, Bróna explained that "the principal knows I have a very strong interest in and kind of a history in citizenship education and asked me when I joined the staff to take it on". Throughout her interview, Bróna used terminology associated with development education, citizenship education and human rights education interchangeably and conceptualised human rights and citizenship education as permeating everything in the school. Thus she saw her practice as having "different layers" from "unplanned and incidental in every engagement we have with the children" to "planned or formal integration into comprehension pieces" used in literacy stations. Her philosophy of citizenship education was consistent with her conceptualisation of children as "citizens now" and central to her understanding of her role as a teacher. For her, her position in learning support offered opportunities to prepare children for citizenship:

"My personal philosophy is to educate about citizenship, for citizenship and through citizenship So it's not just about teaching the children what citizenship is or how to be good citizens, it's actually living it- all the different interactions with the children and with each other...I do a lot of work in station teaching (children working in small groups at a range of rotating activities set up in different locations in the classroom) and in withdrawal groups around empowering the children with their language, their oral language skills, of how to make speeches, how to assert themselves... all the different things preparing them for citizenship…The key thing for me in my philosophy is that I see the children as citizens now and I am preparing them for citizenship right now as citizens of their country rather than just the future."

It was in this context that Bróna undertook to lead the Our World Awards programme with her senior classes. She described the programme as typical of the focused approach to citizenship education in the school. Both she and her teaching colleagues thought carefully about how the programme might be integrated into their work and how it would meet the broader needs of the children in their classes. They decided that they would select a specific group of children to lead the project with her as "they had a very strong interest in project work and needed something extra to really engage". Bróna decided not to plan for specific activities, to enable co-planning with the leader group of children before carrying them out with all the classes. The teachers were very deliberate in their selection of children for this group:

"I worked with the three sixth class teachers and we discussed which groups to do, which groups to work with and we thought that it would be interesting to work with children who had different heritages, children with dual heritage, African heritage, Eastern European heritage, so we would have a good balance."

The theme of the programme - The Right to Education - appealed to Bróna and the teachers as they had explored aspects of the topic during the school's human rights month. In order to justify the time they would dedicate to the project, the teachers identified specific objectives from the Primary School Curriculum (1999) and included these in their monthly schemes of work, which form part of the planning requirements for Irish teachers.

At the first meeting with the leader group, the criteria for success outlined by Irish Aid were discussed and throughout the project, the children "kept checking the criteria to see if they were meeting the criteria". During the project, distinct activities were carried out by this group on their own and working with their peers, and by the teachers working with all the children. Activities carried out by the leader group included interviews with other children about their experiences of schools in other countries, the design of interactive quizzes on the themes of education and aid and the maintenance of a blog on the topic. According to Bróna, "when they (the children) had finished the blog, a lot of the classes did

full lessons based on what the children had put together." Bróna also facilitated the classes in writing and performing a song. Bróna emphasised the degree to which the children enjoyed all of the activities in the programme, recounting that:

"They loved working on the computer programme, they loved going on the internet, researching the information. They absolutely adored the interviews."

A striking feature of the programme of activities was the degree to which it was informed by the context of the school and its diversity. The programme not only drew on the experiences of children who had been educated in other countries but was open to their world-views. According to Bróna, the desire to show a positive and balanced picture of the Global South emanated from the children's own personal experiences of prejudice and from previous classroom work.

"The children are very aware. One of the boys in the group, his parents are of African heritage. He had one specific issue that Africa is always presented as a country and is always presented in a negative way. He was absolutely adamant that we would find some way through the project of showing the positive aspects of Africa."

Although the children enjoyed the range of activities in the programme, "one of the most surprising things" for Bróna "was that they wanted to win and they were absolutely convinced they would win". Having managed the children's disappointment at not receiving recognition from the competition's organisers, Bróna reflected on the issues relating to the implementation of citizenship education in a competitive context.

"The competition element takes from what they should be really trying to achieve. I just feel for the self-esteem of the children and for Irish Aid and their whole idea of changing systems, it starts from changing attitudes … a system where you don't win and you are not recognised is not a good starting point for positive changes. In the end, I just told the children that the whole process was their prize."

Despite this, Bróna also identified the positive dimensions of a national competition such as the Our World Media Awards as "the whole country is engaging in the right to education which is a citizenship issue".

Overall, Bróna described the programme as typical of her approach to citizenship education in that it was focused but claimed that the programme differed from her previous work in the extent to which she enabled the children to make decisions and take responsibility for much of the programme.

"What I would say was different, which I am delighted about, I definitely let go of a lot of the control and it taught me that, given the foundations, the children can come up with much better ideas (…) I wanted to write the song lyrics but when you let go and trust children (…) once we had that general philosophy and we let them off … wow! it was powerful."

Case 2: Zoe's lesson on water

Zoe is a resource teacher in Greenview, a boys' national school located in a suburban area in Ireland. The school includes pupils from different ethnic and socio economic backgrounds with the majority of the boys at the school being white and from English speaking families. Like the majority of schools in Ireland, Greenview operates under Catholic patronage but includes pupils from other religions and from secular backgrounds.

Zoe has been teaching at Greenview since she graduated from initial teacher education ten years ago. Shortly after qualifying, she completed a Masters of Education in foundation studies and has recently begun a Doctorate in Education. Zoe recognises herself as being particularly motivated about human rights and human rights education (HRE). As a child, Zoe was interested in social justice issues and this interest grew when a friend of hers, who worked for Amnesty International, Ireland, asked her to pilot HRE resources in her initial years of teaching.

Zoe has worked to promote human rights in Greenview and has instigated the majority of citizenship related activities in the school. She encouraged the school to adopt more inclusive approaches to all members of the school community and set up a school council, which she now runs. The school council includes "councillors", elected by the children, from all classes except junior infants. It is intended that the councillors discuss issues with their respective classes and bring these to council meetings although, Zoe indicates, that in practice this depends on the class teacher and may not always occur. Zoe also led Greenview's involvement with the Irish Aid Our World Awards. It's most recent entry involved surveying local businesses about their use of fair trade products. A notice board in the school is dedicated to the work of the school council, HRE and the Irish Aid Our World Awards. Zoe has also participated in citizenship education and HRE programmes run by NGOs outside her school and is a member of Amnesty International.

While Zoe has advocated for the participation rights of children and staff members in terms of whole school practice, her conceptualisation of citizenship focuses on children's responsibility to contribute positively to society. While Zoe projects an understanding of children as current, rather than future citizens, this citizenship is framed in terms of children's duty and competency to influence their environments.

"Adults have responsibilities to children until they are 18. And children are aware that mothers and fathers and guardians and others in their lives make so many decisions for them on a daily basis. But I suppose children need to take responsibility also and I think that's the good thing about citizenship education and human rights education it makes them aware that, you know, they have to make decisions for themselves too. And yes, they have less responsibility but they do have to take some responsibility for what they do, also they influence the adults in their lives as well."

Zoe understands citizenship education as going "hand in hand with human rights education and development education". Zoe's focus on human rights and child responsibility is reflected in her selected citizenship lesson, which brings together HRE and environmental education materials and encourages the children to consider their water consumption.

Zoe's citizenship lesson was part of the school's involvement with the Green School's Award programme. The programme asks schools to review their environmental impact and to devise, implement and evaluate an environmental action plan. The Green Schools programme proposes different themes: litter and waste, energy, water, travel, bio-diversity and global citizenship Schools are asked to work through the themes and are awarded a flag once they have completed the programme for each theme. Curriculum work exploring environmental themes is also encouraged by the scheme, as is wider communication with the school community. Involving staff and student committees, the scheme promotes itself as supporting the democratisation of schools as well as promoting awareness of environmental issues amongst children and the wider community. Greenview has been involved with the Green Schools programme for several years and has a number of flags.

Zoe's lesson focused on water in preparation for the third flag (water) of the programme. Involving children in fourth class, the lesson aimed to "make children aware of the different changes they could make to reduce the amount of water they use". Zoe was not their class teacher but worked on a daily basis with the class co teaching and providing additional support where necessary. The lesson drew on suggestions included on the Green Schools website and in the *Compasito* human rights education manual from which Zoe said she "took elements" and "tweaked". The lesson was one of several on the theme of water conservation in which the class participated; the class teacher delivered the other lessons independently.

The lesson began by introducing the theme of water. The children were asked to discuss: why water was important; where you could find water on Earth; how much of the water on Earth was useful for humans;

where water was more available and less available and if access to water was a human right. The children were then asked to work in pairs and brainstorm how they used water in everyday life. In their pairs, the children suggested uses like washing, drinking and cooking. These were fed back and Zoe wrote the suggestions on the board.

The children were shown a two-litre bottle of water and asked to imagine that the bottle represented all the water their class had for a day. The children were then divided into groups of five or six with each group being given a glass to represent their share of the bottle. The children: estimated how much water, on average, each person in Ireland used per day and how many litres were used by different daily activities, like showering and using the toilet; they recorded their estimates on small white boards and checked them against a record of the *actual* average amount. The children were asked to decide on ways they could use less water and they made suggestions like taking shorter showers and half-filling the kettle. They then estimated how much water they would save by making each of these changes. A "class bowl" was introduced. For each litre they felt they could save, the children took a spoonful of water from their group's glass and added it to a "class bowl" representing a common resource. Each group needed to conserve water to ensure that the class did not run out. The children were then led in discussing the activity and their learning, including who had responsibility for providing clean water and which ways of saving water were realistic for them.

The lesson's pedagogy reflects Zoe's approach to citizenship education, involving open discussion and brainstorming and encouraging the children to relate the lesson's theme back to their own lives. For Zoe, this consideration of the children's home lives in the context of their learning was what differentiated citizenship education from other curriculum areas. Zoe described how the children enjoyed the activity and recognised it as different to other schoolwork. In Zoe's view, the children learned from the lesson and recounted how their learning influenced their home environments.

"I think they had a lot of fun because I think when you go to teach anything like this, it can be a break from the norm. The children don't see it as work or you know they don't have to write or do sums, they don't have to write in their copies and they enjoy conversation. They enjoy being asked about their own lives, you know being asked how do you use water. I suppose like everyone they like talking about themselves. (….) They did go away with some new knowledge and since then you hear parents saying oh he was telling me to turn of the tap or only fill the kettle this amount or that amount so you know some of it is trickling back to the family home."

Zoe recognises herself as more interested in human rights than some of her colleagues and says that she would be conscious of integrating human rights and citizenship education into her teaching. She perceives other teachers as sometimes being a bit hesitant in regards to citizenship education and perceiving it as something new and challenging within an "overloaded" curriculum. For Zoe however, citizenship education is not an additional burden but fits in nicely with all curriculum areas and particularly with geography, science, SPHE and literacy.

Zoe described how she uses resources produced by NGOs and plans for citizenship education in her teaching.

"I would actually more think of looking at you know human rights education or citizenship through, like, some of the material that Amnesty International provided, and Trócaire [a leading development NGO in Ireland], like the Lift Off programme [a project of Amnesty International and teacher trade unions]. And I would see how does this fit into geography or how does this fit into this particular strand so I just make sure that whatever I am teaching, whichever subject it actually fits in nicely with the curriculum objectives

Zoe sees the award scheme as an important support for the inclusion of citizenship education. She says this lesson may not have occurred were it not for the award scheme and sees it as particularly influential in encouraging teachers in the school who may not otherwise be inclined to include citizenship education. However she reports on the need to be "judicious" in engaging in an award scheme to ensure that the engagement is benefiting the children's learning rather than simply about recognition through award.

3 Commentary

These cases document examples of the practice of two teachers who champion citizenship education in their schools and professional communities. They also provide an insight into the educational practice emanating from two award schemes which occupy a significant space in citizenship education as it is experienced by children in Irish primary schools. While the teachers' dedication to and prioritisation of citizenship issues may be atypical, their experiences are indicative of the contexts, the agendas and the discourses that determine, to a large extent, the kind of citizenship education that happens in schools. This commentary offers an initial analysis of the exemplars which speaks to themes identified within the literature surveyed earlier in the paper. Fundamental to the discussion of each of these themes is how they influence and are influenced by implicit and explicit conceptualisations of citizenship and children which underpin teachers' practice.

Both Bróna and Zoe understood citizenship education as presenting opportunities to address issues of power through placing an emphasis on the importance of children's own perspectives and experiences. Both teachers highlight the potential of citizenship education to motivate and engage children because it values the children's experience and agency. Issues relating to control and domination identified in Irish primary schools (Devine 2002) still prevail however. Consistent with recent survey findings (Cosgrove and Gilleece 2012) children appear to lack influence in decision-making in regard to the choice and timing of curriculum content and the type of roles they are enabled to play or not to play. Bróna attempts to address these issues of power in her programme, particularly in relation to the work of the leader group; but this re-distribution of power and control is experienced differentially by a small group of children who are selected on the basis of criteria set by teachers. In the case of Zoe, while active learning and participation is encouraged and facilitated, the lesson is conceived and implemented by the teacher.

Both teachers draw on their own experiences and convictions, to promote the citizenship values of solidarity (Bróna) and stewardship (Zoe) that are important to them. In their experiences, content choices and approaches, the teachers themselves reflect cosmopolitan values. The diverse backgrounds and identities of the children in Bróna's school enrich and inform her teaching and children's learning experiences, while affirming and fostering the children's identities as cosmopolitan citizens (Osler, Starkey 2005). While citizenship educators cannot be neutral, the degree to which teachers influence children's opinions is one which could be further explored, given how in both cases, the teachers' convictions were consistent with their reports of children's dispositions and learning outcomes.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004a, 2004b) concern that personal responsibility is often privileged in citizenship education programmes over structural critique finds expression in the award schemes considered here. While Zoe approached citizenship education, both generally and in the exemplar lesson from a human rights perspective, she identified children's recognition of their responsibilities as central to her practice as an educator in the context of citizenship. The aim and focus of the lesson was to encourage children to reduce their water consumption rather than to consider the systemic and justice issues related to water. Bróna, in her engagement with the Irish Aid Our World Awards, by contrast, looked towards more systemic (Greig, Selby, Pike 1989) and justice-orientated outcomes. In her interview, Bróna suggested that the award scheme was concerned with changing systems through changing attitudes. Ultimately however, she questioned the compatibility of a scheme where some participants "don't win" with the empowerment she saw as integral in delivering these structural changes.

Andreotti's differentiation between open as against specific educational objectives in citizenship education is also reflected in the cases considered here (Andreotti 2006). While Zoe's lesson had both particular educational and action-related outcomes concerning the children's water use, Bróna's concern was with facilitating the children to explore and respond to the development themes that emerged rather than achieving predetermined learning. This contrast raises issues concerning the value of providing an open platform for learner exploration, expression and empowerment as opposed to specific learning outcomes.

Both teachers address curriculum objectives while prioritizing a focus on citizenship education. Furthermore, they include citizenship incidentally, as the opportunity arises and act to develop a culture of human rights and inclusion in the schools. However their experiences, reflected in these cases, suggest that their embedded and holistic practice is atypical and that, with the exception of the environmental citizenship embodied in the Green Schools' programme, citizenship education occupies a relatively peripheral space in primary education in Ireland. In Bróna's school, where citizenship was recognised as part of the school's fabric, Bróna's interest was, nonetheless, identified as exceptional. Zoe's perception that the children found her lesson a "break from the norm" echoes Devine's observations (2002) relating to children's internalisation of what was valued in school, what constitutes real work and their own preference for subjects that were active and fun. The "fun" and relevance to children's own lives that both Zoe and Bróna attributed to citizenship education may relate to its more marginalised status as a subject, as may its inconsistent practice. It is arguable that the leading role played by NGOs in school-based citizenship education (Hammarberg, 2008) both contributes to and reflects its location outside the everyday practice of teaching and learning in a primary context. While bringing capacity to an under-resourced area, external agencies, with their own agendas to progress, can militate against the implementation of a coherent and embedded citizenship curriculum at school level, locating citizenship education as something external to children's core learning experiences and, in the case of award schemes, suggesting that the practice of citizenship is not its own reward.

The idea of awards for the practice of citizenship is not confined to education and it would be churlish to suggest that citizens who exhibit leadership should not be recognised. Yet, in an educational context, while award schemes may serve to motivate teachers and schools to engage with citizenship education, their potential to unconsciously promote values such as competitiveness and individualism rather than the more altruistic and collaborative values generally associated with citizenship education needs to be acknowledged. Through becoming conscious of the underlying

contradictions and addressing them, Bróna's response to her students' disappointment at not emerging as winners, asserted the value of the process itself. 'In the end', she noted, 'I just told them that the whole process was their prize'.

These exemplars suggest the following questions for further exploration with student teachers:

- How do these exemplars support education about, for and through citizenship?
- Which dimensions of EDC/HRE are strongly developed in these exemplars? Which are weakly developed or absent?
- How well does citizenship education integrate with different subject areas in the exemplars chosen?
- How do award schemes impact on children's experience of citizenship education?
- To what extent is power and control divested to children in these exemplars? Are there any opportunities for increasing this transfer of power? How would you balance child leadership with the achievement of specific learning outcomes in citizenship education programmes?

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Mohammad Imam Farisi

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [Unity in Diversity]: From Dynastic Policy to Classroom Practice

The purpose of this article is to discuss the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, in its narrowest sense, a policy on religious tolerance, as it is operationalized in social studies textbooks and in classroom practice in Indonesia. The focus of the research is on six electronic textbooks used by students aged 7-12 years, in Indonesian elementary schools which are further considered in the context of Indonesian teachers' actual experience of the operationalization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom setting. The study shows that the textbooks and classroom practice are able to describe and transform a concept such as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* into a real and meaningful concept or practice for students as practiced in the family, the school, the wider community and at a national level as well as in religious ceremonies, architecture, and *gotong-royong* (or reciprocal) activities. However, the state also has a political goal and this concept should also be viewed as underlying cultural policy designed to build a character and civilization appropriate to a pluralistic Indonesian nation.

Keywords:

Bhinneka tunggal ika, dynastic policy, textbook, social studies, elementary school

1 Introduction

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity (Santoso 1975) is the official national motto of the Republic of Indonesia. "We are of many kinds, but we are one." The motto appears on the Indonesian national emblem *Garuda Pancasila* (the Eagle), on the scroll gripped by the Garuda's claws (Figure 1). It is also mentioned explicitly in Article 36A of the Indonesian Constitution of Indonesia „National emblem is *Garuda Pancasila* with motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Mahkamah Konstitusi 1999, 81).

Figure 1: *Garuda*, the national emblem of Indonesia

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Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is a concept dating back to the third century which was central to the religious politics of the ruling dynasty[1]. It was later adopted by the Indonesian government as a motto of national unity. However, this article will neither describe nor discusses it in the context of dynastic or state policy, but in the context of social studies for citizenship education.

This article describes how the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is explained in textbooks and how it is used and implemented in social studies classroom practice. **It also describes how teachers deal with** conflicts in a citizenship classroom setting; and how it increases the students' awareness that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not merely political jargon. In other words, this article describes how textbooks and teachers transform *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* from an "ideological concept" developed for state or dynastic purposes into a "pedagogical concept" for citizenship education.

The rationale for this study includes the fact that Indonesian people are vulnerable to social conflicts caused by issues of ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations. Therefore, it is important to understand and promote ways in which textbook, and the classroom practice in social studies can contribute to the building of unity and diversity among 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia.

The study includes an analysis of social studies electronic textbooks for six grades of elementary school in Indonesia used by pupils aged between seven and twelve years old. The findings are considered against a backdrop of reported and documentary evidence of teachers' actual experience of the use and implementation of the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in classroom/school setting from some areas of Indonesia as published by Indonesia Teaching Foundation. The textbooks were compiled by

Muhammad Nursa'ban and Rusmawan (for grades 1-3) and Suranti Setiawan and Eko S Saptriarso (for grades 4-6). They have been assessed by the National Education Standards Board [*Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan*] and deemed eligible to be used in all Indonesian elementary schools (Ministry of National Education Regulation Nr. 22/2007, Nr. 34 and 69/2008). The textbooks can be downloaded at *http://bse.kemdikbud.go.id/* and can be reprinted, altered, transformed, or copied freely for educational purposes.

The documentary evidence referred to above consists of memos, letters, position papers, examination papers, newspaper clippings, rubrics, student profiles, and so on (Hopkins 1993, 78). Such sources have been used extensively in action research projects (Sonstegard et al. 1971; Bonus, Riordan 1998; Colombo, Sadowski, Walsh 2000; Chiappetta et al. 2000; Kolb, Weede 2000; Capretz, Ricker, Sasak 2003), because the material is a natural and important part of teaching and learning and a powerful tool for the collection and recording of the rich detail available concerning a particular incident or event of an interesting or amusing nature in the classroom (Rhodes, Nathenson-Mejia 1992, 502-503). These notes are used to record objective and subjective information as well as affective information, such as levels of engagement, curiosity, and motivational factors (Boyd-Batstone 2004, 230).

2 The origins and the meaning of "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*"

The concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not new to Indonesian people. It can be traced back to the Sailendra or Sañjaya dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries. This period was characterized by a peaceful co-existence and cooperation between Buddhism and Hinduism. This is indicated by the existence of Borobudur (Buddha temple) and Prambanan (Hindu temple) in close proximity to one another in Central Java (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Borobudur and Prambanan temples

Historians regard Borobudur as a symbol of the final resting place of King Sailendra, who unites with Buddha Gautama after his death, and the Prambanan temple complex is also associated with the tomb of a king (Network 2002; Widnya 2008). Two hundred years after the Kingdom of Sailendra, when King Airlangga built the Kahuripan Kingdom in East Java to unite the two *isms*, he also used the same principle. This is explained in a *kakawin*[1] (Old Javanese poem) *Arjuna Wiwāha* or Arjuna

Wijaya (Arjuna's wedding) written by '*Mpu*'[1] (Poet) Kaṇwa around AD 1030. The following quotation comes from *kakawin* Arjuna Wiwāha canto 27, stanza 2: „That is a reality, my lord the king, no different god Buddha with god Shiva, both are one, which embodied in Truth, and the Truth will also reach his nature, the One" (translated by Wiryamartana 1990, 124-182; Zoetmulder 1983, 415-437).

This principle is also found in the *kakawin* Sutasoma, written by '*Mpu*' Tantular[1] during the reign of King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) from the Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th century. Historically, at that time, Hayam Wuruk is facing two opposing forces between Hindu (Shivaites), Majapahit's official religion, and Buddhism as the second religion. The two forces start to destroy each other, and it leads to a problematic situation unfavorable to Majapahit Kingdom. The King then commands *Mpu* Tantular to write a *kakawin* to foster tolerance in both parties. Thus, this poem is a doctrine of reconciliation between the Hindu and Buddhist religions to promote tolerance between Hindu (Shivaites) and Buddhist (Mastuti, Bramantyo 2009; Mulyana 2006; Esink, 1974). The following quotation comes from canto 139, stanza 5.

„It is said that the well-known Buddha and Shiva are two different substances—they are indeed different, yet how is it possible to recognize their difference at a glance—since the truth of Jina (Buddha), and the truth of Shiva is one—they are different, but they are one, there is no duality in Truth" (translated by Santoso 1975, 578)."

Such a spirit of religious tolerance is an essential element in the foundation and the security of the newly created Majapahit Kingdom particularly when it reaches the height of its power and influence under Prime Minister Gajah Mada. Van der Meij (2011, 328) states that „the *Sutasoma* is a very interesting *kakawin,* because it shows perfectly how Hindu and Buddha blend in the Old Java world". It also shows that the way Buddha and Siva merge is an important element in the religious make-up of the island. This noble path inspired Sawitri (2009) to critically consider the issue in the light of present-day Indonesian realities, especially in the context of relations between Balinese Hindu, the religion of the minority, and Islam, the religion of the majority, among the Indonesian population. Consideration is also directed towards relationships between the upper classes associated with royalty and the majority of the population which constitutes the lower classes.

The words of *Mpu* Tantular regarding *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* have also inspired Prof. Mr. Muhammad Yamin, one of the founders of the first Independent Government of the Republic of Indonesia. He proposes that it become the official national motto of the Republic of Indonesia

and a founding principle of the modern Indonesian nation. It is a concept which concerns more than tolerance of religious differences but also concerns tolerance of physical, cultural, linguistic, social, political, ideological and/or psychological difference. It represents a movement towards a more complex unity, based on an understanding that differences enrich human interactions (Lalonde 1994). In 2012, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/MPR* (People's Consultative Assembly) of the Republic of Indonesia declared it to be one of Four *Pilar Kebangsaan* (National Pillars)[1].

3 Bhineka Tunggal Ika in the family

Family is the first element of community civics[1]. Therefore, in the elementary social studies textbooks, *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* is taught in grade 1 and is integrated into the topic entitled "living in harmony in the family." The topic–describes the diverse nature of families and their members (me, father, mother, brother, and sister). It covers differences in hobbies, social activities, work, habit, taste, and attitudes. It also touches upon the nature of different types of relationships associated with integrity, unity, harmony and peace in the family. The descriptions are intended to demonstrate to students that *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* is not just a slogan. Instead, it represents a social reality that can be experienced, practiced, and developed by each student in their family, as the smallest unit of community. They should become aware of the fact that differences between family members are not barriers for building harmony in the family.

Quotations and figures below come from the textbook for grade 1.

„My name is Wahyudin. In my family, we all have different hobbies. I love playing badminton, and so does my father. My mother loves cooking; my elder brother loves reading books, and my younger sister loves playing or collecting toys. My father and I are watching TV; mother is cooking at the kitchen; my elder brother is reading a textbook, and my younger sisters are playing with a toy car. We do not disrupt or disturb each other. We respect our differences. Our family lives peacefully" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 56-57)."

„I am learning with my elder sister. I am doing math homework; she is learning English. We do not disturb each other. My elder brother teaches me Math. It makes me understand Math better. My homework is also finished faster. When my elder brother can't find his pencil, I lend him mine. My brother's task is also quickly finished. Harmony is beautiful. Living in harmony makes everything work well. Mother likes sweet food; father likes spicy food. They never fight;

both sweet and spicy foods are prepared" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 58-60).

Figure3: Living in harmony in the family

Furthermore, textbooks also describe the diversity of the parents' ethnicities and languages. This is one real example experienced and faced by students in their family life. Parents' respect of each other's differences through the use of the Indonesian language to communicate also gives a better understanding to students of the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In fact, dealing with differences in ethnicity and language has actually faciliatated the creation of unity and harmony in the family, as the following quotation suggests.

„Mother is Javanese and father is Sundanese. Their customs are different; mother uses Javanese language, and the father uses Sundanese language. They communicate using the Indonesian language. Mother respects father's customs; father also respects mother's customs. They are different, but they are one. They live in harmony" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 60-61).

To present an actual example of unity in diversity in the family life, the textbooks also present images of the places of worship for religions in Indonesia, side by side, to demonstrate harmony in religious life to the pupils (Figure 4). Although our religions are different, but we are still in harmony, in peace, and in unity.

Figure 4: Illustration a harmony in religious living in Indonesia

After showing the stories and pictures concerning diversity in family daily life, the textbooks also present the conceptual meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and its meaning for family life and Indonesian nation in general.

In this case, the textbooks again focus on demonstrating that the concept is not just an abstract one but that it has concrete implications for everyday life.

„Everyone is different. Living in harmony will create peace. There will be no conflict. Peace lives in harmony. Living in harmony is important to the family. Harmony is also the foundation of our nation, as shown in motto *'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'*, we are different but are one" (Nursa'ban & Rusmawan 2010a, 64).

4 Bhineka Tunggal Ika in the school

„The school itself is a community and education is a service to the larger community to which the school belongs" (Reuben 1997, 401). As a community, „a school or a class is a social laboratory for the study of democracy, a social space for people who have the right to expect training for good citizenship" (Field, Nearing 2007, v). Therefore, school or community is the second context, after the family, for students to learn and experience at first-hand the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

Each member of the school is different in ethnicity, culture, custom, language, and religion. Therefore, recognizing and respecting diversity at school is also important, so that the students understand how to create harmony and unity in the class or at school. The following quotation concerns how textbooks describe the concept of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom.

„Take a look at your friends in the class! Are any of them of Batak, Javanese or Sundanese ethnicity? Yes, even though we come from different ethnic groups, we are together. We must prioritize unity even though we are different. We should appreciate our differences. This is consistent with the ultimate goal of protecting all of the people of Indonesia. Try to find where the statement is written! The diversity of Indonesian cultures, customs, languages, and religions are not barriers to realizing the goal of unity. Unity must be fostered and guarded through cooperation in various fields, regardless of the differences" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 76).

5 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the Indonesian nation-state

In classes 4-6, students are taught *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a broader context, i.e. the nation-state of Indonesia. The textbooks' explanation is more abstract and conceptual, but it still has a functional link with students' prior knowledge and experience. In these classes, the importance of maintaining harmony, coexistence without hostility, and mutual respect towards different traditions is reemphasized. „We live in the archipelago of diverse cultures. Although there are

different ethnic groups, we must live in harmony, without hostility, and show mutual respect towards different traditions" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 87). Figure 5 below illustrates the diversity of traditional clothes of ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Figure 5: Diversity of ethnic groups dresses in Indonesia

Historically, harmony has been nurtured and fostered. The peaceful life experienced by the Ambonese, who were newcomers in Java and lived among the native Javanese, Buginese, and Macassar peoples gives a clear example of this as indicated by the quotation below.

„Although there is a diversity in culture, our nation is still in unity. Do you remember the meaning of the motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tan Hana Dharma Mangrwa*"? Yes, "Although we are different, we are still one." The phrase was written by *Mpu* Tantular in Sutasoma's poem. This indicates that living in harmony has long been developed in Indonesia. The diversity of Indonesia must be maintained as national identity" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 73; 2009b, 75). „Ambonese ethnicity is native to the coast, but they live together with Javanese, Buginese, and Macassar migrants" (p 88).

The textbooks' explanations of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* are also associated with (1) philosophy, ideology and the foundation of the state, *Pancasila* (the Five Principles); (2) the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945; (3) Unifying symbols of the nation-state of Indonesia such as the national flag, anthem, and language; (4) history of the struggle of Indonesia for independence; and (5) the Oath of Youth[1]. The explanations are intended to reinforce the idea that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has been embedded in the life and the character of the nation-state of Indonesia. It represent its soul and its character.

„Many people and ethnic groups have the potential to engage in conflicts. We must avoid all things that might endanger the unity of the Indonesian state. The unity must be maintained by all Indonesian people,

according to the ideals of the founding of the nation since the early period."

This is written in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution[1]. Differences represent a reality of the nation, however Indonesia has a means of overcoming these differences (…) 1. *Pancasila* (the five principles), the state foundation, 2. The red and white national flag 3. The national anthem, *Indonesia Raya*. 4. The national language, Indonesian. 5. The history of the struggle for Indonesian independence, and 6. The Pledge of Indonesian Youth" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 75-76).

The textbooks also provide pedagogical guidance to students regarding the importance of mutual respect for difference, so that conflicts among ethnic groups regarding such differences can be avoided. Diversity can even become a strength in building the nation. Selfishness on the part of individuals or groups (tribalism or regionalism) should be avoided by giving a priority to common goals.

„My friends, diversity should not become a stumbling block in the building of the nation. Instead, we should consider it a source of richness and strength. Positive attitudes towards cultural diversity result in the development of mutual respect such as 1) an avoidance of a sense of tribalism or regionalism, 2) the development of respect for other traditions or customs, 3) increased support for community activities, although they may not be traditional, 4) less discrimination towards other ethnic groups 5) prioritising common interests rather than a personal or ethnic group interest. In this way, we attempt to realize the unity of the nation" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 97).

6 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in religious ceremonies

Textbooks provide illustrations of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in various religious ceremonies which are blended with animist ceremonies, i.e. ceremonies which are associated with belief in ancestral spirits. In Indonesian society, there are traditional ceremonies celebrating birth, death, marriage, etc. The people of Indonesia are Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, or Hindu, but some of them still perform such animist rituals. In Islamic law (*shari'a*), such practices are considered *haram*, *bid'ah* in that new cases or practices are not regulated in Islamic law. Even, in fact, it becomes a symbol of the unity and social integration of Indonesia (Geertz 2013).

The quotation below describes examples of traditional ceremonies in several Indonesian regions, from the textbook of Class 4.

„*Bajijak Tanah* in Kalimantan and *Tedhak Siti* in Central Java, Yogyakarta, is a salvation ceremony for a child touching its feet on the ground and into river water for the first time (Figure 6). *Kasodo* in Tengger,

East Java, is a salvation ceremony carried out by throwing offerings into the Mount Bromo crater during the full moon. *Pago-Pago* in Batak, North Sumatra, is a ceremony which involves handing over one clan's land to another clan while having meals together. *Ruwatan* in Central Java, Yogyakarta, is a ceremony for self-purification in particular circumstances, such as having *anak tunggal* (a single child in the family). *Non-Wunja* in Toraja, South Sulawesi, is a salvation ceremony for the post-harvest period" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 79).

Figure 6: *Tedhak Siti* ceremony in Central Java, Yogyakarta

Creative acculturation of animist rituals into their religions by ethnic groups in Indonesia is called syncretism or "*vermenging*" (Zoetmulder 1983). Scholars recognize that such ability comes from local wisdom or local genius of Indonesia. It is considered the incorporation of various cultural elements into a distinctive Indonesian culture (Budiqiyanto 2005; Lestari 2000; Supomo 1995). Dutch philologist J.L.A. Brandes (cit. Munandar 2005) argues in his theory "*Brandes Tien Puten*" or "*Brandes' Ten Points*" that the elements, which have been developed since pre-history, include the following: 1. Agriculture and farming, 2. Sailing and wind direction, 3. the puppet show (*wayang*), 4. *Gamelan* or orchestra, 5 *Batik* or ornamental art , 6. Metal crafts, 7. Metric or measurement tools, 8. Coin exchange, 9. Astrology, and 10. Organized society. All these elements have become a source of national pride and admired by the world communities.

The quotation below presents examples of how Indonesian people from different religions still perform some animist rituals, such as *mambo, pelebegu, selamatan*[1], or other ceremonies. Through these examples, students are expected to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation for the fact that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* can be manifested in many aspects of life, including in their practice of religious ceremonies.

„The Minangkabau ethnic group is Muslim, but they still perform several traditional rituals such as '*turun mandi*' and '*turun tanah*' (take a shower and touch the ground) (…). The religion of the Minahasa is Protestant, Catholic, or Buddhist, but they still believe in ancestral spirits (animism) and practice various traditional rituals, called *mambo* (…). The religions of the Nias are

Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam, and Buddhism, but they still believe in ancestral spirits called *pelebegu* (…). The majority of Sundanese people are Muslim, but on Friday night, they often hold the most important of the animist ceremonies *slametan* (…). Islam development in the Javanese community is extensive. However, they still perform *slametan* rituals to preserve people's lives from the interference of ancestral spirits and supernatural beings. According to the *slametan* ritual, they give offerings, which are placed in certain locations, such as in wells, doors, and at the junctions of several roads? Examples of salvation rituals are circumcision, weddings, and *tingkeban* (salvation ritual for a woman who is seven-months pregnant, and it is held only for the first child (…). Most Papuans are Christians, but they still believe ancestral spirits" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 88-93).

7 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the design of mosques, palaces, and graves

The textbooks also describe *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the context of the integration of Islamic mosques, palaces, and graves into a Hindi cultural context in terms of their design. The Islamic architecture is specific to Indonesia and cannot be separated from the roles of Nine Islamic Saints (Figure 7) called '*Wali Songo*'[1]. Stories suggest that *syncretism* of Javanese people has become the norm, rather than the exception. Thus, in this Java Islamization period, *syncretism* becomes more dominant in the interior than in coastal Java (Ali 2011). Acculturation has become a main characteristic of the architecture of Islamic mosques in Indonesia (Pijper 1984, 14-66). In Islamic doctrines, it is made possible, because „Islam is a democratic religion, and it does not recognize social differences and personal degrees„ (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 31).

Figure 7: '*Wali Songo*' (Nine Islamic Saints) in Java Islamization

A textbook for Grade 4 shows examples of Islamic mosques in Indonesia that have integrated architectural elements of Hindi cultures and Islamic indigenous cultures, such as the mosques in Aceh in Sumatra, and Banten and Kudus in Java. The same phenomenon can also be found in the Kaibon Palace in Banten.

„Aceh Mosque Baiturrahman (…) has architectural forms and patterns, which are a blend of Islamic and Hindi elements (…). The Great Mosque of Banten is a relic of the Islamic Kingdom; it has a square-shaped roof with a staircase top (…). Kudus Mosque in Central Java is a relic of Sunan Kudus' home; it has a unique tower, a blend of Islamic and Hindi cultures. The minaret of Kudus Mosque has a shape like temples in East Java and is built from red bricks and has overlapping high-rooves (*atap tumpang*)" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 115-117). „The Banten palace, which was built by Sunan Gunung Jati (*Faletehan)* around the 16th century (…), and the Kaibon Palace are a blend of Islamic and Hindi cultural patterns" (p 120).

In textbooks for Grades 4 and 5, there are also examples that show architectural integration between Islamic, Hindi, and Megalithic cultures in Islamic graves. In general, an Islamic tomb consists of three elements, *Cungkup* (cupola), *Kijing* (*gravestone*), and *Nisan* (*headstone*). '*Cungkup*', a house with an overlapping high-roof, is a representation of a mountain, the highest place, the most respected place in the religious tradition of Hindu. '*Kijing*' is a *staircase stone* as the keystone of the grave, a heritage of Megalithic culture. '*Nisan*', which functions as a marker stone placed at the top or the head of grave, has a shape like *lingga* (the phallic symbol of God Śiva). Even the grave of Sunan Bayat in Klaten, Central Java, has two gates, similar to Hindu temple *Candi Bentar* (the Split Temple).

„The Sunan Bayat grave in Klaten, Central Java (…) has peculiar gates that resemble a Hindu temple called *Candi Bentar* (Split Temple)" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 121). „The Islamic graves consist of cupola, gravestone, and headstone. A cupola is a house that is built to protect the graves of important people. The gravestone is a covering stone on the grave, and the headstone is a marker milestone implanted in the grave" (2009b, 38).

Figure 8: The Entrance gates to Sunan Bayat Mosque, and Islamic grave with Hindu Megalitic elements

8 *Gotong Royong* [communal working or mutual assistance] in diversity

Gotong Royong (a Javanese expression for working together) is another form of the manifestation of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in public life. It is one of the core tenets of Indonesian philosophy on togetherness in diversity. It is a native tradition of Indonesia to accomplish a task together without recognizing boundaries, differences, and social strata. The phrase has been translated into English in many ways, most of which are associated with the concept of reciprocity or mutual assistance.

Taylor and Aragon (1991, 10) state that „*gotong royong* is cooperation among many people to attain a shared goal. *Gotong royong* is a key element in the power system and the political culture of Indonesia". According to Bowen (1986, 545), „*gotong royong* as the power system and the political culture of Indonesia has three ongoing processes. They are: (1) the conscious dilution local cultural realities; (2) the construction of a national tradition on the basis of this process; and (3) the inclusion of state cultural representations as part of strategy of intervention in the rural sector and the mobilization of rural labor".

Clifford Geertz (2000) points out the importance of *gotong royong* in Indonesian life.

„An enormous inventory of highly specific and often quite intricate institutions for effecting cooperation in work, politics, and personal relations , vaguely gathered under culturally charged and fairly well indefinable value-images—*rukun* ("mutual adjustment'), *gotong royong* ("joint bearing of burdens"), *tolong-menolong* ("reciprocal assistance")—governs social interaction with a force as sovereign as it is subdued" (p 167-234).

The textbooks provide various examples of *gotong royong* in family, school, community, and at the level of the state.

8.1 *Gotong royong* in the family

Gotong royong is carried out in the familty through various activities, such as „keeping the house and the yard clean, healthy, neat, comfortable, and not boring" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 103-110) (Figure 9). It is implemented on the basis of trust, honesty, compassion and sincerity, and aims to develop a sense of responsibility and of belonging among family members. It also creates a sense of togetherness, brotherhood, unity, peace, and harmony in family life.

„I really love mother; I often help her clean the house. I also obey mother (1:39). Each member of the family has a role – father works for a living – mother cares for the family - children learn and respect their parents - if each family member plays his or her role

well, it will create harmony in the family" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 44).

Figure 9: *Gotong royong* in the family

8.2 *Gotong royong* at school

Gotong royong at school is conducted by students through various activities, such as cleaning the school yard, classroom and blackboard, caring for flowers and other plants in the school garden and maintaining classroom equipment (Figure 10). „These activities are conducted in groups, according to a schedule" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2008, 10-11, 26). Through these activities, students are expected to develop a sense of responsibility and ownership of their class, as well as a sense of intimacy, togetherness, unity and harmony among the students.

„The number of students of Grade 2 at Tunas Harapan Elementary School is 24. They have a duty to conduct a cleaning class-picket in groups. Each group consists of four students, and their duty includes dusting, leading prayer, or wiping the board. They all are diligent and happy" (Nursa'ban & Rusmawan 2010b, 69).

Figure 10: *Gotong royong* in the school

8.3 *Gotong royong* in the neighborhood

Unlike in family and school situations, *gotong royong* in the neighborhoods is conducted as a form of social exchange (social reciprocity) among individual members of society, based on brotherhood and is of a voluntary nature (egalitarian and communitarian). There is no coercion. It is done to obtain reciprocal benefits of a social, aesthetics, religious, moral and legal nature but not of a financial one (Mauss 1992). The purpose of *gotong royong* is „to accelerate the completion of work, save energy, strengthen brotherhood, and create a sense of security" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 76-77; cf. Stafford 2008). „Living in the neighborhood, we must help each other and work together with friends or people

around us" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 64). The textbooks classify *gotong royong* in the neighborhood into several types according to the purposes, and the number of people involved.

The first category is *'one-to-one assistance'*. It is a form of cooperation between two neighboring individuals who need each other. „Fellow neighbors should help each other. If we do something good today, we will be helped, too, one day" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 70). These activities are based on the principle of 'give and take' and is designed to ease one's work, or to give mutual help between members of a neighborhood to fulfill their needs. It can also strengthen and increase brotherhood, altruism and empathy. For example, „someone helps his neighbor to repair his damaged roof" (p 68) or „drive her to the hospital" (2008, 28). *Sinoman* and *sambatan* are other examples of *gotong royong* found within this category (Pribadhi 2011; Hastowiyono 2005).

„When we lift heavy goods, they will be lighter when we do it together. In life, we must help each other and work jointly with friends and people around us" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 63) (…).„Our neighbours are our brothers. Moreover, we live far away from family. If we are in trouble, we can ask our neighbors for help. Likewise, if our neighbour is in distress, we must help them. We should work together with our neighbours" (p 70; 2008, 27-28).

The quotations and Figure 11 below are two examples of *gorong-royong* between two people in a particular neighborhood as taught in Textbook for Grade 2.

Case 1: Amir helps Mr. Amat repair his damaged roof.
„Mr. Amat wants to repair his damaged roof. He asks Amir politely. Luckily, Amir has a spare roof, and he helps Mr. Amat gladly. Mr. Amat and Amir work together to repair it. After that, they are tired and take a rest. Later, they continue the work until it is done. Mr. Amat thanks Amir" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 68).

Case 2: Mrs. Tuti asks Mrs. Ani for sugar.
„When there are guests, Mrs. Tuti runs out of sugar. Then she asks Mrs. Ani, her neighbour, for sugar. Mrs. Ani gives her the sugar she needs. One day, Mrs. Ani cannot find her house key. Mrs. Tuti sees this and calls Tono, her son, for help. Tono and Mrs. Tuti help Mrs. Ani finds the key. Finally, Tono finds the key outside the door. Mrs. Ani thanks Mrs. Tuti and Tono" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 71).

Figure 11: Gotong royong type "one-to-one" in the Community

The second category is known as 'one-to-many assistance'. It is a form of cooperation, in which a person works with others for the community. An example would be „Siskamling (night patrolling) which is designed to safeguard the local environment" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 74; 2008, 31). This type is based on proximity and is also voluntary (egalitarian and communitarian). Its purpose is to strengthen and increase „a sense of brotherhood, environmental awareness and common security" (2010b, 76-77), as well as the responsibility of the individual for the achievement of common goals. The quotation and Figure 12 below are examples of gotong royong, in which a person works with others for the benefit of the community.

Title: Citizens do night patrolling.
„Neighborhood security is the responsibility of all citizens. We can maintain security with night patrolling. Night patrolling is done by every citizen in rotation (...). In the daytime, citizens also have to maintain security. If there is a suspicious person, he/she must report it to the head of the local community" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 74; 2008, 31). „Citizens of the RT-5/RW-12 [a neighborhood unity under the village][1] in Salam village conduct night patrolling from 22.00 until 05.00 in the morning to make the area safe" (2010b, 75).

Figure 12: *Gotong royong* type "one-to-many" in the Community

The third type falls under the heading of '*many-to-one assistance*', and is a form of cooperation whereby many people work together on behalf of an individual. An example would be when many people help someone affected by disaster, such as „his/her or her house being damaged by a falling tree" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 72-74; 2008, 29-30) or when „he/she experiences unfortunate death" (2010b, 72) (Figure 13). This type is also based on proximity, empathy and its voluntary

(egalitarian and communitarian) nature. The aim is to strengthen and increase the sense of brotherhood, empathy and philanthropy. The quotation below is an example of *gotong royong* of this type.

Title: Gotong royong to repair a house.

„One day, it rains heavily. A tree has fallen on Mr. Made's house damaging the roof. Many people come to help to repair it. They bring equipment. Everybody helps to repair Mr. Made's roof. This is a form of cooperation. The concept of *Gotong royong* creates a spirit of brotherhood, and unity becomes an established strength. *Gotong royong* is the character of Indonesia" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2008, 30).

Figure 13: *Gotong royong* type "many-to-one" in the Community

The fourth type '*many-to-many assistance*', is a form of cooperation, in which many people work together for the common interest of a community. An example of this type is „*kerja-bakti* (a community service) which involves cleaning and repairing village roads and building bridges or neighborhood facilities" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 78; 2008, 30) (Figure 14). This type is also voluntary and based on proximity togetherness, unity, and harmony. The aim is to strengthen and increase the sense of brotherhood and kinship among community members; and to develop a sense of responsibility among members for a common goal of the community. The quotation below is an example of *gotong royong* this type.

Title: Kerja bakti [A Community Service]

„The Celebration of Indonesian Independence on August 17th is coming soon. Mr. Tono as the head of RT-5/RW-12 asks the citizens of the community to perform a *community service* on Sunday. All citizens will clean the streets something which has clearly not been done for some time. On Sunday, men and women gather on the village streets. They carry sickles and hoes. Mothers provide a variety of meals. Exactly, at twelve o'clock, the work is completed. Before going home, they enjoy the meals that have been provided. Now the streets at RT-5 are clean" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2008, 30-31).

Figure 14: *Gotong royong* type "many-to-many" in the Community

8.4 Gotong royong in the nation-state

This type of *gotong royong* is pursued by the Government through a variety of activities/events nationwide. It is designed to build a sense of togetherness, unity, and integrity. The textbooks describe some activities undertaken by the Government to promote a spirit of *gotong royong* or cooperation at national level, as shown below:

„The government has taken ways to realize national unity as follows: 1. Holding national and regional sport-activity weekends; 2. Arranging national and regional scouting programs; 3. Organizing social movements participated in by members of all religions; 4. Introducing and developing local cultures as national culture; and 5. Equalizing national development throughout Indonesia" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 76).

The textbooks also present a form of *gotong-royong* in the economy called 'Koperasi', or „joint ventures which have existed since the colonial period" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 163). *Koperasi* can be classified according to type of business and membership. In terms of the former, for example, there are consumer-based *Koperasi* as well as those for producers, savers and lenders. In terms of the latter, „there are *Koperasi* for schools, civil servants, local markets, villages as well as for workers" (p 170-173). *Koperasi* is an economic joint venture that consists of people or business entities. It grows based on kinship principles and its priority is the welfare of its members. A reference to *Koperasi* is contained in the Constitution of 1945 in Article 33, Paragraph (1), „The economy is composed of joint ventures organized and run according to the principles of kinship". It is also stated that *Koperasi* is the most suitable form of joint venture for Indonesia" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 167; 2009b, 87).

Figure 15: *Koperasi* in "the rural" and "the school"

In addition to the types of *gotong-royong* mentioned above, some ethnic groups in Indonesia still preserve and develop several artistic forms of performance said to embody the spirit of *gotong royong*, among them „*Tari Piring* (Plate Dance) in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, and *Raron* or *Marsiurupan* in Batak-Karo, Northern Sumatra" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 89). These dances suggest „cooperation in social work" (p 34, 81).

9 Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in action

To provide an overview of the use and implementation of the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom setting, further descriptions below present some examples of good practice based on teachers' experiences from various regions in Indonesia.

Sulistyo (IM 2012), a young teacher in a hinterland Bima, has a simple idea of how to connect his students with other students from various regions in Indonesia, so that they develop their sense of national unity and solidarity. For that purpose, he has designed an innovative approach to the study of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* using correspondence activities entitled "*Jejaring Anak Indonesia*" (Indonesian Children's Network). Every student is required to send a letter to a "*Sahabat Pena*" (Pen Friend) forum, or to send gifts for their friends throughout Indonesia. This way, they have a greater insight and concrete knowledge and understanding about the country from first-hand experience. According to Sulistyo, these activities have two missions: (1) to train students to express their ideas, thoughts, and feelings; (2) to facilitate student's building friendships and recognizing cultural diversity and various ways of life in different regions in Indonesia.

„Students are given the task of writing a letter to their friends in North Aceh, whom they know from television a few months earlier. They are also asked to send gifts (e.g. "*Origami*") using materials available in their village to build personal connections. They are very pleased, enthusiastic, and eager to complete their assignments. They would like to submit the letters immediately to the 'Pen Friend Forum', so that they can be read by their friends in North Aceh. I am also very pleased and touched by their sincerity and enthusiasm to make friends with children throughout Indonesia (...). Finally, they understand the diversity in

the archipelago, and further become acquainted with their new friend called 'Indonesia'. Their love for the country begins to grow slowly, bringing to fruition the seeds of nationalism that have taught them the meaning of Indonesia from an early age. An understanding built on personal knowledge and experience is an important factor in character building, especially for students in a country with diverse culture. Their world has been limited by its island nature, sea, mountains, and rivers. Now, they find a way to recognize their country's diversity. This activity provides a chance for them to widen their horizons beyond the archipelago" (IM 2012).

Diversity is also a very difficult concept for elementary students. It is not easily comprehended based on verbal explanation alone. The use of instructional media such as video are more effective in that they present concrete examples of the differences in society, especially for students in the islands, who have little interaction with outsiders. Students who live in Bawean Island as described below inFarhati's (IM 2012) example illustrates this well:

„A child who lives in a heterogeneous environment since childhood will have more opportunities to see and learn about diversity. However, a child who lives in a homogeneous environment (and never sees or learns about diversity), when seeing something different from him/her, will be shocked. In fact, it is likely that he/she will give a negative response or even a rejection. That happened to my students in Bawean (...). Therefore, when teaching, I regularly invite children to watch video series about the lives of children in various regions in Indonesia. They understand that in other regions, there are children who have to ride a boat to go to school. They know there are children who know how to use guns since childhood because they use it to help their parents to hunt animals in the forest; and that language and customs of every society are also different (…). One day, I play on a video about children in Eastern Indonesia. Some students are laughing. 'Mam, look, these children are so black!' A student exclaimed. I try to explain: 'It is a gift from God. God has created people differently, so if we laugh at them, we also laugh at the Creator. Who dares to laugh at God?' Everyone is silent, feeling guilty."

Like the concept of diversity, the meaning of the relationship, cooperation or *gotong royong* cannot be explained simply to elementary students. For a teacher, "learning by doing" is the most appropriate approach both inside and outside of the classroom. The example below comes from a teacher's teaching experience in the use of "old newspapers" as learning material and cooperative learning as a teaching and learning strategy.

It is an example of good practice concerning how to build students' awareness of the importance of relationships and cooperation or *gotong royong* in community life. It shows students how to communicate effectively and accept difference. They learn how diversity of opinion can enrich a concept that they already have. The students were tasked with finding news, issues, or problems in old newspapers related to various social themes, such as cooperation, accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, and conflicts.

„The class is divided into groups. Each group consists of 4-5 students. I provide a student worksheet for each group. While students are working in groups, I observe carefully and accompany each group to motivate the students. I am also directly involved in the group to give guidance. Direct guidance in groups is more effective than classical guidance. The lesson begins through a game called "Completing Letters." First, we compile pictures from old newspapers. The theme is functional and disfunctional social relations. Students scramble the pictures to complete a series of letters based on images on the board. Students in the groups choose the pictures or articles in the old newspapers, which are related to social themes that I have decided in advance. Each group has different articles, about accommodation, assimilation, acculturation and conflict. They discuss and present the results by using the student worksheets provided. It is heartening for me to heareach group race to respond to the arguments of other groups" (USAID 2012, 5).

Learning by doing about cooperation and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* outside of the classroom can be implemented more effectively through actual practice, such as cleaning up the classroom and the schoolyard. A sense of belonging is also generated and awareness of students' responsibilities heightened. Relations and collaborations between students and between a teacher and a student become more flexible, familiar, and liquid. Even small conflicts can be resolved, without anyone being blamed or sanctioned. The example below is a special case of learning social studies. The subject is citizenship education, handled outide of the classroom in an Indonesian context. This is designed to empower pupils and cultivate character development. In the Grand Design of Character Education (Kemendiknas, 2010) such activities become habitual and character forming.

„I look at the classroom, which is very dirty. I and the Grade 1 students take the initiative to clean the classroom. Children are happily (...). Some students take the initiative to borrow a bucket, a boiler, a broom, and a brush from neighbors near the school. 'Mam Halida also comes to brush the floor, yeah!' A student exclaims. This encouraged other grade 1 students, currently playing in the yard, to join in.Then, all of the students fight for the brush to scrub the floor. At that time, the situation is chaotic. Some girls cry because they 'lost the war' in a fight for the brush. Finally, I decide to distribute the tasks. I tell the students, 'Boys are handsome and strong (I deliberately give a compliment so that they will be more excited), so their duty is to bring water, while the girls are beautiful and diligent, so they will help Ms. Halida scrubbing floor.' All agree; all rejoice, no objection nor protest. We all work together bringing water, scrubbing the floor, washing windows (...). 'All are happy; all are cheerful.' I wonder what happen when suddenly the cleaning activities in Class 1 transform into cleaning activities in all of the classes. I am even more surprised when 'Dewan Guru' (the Teacher Council) also participates in the Cleaning event. A 'Clean-class Movement' then transforms into a 'Clean-school Movement.' Finally, all of the students are engaged in cleaning the schoolyard, prayer room, kitchen, and bathroom.

That day, I personally witnessed the 'miracle' of the words *gotong royong*. Starting from *gotong royong* of Grade 1 students, the movement becomes one big 'Clean-school Movement.' In the midst of the crush of reality, I am grateful to witness an Indonesian identity. The spirit of *gotong royong* and kinship in the minds of its citizens apparently never really fades away. That day, I personally witnessed a hugely positive movement. Even though it is only within the boundaries of a school, it is considered a success because it was initiated by students of Grade 1, whose age is no more than seven years. 'Oh…. I will be optimistic for the future of Indonesia in their hands!" (*IM* 2012).

In Indonesian schools, *gotong royong* activities as explained above are usually held on Fridays, a special day for all school members, a day of friendship, togetherness, cooperation, mutual assistance and care for individual and social health. *Jumat Berseri* (*Hari Jumat Bersih, Sehat, Rapih, dan Indah*) [Clean, Healthy, Neat, and Beautiful Friday).

„Friday is a day of social learning and character building for my young generation. A special day for those of us who dream of future leaders who are not only smart and intellectual, but also have a social care and a willingness to sacrifice for the benefit to the community and respond to the issues with the *action* (...). I am often touched at this moment. This is a precious learning for me, learning sincerity, working with heart without expecting anything. *Gotong royong* to clean the school (...) also deepens students' environmental awareness" (IM 2012).

Such active learning about cooperation and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* outside of the classroom context also can be found in the "*makan-bersama*" (dining together) activity in a free '*Sekolah Darurat*' (Emergency School). The school has been established to accommodate disadvantaged children, who are not able to enroll in formal schools. They are street-children such as shoeshine boys, street vendors, newspaper and toy sellers, who are economically, socially, and educationally marginalized. Basically, they all are children who have talent; therefore, it is no wonder that they succeed in many fields of business. Some of them become singers, painters, shopkeepers, policemen or employees at the tax office. There is even a winner in the National Creative Robot Competition held by the Sepuluh November Institute of Technology in Surabaya among them. The Institute (well known as ITS) is recognized as one of the best technological universities in Indonesia. Cooperation, togetherness, spirit and sense of common destiny are the key to their success.

We read below how the dining activity enables them to learn about the meaning of cooperation and *gotong royong*. The activities are held at Kartini Emergency School, which is located under the toll bridge in Ancol, Jakarta.

„When break time comes, they line up to take a bowl of chicken soup and a glass of tea. Senior students serve the junior students by pouring chicken and rice soup into the bowls they are holding. 'It is for the children not just for the ingredients.' One of the senior students, Riani, says to *VIVAnews*. Each day, the menu is varied, not merely chicken soup. While eating chicken soup made by their junior, Riani and Rossi (senior students) explain that every new student is given toiletries, uniforms, shoes, socks and other school supplies. All purchases are made by them personally. Riani says: 'Dining together every break time is our way to teach juniors about *gotong-royong*. Here, we teach them the nature of togetherness. Those who are more mature should assist their younger sisters/brother. We use cooking as a medium of instruction. They must bring the bowls from home. They also take turns to cook. Although they dine on the land, surrounded by slums, they remain in the spirit of the exercise and learn to be happy and excited" (Admin 2013).

10 Conclusions

The content in the textbooks analyzed for this study concerns the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and its implementation in the social studies classroom. The findings indicate that both textbooks and teachers succeed in making the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* meaningful to their students in the context of citizenship education. Their reports and the related documentation including the textbooks suggest that they are capable of presenting it using real-world examples reflecting the reality of family and school life as well as with regard to membership of a nation state. They were also able to operationalize it in terms of religious ceremonies; architecture and with regard to the *gotong-royong* activities in community life.

Two criteria are helpful in determining the success or otherwise of teachers and textbooks in this regard. The first concerns whether they extend the pupil's experience by enlarging his or her opportunity to understand and participate in unity in diversity both in the school and in the community outside. Secondly, they should be assessed with regard to how the extent to which make the fullest possible use of the concept both as a means of demonstrating the operation of the fundamental principles of unity in diversity in civic life, and as a means of cultivating habits, ideals, and attitudes conducive to unity in diversity. Education through actual practical examples is an essential factor in such citizenship education.

On the other hand, of course, the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* cannot be viewed solely from a theoretical, pedagogical perspective without reference to the political goals of the state. In other words, it also forms part of the cultural and educational policy of the state which is designed to prepare students as citizens capable of living in a pluralistic society and in peaceful co-existence with one another. They should also be in a position to contribute to national integration and to the development of a national character and civilization appropriate to a pluralistic Indonesian nation (Hanum 2012). The history of textbook development in schools in general and the development of those in the field of social studies in particular has always been associated with attempts by a regime to achieve its ideological, political, social, cultural, and/or economic goals (Crawford, 2003a-b; Wenzeler, 2003; Nicholls, 2005; Repoussi, Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Khine, 2013). Therefore, textbooks contain pedagogical content and simultaneously reflect a 'hidden curriculum' which consists of values expectations, attitudes, opinions, and ideologies (Setyowati, Jatiningsih 2007) which it is expected will be transferred to the learner. As such, they are open to criticism and if not carefully designed can lead to indoctrination of the state's ideologies or interests. Mulder's critical study of social studies textbooks (1997) for students from elementary to high school in Indonesia are a concrete example of such criticism.

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Endnotes

[1] In Indonesian history, three families or kinships called "the dynasty" used *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the basis for their policies on religious tolerance. They are: Sailendra-Saňjaya (7-8th centuries) in Central Java; Isyana (9-10th centuries) and Rajasa (13-16th centuries) in East Java. In some Indonesian ethnic communities, the dynasty were also called *"wangsa"* or *"trah"* (Java)*,* and *"marga"* (Minangkabau) (Sugono et al 2008, 134).

[2] *Kakawin* is an epic poem written in *wirama* (metres). According to Pigeaud (1967, 157-197), it is a most popular exercise for East Javanese poems and their main characters, more than half of them, are identified and show heroes and heroines of their Kings (princes or princesses). Their presence has also considered as a source of ethical and spiritual guidance for the Javanese Kings and population in general (Bellwood, Fox, Tryon 1995).

[3] The word "*Mpu*" was a title in the Hindu-Buhha periods and used by those who were powerful*,* clever or expert in composing *kakawin* or *puja-sastra* (worship literature) (e.g. *Mpu* Kanwa*, Mpu* Panuluh*, Mpu* Sedah*, Mpu* Tantular)*,* making *keris* (creese) (e.g. *Mpu* Gandring)*,* or a spiritual preceptor of the kingdom (e.g. *Mpu* Bharada).

[4] The name "Tantular" consists of two words*: 'tan'* (no) and *'tular'* (mouth or affected). It means he is a *"firm."* Tantular is a Buddha*,* but also welcomes other religions*,* especially Hindu-Shiva (Sawitri 2009).

[5] The four National Pillars are the noble values of Indonesia as a nation-state contained in the following: (1) *Pancasila* is basic principles of the Nation of Indonesia, (2) the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, (3) the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, and (4) *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the motto of the state (Republic of Indonesia 2012).

[6] Community civics is a new concept in social studies teaching proposed by Arthur W. Dunn to build and extend the pupil's consciousness and experience a few essential ideas, which will help to determine his ideals and attitudes, by a judicious *use* of facts, which will thereby be more readily understood and remembered. It is may be summed up as: (1) the demonstration to young citizens, by reference to their own observations and experience, of the meaning of his community life (local and national), and of government in relation to that life; (2) the cultivation of certain habits, ideals, and attitudes essential to effective participation in that life through government and otherwise. In short, the concept is the interpretation of citizenship and of government in relation to national and world-wide, as well as local, community relations and interests. It is national community of in tercets, national interdependence, and national need for team work. It is a integrated form of government including local, state, and national elements (Dunn 1921, v).

[7] The Oath of Indonesian Youth was declared at the first Indonesian youth Congress 1928 in Batavia (now Jakarta, capital of the Republik of Indonesia). It consists of three declarations: Firstly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia. Secondly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia. Thirdly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold the language of unity (Posponegoro & Notosusanto 1993). Sixteen years earlier (1334 AD), Gajah Mada, a Prime Minister of the Majapahit kingdom had also declared the same oath to unite the whole archipelago under Majapahit control, so-called the "the Oath of Palapa or *Amukti Palapa.*" "If *Nusantara* (all of the archipelago) has been conquered, I will not taste *palapa* (fruits and or spices). If Gurun (Nusa Penida), Seram, Tanjungpura, Haru (Karo), Pahang, Dompo (in Sumbawa), Bali, Sunda, Palembang (Sriwijaya Kingdom), Tumasik (Singapore) has been conquered, I will never taste any spice" (Mulyana 2006, 132).

[8] In the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945 stated "(…) to build the government of the state of Indonesia that can protect all the people of Indonesia and the whole entirstated, "(…), Indonesia (…) based on (…) *the Unity of Indonesia* (…)" (Mahkamah Konstitusi [the Court of Constitution] 1999).

[9] '*Mambo*' and '*pelebegu*' is a belief in ancestral spirits of the Indonesian ancestors in the pre-history period. '*Selamatan*' (or *selametan*, and *slamatan*) is the core ritual in Javanese religion, in particular, the *abangan* (red Islam) variant, symbolizing the social unity of those participating in it. The feast is also common among the closely related Sundanese and Madurese people (Geertz 2013)

[10] These are religious figures which have a historic role in the spread of Islam in Java (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009b,

31). They are called "*Sunan*"—a short version of '*Susuhunan*" (who worshiped), a title used by Indonesian ancestor in the pre-Islamic period. The title given by the Javanese and Sundanese to rulers, clerics and even deities that have been exemplary in their conducts over time, and became a model to be emulated and followed by others (Hallaq 2005).

[11] "*Rukun Warga*" (RW) is a neighborhood unity under the village (*dusun, nagari, dukuh, lingkungan atau banjar*) which consists of 3-10 RTs. "*Rukun Tetangga*" (RT) is a neighborhood unity under RW which consists of 30-60 families. Both are not a division of the governmental administration, but are developed from an Indonesian native neighborhood unity on the base of local peoples' consensus (*musyawarah*) and values such as *gotong royong*, and kinship principles. Both are building to: (1) organize, and serve local community needs; (2) facilitate, improve, and establish the tasks of the government, development; and (3) sustain social order, welfare, and security in the village area (Permendagri No.7/1983).

Liu Changquing, Guo Jianqiang, Ren Ping

An Ideological and Political Lesson from China: The Impact of Price Fluctuations (Lesson video with English subtitles)

Ideological and Political courses are compulsory lessons for Chinese students throughout their schooling, which also are taken for granted as Citizenship Education courses by the authority. What's the real state of the lesson? Here we show you one example of the lesson.

The lesson was recorded in September 2013, in a special classroom with two cameras, one of which is focused on the teacher and the other on the students.

Lessons

Chinese students are required by the state to take ideological and political courses from primary school to university; even over the course of their PhD.China has curriculum standards for courses at various stages. However, for high school students, there are national curriculum standards and Shanghai curriculum standards. Shanghai is a special region in terms of politics, economy, education etc. For example, Shanghai students were ranked first in PISA in 2010. However, this does not represent the level of high school students throughout China.

What is the nature of ideological and political courses in China? One scholar defines them as follows, "The ideological and political course represents an attempt by a particular grouping in society characterized by specific ideas, political views and ethics, to influence its' members in a purposeful and planned manner so that they might form ideas in accordance with a certain social character or social practice."[i]

High school ideological and political curriculum standards are, for example, presented in the following terms. Based on the core principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong thought, Deng Xiaoping theory and the "Three Represents", a socio-political ideology focused on economic production, cultural development and political consensus, and using socialist material, and material relating to political and spiritual civilization as content, the objective is to ensure that pupils form a correct

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world view and develop an ability to participate in modern social life. This is to be done by laying the ideological and political foundation for lifelong development though a focus on developing an understanding of Marxist concepts and methods, an appreciation of the common idea of socialism with Chinese characteristics, as well as an understanding of the significance of both the national spirit and the international perspective.[ii]

1 Introduction to Chinese ideological and political lessons

Two lessons a week are compulsory to fulfill these demanding requirements. Required courses include the Ideological and Political Course (Ⅰ) *Economics and Life*, Ideological and Political Course (Ⅱ) *Politics and Life*, Ideological and Political Course (Ⅲ) *Culture and Life*, Ideological and Political Course (Ⅳ) *Life and Philosophy*. Elective courses include *Approaching Economics, from "Communist Manifesto" to "Three Represents", Modern Society and Ethical Conflicts, Ideas and Innovation, Topics of Western Countries and International Organizations, Legal Issues in Life*.[iii]

With social development and changes in teaching modes, educational practitioners and researchers have more and more debates about this course, relating for example to the names of courses and textbooks. China's economic and political system can be changed. Why is it not possible to change the names of courses? Is it better to be more realistic and scientific? School lessons could be renamed as *Foundations of Social Sciences* etc. Related textbooks could also be renamed as *Basics of Democracy, Market Economy Basics, Cultural and Ethical Basics, Marxist-Leninist Ideological Foundation* etc.

Is it possible that the ideological and political courses in high schools are losing their status? Universities are also confronting the issue of whether ideological and political courses should be abolished. On the one hand, some are of the view that ideological education in middle school does not assist social development on the ground. A larger percentage of the population are of the opinion, on the other, that the more complex social development becomes, the more necessary ideological education becomes.

2 Recruiting participants

Chinese people generally are introverted and not overly willing to be the focus of attention. I found a

lesson video "Refuse unhealthy temptation" on the internet, which represents the general teaching level throughout China. I tried my best to contact the teacher who recorded the lesson. He was an audio-visual teacher, is only responsible for recording and processing courses. I invited him to contact the teacher and students in the video in the hope of showing them in the video. They verbally agreed to translation and publication of the course on JSSE but unfortunately were not prepared to agree legally in writing and thus this avenue could not be pursued.

Therefore, I had to follow another route. I have worked as an English teacher in No.1 Middle School, Shanxian County, Shandong Province, for five years and am therefore familiar with the school and its principal who was in agreement with my pursuing of this project. Therefore, I contacted Mr. Guo, the ideological and political lesson teacher.

Mr. Guo and I are well acquainted having started as teachers in the school in the same year. As well as teaching the ideological and political lessons, he is also responsible for faculty research projects at the school. I explained some basic principles in advance of the recording. For example, there should be no rehearsal as this is intended to be an authentic reflection of the general level of China's middle school courses.

No.1 Middle School of Shanxian County was founded in 1951 and has thousands famous alumni. The school has three campuses, 150 classrooms, covers 320,000 square meters, with a school population about 10000. Undoubtedly this is the best school in the area and is known as the Standardized School of Shandong Province,

Audio-visual education Model School of Shandong Province, Science Education Model School of Shandong Province, Green School of Shandong Province etc.[iv]

Generally speaking, In China the level of middle school education is related to the level of economic

The School

development, for example, Beijing and Shanghai have a good level of education, but the western regions have a somewhat inferior level of education. The middle school is in Shandong province, whose level of economic development is slightly above average, but the city in Shandong Province is relatively poor, so the school 's level of education in the country can be categorized as medium level, which represents the country's general level of education. On the other hand, No. 1 Middle School of Shanxian is a public school. Public schools rarely have the freedom to choose lessons, particularly in ideological and political courses, which has unified curriculum standards and textbooks, so this schools' education level only can be reflected through teaching and teachers.

The classroom

3 Lesson setting

Mr. Guo graduated from Department of Politics, Liaocheng Normal University, which specializes in training secondary school teachers, and obtained a middle school teaching qualification there. He now has 15 years of teaching experience and has been honored as an outstanding teacher by Heze City. The school is a Province Standardized School in Shandong province. Each classroom is equipped with a physical booth, projectors, and computers. Every teacher has a laptop computer (Ordinary classroom as shown). The classroom in the video is an Audio-visual classroom, especially well equipped for recording instructional videos. It is only used for recording purposes.

The students in the video are first grade senior high school students of which there are 54 in the school dividing into 7 groups. Each group has 8 students with the exception of one which has 6 and the groups are generally gender-balanced. All members of each group sit face to face together (Pictured above). Students also sit in groups in the video but due to the arrangement of the recording classroom, it is not possible for them to sit face to face in this instance.

4 The textbook

Most of China's lessons are textbook-based, especially in primary and secondary schools, with some graduate lessons representing an exception to this rule. For secondary schools, the People's Education Press' textbooks are dominant. The same textbook is printed in millions per year and the textbooks are not recycled. Instead, the following year millions are printed again for another batch of new students. There are two national curriculum standards; correspondingly, there are two sets of textbooks.

The original high school ideological and political course textbooks are obsolete, repetitive, old-fashioned and considered out of touch with reality and teenagers are not overly interested in them. However, since the implementation of the new curriculum, textbooks have been greatly improved. Content is newer, closer to reality, the writing style reflects students' cognitive rules. Considerable controversy remains in terms of the textbooks with one issue being the feasibility of developing one textbook appropriate for a country as large as China with significant regional differences. An additional issue concerns whether the textbooks are intended to educate citizens capable of genuine service to society or capable of serving on political reality. On these issues 'the donkey means one thing and the driver another'.

5 Lesson design

Mr. Guo explained that his lesson has five stages.

The lesson begins with a review of the content learned in the previous lesson. The 5 stages are then as follows:

Step 1：Learning objectives

Showing and explaining the learning objectives

Step 2：Preview

Here the students draw supply and demand curves as they would appear under normal circumstances. They are the asked to think about how they might look in different circumstances. The teacher then interacts with the students and guides them with regard to how price fluctuations for different commodities impact on demand. In this way, the concept of demand elasticity is approached and introduced.

Step 3：Cooperative Inquiry in Context

The teacher indicates the context and the students display the results of their inquiries and comment on the results obtained by their peers. The teacher also remarks on the comments made by the students and integrates elements of emotional education and brain-storming.

Step 4：Summary and integration of knowledge

The contents of the lesson are summarized in the context of related knowledge.

Step 5：Consolidation exercise

Additional exercises engaged in during and after class. However, this step was cancelled in the recorded class due to time constraints.

Seating plan for lesson of impact of price fluctuations

| Multimedia Equipment | | | Blackboard | | | |

Teacher (Mr. Guo)

Student	Student	Student	Student	Student	Student	Student	Student
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
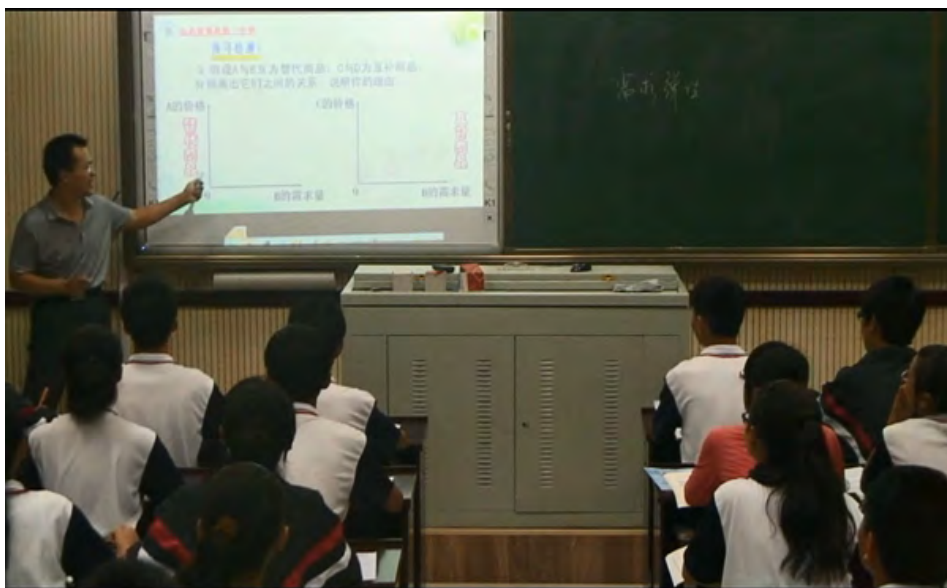
Protocol of the ideological and political lesson in China - Impact of price fluctuations

The Teacher：Guojianqiang, Shanxian No.1 Middle School, Shandong province, China
Students: The first grade senior high students, Shanxian No.1 Middle School, Shandong province, China
(S：Students   T: Mr. Guo)

S: 老师好   Good morning, teacher.

T: 同学们好   Good morning, students

T: 上一节课我们讲的是….影响价格的   What did we learn last class …? affect price?
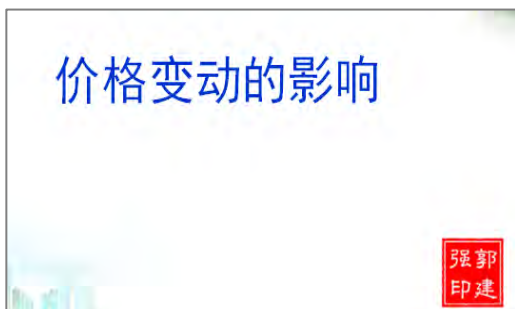
Translation of Power Point:

Impact of Price Fluctuations

S: 因素   The factors

T: 影响价格的因素有两个　There are two factors that affect price.

T: 第一个是？　The first is?

S: 供求关系影响价格　Supply demand relationship affects price.

T: 第二个是？　The second is?

S: 是价值决定价格　is value determines price

Translation:

Purpose of Learning:

1. Understanding of meaning of alternative and complementary products

2. Identification of price fluctuation that impacts on consumer demand and production, doing business (a key point), impact on alternative and complementary products (a different point)

3. Application of the knowledge of the effects of price fluctuationtoanalysis of phenomena in our daily life, in order to plan consumption and production and management strategies.

4. To establish views on integrity with regard to business management, obey the market ethic, moral principles

T: 这是讲影响价格的因素。今天我们反过来讲价格变动的影响。我们首先来看一看这一节课的学习目标，从学习目标来看，这一课给大家提的要求还真不简单。你看第三个要运用这个知识，分析生活现象，制定自己的消费计划，还有生产及经营策略。

Here, it mentions the factors that affect price. We move ontoday; let's talk about the effect of price fluctuation. Firstly, we check the learning goal of this lesson. It seems to be a hard task from the learning goal. You see the third goal, put this knowledge into practice, analyze phenomenon of daily life, prepare individual consumption plans and business strategies.

T: 首先我们来检测一下大家的预习效果。这个我们都提了, 画出一般情况下的需求曲线和供应曲线。这个不用画，大家都已经画过了。那么大家来看一看是怎么样的, 需求曲线是怎样的。

Firstly, we check out the effect of preview. And we have mentioned this before, draw the demand curve and the supply curve in a general situation. We don't need to draw down now, we have drawn once, now let's see, how, how about the demand curve.

S: 价格上涨，需求量就减少　Price gets high, demand reduces.

T: 那就是说，价格上涨，需求量就减少. 那也就是这样的了。这是第一个曲线

That is to say, price increases, demand falls. It's like this. This is the first curve,
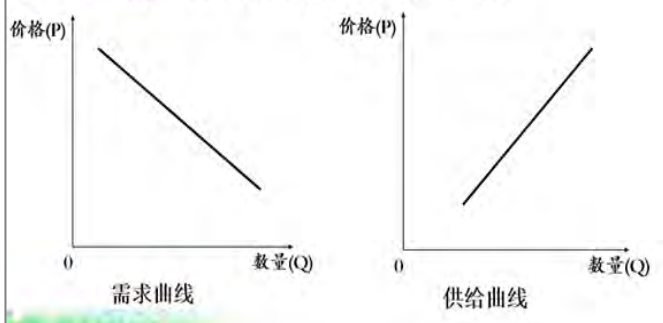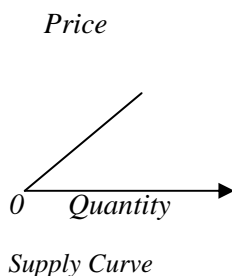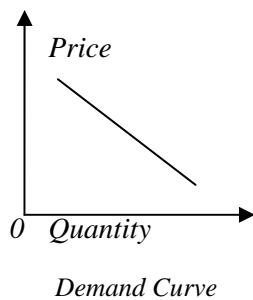
Translation:

Preview and Detection

1. Draw the Demand Curve and Supply Curve in a general situation

2.

然后第二个，供应曲线　then the second, supply curve.

S: 正比　Direct ratio.

T: 哎，这是一般情况下的　Em, this is in a general situation

S: 对　Right.

T: 有特例么　Are there some exceptions?

S: 有　Surely, there are.

S:价格上涨了，需求量反而增加了　Price increases , but demand rises.

Translation:

Expand and Extend

Are there the two phenomena in our daily life? 1. The price gets higher, but the demand gets larger.

2. The price gets higher, but the demand does not change.

T: 想想在我们生活中，哪些时候？特殊节日的时候….　Let's think in our daily life, what and when? Special festivals…. A male student: 比如中秋节的月饼　moon cake in Mid-Autumn Festival.

T: 哦，价格上涨，需求量增加,好，请坐, 还么比如说…商品房？ 是么房子越涨价，人越是愿意去买，为什么？

Oh, price gets higher, and demand gets larger, ok, sit down please, what more? For instance, real estate? right? The higher the housing price gets; the more people are willing to buy, why?

S: 他可能想着这个房价可能还会涨　They maybe think that, house prices will risehigher in future.

T: 第二种情况　the second situation?

S: 生活必需品　Essentials

T: 生活必需品么价格上涨了，生活必需品的供应量不会增加么？比如说你是生产者, 你看到脸盆的价格在嗖嗖的涨,你怎么办?

If price gets higher, does the supply of essentialsincrease? If you are a producer, you find the price of basinsgets higher and higher, what are you going to do?

S: 多生产　Produce more (basins).

T: 那供应不增加了么? Thus, does the supply increase?

S: 嗯 Em.

T: 所以你看。这种情况可能是什么情况，如果这个东西是…..奢侈品, 他要是不可再生的那

So, you see. What kind of situation is this likely to be? Are these products are….. luxuries, or non-renewable products.

S:哎？Em?

你比如说宋代的那个青花瓷 For example, it is a vase of the Song Dynasty.

S: 哦 Oh.

T:我们看到它的价格涨, 我们再来一个？不可以。这就是说，我们的生活中并不是我们所想的, 那样价格上涨需求量一定会减少或者增加。

We find the price get higher and higher, we make another? It is impossible. Thus that is to say, in reality, it's not the same as what we have thought, price gets higher, and demand must decrease or increase.

也有一些特例，这是我们要搞清楚的　There are some special cases, we should make them clear.

T: 这是一个,再接着往下看　This is one case, we check another case out.
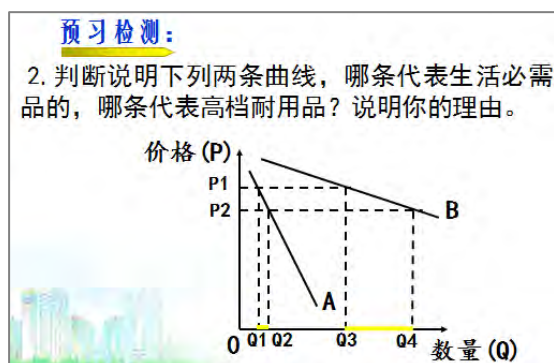
Translation:

Preview and Check out

1. Make a judgment which one stands for essential goods, and which one stands for -grade durable goods, why?　(P refers to the Price, and Q refers to the Quantity)

(材料：判断说明下列两条曲线，那条代表生活必需品，哪条代表高档耐用品？请说明你的理由）

T: Make a judgment on which one stands for essentials, and which one stands for high-quality durable goods, why?

说明理由 why?

A Male student: 因为那个生活必需品受价格影响较小，然后，奢侈品受价格影响较大。Because essentials are less affected by price; and luxuries are affected more by price.

T: 嗯, 所以,谁是生活必需品, 嗯呢。Em, so, which one isessential?　em, em.

A 是生活必需品 A is theessential good.

B 是高档耐用品　B is the high-quality durable goods.

请坐　please sit down

在这里请同学们记住一个知识点　every one, we should remember one point here

就是如果某种商品的价格变动带来的需求量变化不大，　that is, if the price fluctuation of some products does not affect the demand as much;

我们就说这种商品的需求弹性小　we say the elasticity of demand of the product is small.

出现了一个词需求弹性　We have a new term: demand elasticity

那也就是说生活必需品的需求弹性小　that is to say demand elasticity for essential goods is small.

如果一种商品的价格变动对他的需求量影响比较大 If the price fluctuation of some products affects demand much more.

我们就说这种商品的需求弹性大 We say this elasticity of demand for the product is big.

哎 Ah.

这是关于需求弹性的概念 This is the concept of elasticity of demand,

大家要搞清楚，你看 we should make it clear: you see,

这个就是 A this is A，

A 的价格变动对需求量的影响小 A's price fluctuation affects demand less.

B 的价格变动对需求量的影响大 B's price fluctuation affects demand more.

T: 好，这是第二个,现在我们来研究这样一个问题。 This is the second, now we develop this case.

生活探究：

2012年，北京、河北、山东等地蔬菜迎来了大丰收，但随之而来的却是蔬菜价格的一路狂跌，很多农民种菜的成本几乎都收不回来。有的地方大白菜价格狂跌至6分钱一斤，无人问津，菜农无奈弃收。

俗话说，"薄利多销"。蔬菜产量大了，农民薄利多销不一样可以赚钱吗。为什么还会出现"菜贱伤农"的情况？

Translation:

Practical application: In 2012, vegetables wereharvested in Beijing, Hebei province, Shandong Province, etc. However, this was followed by a sudden drop in prices. Lots of peasants couldn't even get back the planting cost. In some places, the price of cabbages plunged to 0.06 Yuan per 500g, but nobody seemed to care. Thus, some of them even gave up reaping.There is a saying in China "small profit, large sale volume". Vegetables get a good harvest, but if the more peasants sell, the more money they can also get, right? Why do the cheap vegetables hurt farming?

T: 为什么，如果说大白菜降价了，我买上一大车,你也买了一大车，这需求量不就上去了吗？那价格不也就上去了么，哎，这里有关系，白菜蔬菜等这些是生活必需品，他的需求弹性小，所以价格下降不会带来需求量的太多的增加，所以菜贱伤农。

Why? If cabbages get cheap，I bought a track of cabbages, you have bought as well. The demand increases? So the price increases as well?Ah, there is some relation.Vegetables, like cabbages they are?Essentials.It is the fact that the elasticity of demand is small, therefore, when the price falls that does not mean that demand will definitely increase and so the cheap vegetables hurt farming.

那好。用我们告诉大家的那个回答问题的模式，该怎么回答, 来想想

Ok. Let's use our normal way of answering questions，how to answer, let's think,

第一步是原理 the first step refers to principles;

第二步是材料分析 the second is the case analysis.

第三步是 the third step is ?

好 Ok

你整理一下这个答案 please clear up the answer.

快速整理一下就行 quickly clear up your answer is Ok

也可以不写 or you do not need to write it down.

把思路调整一下 Adjust your thinking.

好 Ok

请没整理完的课下再整理 You could finish it after class, please.

现在我们继续向下说 Now, let us continue to say,

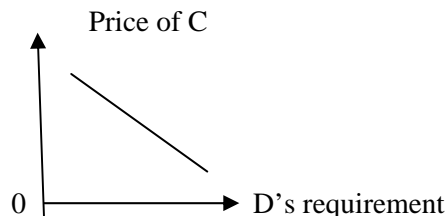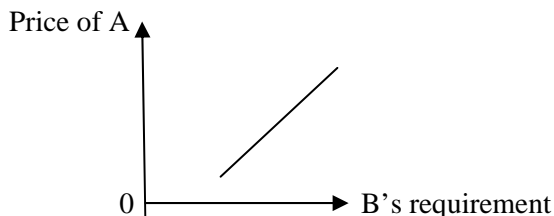我们说了相关商品 we mentioned related products.

Translation:

Preview and Check out

3 If A and B are substitute goods, C and D are complementary goods, please draw the relation between them, and tell us why.

Alternatives Complementary Products

假设 A 与 B 为相互替代商品，C 与 D 为互补商品，分别画出他们之间的关系，说明你的理由。A 和 B 互为替代商品） If A and B are substitute goods ,C and D are complementary goods, draw the relation between them separately, and tell us the reason.A and B are substitute goods.

这时候 A 的价格上涨   if the price of A gets higher

B 的需求就会增加   the demand for B will rise.

所以二者是成….?   So the relationship between the two sides is….?

Some students: 反比   Inverse ratio.

Some other students: 正…正比   Direct…direct ratio.

T: 成正比, 那再看互补商品那   Direct ratio.Let's see complementary goods.

S: 反比   Inverse ratio

T: 那就是反比   That's inverse ratio

C 的价格上涨   C's price gets higher

D 的需求量减少   The demand for C decreases.

Translation: Acquired Knowledge:
1. Price fluctuation impacts on consumption (requirement)
   (1) general principles
   (2) demand for different products' by price fluctuation
      ① essential goods ② the high-quality durable goods
   (3) Impact of price fluctuation of related products on consumer demand for established products
      ① Alternatives ② Complementary Products

这是以上我们回顾的大家预习的情况   This is the review of our preview in this lesson,

看来还不错,啊   it looks fine, em.

也就是说我们这里涉及到的基本原理   That is to say, here we only have mentioned the basic principles

就这么三个

一般来说某种商品的价格上涨, 需求量就会减。

Generally speaking, when the price of some products rises, then demand will fall.

这是一般规律　This is a general principle,

然后是　then

不同商品的需求量对价格的反应程度是不同的　the demand for different products reacts differently to prices.

也就是我们说的有的商品需求弹性小,有的需求弹性大

That's to say, some products have a small elasticity of demand, some products have a large one.

这是第二　This is the second,

第三个　the third

相关商品　related products

在这里有没有这样一种情况 Here, is there some situation like this one

就是你看 Let us take a look.

我们在过节的时候　during the festival period

往往羊肉的价格猛涨的时候　mutton's price rises

这时候人们往往就不买羊肉　people do not want to buy mutton anymore .

买鸡肉　They buy chicken,

买猪肉　pork

买其他替代的肉　and other substitute meat.

鸡肉啊 Chicken

牛肉啊等等　beef etc.

就是因为羊肉和牛肉之间是一种替代品　Just because mutton and beef are substitute goods.

好 Ok.

这是我们学习的第一个问题　this is the first point we have to learn.

通过预习基本就解决了　we learned from the preview,

在这里需要同学们来做这样一个计划　here we need a student to make a family plan.

Translation:

Application in daily life

We need to make a family plan here, if we want to start a family from the beginning, we have to buy everything, but we only have 20000 RMB to pay (about 2200 Euro). In accordance to the knowledge we have acquired, we will plan consumption for the family in order to improve life. Requirement: ① the plan should be sensible, no need tolist all of the individual expenditure. ② to make a life planning based on learned knowledge

假设我们要从零开始成立一个家庭　If we want to set up a family from the beginning.

一切生活用品都需要购置　All the essentials need to be bought,

但是这一年就两万块钱让你消费　but we only have 20000 RMB to use this year. (about 2200 Euro)

让你设计一个消费方案,让生活过的更好,现在各个小组可以讨论一下.

Please make a consumption plan for the family to improve their life.Now, we can discuss in groups.

(Group discussion)

T: 怎么样同学们　How about the result, students?

讨论的怎么样　how about the discussion

好，差不多了 ok,

请坐　Please sit down,

嗯，em,

怎么说啊　how to begin?

先这边的同学说　This group first

2 组 Group 2

A male student from Group 2: 首先我们应该购置生活必需品 First we should buy essentials

来保障基本的衣食住用行　to guarantee our basic necessities of life.

对于高档耐用品来说　For high-quality durable goods,

我们应该适当的　we choose a few and buy when the price is falling.

等他降价的时候来进行购买

T: 为什么 why

The male student from Group 2:

因为比如说如果不急需　Because, for example, it is not an urgent need.

T: 对于高档耐用品我们要等到降价的时候　we should buy high-quality durable goods when their price is falling..

继续　Go on

The male student of Group 2: 比如说某个商品价格升高了,我们可以选择他的替代品

If the price of some products increases, we can choose the alternatives.

T: 哦　Oh.

寻找替代品　Find alternatives

The male student for Group 2:

要精打细算

We should calculate carefully and budget strictly.

如果两个商品是互补商品　If two products are complementary products

一个商品升高了 one product's price increases

我们最好不要买另一种商品　we'd better not choose the other product.

T: 比如说　For example

举个例子 Can you give an example?

The male student from Group 2:

汽油和摩托车　Gas and motorcycle,

如果汽油价格升高的时候　if the price of gas increases

我们就不要购置摩托车　we will not buy a motorcycle,

可以买一辆电动车　we can buy an electric bicycle

T: 还有么? Any more?

好，请坐　Ok, sit down please

4 组的同学有补充?　Group 4，anything to add?

A male student from Group 4:

我认为应该以食品支付为主 I think we should mainly consume food.

货比三家，哪一家的比较便宜 We should shop around to see which one is cheaper, then we buy that in the shop.

我们就买哪一家的

T: 你考虑的, 还是价格 What you are concerned about is still price.

The male student from Group 4:

第二点我补充的是我们应当提倡低碳生活   The second point is we should promote low carbon living

T: 嗯 Em.

能步行的时候尽量步行   Try to walk when we can walk

T: 嗯 Em.

而且还节省支出   And that saves money.

The male student from Group 4:

第三点我认为应该把钱存入银行以备不时之需 The third point is we should save some in the bank for emergencies

T: 哦 Oh.

不能全花完了 Don't use all the money

S: 对 right

The male student from Group 4:

第四点我认为是捐适当的钱给慈善机构 The fourth point is we should donate some money to charities

T: 哦,有一种博爱的精神   Oh. A spirit of fraternity,

好 ok,

请坐 sit down please,

很好 very good,

不仅想到了自己还想到了别人 not only care about yourself but also the others.

很好 Very good

六组的同学 Group 6

A male student from group 6:

我们组的意见是 Our group's comments

第一是必须消费的钱一定要花 first , we pay what we should buy.

第二点是在买东西的时候，在价格低的时候买 The second is to buy something when its price is low. .

第三点就是 The third is

办理一个医疗卡 to apply for a medical insurance card

医疗方面更便宜 to get cheaper and better health care.

像保险似的 Just like medical insurance

T: 哦 oh

就是买个医疗保险是么 that's to buy health insurance, right?

哦 Oh,

想的太周全了 how thoughtful you are

很好 very good

The male student of group 6:

买东西的时候不要买那种零售的 Do not buy from the retailers

可以批发 buy wholesale;

买东西的不要买零碎的 do not buy thingsretail;

成套的更便宜 but it is cheaper to buy in whole sets of products.

哦哦 Oh, oh.

是 yes

很好 very good.

The male student from group 6:

我的意见就是这样 That is my point of view.

很好 very good

没有 8 组啊 no additions from group 8?

然后一组的同学需要补充么 How about group 1 makingadditional suggestions?

我们组需要补充的是 Our complement is

我们应该还要留一些储备基金 we should still save some money,

哦 oh

The male student: 还要有储备资金 we need save some money for an emergency

如果生病的时候或者其他特殊情况的时候需要一定的钱 when we are ill and should go to hospital or in other emergencies, we need money as well.

T: 哦 oh

备用钱 spare money.

好 Ok

还有么 more?

3 组 group 3

The male student from Group 3:

还要留一些购买那些食物、水费、电费已经那些出入所需要的路费 we should save some money for food, water charges, electricity and transportation etc.

大约三四千元的样子 about 3000-4000

生活中的突发状况所需要的钱 the money for emergencies in our life

T: 哦 Oh.

也是备用钱 save money too

还有么 any more ?

S: 没有了 no, 好 ok

请坐 please sit down

白亮 Bai Liang？

A student with the first name Liang：我们组做了一个更具体的规划 Our group made a more comprehensive plan,

首先抽出一部分资金买一部分高档生活耐用品 first, take a part of it to buy durable goods

比如像一些厨具之类的 just as kitchen appliance etc

T: 嗯 Em

Liang: 这些是生活必备 these are essentials

后期消费有生活必需品 the next consumption still includes essentials,

比如服装及食品 just as clothing and food,

食品我们还有两个更具体的意见就是 for food we have two more pieces of detailed concrete advice.

比如说服装我们可以买反季服装 For example, we can buy clothing that is last season.

T: 哦 Oh.

为什么买反季服装 Why do you buy clothing that is not the latest fashion?

Liang:便宜 Cheap,

T:哦，便宜 oh, cheap

Liang:还有一个就是食品 then there is the food

食品可以买一些时令蔬菜 we can buy seasonal vegetables,

大量上市的时候价格就便宜 they are cheap when they are in season

T: 哦是是这样的,很好 Oh，yes，yes, it's right. Very good.

Liang: 然后就是添加一些后期的高档耐用品 then adds some high quality durable products later.

T: 哦，添加高档耐用品,然后剩下小部分备用资金,这两万块钱用的差不多了。

Oh. Add some high quality durable goods, then left a few for emergencies the RMB: 20000 are almost gone.

T: 好,请坐,很好。实际上同学们 ,你说我们学习的这些东西就是为了我们生活的更好，对吧对。我们在这里做一个消费的方案，实际上就是在规划我们的人生。

Ok，please sit down，very good .As a matter of fact, we should know everything that we learn is for a better life in the future, right? right. Here we make a consumptionplan,exactly we are planning for our life

S: 哦, 有规划的人生才是幸福。今天同学们做的这些规划都非常好 today, every one made an excellent plan.相信将来你走上社会真正的成立了自己的家庭之后一定是一把过生活的好手。好,这个问题就讨论到这里

Ohpeople with a planned life havea happy life.I believe that, in the future when you enter into the society, and have your own family, everyone could be a life expert.Ok, we have finished this topic here.

T: 接着我们来看下一个问题 Let us check the next topic,

上面我们讲的是价格变动对生活的影响,那我们再看这一个 the last topic we have mentioned is how life is affected by price fluctuation.Let us take a look at this.

Translation:

Life Exploration:

The assorted nuts moon cake of a company sells well; even after raising the price several times, the supply is still not adequate to meet the demand. Compared to this product, other products sell less well. Even after several sales promotions, the sales of these products do not increase. The company takes almonds, walnut, peanuts, sunflower, and sesame as the raw materials. Due to the bad weather, the price of almonds and walnut increase, but the price of peanuts and sesame fall, if you are the manager, how should you produce them?

在这里我们需要审读一下材料,你看第一段材料,给我们提供了一个信息, 什么信息五仁月饼畅销, 五仁月饼畅销，供不应求。

We have to read the case firstly, look at the first paragraph; it gives us some information, what kind of information is it? Assorted nuts moon cake sells well. Assorted nuts moon cake sells well, and the supply is not adequate to meet the demand.

S: 对 Right.

T: 然后是其他月饼销量不好, 这是第一段告诉我们的信息。再看第二段告诉我们的信息，假如说你是这厂的厂长，你该怎么组织生产，在这里你要考虑到的是组织生产，你的目的是干什么？你怎么达到这个目的，分小组讨论讨论。

The next is, other kinds of moon cakes sell less well. This is what we can take from the first paragraph. Let's see the second paragraph, if you are the manager of the factory, how should you produce products? Here you should take produce into consideration, what's the purpose of producing, how to reach the goal. Please discuss it in groups.

第三组和第四组将讨论意见写到黑板上, 将自己的再完善一下,对应讨论的结果.

Please write group 3 and 4's opinions on the blackboard, please refine your answers, in accordance to the discussion results.

(Group discussion lasts about 10 minutes)

A female student in the class:

我们先看三组同学写的一个方案减少对其他种类商品的生产，增加五仁月饼的生产量。因为材料中提到五仁月饼非常畅销, 而且一再提价还供不应求。而其他的月饼都是销量平平，而五仁月饼和其他种类的月饼也是互为替代商品。如果哪一种的销量好，就提高哪种的生产量。所以才保证他卖的多盈利也多。

Let us check the first plan from group 3. Reduce the production of other kinds of moon cakes; increase the production of assorted nuts moon cakes. Because it was mentioned in the material, assorted nuts moon cake sells well, even though the price is continually increased, and the supply is still not adequate to satisfy the demand.

But the sales graph of other products remains flat; furthermore, assorted nuts moon cakes and other moon cakes are substitute goods. If one of them sells well, we will produce more of that kind of product. Thus, in this way, it insures more sales to make more profit.

再看方案二

五仁月饼中的杏仁和核桃仁可适当减少，因为杏仁和核桃仁的价格上涨，所以这时我们应该可以适当调配一下，减少这些成本比较高的投入。而芝麻和花生的价格下降, 我们可以适当增加他们的放置。

Let's see Plan two, reduce almonds and walnuts in assorted nuts moon cakes. Because almonds and walnuts' price gets higher，therefore, at this moment we should make appropriate adjustment to reduce these investmentsin expensive raw materials. On the other hand, peanut and sesame's price gets lower, thus we can increase the quantity of them in the moon cakes.

再看方案三，可以从盛产杏仁和核桃的地方大量进购，这样会比较便宜。因为在盛产杏仁和核桃的地方，他们的供应量比较大，有可能是供过于求的情况，价格会比较低。

Let us see the third plan. We can buy a large amount of almonds and walnuts from the source areas, in this way they could be cheaper. Because in the source area, they have sufficient supply, sometimes supply exceeds demand, price is low.

在看方案四，原材料不变，但可以适度增加价格，做出说明，这个其实与方案二是相对的.这个是保持原来的品质价格增加，对老顾客也有一种解释说明，故价格的上涨不会有太多的抱怨。

Let us see the fourth plan .Do not change the ratio of ingredients, but you can raise the price, but you have to explain this，and this corresponds to the second plan. It keeps the same quality of moon cakes, raises the price and explains the reason for this to customers. Thus, price's increase will not result in too much complaint.

如果我们轻易地调节原材料的配量，可能会使他的味道和原来不同，会使顾客量减少，从而销量也会减少。 If we simply change the ratio of the original ingredients，it will change the flavor and be different from the original flavor, losing customers and reducing sales.

The female student in the class: 再看四组同学，调节产量，减少其他月饼的生产量，这个和那个方案一是相同的。第二个五仁月饼原料比例不变，价格适当提高, 这个和方案四也是一样，但是这个没有写清楚，应当适当说明这样他如果贸然提价的话，价格上涨，顾客会选择其他的替代品，而不会选择五仁月饼，对盈利也是不好的。

Let us see the 4th Group, to change the production plan, and reduce production of other moon cakes，this is the same as plan one Secondly, do not change the ingredients of assorted nuts moon cakes, and raise the price. This is the same as plan four, but here it is not clearly explained to the customer:：If the company raises the price hastily, the price increases, customers will choose other substitute goodsand will not choose assorted nuts moon cakes anymore. It is not helpful toprofits.

再就是第三个 The next is the third point:

调节生产要素的投入 adjust investment in product ingredients,

五仁月饼原料里杏仁和核桃仁减少使用 reduce the content of almonds and walnuts in assorted nuts moon cakes.

增加花生芝麻的使用量 Increase the content of peanut and sesame

这个和方案二也是相同的 this is the same as plan two.

第四个加强广告宣传并使月饼的包装更精美 The fourth, strengthen advertising and make packaging more attractive

这是外在的宣传方面 This is the aspect of external advertisement.

这个广告宣传有一定的作用，可以提高知名度 Theadvertisement has some effects, can enhance the popularity,

但这个忽视了月饼的本质 but has ignored the innate character of moon cakes.

我们组讨论的还有一个创新的方案 Our group has another innovative plan,

其他种类销售平平的月饼也不应该放弃 we should not give up other moon cakes with a poor sales.

也要对他们进行技术开发 but innovate in terms of their production technologically speaking

这样我们不仅一如既往的坚持生产五仁月饼 in this way, we not only can continually produce assorted nuts moon cakes as usual,

同时也要做好五仁月饼 simultaneously we can make good moon cakes.

这样即吸引了新顾客又保留了老顾客 In this way, it can hold old customers and attract some new customers

这就是,这个公司的月饼需求量上涨 so, the whole demand of moon cakes of the company will rise,

所以销量也会上 thus the sales will rise simultaneously.

当其他月饼的销量高于五仁月饼的时候 When other moon cakes sales exceed assorted nuts moon cakes,

我们可以抬高五仁月饼的价格 we can raise the price of assorted nuts moon cakes.

用其他品种来代替五仁月饼 and make the other kinds of cakes substitute for assorted nuts moon cakes 进行这种创新 through this type of innovation.

这就是我的点评和观点 This is my view and point.

T: 还有其他问题么,刚才看这两个同学写的有什么问题么?如果我们从一个问答题的角度来分析,仔细看看,三组同学缺少了什么?

Other questions? Are there some questions about the two students' answers? From the perspective of answering question in the examination, take a close look, which elements are lack in group 3?

S: 缺少了原理 Lack of principles.

T: 四组同学分析的那，比如说，这一个，为什么调节产量，减少其他月饼的产量，增加五仁月饼的生产量。

How about the group 4? For example, this is one, why adjust production, and reduce the production of other moon cakes to increase the production of assorted nuts moon cakes.

S: 这样可以获得更多利润 It can make more profit in this way.

T: 你别忘了，你是厂长，你要对这个企业负责。嗯 Do not forget, you are the manager, you should be responsible for the company, en.

这是一个 this is one thing

然后在一个 then it is the other thing

比例不变，价格适当调整 keep a normal ratio, and adjust the price.

这个是在提高产品的质量吧？ Does this mean improving the quality?

以质取胜 Win with quality,

高质高价 high quality and high price,

然后这一个 then, this one

调节生产要素的投入 adjust the ratio of ingredients,

在这里减少使用量、增加使用量 reduce something and add something.

目的是干嘛 What is the purpose ?

S: 降低成本 Reduce the cost.

T: 漏了一句，可以降低生产成本，这里面生产成本给漏掉了，最后加强宣传，让包装更精美。

I lost one sentence, we can reduce the cost of production，here I have lost an element, the cost of production，the last, strengthen the publicity, and improve packaging.

这是 this is?

S:提高知名度 Enhance the popularity

T: 所以你看四组同学这里写的, 结论都给漏了一点，是吧，这是关键。我们在回答问题的时候不要忘了，三组同学设计的是一个整体的方案，当然你可以从中理解。So, let's check the answer of group 4，all the conclusions have missed some points. Right? This is a key point. Don't forget when we answer the questions，group 3 pointed out a comprehensive plan.

Of course, you can understand within the plan.

你怎么办? 这样一个策略 How can you handle this? This is a strategy.

做这样一个方案可以,如果是一个问答题 You can make this kind of comprehensive plan. But what if this is an open-ended question in an exam?

S: 就漏掉了原理，非常好，啊。You missed principles, very good,

在这里我有一个问题，你看这里不是说月饼有些原料贵，有些原料便宜么，我能不能这样，我把那些烂的杏仁、坏的核桃仁做的时候加进去。 Here, I have a question.

In this case, they mentioned some ingredients are expensive and some are cheap,

Could I add poor quality almonds and walnuts to the ingredients?

S: 不行 no

T: 那成本不就降低了么 But the cost would be reduced?

这实际上是 in fact , this is ?

S: 不道德的 Immoral.

T: 对 Right.

是不讲诚信的 Dishonesty

现实生活中有这样的事么 are there some cases like this?

S: 有 Yes!

T: 太多了 We have a lot of cases, like this

对不对 right ?

S: 对 Right.

T: 我们社会上有一些食品安全问题 We have some problems with food safety in reality

地沟油、三氯氰胺毒奶粉、瘦肉精 、苏丹红，等等等等。Drainage oil, Melamine-tainted infant formula and milk powder, lean meat powder, tony red, etc.

食品安全事件：

苏丹红鸭蛋
三聚氰胺奶粉及牛奶
地沟油
瘦肉精
假牛肉
毒韭菜
漂白大米

遵守市场
伦理道德
诚信经营

Translation:
Food safety incidents
Tony red
Melamine-tainted infant formula and milk
Drainage oil,
Lean meat powder
Fake beef
Poison leek
Bleached rice, etc
(Obey the principles of the market, Respect ethical and moral principles, Good Faith Business)

这实际上都是那些不法的生产者们为了降低生产成本而损害了消费者的利益，所以我们说啊，作为一个企业的领导人，或者说作为一个经营者，一定要树立这样一种观念，就是要有社会责任感，要诚信经营。

These are the illegal producers who want to reduce production costs but harm the interests of consumers. So as a leader of a company or as a business operator we should have a sense of social responsibility should respect the integrity of management.

温家宝总理说过一句话，他说企业家的血液里一定要流淌着道德的血液，那就是说企业家更应该讲道德，这样我们这个社会才能够更美丽，更和谐。那人们生活的才能更幸福,所以这是我们讲的根据价格对企业的影响企业应该怎么办。

Prime Minister Wen Jiabao has a saying：The blood of morality must flow in entrepreneurs veins, that is to say entrepreneurs should be ethical. Therefore, the society can be more beautiful and harmonious. People can have happy life; this is what entrepreneurs should do according to the price effect

理念生成：

2.价格变动影响生产经营(供给)

（1）调节产量
（2）调节生产要素的投入
（3）促使企业提高自主创新能力，形成自己的竞争优势

Translation:
Idea generation:
1. Price fluctuation impacts on the supply of products
   (1) Adjust the production plan
   (2) Adjust the ingredients of products
   (3) Enhance the independent innovative ability of companies, and to strengthen their competitive advantage

T: 归结起来，原理大致有两条：第一个就是？To sum up, there are basically two principles，the first is？

S: 调节商品产量

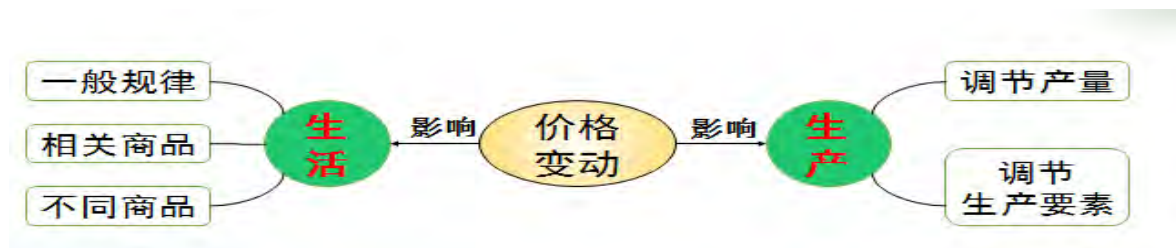 Adjusting yield of products

T: 第二个就是 The second is

S: 调节生产要素

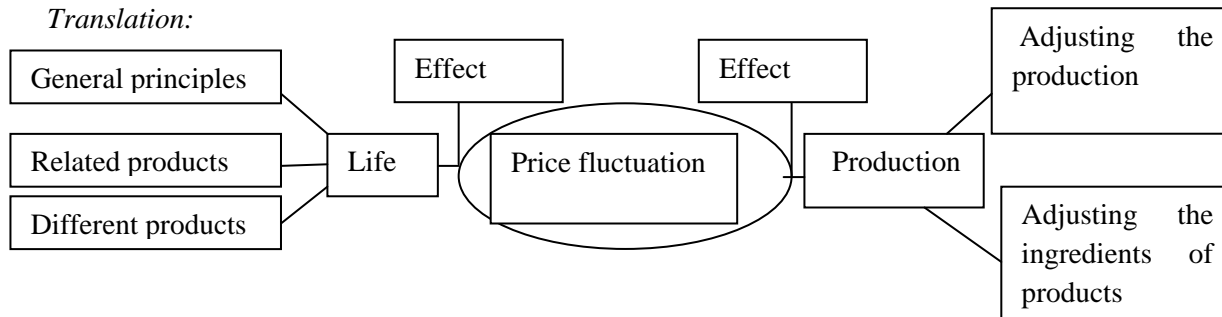Adjusting the ingredients of products

T:好 Good,

这就是我们今天这节课的内容 this is all the content of this lesson.

这节课实际上看看就讲了两个问题？ In this lesson we only mentioned two points?

Translation:

T & S: 就是价格变动影响生活，影响生产 that is price fluctuation affects life and production

生活就是消费需求 Life requires consumption

生产就是供给 production is supply,

所以概括起来一句话 so let us sum up in a sentence.

T: 就是? That is?

T & S: 价格变动影响供求 Price fluctuation affects supply

反过来，供求变化影响价格 Conversely, supply affects the price

T: 这是整个第二课的内容 That is the whole content of Lesson 2,

好 good.

这节课的内容就到这里 Let us finish our class here,

好，下课 ok, class is over.

Monitor: 起立 Stand up.

S: 老师,请休息。

Teacher, please take a rest!

T: 同学们再见 Goodbye students!

Link to the Lesson Video in Dropbox:
https://www.dropbox.com/s/1f2zyz4e62jd2il/price%20fluctuation%28subtitle%29.wmv

Endnotes

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Mehmet Açıkalın

A Social Studies Education Lesson from Turkey: Human Rights

The lesson was videotaped in March 2013, using two cameras.

1 Introduction

Social studies is a field, consisting of wide variety subjects, and the content of this field differ from one country to another. Also, how social studies are taught may differ a lot depending on each country's culture and educational settings. Thus, it would be very interesting to see examples of social studies lessons from various countries to understand differences and similarities regarding how social studies are taught in different parts of the world.

Therefore, an example of a social studies lesson from Turkish educational context is provided for the special issue of Journal of Social Science Education. This may be the first recorded and transcribed social studies lesson from Turkey. To my knowledge there is no other example to date of a completely recorded and transcribed social studies lesson from Turkey. Thus, this study provides an example of a social studies lesson from Turkey in order to facilitate comparison with examples of social studies lessons from other parts of the world.

This lesson was recorded in a 7th grade class at a middle school in one of the metropolitan neighborhoods in Istanbul. According to the current curriculum in Turkey, social studies education is an interdisciplinary field (TTKB, 2009b; 2009c). The subjects of social studies include history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, political science, law, and civics (TTKB, 2009b; 2009c). Social studies courses are taught under two different titles in elementary and middle schools from the first through seventh grades in Turkey. In early grades (grades 1-3), the course is called *Life Studies* (see TTKB, 2009a) and, from grades four through seven, it is called *Social Studies* (TTKB, 2009b; 2009c). Both courses are interdisciplinary,

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focusing on skills and values that promote effective citizenship for the Turkish nation. At the high school level focusing on skills and values that promote effective citizenship for the Turkish nation. At the high school level (Grades 9-12), social studies subjects are taught as discipline based courses such as history, geography, sociology, psychology, and philosophy.

2.1 Finding a school site

Finding a school site and teacher participants was one of the major methodological issues for this study. This study is not typical educational research and it is not well known by the school administrators and teachers in Turkey. Educational research studies in Turkey are dominated by surveys and questionnaires. Thus, generally school administrators and teachers limit educational research only to these kinds of surveys which they call "anket". Anket is originally a French word "enquête" and has been integrated into Turkish to mean "public poll" or "questionnaire". Therefore, this type of educational research which required a video recording of a class session was unconventional for the school administrators and teachers and they were not eager to participate in this research. Initially, I was turned down by a couple of schools. Eventually, I was able to convince a social studies teacher and his principal to participate in the study. Of course, it was not enough to get permission from the school. I also applied to the school district for their permission. I was also worried that the school district would not allow the recording as it was a different research method to those generally approved. Like school principals and teachers, administrators in the school districts were also used to approving research studies that required applications of "ankets". Nevertheless, I managed to obtain permission for the study from the school district within a four week period.

The School

2.2 The School

This public middle school is located in one of the central regions of Istanbul. It is a two storey historical building which was built in the 18th century. The building was used by the navy during the Ottoman period. It is very common to see such historical school buildings in Istanbul especially around the old city. Such constructions, including this one, usually were not designed as school buildings originally which results in limited spaces within the classrooms, offices, playgrounds, and other facilities in the school. Another problem with the school concerns its location. Since the school is located within metropolitan area, a lot of noise that can be heard during the class sessions. The school had 450 students at the onset of the study. The observed class population was 27 (16 male and 11 female) students. According to the school principal and the social studies teacher, students' families' socio-economic status while heterogonous can be considered middle and upper middle class.

2.3 The teacher

The teacher is a 34 year old male. He graduated from a history teacher education program in one of the large universities in a metropolitan city. Although he graduated from a history teacher education program, he was appointed as a social studies teacher. Since there was a shortage of social studies teachers at that time, he was appointed to social studies by the Ministry of National Education in one of the public schools. He has 12 years teaching experience. He taught for one year in Bingöl, a city located at the Eastern region of Turkey and had worked in the school where this study took place for 10 years. He has just transferred to another middle school in Istanbul at the beginning of this academic year.

2.4 The lesson: Methodological process

The lesson topic was human rights which is a core topic in social studies education. This topic was selected because it is a common topic often associated with social studies and civic education curricula worldwide. Therefore, presenting a social studies lesson with a topic of "human rights" might be easier for teachers and scholars worldwide to follow and understand. Also this lesson might be more valuable for teachers and scholars worldwide as it provides an opportunity to show how

this universal topic is taught in a Turkish educational context and allows them to compare this lesson bearing in mind their countries' educational context.

The lesson was video recorded and transcribed verbatim. Then, the transcripts in Turkish were translated into English. Explanations were given in brackets when necessary. Transcription and translation process were not easy. Some issues came up especially with the translation as some words lose their meaning when translated to English. But before that I would like to give some information about key features of the lesson. When you read the whole text, you will see that the teacher always repeated what the students had said. Repeating students' responses might make the lesson boring for the readers. But this is typical in a social studies lesson in a Turkish educational context. Social studies teachers generally repeat or rephrase what the students say to make it clear for the rest of the class.

Another thing concerns how students address their teachers. Students do not call teachers by their first or last names. Instead, they use a single word, "Hocam" [my teacher]. As you can see from the Turkish version of the transcripts, students used the word "Hocam" many times (31 times) during the lesson. But, I did not translate it every time, because most of the time it did not make much sense when this word was translated to English. There were also other words used frequently in the transcripts. One of them was "başka?" [What else?]. The teacher used this word 42 times in the lesson in order to elicit various answers from his students. As can be seen from the text, the teacher used a question & answer method extensively. Thus, he asked students "başka?" too many times. Another extensively used word was "şey" [something /thing]. It was used 39 times in this lesson. It is both difficult and easy to translate this word in a sentence. "Şey" can be used as a substitute word for almost any word in Turkish. I, in most cases, translated "şey" as "something" or "thing". But in some cases I had to omit the word from the English translation. More information about translation or context is given within brackets.

Two sessions covering the same topic were recorded. Nevertheless, for reasons of space, only the first session was prepared for this issue with a summary of the second lesson provided.

3.1 Outline of the first lesson and seating plan

The teacher started the lesson by asking what human rights meant to the students. For most of the lesson, the teachers asked the students questions and got answers from them. The key points discussed in the lesson were:

- various human rights such as the "right to settle /shelter", "right to vote and get elected".
- human rights violations and racial discrimination.
- violence towards women (March 8 - International Women's day)
- modern colonization (Some students believe that the U.S.A. exploits other countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq).

- the right to life and how this right can be violated (Wars, blood revenge, assassination, and murder, ext.)
- the right to receive healthcare, property rights, and the right to travel.
- the right to communicate (Tapping phones illegally: Teacher gave life of Howard Zinn as an example for that. When Howard Zinn wrote his autobiography, he asked the FBI for his personal file which included all of his telephone conversations and other forms of communication, everything related to his life)
- discrimination between rich and poor (Teacher gave example of police searching random teenagers on the street and he suspected that the police particularly choose these boys mostly because of their poor clothing and appearance. The teacher discussed that with the students)
- violation of private life (paparazzi shows)

The seating plan for the lesson was as follows:

BLACKBOARD / CURTAIN	DOOR

TEACHER'S DESK

Only selected students names (pseudonym) were given in the chart.
M: Male
F: Female

				GAMZE (F)
YAVUZ (M)		MAHİR (M)		
BORA (M)				

	FERİT (M)
	TUBA (F)
CAN (M)	SENEM (F)

3.2 Summary of the second lesson

The second session of the lesson basically followed a similar structure to the first session. Most of the lesson was also allocated to questions & answers. The teacher showed students several pictures associated with human rights violation in this session and had the students analyze the pictures. Below are examples of these pictures.

Picture 1: Kids who sell "simit" [Turkish bagel]. (Showing this image, the teacher guided a classroom discussion about underage children working).

Picture 2: 10th December Human Rights Day (Showing this image, the teacher guided a classroom discussion about various human rights violations such as violence, torture, and limiting of freedom of speech).

Picture 3: A beggar woman with a child (Showing this image, the teacher guided a classroom discussion regarding how this child's human rights were being violated)

Picture 4

Picture 6: Underage girl's marriage (Showing this image, the teacher guided a classroom discussion regarding underage girl's marriage as a violation of human rights).

Pictures 4 & 5: Human hunger in Africa. (Using these images, the teacher guided a classroom discussion regarding hunger as violation of human rights and our responsibility as a whole world for this hunger)

  Picture 7: Woman's body in a sushi bar (Showing this image, teacher guided a classroom discussion regarding using woman's body for commercial purposes which is another violation of human rights).

3.2 Transcription of the first human rights lesson

 Abbreviations / Explanations:
T: *Teacher*, S: *Students*
SF: *Female student*, SM: *Male students*
In order to indicate the students who contributed most to the classroom discussion, pseudonyms are used (Female names: *Gamze, Tuba, Senem*; Male Names: *Bora, Can, Ferit, Mahir, Yavuz*)

  T: Alright… children today's class topic is "Human rights and its origins". I guess we have been hearing the expression "human rights" frequently these days. What do you think about human rights? What are human rights?

  S: … [3 sec]

  T: Human, what is a human?

  Mahir: I will talk about human rights. Human rights are essential needs. For example there is something essential. For instance, one of the rights is the right to shelter.

  T: Yes.

  Mahir: For example, the right to education.

T: Actually, let's have a look at the root of the issue. What is a human?… Human? What are you? [Asks a student.]

SM: A human.

T: You are a human. What am I?

SM: A human.

T: Your friends and I… everybody in this classroom is a human. So what is a human?

S: …

T: Have you ever asked yourself this question? Yes. [Picks a student.]

Bora: A living being.

T: A living being… If you look at it this way, the cat at home is also a living being.

Yavuz: The smartest living being.

T: The smartest living being! So, it must be "a living being" and "smart" at the same time. Is it like that?… Ok. The smartest living being. So is the human being different from other species and living beings?

Yavuz: Yes.

T: Ok. They are different. What do we call this? It is also in the Koran. What does it say? Or it is also in other religions' holy books. What does it say in the Koran? It says the human being is the most honorable creature in the world [eşrefi mahlukat]. Where does this honor come from?… From their [humans'] thinking. Ok, human… what are human rights?

Can: The right to live.

T: The right to live. What else?

The teacher is asking a question.

SM: The right to settle/shelter.

T: The right to settle. What else?

SM: The right to elect and be elected.

T: The right to elect and be elected. What do you mean by that? Do you mean selection / voting for anything or for political reasons or selection relating to any aspect of life?

SM: [Relating to] every aspect of life.

T: What, for example, do we have to select in our lives? Have you ever thought about that? What do we have to select in our lives?

Yavuz: The president.

T: The president. What else?

Bora: I was going to say the same thing. But my friend has already mentioned it.

T: In fact, the expression of selection is modeled in our heads. And we always say the same thing. Either we are selecting the leader of a political party or the class president. Does a human not have any other right to select?

S: …

T: Does s/he not have the right to select anybody / anything other than those people to govern him/her?

SM: A human can select his/her religion.

T: What else? S/he can select his/her religion. What else?

SM: S/he can select the place to live.

T: S/he can select the place to live. What else?

S: … [3 s]

T: [A person] can select the apple s/he wants to eat from the supermarket, right? S/he can select whatever vegetable s/he wants to eat from the market. A human can select the person whom s/he wants to get married to. S/he can select the school s/he wants to go to. Who is the only person that s/he cannot choose?

S: … [7 s]

T: Did you say something?

Tuba: His/her parents.

T: [A human] cannot select his/her parents. Alright, we have talked about the rights of a human so far. One of them is the right to vote and to get elected. Humans are entitled to rights as soon as they are born. What is the first [of these human rights]?

S: It is the right to live. [Altogether. It is very common to see that all students or at least a group of students respond altogether. This is observed several times in this lesson.]

T: The right to live. The right to live. Ok. Who are those that invade human rights? Who violates human rights?

SM: Humans.

T: Godzilla or the humans? [Laughing.]

SM: The humans.

T: Humans deprive other humans of their rights. Ok then, how do these humans take over other humans' rights?

S: … [2 sec]

Bora: They do not vest/acknowledge rights.

T: For example? For example? It is not necessary to give such big examples. Give examples from your own lives.

Ferit: Not all people are treated equally.

T: Who do you mean, for instance? Are you and I not equal?

Ferit: Yes teacher, we are... But the people who violate human rights…

T: Segregate/discriminate between who and whom? For example, tell me about something that caught your eye.

Ferit: For instance, Primeminister and a person who lives in a village.

T: [They discriminate between] Prime minister and a villager. Why do you believe in that?

Ferit: Because of the photo, my teacher... [He points to the photos on the screen.]

T: Photo? Is there anything about that [on these photos]?

Ferit: Teacher, for example there is one kid lying on the ground and no one helping him.

T: Ok! Let's come back to the pictures later. Let me close that down, because we are going to talk about these pictures separately. Is there anything you see or feel? Do not look at the photographs. Yes?

Yavuz: Teacher, the color of skin.

T: Color of skin. For example, you have a light skin, I have a chocolate skin color. So, does this mean you and I are not equal? Are we? Is a dark-skinned person better [than a light-skinned person]?

Yavuz: Teacher, they discriminate [because of skin color].

T: Is there something like that?

Yavuz: Yes, there is, teacher.

T: Where?

Yavuz: Almost in every country, my teacher.

T: So when you talk about skin color you mean… blackish [Teacher used word "siyahi" means "blackish." "Siyah" means black color] people or in more impolite term "Negroes"? [Teacher here used the word "Zenci", the impolite way to refers the black race]

Yavuz: Yes.

T: Negroes. So, who discriminates [between white and black people]? Do we do that? [He means the Turkish Nation]

Yavuz: Teacher, personal… it is a personal [subjective] thing.

T: It is something personal. Ok, are there a lot of Negros in our country?

Yavuz: Not many.

T: Not many. But their [the illegal African immigrants] numbers have been increasing, right? So do you think we are developing prejudice against these people? Or do you feel that prejudice against these people is developing in society?

Yavuz: No.

T: You do not. Ok then, is there any human rights violation in the society you live in?

Yavuz: Yes, there is.

T: For example what kind?

Yavuz: Teacher, there are people who are involved in racial discrimination.

T: Racial discrimination... They engage in racial discrimination. What else?

S: [incomprehensible]

T: In any a case, a person who praises his/her race is a racist. So you say, there is one race in this country and there are people defending that race… Are there just racists of one and the same race in this country?

Yavuz: No.

T: So, you say in this country there are racist people of each nation living here [who belong to different ethnic groups]. And you say there are racists within all races in the world. Yes. What else? Other human rights violations? Yes?

Tuba: Violence against women.

T: Violence against women. Yes… When was the issue most popular? Which day was it in March? It has been discussed a lot.

Senem: March 8.

T: March 8. What is March 8?

Senem: World workers women's day. [Senem here originally said "Dünya emekçi kadınlar günü" meaning "World workers women's day". It is, in fact, "International Women's Day". In Turkey, March 8 mostly is valued by the leftists groups. Thus, there is a special emphasis on the word "workers"]

T: World workers women's day. Ok, let's continue. Violence against women. Do you see other human rights violations? Yes?

SF: In the past, Kings and religious people [Priest, imam etc.] were entitled to more rights…

T: In the past!

SF: … than the regular people.

T: But, is there any human right violation you can see today? We are going to talk about that [later]. We are going to talk about the [historical] development of human rights [later]. But, is there any human rights violation you see today? Yes.

Tuba: Torturing animals.

T: Torturing animals. Actually, isn't that something different. This is not violation of human rights. Rights of living beings. Here a new rights expression arises. This means, rights of living beings. Let us talk about that separately.

Yavuz: Colony. [The word "Colony" does not refer its literal meaning in this context. It refers to exploitation].

T: What colony?

Yavuz: Some countries exploit other countries.

T: Are there still colonized countries?

Yavuz: There are.

T: For example?

Yavuz: Afghanistan, for example.

T: Afghanistan. Who exploits Afghanistan?

Yavuz: America. [People in Turkey when they talk about the United States, they refer her only with one word as "Amerika" which is the Turkish form of "America"].

T: America exploits Afghanistan. Ok, America. Then, according to your logic, America also exploits Iraq, right? So what does it take from Iraq?

Yavuz: Petroleum.

T: It [USA] takes petroleum [from Iraq]. Ok then in the world as we can just see from TV and read from newspapers, if I ask you to name a country that supports human rights, which country would that be? In all respects. Can you tell me one country that will be there with their people and government, if there is any human rights violation anywhere in the world? Is there any country that you can name?

Bora: I do not think there is.

T: Isn't there? That cannot be true! On the grounds of human rights violation people [nations or countries on the world] send their armies back and forth.

Yavuz: Turkey.

T: Turkey! So you say Turkey is a sensitive country for human rights violations in the world and wherever there is human rights violation Turkey would be there! Is that what you were saying?

Yavuz: No. Actually, not that much...

T: So you say we just get sad.

Yavuz: Supposedly.

T: We condemn [when we see human rights violations]. Is there such a country?

S: … [6 sec]

T: Yes. Is there such a country?

S: …

T: So there is not. Then, I will briefly give some information about this issue. After that let us have a look at why there is or there is not a country sensitive to human rights violations and where the mistake is? Now… What are human rights? In a general sense, everybody is entitled to human rights as soon as s/he is born. Once you were born and took your first breath, what is your first human right? It is the right to continue breathing. It is the right to continue breathing. Nobody in the world can take your right to breathe, this means your right to live, from you. Ok, when we look at this in detail, what is the right to live? How can the right to live be taken from somebody?

Bora: By being killed.

T: How does a person get killed? Under what circumstances can s/he get killed? There can be a murder, there can be a fighting... What else?

Bora: Wars.

T: Hah. Yes, wars. What else?

Can: Blood revenge. [It is a long-running argument or fight, often between social groups of people, especially families or clans. Although it has been diminishing, there are still ongoing disputes between families in the eastern parts of Turkey.]

T: Blood revenge. What else?

SM: Assassination.

T: Assassination. What else?

S: … [2 sec]

T: Ok, let's go to another point. Let's say an earthquake has happened and a large site built by a contractor collapsed due to using unqualified or limited material for the construction. As many people get killed under this building, would this be a human rights violation or the deprivation of the right to live? What do you think? Do you know anybody who got killed in an earthquake? There is somebody in the other class, for instance. I will not give his/her name. S/he has lost his/her uncle, aunt, and all his/her cousins. Here there is a violation of human rights and additionally murder! Isn't there? The right to live… Right to receive healthcare! What is the right to receive healthcare?

Can: It means people can go the health centers or hospital to get information about their health.

T: To get information about their health. What else? What is the right to receive healthcare?

S: … [5 sec]

T: Do you go to the doctor?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Yes, you do. Do you have right to receive treatment?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Yes, you have. Ok then, this is your first essential healthcare right. If you are sick and there is a treatment, you have to get this treatment. Ok, would big corporations and their activities which endanger your health and your lives also be considered a violation of right to health? For example, there is a factory in your neighborhood and this factory does not have a filtering system necessary to prevent air pollution. The factory continuously releases unfiltered bad smoke, toxins and chemical gases to nature. Do these affect peoples' health?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: And because of this, would a person's right to health be violated?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Do you think there is a violation of human rights in this case?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Yes, there is. Can you give another example for that? Yes.

Bora: Cigarettes.

T: Cigarettes! It is an interesting example. Ok, who is involved in this case?

Bora: What do you mean by involved, teacher?

T: I mean smoking cigarettes is a health right, a violation of the health right. But for example… I give you an example. A person named Ahmet smokes, but he goes to buy his cigarettes himself. Where is the violation here?

Bora: Is it within the state, teacher?

T: You tell me. Think about it. Where is it [the violation]?

Bora: … [3 sec] The state, teacher.

T: Let me give you a hint. He has given a good example. He said the state was responsible. Let me give you a hint. In fact, people's habits are all taught somehow. I mean, if you never see cigarettes in your life, you would never want to smoke and you would not know what cigarettes are. If you had never seen ice cream in your life and if you had never seen people eating ice cream, what would you do? You would not want to have ice cream. Then, are there any factors that affect us in starting smoking habits? Yes.

Can: Family.

T: How? Give me an example.

Can: If a child's or teenager's parents smoke s/he may be curious [about smoking] as well.

T: What else? Family is right.

Bora: Friends.

T: What else?

Bora: People around the person.

T: What else? People around the person. I will add one more. Television. Another human right… one of the primary human rights is the right to property. What is property?

Mahir: Residence, home.

T: Residence, home. Ok, it means a person can buy any house that s/he wishes within the law. Another human right is the right to travel. Is there a human right called a right to travel?

SM: There is.

T: There is. We can travel wherever we want. Ok, can we travel wherever we want?

S: … [2 sec]

T: Can we travel wherever we want?

Bora: Yes.

T: Ok, where do we go? You say yes. Where do we travel? Where can we go?

Mahir: Anywhere within the country.

T: We can. Is there anybody who travels? Is there anybody who can travel? You travel. [Speaking to a student] Where have you traveled?

SF: Antalya … Bodrum. [Well known travel destinations in the coastal area of Turkey]

T: Antalya, Bodrum. You went for vacation. Where else? You?

Bora: Edirne. [A city in the Northwest of Turkey]

T: Has anybody stopped you from traveling?

SFM: No.

T: Then, is this issue a problem in our country?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: Ok, we can say it is not an issue. Of course we talk for our country. Ok then… How can a person's right to travel be prevented? Yes?

Yavuz: If s/he has committed a crime, if s/he is a felon felon [ex-convict].

T: These are legal reasons. It means this felon violated another person's right (i.e. right to health; right to live)... This guy is a felon and thus is, by law, deprived of his rights to travel, to own property, and even to live freely. But, I am talking about us here who (presumably) have no obstacles to travelling. How can anybody take away our rights to travel?… If they take our rights to travel, would that be right? Let's say you are going to Bodrum by car or by bus and somebody gets in front of your vehicle with his/her gun or with something else and stops you and tells you "no, you cannot go further". Would s/he have deprived you of your right to travel?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Would s/he?

S: Yes. [Altogether]

T: Ok then, has this happened in this country before?

S: Yes.

T: Where did it happen?

S: …

T: You say yes. But tell me where?… Ok, all of you are not old enough to remember that. There was a time when this happened before in the Eastern parts of Turkey. Lawless people built barriers on the road and said to travelers that they weren't allowed to continue their travelling from this point on. So, these lawless people took away other people's right to travel. Another right we have is the right to communicate. What is the right to communicate?… What is the right to communicate? Yes, tell me.

Senem: Is it seeing other people and talking with them?

T: Seeing?

Senem: And talking with other people.

T: Seeing other people and talking with them, actually to get in touch with other people; get to communicate with other people. As it is in the word "communication", to interact with others, to receive information and to give information. This is the right to communicate. Can we make use of our right to communicate as we wish?

SF: Yes.

T: How do we use our right to communicate? Yes, we are experts on this issue. [Meaning the students] Yes, please.

SM: Telephone.

T: Telephone. Is it only telephone? What else?

Tuba: Computer.

T: Computer. But what are the applications, the instruments that are used with the computer in order to use it for communication?

SM: Letter.

T: Letter. That was in the past. Yes?

Yavuz: Internet.

T: Internet.Who sends us letters… in these days?

SM: The state.

T: Banks. The banks send us letters. The only organization that sends letters these days are banks. [Students laughing]

SF: Newspaper.

T: Newspaper. What else?

Bora: Television.

T: TV. Let's talk about our cell phones in particular. We all have a cell phone in our pockets, haven't we? I am calling somebody. [Teacher pretends to call somebody with his cell phone.] I say "Ayşe [a girl name] I love you so much. [Students laughing] But I do not want anybody to know about that. It is really secret. I want it to be a secret between us. Look, I could not say that in front of other people. We were in a meeting with other people. I could not tell you. I wanted to say it by phone as if I was whispering it in your ear." While I am saying that a noise is coming from the phone"Höyt! [Hey!] Hey I love Ayşe, too." In fact, there should not be a noise coming from the phone. What should somebody not do with our phones?

The teacher pretends that he is making a phone call

S: Listen to them. [Altogether]

T: Nobody should listen [to other peoples' phone conversations]. This is the right to communicate freely/freedom of communication. When I call Ayşe, my mom or my dad and they in turn call me, they should be telling me freely whatever they want to tell. They should not be worrying about other people listening to our conversation or recording it. What shouldn't they do?

S: They should not worry.

T: They should not worry. Kids I want to tell you about a book I read recently. There is a professor in America and I have just seen his name for the first time on a book while I was walking past a bookstore ten days ago. His name is Howard Zinn. He is an activist and he is against all kinds of human rights violations in the America and in the world. He also takes action against the wars America conducts. For years he has done a lot of research on these issues. Eventually, he decides to write his autobiography. But he says "I am more than 80 years old" and he gets confused about how to write his life story. Then kids, eventually he asks the CIA… What is the CIA?

Yavuz: Central Intelligence Agency in America.

T: Yes. Sorry not CIA. He asks the FBI, because the FBI is involved in the internal intelligence within America, for his personal file. He asks the FBI for his personal file and in this file there are all his telephone conversations; all his communicative activities; and everything related to him. And what does this person [Howard Zinn] do with that? What does he do with all what he had forgotten? He writes. He writes everything that he forgot about his life [by using the information from this file]. So, what do we have here in this case? Here we have to do with a person's or other people's deprivation of their rights to communicate freely. Do you want your phones to be listened to?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: Do you want your letters to be read by someone else before reaching their destination and somebody licking the envelopes to close them again?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: You do not want that. Do you like sending e-mails? Do you want your e-mails to be read by somebody else who says "Ah, okay this letter is harmless" before they reach the person you have [actually] sent them to?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: Or do you want the pictures on your computer to be stolen by somebody else?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: Or a real incident …. A true story kids... I say it explicitly… a story which was supposed to be in the newspapers so that all people knew about it. Do you want somebody to prevent this story from being published in the newspaper?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: If you do not want those things to happen, you are among the people who support the right to communicate. Ok… the right to defend yourself in a court. Justice and equality. Do you think everybody on the world is equal?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: Is everybody equal in front of the law and the courts?

S: Yes. [One group] No. [One group]

T: So? I do not want to influence you. Those of you who say "equal" raise your hands … Who say "not equal" raise your hands. [The majority is for "not equal"] I am going to ask those of you who said "not equal" why they think this way. Yavuz [pseudonym name used] why [is everybody] not equal [in front of the law and the courts]?

Yavuz: Teacher, what do you mean by "not equal"? Do you mean equal according to me or what the current situation is [what is happening now on this issue]?

T: Whatever you see. Is there any difference?

Yavuz: There is discrimination.

T: Ha?

Yavuz: There is discrimination teacher.

T: Tell me how?

Yavuz: Teacher, for example a thief must be sentenced to 30 years according to the law, but s/he gets only 10 years or a criminal that actually should be sentenced to 20 years gets 30 years.

T: Hmm. You say a criminal who must be sentenced to 10 years gets only 5 years and another criminal that actually should be sentenced to 5 years gets 10 years. Do you mean that?

Yavuz: Yes.

T: So you say there is injustice. What else… So why do they discriminate between two criminals?

Yavuz: I do not know, teacher.

T: Have you heard something like that before?

Yavuz: Yes, we hear about it on the news.

T: You see it on the news. So based on that do you say there is injustice?

Yavuz: Yes.

T: In fact… I do not know whether we can say it based on that… Ok… In fact, it is not right to talk about this based on this reference [based on assumptions]. Why is this not right? In fact, saying something like "this happened this way and that happened that way" is also a deprivation of humans' rights. When you talk about human rights, it is not appropriate to say "have you ever seen a rich person's kid spend time in jail?" In fact, using this sentence is a violation of the human rights of all these rich people or many other people who are better off. But there is one thing on the world: "Everybody is equal, but some are more equal!" What does that mean?... Yes, what does that mean? Everyone is equal, some are more equal. What does that mean? Yes.

Bora: Those who have property are richer. Those who are in the upper class are more equal.

T: Why?

Bora: That is what I understand from that.

Yavuz: Teacher, it is actually exactly the opposite. Upper class people are less equal, lower class people are more equal.

T: How? I do not understand.

Yavuz: Teacher, think of a politician's son and a vagabond/roamer from the folk.

T: Who has more advantages?

Yavuz: The son of the politician, teacher.

T: Ok, you said a good thing. A couple of days ago I was walking here around the school. I saw the police stopping two teenage boys [Sometimes policemen/policewomen stop people to check their IDs and search them in the control point designated by the police. So, although it is not very common, it is not an unusual situation.] The officers said "Come here." The boys went to them, but unintentionally I had a look at the boys' clothing. Their clothes were very old and it seemed that they were coming from a certain neighborhood within Istanbul. I mean, their beards and hair… their outfits… as if the officers had seen them like this and stopped them [because of their appearance]. But there were other boys of the similar ages passing by, but the police did not stop them... Why? Have you ever experienced something like that? Tell me.

Senem: Teacher, I don't know why this happened. The policemen may have thought that these boys were thieves because of their clothing and appearance.

T: So is it enough to assume [that they have done something illegal] in order to stop and search a person on the street in front of everybody?

S: No. [Altogether]

T: I come… [he calls on a male student from the first row] "stand up, stand up, turn around" [talking to him like a policeman]. Let's say your mother, your wife are there. I do not know… imagine you have your beloved girlfriend or boyfriend with you. But somebody says "turn around, take out your ID" [talking like a policeman] and you say "what have I done?!" "Turn around, take out your ID." Is this right? Ok, you can sit down. [to the student] Then, is it enough only to assume? So, it is enough to stop somebody only supposing [that they did something illegal]. Ok let's say in later time… Who says "I do not look like a thief" raise your hands. Those of you who say "I do not look like a thief or a murderer" raise your hands. [everyone raises his/her hand] I also do not look like a thief or murderer, in my opinion. But when I look into the mirror I look like a thief and also like a murderer. [laughing] Anyway, you have not done something like that. So it is not important whether you look like a thief or murderer, you haven't done such a thing. But let's say one morning you woke up… randomly you took a [bad/old] jacket, you did not shave your beard, you did not comb your hair. And you did not paint/polish your shoes. And the policeman stopped and searched you and asked you for your ID. How would you feel?

S: … [3 sec]

T: Let me do it this way… let me give you my answer to this question. Then I will take your answers. I would not feel anything. I would say to the officer "Thank you officer. Be always careful like that. Whenever you suspect somebody, you can stop and search him/her." I would say that. What would you tell them?

S: [Inaudible]

T: What would you do?

SF: I would get embarrassed in the midst of those people.

T: Have you ever gotten embarrassed like that?

Bora: By the police or…?

T: Yes, by the police. Have the police embarrassed you before?

S: [Saying no by nodding negatively.]

T: Did the police ever embarrass you? So, what would you think [if you were treated this way by the police]? Would you get embarrassed or…? Your friend said he would. Would you be embarrassed?… I personally am sensitive concerning this issue. The police should search me… I can be anybody, I can be a bomber. Even when the officer gets bored or suspects me s/he should stop and search me… Even if there is not a policewoman there at the moment, a policeman can search my wife! Because our lives and safety are important. The police is for our safety. That is what I think on this issue. Tell me what do you think? Yes.

SF: I would not get embarrassed, because the police eventually would realize that I did not do anything.

T: Ok. You?

Yavuz: Teacher, it is not about embarrassment. You said the police can do whatever s/he wants, I will collaborate with them. But what if they stop only you and not another person walking by. They should stop everyone.

T: Look what I say. Let's assume the officers are suspicious of my wife. And right then there is no policewoman there… But people's health and safety is in danger. So a male cop can search my wife. I would not care.

Yavuz: But teacher, if the police, for example, stopped only me but nobody else on the street, I would get embarrassed.

T: But the officer is only suspicious of you.

Yavuz: Then, I would get embarrassed, because everybody [on the street] would look at me as if I was a thief.

T: Everybody would look at you as if you were a thief. Actually you did not commit any crime. That is what you are thinking about. Though you did not commit any crime people would think of you as a criminal. How would this make you feel? It would…

S: …disturb us. [Altogether]

T: It would disturb you. What else?... What else? I want to hear something from someone who has not spoken so far. Tell me, how would you feel? [asking to a girl in the first row] So you say "I have a pretty and innocent face. Which police would stop me?" [The teacher is teasing the student]

Gamze: Teacher… I would not want everybody to turn back and look at me. Because… I mean… I would not want it. I mean I would get embarrassed.

T: Who says "I would want it and I would get embarrassed"? Raise your hands.

SM: Those who say that they would be embarrassed. [corrects the teachers' statement]

T: Those who say "I would be embarrassed, I wouldn't want it."

S: [The majority raise their hands.]

T: Or the ones who say, like me, "What the heck! It is not worse than dying!" raise your hand. I mean those of you who say "Is it worse than dying? I would not get embarrassed." raise your hand. Let me say the whole sentence. Those of you who say that they wouldn't be embarrassed.

S: [Few students raise their hands.]

T: The ones who say "I am undecided. I have not thought about it." raise your hands.

S: [Few students raise their hands.]

T: Alright. Kids, in fact, I lied to you. I would not want such a thing to happen to me. I mean, if I was certain that I was innocent I would not want the police to stop me and search me in the midst of people. I would not want my wife to be searched inappropriately and undergo an identity check. Because this is not something normal. This is not a normal thing. Imagine experiencing this every day. Every day when you enter school you got searched. When you enter Istiklal Street [a famous street in Istanbul] you got searched; or you just go to the street and you are searched. And people always keep telling you… What do they tell you? "We are doing this for your safety." You use your phone and hear some noises. You understand that you are wiretapped. So, you complain about that and you are told "Oh no, we do it for a safe society." Your letters, your e-mails and everything is exposed and read by others. So, one should get disturbed by this kind of action. That is where the expression "human rights" emerges. Here, in this case, human rights are abolished. Let's continue… The right to search for rights. What is the right to search for rights?... Tell me.

Can: For example, if a person's rights are violated, s/he has the right to search for his/her rights.

T: Ok, what else?… The right to search for your rights. Is there anybody who feels that his/her rights are violated? At home, at school, at the hospital? For instance, is there anyone who believes that doctors in a hospital do not take good care of him/her? Have you experienced something like that before?

S: …

T: So, you have not. Ok, right to secrecy of private life... What is that?... What is the secrecy of private life?

Can: For example, nobody has the right to know what happens in my home and what I do there.

T: Ok is this violated… in our country?

Can: I do not know, it depends on the person.

T: Ok, do you like paparazzi shows?

Can: No.

T: Who likes paparazzi programs? [a couple of students raise their hands] I like these shows, for instance. It is fun to watch them on Sundays! Why do I like these shows?

S: [Students laughing.]

T: I see all the details of celebrities' lives like… where they eat, where they go swimming, who they talk to in their houses, what they wear or do not wear. [Bell rings] This is why I like these shows.

Senem: I like them, too.

T: I like them very much. But in fact, by watching these shows I follow other people's lives without even noticing. I am sitting in front of the TV and am observing other peoples' lives. We will continue next lesson, kids.

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Appendix:
İnsan Halklari Dersi

Kısaltmalar / Açıklamalar:
Ö: *Öğretmen*, Öğr: *Öğrenciler*
KÖ*: Kız Öğrenci,* EÖ: *Erkek Öğrenci*
Ayrıca ders içinde tartışmaya fazlaca katkıda bulunan öğrencileri göstermek amacıyla bu öğrenciler takma isimler kullanılarak belirtilmiştir. (Kız isimleri*: Gamze, Tuba, Senem;* Erkek İsimleri: *Bora, Can, Ferit, Mahir, Yavuz*)

Ö: Evet… çocuklar bugünkü konumuz "insan hakları ve insan haklarının doğuşu". İnsan hakları kelimesini çok sık duyuyoruz herhalde son zamanlarda. Ne düşünüyorsunuz insan hakları konusunda? Nedir insan hakları?

Öğr: … [3 sn]

Ö: İnsan, insan nedir?

Mahir: Ben insan haklarını söyleyeceğim. İnsan haklarının temel ihtiyaçları vardır. Mesela temel bir şeyi vardır. Örneğin haklarından biri barınma hakkıdır.

Ö: Evet.

Mahir: Mesela eğitim hakkıdır.

Ö: Aslında daha temele inelim. İnsan nedir?… İnsan? Sen nesin? [bir öğrenciye sorarak]

EÖ: İnsan.

Ö: İnsansın. Ben neyim?

EÖ: İnsan.

Ö: Buradaki bütün bulunan… şu an öğrenci arkadaşlarınız ve ben insanız. İnsan nedir peki?

Öğr: …

Ö: Hiç bu soruyu sordunuz mu kendi kendinize? Evet. [Bir öğrenciye söz veriyor]

Bora: Canlı.

Ö: Canlı… ona bakarsan… evimizdeki kedi de canlı.

Yavuz: En akıllı canlı.

Ö: En akıllı canlı… En akıllı canlı. Hem canlı olması gerekiyor hem de akıllı olması gerekiyor. Öyle mi? Peki en akıllı canlı insan. Peki insan diğer varlıklardan veya diğer yaratılmışlardan farklı mıdır?

Yavuz: Evet.

Ö: Farklıdır. Ne diyoruz bunun için? Hem kuranda da var bu. Ne diyor? Veya diğer dinlerin kutsal kitaplarında da var. Kuran'da ne diyor? Eşrefi… mahlukat. Nedir? Mahluk… Yaratılmışların, mahlukların en şereflisi. Bu şeref onlara nereden veriliyor?… Düşünceden. Peki insan… insan hakları nelerdir?

Can: Yaşama hakkı.

Ö: Yaşama. Başka?

EÖ: Yerleşim hakkı.

Ö: Yerleşim. Başka?

EÖ: Seçme seçilme.

Ö: Seçme seçilme. Ne manada seçme seçilme? Neyi seçme yani herhangi bir konuda seçme hakkı mı yoksa siyasi manada mı yoksa hayatın her alanında seçme hakkı mı?

EÖ: Her alanında.

Ö: Mesela hayatın içerisinde neleri seçmek durumunda kalıyoruz?… Hiç düşündünüz mü bunu? Neleri seçmek durumunda kalıyoruz?

Yavuz: Devlet başkanını.

Ö: Devlet başkanını. Başka?

Bora: Onu diyecektim ama arkadaşım söyledi.

Ö: Aslında seçme kavramı bizim kafamızda bir model olarak oturmuş ve biz hep aynı şeyi söylüyoruz. Ya bir siyasi parti liderini seçeceğiz, ya sınıf başkanını seçeceğiz, ya bir parti başkanını seçeceğiz. İnsanın başka bir seçme hakkı yok mu?

Öğr: …

Ö: Kendini yönetecek kişiden başka bir şeyi seçme hakkı yok mu?

EÖ: Dinini seçebilir.

Ö: Başka? Dinini seçebilir. Başka?

EÖ: Nerede yaşayacağını seçebilir.

Ö: Nerede yaşayacağını seçebilir. Başka?

Öğr: … [3 sn]

Ö: Markette yiyeceği elmayı seçebilir. Öyle değil mi? Veya markette hangi sebze yemek istiyorsa onu seçebilir. Evleneceği kişiyi seçebilir. Okuyacağı okulu seçebilir. Ne bileyim… Bir tek kimi seçemez?

Öğr: … [7 sn]

Ö: Sen bir şey mi mırıldandın?

Tuba: Annesini babasını.

Ö: Annesini babasını seçemez. Evet, insanın haklarından bahsettik. Bir tanesi de seçme ve seçilme hakkı. İnsanın doğuştan gelen hakları vardır. Birincisi nedir?

Öğr: Yaşamaktır. [Topluca. Öğrencilerin topluca veya bir grup öğrencinin topluca yanıt vermesi derslerde sıkça görülen bir durumdur. Dersin ileriki yerlerinde de bu durum görülmüştür.]

Ö: Yaşamaktır. Yaşamaktır. Peki, insanın haklarını… gasp eden kim? İnsanın haklarını kim gasp ediyor?

EÖ: İnsanlar.

Ö: Godzilla mı insanlar mı? [Gülerek]

EÖ: İnsanlar.

Ö: İnsanın hakkını insanlar gasp ediyor. Peki nasıl gasp ediyorlar?

Öğr: … [2 sn]

Bora: Hak tanımıyorlar.

Ö: Mesela? Mesela? Hiç böyle büyük örnekler vermeye gerek yok. Kendi hayatınızdan…

Ferit: Her insan eşit tutulmuyor.

Ö: Mesela kim? Senle ben eşit değil miyiz?

Ferit: Hocam eşitiz de… işte insan haklarını gasp edenler…

Ö: Kimle kimi ayırıyorlar? Mesela senin gözüne çarpan.

Ferit: Mesela başbakanla köyde oturan birisi.

Ö: Başbakanla köyde oturan birisi. Nereden kapıldın bu duyguya?

Ferit: Hocam fotoğraf... [tahtadaki fotoğrafları göstererek]

Ö: Fotoğraf? … Burada var mı öyle bir şey?

Ferit: Hocam mesela orda çocuk yatıyor hiç kimse yardım etmiyor.

Ö: Ha! Ona sonra bakalım. Onu ben bir indireyim aşağıya. Çünkü bunları ayrı ayrı konuşacağız. Gördüğün bir şey var mı? Hissettiğin? Fotoğrafı boş ver. Evet?

Yavuz: Hocam ten rengi.

Ö: Ten rengi. Mesela sen açık tenlisin ben çikolata renkliyim yani senle ben eşit değiliz değil mi? Çikolata renkli insan daha mı iyi?

Yavuz: Hocam ayrımcılık yapıyorlar.

Ö: Var mı böyle bir şey?

Yavuz: Var hocam.

Ö: Nerde var?

Yavuz: Hocam neredeyse her ülkede var.

Ö: Bu ten renginden kastın… siyahi insanlar veya diğer manada amiyane söylemle "zenciler" mi?

Yavuz: Evet.

Ö: Zenciler. Kim ayırıyor biz ayırıyor muyuz zencileri?

Yavuz: Hocam… kişisel… kişisel bir şey hocam.

Ö: Kişisel bir şey. Peki, bizim ülkemizde çok zenci var mı?

Yavuz: Fazla yok.

Ö: Fazla yok. Ama artıyor değil mi? Peki onlara karşı bir önyargımız oluşuyor mu sence? Veya senin toplumda onlara karşı önyargı oluştuğunu hissediyor musun?

Yavuz: Hayır.

Ö: Hissetmiyorsun. Peki senin yaşadığın toplumda… insan hakları ihlalleri var mı?

Yavuz: Var.

Ö: Ne var mesela?

Yavuz: Hocam ırkçılık yapanlar var.

Ö: Irkçılık… ırkçılık yapıyorlar. Başka?

Öğr: [anlaşılmıyor]

Ö: Kendi ait olduğu ırkı öven kişi ırkçıdır zaten. Bu ülkede diyorsun bir ırk var ve bu ırkı savunan… tek bir ırkın ırkçısı mı var bu ülkede?

Yavuz: Hayır.

Ö: Yani her burada bu ülkede yaşayan her milletin ırkçısı var. Dünyada da ırkçılar her millet içerisinde ırkçılar var diyorsun. Evet başka? Başka insan hakları ihlali? Evet?

Tuba: Kadına şiddet.

Ö: Kadına şiddet. Evet... En çok ne zaman gündemdeydi? Mart ayı içerisinde hangi gündü o? Çok konuşuldu?

Senem: 8 Mart.

Ö: 8 Mart. Nedir 8 Mart?

Senem: Dünya emekçi kadınlar günü.

Ö: Dünya emekçi kadınlar günü. Evet devam edelim. Çevremizde kadına şiddet. Başka insan hakları ihlali görüyor musunuz?

KÖ: Daha eski zamanlarda krallara ve din adamlarına daha çok hak tanınıyordu...

Ö: Eskiden!

KÖ: ... halk insanlarına tanınmıyordu.

Ö: Peki sizin gördüğünüz şu an var mı? Bunlardan bahsedeceğiz. İnsan haklarının gelişiminden bahsedeceğiz. Ama sizin gördüğünüz hak ihlali var mı? Evet.

Tuba: Hayvana eziyet.

Ö: Hayvana eziyet. Aslında değil mi farklı bir şey yani. Bu insan hakları ihlali değil ama. Canlı hakları. Bir de ayrı bir hak kavramı da çıkıyor. Yani canlı hakları. Onu ayrıyeten konuşalım.

Yavuz: Sömürge.

Ö: Ne sömürgesi?

Yavuz: Bazı ülkeler başka ülkeleri sömürüyor.

Ö: Halen var mı böyle sömürge ülkeler?

Yavuz: Var.

Ö: Neresi mesela?

Yavuz: Mesela Afganistan.

Ö: Afganistan. Kim sömürüyor Afganistan'ı?

Yavuz: Amerika.

Ö: Amerika sömürüyor. Tamam, Amerika. Irak'ı da Amerika sömürüyor o zaman senin mantığına göre. Öyle değil mi? Neyini alıyor ki Irak'ın?

Yavuz: Petrol.

Ö: Petrolünü alıyor. Peki, dünyada senin… bizim ancak televizyonlardan izlediğimiz gazetelerden gördüğümüz kadarıyla… dünyada insan haklarının savunucusu olan bir ülke söyleyin desem hangi ülkeyi söylersiniz? Her konuda… bir yerde insan hakları ihlali varsa o ülke ordadır. Halkıyla devletiyle vatandaşıyla hepsiyle ordadır dediğiniz bir ülke var mı?

Bora: Bence bana göre yok.

Ö: Yok! Olur mu ya millet insan hakları ihlali var diye ordularını yığıyor sağa sola.

Yavuz: Türkiye var.

Ö: Türkiye var! Türkiye dünyadaki insan hakları ihlallerine karşı duyarlı bir ülke diyorsun sen ve nerde bir insan hakları ihlali varsa Türkiye orda etkili bir güçtür diyorsun. Öyle mi diyorsun?

Yavuz: Yok. Çok fazla değil de...

Ö: Sadece üzülüyoruz diyorsun.

Yavuz: Sözde.

Ö: Bu konuda sitemlerimizi iletiyoruz. Var mı böyle bir ülke?

Öğr: … [6 sn]

Ö: Evet. Var mı böyle bir ülke?

Öğr: …

Ö: Yok. O zaman size bazı bilgileri kısa kısa vereyim çocuklar. Sonra da niye var niye yok… hata nedir onlara bir bakalım tamam mı? Şimdi… insan hakları ne? İnsanın insan olarak doğmakla elde ettiği bu genel kavram anlamıyla size okuyorum. "İnsanın insan olarak doğmakla elde ettiği haklara insan hakları denir". Siz bir kere doğduysanız ve size… nefes almaya başladıysanız dünyaya geldiğiniz andan itibaren ilk hakkınız nedir? Nefes almaya devam etme hakkı. Nefes almaya devam etme hakkı. Dünyada doğmuş olan hiç kimse… doğmuş ve doğrulmuş olan hiç kimse sizin nefes alma hakkınızı yani yaşam hakkınızı elinizden alamaz. Peki bunun içerisine girdiğimizde… nedir yaşama hakkı? Nasıl elinden alınabilir bir insanın yaşam hakkı?

Bora: Öldürülerek.

Ö: Bir insan nasıl öldürülür? Hangi hallerde öldürülür? Cinayet olur, bir kavga olur… başka?

Bora: Savaş olur.

Ö: Hah. Savaş olur. Başka?

Can: Kan Davası. [Kan davaları azalmakla birlikte özellikle ülkenin doğu bölgelerinde halen görülmektedir.]

Ö: Kan davası olur. Başka?

EÖ: Suikast.

Ö: Suikast olur. Başka?

Öğr: …[2 sn]

Ö: Peki başka bir uca gidelim. Deprem oldu ve bir müteahhitin binlerce konuttan oluşan… sitesi… sitesi sırf o müteahhitin o binanın yapımında kullandığı kötü ve eksik malzemelerden dolayı yerle bir olduğu için o binanın altında kalan insanların ölmesi de bir insan hakları ihlali veya o insanların yaşama hakkının elinden alınması mıdır acaba?… Alınması mıdır? Var mı böyle bir tanıdığınız? Depremde hayatını kaybeden? Mesela diğer sınıfta var böyle birisi. Diğer sınıfta var ismini vermiyorum. Hem dayısını hem yengesini hem de kuzenlerinin hepsini kaybetti. Burada bir insan hakları ihlali var artı burada bir cinayet var! Değil mi? Yaşam hakkı… Sağlık hakkı! Nedir sağlık hakkı?

Can: İnsanların… sağlık kurumlarına gidip… sağlığı hakkında bilgi edinebilmesi.

Ö: Sağlığı hakkında bilgi edinebilmesi. Başka? Nedir sağlık hakkı?

Öğr: …[5 sn]

Ö: Doktora gidiyor musunuz?

Öğr: Evet. [Topluca]

Ö: Evet doktora gidiyorsunuz. Tedavi olma hakkınız var mı?

Öğr: Var. [Topluca]

Ö: Var. Peki, bu sizin birinci derecede sağlık konusundaki haklarınızdan bir tanesi. Hastaysanız tedavi imkanı varsa sizin tedavi olmanız gerekiyor. Peki, büyük kurum ve kuruluşların özel kurum ve kuruluşların hayatınızı ve sağlığınızı tehdit eden çalışmaları da sağlık hakkını ihlal eden olaylar içerisine girer mi? Mesela hangileri girer?… Çevrenizde bir fabrika var ve bu fabrika bütün o kötü dumanlarını doğaya salmamak için yapması gereken o filtreleme sistemlerini yapmamış ve doğaya durmadan filtrelenmemiş zehirli ve kimyasal gazlar çıkıyor. Bunlar insanların sağlığını etkiler mi?

Öğr: Evet. [Topluca]

Ö: Ve bundan dolayı insanın sağlık hakkı elinden alınır mı?

Öğr: Evet. [Topluca]

Ö: Burada bir insan sağlığı… nedir insan hakları ihlali söz konusu mudur?

Öğr: Evet. [Topluca]

Ö: Söz konusudur. Başka bir örnek verebilir misiniz? Evet.

Bora: Sigara.

Ö: Sigara. Peki bu enteresan bir örnek. Kim alıyor… bu konuda kim müdahil?

Bora: Müdahil derken hocam?

Ö: Yani sigara bir sağlık hakkıdır, sağlık hakkının ihlalidir. Ama mesela… örnek veriyorum. Ahmet adlı şahıs sigara içiyor. Kendisi gidip alıyor. Buradaki hak ihlali nerde?

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Bora: Devlette mi hocam?

Ö: Sen düşün nerde?

Bora: … [3 sn] Devlet hocam.

Ö: Ben size bir ipucu vereyim. Çok güzel bir örnek verdi devlette dedi. Ben size bir ipucu vereyim. Şimdi insanların hayatındaki bütün alışkanlıklar aslında bir nevi öğretilmişliktir. Yani siz hayatınızda hiç sigara görmezseniz… hiçbir yerde sigara görmezseniz sigara içmek istemezsiniz ve bilmezsiniz sigara nedir. Siz hiç dondurma görmemiş olsanız çevrenizde de hiç yiyeni görmemiş olsanız ne yapacaksınız? Dondurma istemeyeceksiniz. O zaman sigara alışkanlığında bizi etkileyen unsurlar var mı? Evet.

Can: Aile.

Ö: Nasıl mesela?

Can: Mesela bir çocuğun, bir gencin annesi babası sigara içiyorsa kendi de merak edebilir [sigarayı].

Ö: Başka? Aile doğru.

Bora: Arkadaşlar.

Ö: Başka?

Bora: Çevresindeki insanlar.

Ö: Başka? Çevresindeki insanlar. Ben bir tane daha söyleyeyim. Televizyon. Diğer bir insan hakkı… başlıca insan haklarından bir tanesi ise… mülk edinme hakkı. Mülk nedir?

Mahir: Konut, ev.

Ö: Konut, ev. İnsan istediği konutu yasal daireler içerisinde ne yapabilir? Edinebilir. Diğeri seyahat hakkı. Seyahat hakkı diye bir hak var mı?

EÖ: Var.

Ö: Var. İstediğimiz yere seyahat edebiliriz. Peki biz istediğimiz yere seyahat edebiliyor muyuz?

Öğr: … [2 sn]

Ö: İstediğimiz yere seyahat edebiliyor muyuz?

Bora: Evet.

Ö: Nereye ediyoruz? Evet diyorsun. Nereye ediyoruz seyahat seyahat? Nereye gidebiliyoruz?

Mahir: Yurtiçinde her yere.

Ö: Gidebiliyoruz. Giden var mı seyahat edebilen var mı? Siz gidiyorsunuz. [Bir öğrenciye söylüyor.] Nerelere gittiniz?

KÖ: Hocam, Antalya… Bodrum.

Ö: Antalya, Bodrum. Tatile gittiniz. Başka? Siz?

Bora: Edirne.

Ö: Engelleyen kimse oldu mu sizi?

KEÖ: Hayır.

Ö: O zaman ülkemizde bu konuda bir sıkıntı var mı?

Öğr: Yok. [Topluca]

Ö: Yok diyebiliriz. Tabi ki ülke için konuşuyoruz. Peki, bu… bu nasıl engellenebilir? Bir insanın seyahat hakkı nasıl engellenebilir? Evet?

Yavuz: Suçu varsa, sabıkası varsa.

Ö: O kanuni gerekçeler. Yani bir başkasının hakkını ihlal etmiş, sağlık hakkını ihlal etmiş, yaşam hakkını ihlal etmiş, bu adam kanun kaçağı ve bu adam seyahat etme dolaşma hatta mülk edinme ve özgürce yaşama hakkı elinden alınıyor kanunlar çerçevesinde. Ama bizlerin şuan burada seyahat engeli olmayan bizlerin… olmadığını varsaydığımız bizlerin seyahat hakkımızı nasıl elimizden alırlar? Alırlarsa doğru bir şey mi yapmış olurlar?… Yani yolun bir yerinde… Bodrum

yolunda giderken arabanızda ya da otobüste yolun önüne geçip bir tanesi silahıyla veya başka haliyle karşınıza çıkıpta "hayır kardeşim buradan sonrasına gidemezsiniz" derse sizin seyahat hakkınızı elinizden almış olur mu?

Öğr: Olur. [Topluca]

Ö: Olur mu?

Öğr: Olur. [Topluca]

Ö: Peki bu ülkede bu yaşandı mı?

Öğr: Evet.

Ö: Nerde yaşandı?

Öğr: …

Ö: Evet diyorsunuz da nerde?… Nerde yaşandı? Tabi ki siz bunları hatırlayacak yaşta değilsiniz. Bu ülkede… bu ülkenin doğusunda yaşandığı dönemler oldu. Gayri nizami insanlar, kanunsuz insanlar yolu çevirdi ve buradan sonrasına gidemezsiniz dedi. Ve bu insanların seyahat etme hakkı ne yaptı? Elinden alındı. Diğer hakkımız haberleşme hakkı. Nedir haberleşme hakkı?… Nedir haberleşme hakkı? Evet, söyle kızım.

Senem: Görüşüp konuşma mı?

Ö: Görüşüp?

Senem: Konuşma.

Ö: Görüşüp konuşma aslında iletişim kurmak aslında haberleşme. Karşılıklı birbirimizle adı üstünde haberleşme, haber alıp verme. Haberleşme hakkı bu. İstediğimiz gibi haberleşme hakkımızı kullanabilir miyiz?

KÖ: Evet.

Ö: Nerde kullanıyoruz haberleşme haklarımızı? Evet bu konuda uzmanız.[Öğrencileri kastediyor.] Buyrun.

EÖ: Telefon.

Ö: Telefon. Sadece telefon mu? Başka?

Tuba: Bilgisayar.

Ö: Bilgisayar. Ama ne vasıtasıyla? Onun araçları nelerdir?

EÖ: Mektup.

Ö: Mektup. Nereden… eskidendi o. Evet?

Yavuz: Internet.

Ö: Internet. Sadece mektubu kim gönderiyor bize... bu sıralar?

EÖ: Devlet.

Ö: Bankalar. Bankalar gönderiyor mektubu. Mektup gönderen tek kuruluş bankalar. [Öğrenciler gülüyor.]

KÖ: Gazete.

Ö: Gazete başka?

Bora: Televizyon.

Ö: Televizyon. Özellikle cep telefonumuzdan bahsedelim. Cebimizde bir cep telefonu var değil mi? Arıyorum. [Telefonu kulağına götürüyor] Diyorum ki "Ayşeciğim seni çok seviyorum. [Öğrenciler gülüşüyor] Ama bu sevgimi hiç kimsenin bilmesini istemiyorum. Çok gizli. Aramızda kalacak. Bak kimsenin yanında söyleyemedim. Bir grup içerisinde toplantı ortamında oturuyorduk söyleyemedim. Sana telefondan kulağına fısıldar gibi söylemek istedim." diyor. Aradan bir cızırtı geliyor "Höyt Ayşe'yi ben de seviyorum" diyor. Aslında bu cızırtının gelmemesi lazım. Kimsenin bu telefonları ne yapmaması lazım?

Öğr: Dinlememesi lazım. [Topluca]

Ö: Dinlememesi lazım. Haberleşme özgürlüğü budur. Ben Ayşe'yi aradığımda Ayşe beni aradığında ben annemi aradığımda annem beni aradığında ben babamı aradığımda bana kulağıma söylemek istediği şeyleri özgürce söyleyebilmeli. Acaba kimse dinler mi? Bunları dinlerde sonra şaklar mı diye… ne yapmamalı?

Öğr: Endişelenmemeli.

Ö: Endişelenmemeli. Çocuklar size geçen okuduğum bir kitap hakkında bilgi vereyim. Amerika'da bir profesör var. Ben de ilk defa ne yalan söyleyeyim on gün önce kitapçının önünden geçerken karşılaştım. Howard Zinn diye bir adam. Howard Zinn, bu adam aktivist eylemci Amerika ve dünyadaki bütün insan hakları ihlallerine karşı tepki gösteren ve Amerika'nın yaptığı savaşlara karşı tepki gösteren bir adam. Uzun yıllar çalışmalar yapıyor ve en sonunda bu adam hayatını… hayatını yazmayı düşünüyor. Ama diyor ki 80 küsur yaşına geldim… ve ben aşağı yukarı… hayatını nasıl yazacağını şaşırıyor. Çocuklar en sonunda bir şey oluyor ve CIA' den. CIA nedir?

Yavuz: Haber alma merkezi… Amerika'nın.

Ö: Evet. Pardon CIA değil. FBI'dan çünkü ülke içindeki haber alma işlerini istihbarat işlerini Amerika'da FBI yapar. FBI'dan dosyasını istiyor ve dosyasında Howard Zinn'in bütün telefon konuşmaları bütün görüşmeleri her şeyi var. Ve şahıs buradan ne yapıyor? Buradan kendi hayatıyla alakalı unuttuğu şeyleri ne yapıyor? Yazıyor. Kendi hayatıyla alakalı unuttuğu şeyleri. Burada ne var? Bu şahsın veya başka şahısların insanların haberleşme özgürlüğünün elinden alınması olayı var. Haberleşme özgürlüğünün elinden alınması olayı var. Telefonunuzun dinlenmesini ister misiniz?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Mektuplarınızın adresine ulaşmadan önce başkası tarafından okunup sonra da sizin tükürükle yalanıp tekrar konmasını ister misiniz?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: İstemezsiniz. Mail atmayı ister misiniz? Mail atıyorsunuz da mailiniz önce… işte bir başkasına gitmeden ortadaki bir şahıs tarafından okunup "Hı tamam bunda bir sakınca yok" deyip başkasına gitmesini ister misiniz?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Veya bilgisayarınızdaki fotoğrafların çalınmasını ister misiniz?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Veya gerçek bir olayın… yaşanmış bir olayın… yaşanmış bir olayı çocuklar… çok net bir şekilde söylüyorum. Bir gazetede yayınlanarak tüm toplum tarafından bilinmesini isterken birilerinin bunları yayınlamamasını veya engellemesini ister misiniz?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Eğer bunları istemiyorsanız siz haberleşme hakkını savunanlardansınız. Peki… kanun önünde kendini savunma hakkı. Adalet ve eşitlik. Sizce dünyada herkes eşit mi?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Kanun önünde. Mahkeme önünde herkes eşit mi?

Öğr: Evet. [Bir grup] Hayır. [Bir grup]

Ö: Öyle mi? Ben yönlendirmeyeyim sizi. Eşit diyenler parmak kaldırsınlar… Eşit değildir diyenler parmak kaldırsınlar. [Büyük çoğunluk eşit değil diye parmak kaldırıyor.] Değildir diyenlere niye diye soracağım. Yavuz [öğrencinin adı değiştirilmiştir] niye eşit değildir?

Yavuz: Hocam eşit değildir derken bana göre mi yoksa şu an olan mı?

Ö: Ya sen görüyorsun. Bir ayrımda bulunabiliyor musun bu konuda?

Yavuz: Hocam var ayrım.

Ö: Ha?

Yavuz: Var ayrım hocam.

Ö: Söyle.

Yavuz: Hocam mesela hırsız… hocam mesela kanunda suçu adamın 20 yılsa… 30 yıl yiyecek adam 10 yıl yiyor, 20 yıl yiyecek adam 30 yıl yiyor.

Ö: Ha diyorsun ki bir adamın cezası 10 yıl olması gerekirken 5 yıl yiyor, diğerininki de 5 yıl olması gerekirken 10 yıl yiyor. Bunu mu kastediyorsun?

Yavuz: Evet.

Ö: Adaletsizlik var diyorsun. Başka… Neden peki niye böyle iki adamı neden birbirlerinden ayırıyorlar?

Yavuz: Ben de bilmiyorum hocam.

Ö: Var mı böyle bir yaşanmışlık?

Yavuz: Hocam, haberlerde duyuyoruz.

Ö: Haberlerde görüyorsunuz. Buna göre adaletsizlik mi var diyorsunuz?

Yavuz: Evet.

Ö: Yani aslında… buna göre mi diyebiliriz… yoksa bilmiyorum. Peki… böyle farazi şeylerle konuşmak aslında doğru bir şey değil. Neden doğru bir şey değil? Şimdi şu böyle oldu da bu böyle oldu demek insanın haklarını yine gasp etmektir aslında bu da. İnsan haklarını anlatırken şunu demek yanlıştır "işte hiçbir zenginin çocuğunun hapse girdiğini gördünüz mü?" cümlesi aslında belki de o zenginlerin veya bir başka birçok ekonomik durumu iyi olan insanların hakkını yemektir. Ama dünyada bir şey var ki… herkes eşittir… birileri daha fazla eşittir. Ne demek bu?… Evet ne demek bu? Herkes eşittir, birileri daha fazla eşittir. Ne demek bu? Evet.

Bora: Mal varlığı olan daha zengindir. Üst bölgelerde olan daha çok eşittir.

Ö: Niye?

Bora: O sözden ben onu anlıyorum.

Yavuz: Hocam tam tersi aslında daha üst olanlar daha az eşit, altta olanlar normal halk daha çok eşittir.

Ö: Nasıl? Anlayamadım.

Yavuz: Hocam, mesela şimdi bir tane siyasi adamın oğlu ve bir de halktan bir tane serseri hocam. Öyle düşünün.

Ö: Hımm? Hangisi daha avantajlıdır?

Yavuz: Hocam siyasinin oğlu.

Ö: Peki iyi bir şey söylediniz. Ben mesela geçen gün geçiyorum şuradan. Polis… iki tane genci çevirdi [Polisin zaman zaman çeşitli yerlerde insanları durdurup kimlik kontrolü ve arama yapması görülen bir durumdur.] "Gelin bakalım buraya" dedi. Polisler… çocuklar geldiler ama… ben de tabi gayri ihtiyari çocukların üzerlerine başlarına baktım nasıl diye. Çocukların üstü başı eski… veya belli bir bölgeden geldikleri belli… bölge dediğim İstanbul içerisinden belli bir bölgeden geldikleri belli. İşte saç… kirli sakal… kıyafetler şey… polis sanki onları görmüş çevirmiş… Ama yandan aynı yaşta başka gençler geçti onları çevirmedi… Niye? Yaşadın mı böyle bir şey? Söyle bakayım.

Senem: Hocam niye olabilir onu bilmiyorum. Onları hırsız felan sanmış olabilir üstü başı şey olduğu için.

Ö: Peki bir insanı çevirip üstünü… toplumun içerisinde üstünü başını aramak için sadece zannetmek yeterli midir?

Öğr: Hayır. [Topluca]

Ö: Yani geliyorum… [ön sıradan bir erkek öğrenciyi kaldırır] "kalk bakalım ayağa, kalk, çevir, dön" [polis gibi konuşarak]. Arkada annen var eşin var. Ne bileyim. Hadi düşün dışarda sevdiğin seni çok farklı tanıyan bir kız arkadaşın var veya bir erkek arkadaşın var. Ama biri sana "dön!" diyorsun ki " ne yaptım?!" "Dön. Çıkar kimliğini." Doğru bir şey midir bu? Oturabilirsin. [öğrenciye] O zaman zannetmek yeterli mi acaba tek başına? Ya bir insanı çevirmek için zannetmek yeterli mi? Peki yarın bir gün… "Ben hırsıza benzemiyorum" diyenler parmak kaldırsın. "Ben hırsıza katile benzemiyorum" diyenler parmak kaldırsın. [Bütün sınıf parmak kaldırır.] Ben de benzemiyorum yani bana kalırsa. Ama aynaya bakınca hırsıza da benziyorum katile de benziyorum. [Gülerek] Ya şimdi… zaten yapmamışsınızdır böyle bir şey. Yani benzemekten öte böyle bir şey yapmamışsınızdır. Ama bir gün oldu ki sabah kalktınız… rastgele bir mont aldınız sırtınıza, sakallarınızı kesmediniz, saçlarınızı taramadınız. Bir şey oldu… ayakkabılarınız da boyanmadı. Çevirdi sizi [polis] dayadı ve yok aradı, kimlik sordu polis. Nasıl hissedersiniz?

Öğr: … [3 sn]

Ö: Ben şöyle yapayım. Siz çünkü… hemen ben vereyim cevabı. Belki de sonra sizden. Ben hiçbir şey hissetmem. "Teşekkür ederim memur bey. Her zaman böyle hassas olun. Kimden şüpheleniyorsanız istediğiniz vakit çevirebilirsiniz" derim ben. Siz ne dersiniz?

Öğr: [Duyulmuyor.]

Ö: Ne yapardın?

KÖ: Toplumun içinde utanırdım.

Ö: Hiç utandırıldınız mı böyle?

Bora: Polis tarafından mı yoksa… ?

Ö: Evet, polis tarafından.

Öğr: [Cık cık sesleri, hayır anlamında baş sallamalar.]

Ö: Polis tarafından hiç utandırıldınız mı? Peki ne düşünürdünüz? Utanır mıydınız veya… ? Arkadaşınız utanacağını söyledi. Siz utanır mıydınız?… Ben şahsen şeyim yani o konuda hassasım. Polis beni aramalı… kardeşim böyle… Ben her şey olabilirim bombacı olabilirim şu olabilirim. Hatta canı sıkıldığı zaman, benden şüphelendiği an beni çevirip hemen çevirip aramalı… Eşimi bile kadın polis yoksa bile erkek polis arayabilir benim eşimi! Sonuçta can sağlığımız önemli. Polisler bizim güvenliğimiz için. Ben böyle düşünüyorum. Siz nasıl düşünüyorsunuz? Evet.

KÖ: Utanmazdım. Çünkü sonuçta benim bir şey yapmadığımı polis de görecek.

Ö: Sen?

Yavuz: Hocam utanma değil. Siz dediniz ya istediğini yapsınlar falan ben razıyım. Ama hocam şimdi mesela sizi çeviriyorlar, diğerini çevirmiyorlar hocam. Hepsini çevirsinler.

Ö: Bak ne diyorum. Eşimden şey yaptılar şüphelendiler. O sırada da şey var. Kadın polis yok. Kadın polis yok. Umm… Ama bu arada insanların sağlığı, güvenliği tehlikede. Eşimi bir erkek polis arayabilir. Hiç çekinmezdim. Arayabilir.

Yavuz: Hocam mesela şimdi orada herkesi çevirmeyip sadece beni çevirse utanırım hocam.

Ö: Ama senden şüpheleniyor.

Yavuz: O zaman hocam utanırdım niye çünkü herkes bana hırsız gibi bakardı.

Ö: Hırsız gibi bakar… Hırsız gibi bakardı. Yani senin aslında suçun yok burada. Onu düşünüyorsun. Suçun olmadığı halde suçun varmış gibi düşünülmesi ve insanların sana bu şekilde bakması bile seni ne yapardı?

Öğr: Rahatsız ederdi. [Topluca]

Ö: Rahatsız ederdi. Başka… Başka? Konuşmayanlardan istiyorum. Söyle bakalım sen ne hissederdin? [Hemen önündeki kız öğrenciye soruyor.] Diyorsun ki "benim böyle masum güzel bir yüzüm var. Hangi polis beni çevirir" diyorsun.

Gamze: Hocam… toplum içinde böyle herkesin bana dönüp bakmasını istemezdim. Çünkü… hani… bunu istemezdim. Yani utanırdım.

Ö: "İsterim utanırım" diyenler parmak kaldırsın…

EÖ: Utanırım diyenler. [Öğretmenin ifadesini düzelterek]

Ö: "Utanırım, istemem" diyenler.

Öğr: [Sınıfın çoğu parmak kaldırır.]

Ö: Veya benim gibi "ne olacak canım! Ölmekten daha mı kötüdür!" diyenler. Yani "ölmekten daha mı kötü, utanmam" diyenler. Tam cümlemi kurayım. Utanmam diyenler.

Öğr: [Bir iki parmak kalkar.]

Ö: "Kararsızım, hiç düşünmedim" diyenler.

Öğr: [Bir iki parmak kalkar.]

Ö: Evet. Çocuklar ben aslında size yalan attım. Ben istemezdim böyle bir şey. Yani ben suçsuz olduğuma inanıyorsam beni toplum içerisinde çevirmelerini istemem… Eşimi… gayri nizami bir şekilde kimlik kontrolü ve üst aramaları yapmalarını da istemem. Çünkü bu normal bir şey değil. Bu normal bir şey değil. Siz bunu her gün yaşadığınızı düşünsenize. Her gün okula gelirken nizamiye kapısından geçiyorsunuz üstünüz aranıyor. İstiklal caddesine gidiyorsunuz bir nizamiye kapısı var üstünüz aranıyor veya sokağa çıkıyorsunuz üstünüz aranıyor. Ve insanlar hep diyor ki… insanlar hep diyor ki size. Ne diyorlar? "Sizin güvenliğiniz için yapıyoruz." Telefonu açıyorsunuz kulağınızda bir cızırtı var. Hissediyorsunuz ki telefonunuz dinleniyor. İtiraz ediyorsunuz. "Olur mu toplum güvenliği için yapıyoruz." Mektuplarınız karıştırılıyor. Her şeyiniz karıştırılıyor. Mailleriniz karıştırılıyor. Bundan rahatsızlık duymak gerekir. "İnsan hakları" kavramı burada çıkar ortaya işte. Burada insan hakları kavramının ortadan kalkması durumu var. Devam edelim… Hak arama hakkı. Ne demek hak arama hakkı?… Söyle bakalım.

Can: Mesela bir insanın hakları ihlal ediliyorsa hakkını aramaya hakkı vardır.

Ö: Evet başka?... Hak arama hakkı… Hakkı ihlal edildiğini düşünen var mı hiç şimdiye kadar? Okulda, evde, hastanede var mı böyle? Mesela hastanede doktorların onlarla ilgilenmediğini düşünen var mı? Böyle bir manzara ile karşılaştınız mı?

Öğr: …

Ö: Yok. Gereksiz bir şey olmadığını düşünüyorsunuz. Hah! Özel yaşamın gizliliği hakkı… Nedir bu?… Özel yaşamın gizliliği nedir?

Can: Mesela benim evimde olanları evimde yaptıklarımı kimsenin bilmemesi lazım.

Ö: Peki bu ihlal ediliyor mu… bizde?

Can: Bilmiyorum kişisine bağlı.

Ö: Peki magazin programlarını seviyor musun?

Can: Hayır.

Ö: Kim seviyor magazin programı? [Bir iki parmak kalkar] Ben seviyorum mesela. Pazar günleri çok eğlenceli oluyor! Kim seviyor? Ben niye seviyorum magazin programlarını?

Öğr: [Gülüşmeler]

Ö: O sevdiğim sanatçıların bütün yaşamlarını, nerede yemek yediklerini, nerde denize girdiklerini, evlerinin içinde kimle konuştuklarını, ne giydiklerini ne giymediklerini hepsini görüyorum. [Zil çalıyor] O yüzden ben magazin programlarını seviyorum.

Senem: Ben de çok seviyorum.

Ö: Çok seviyorum. Ama aslında farkında olmadan başkasının hayatını gözlüyorum. Oturmuşum televizyonun karşısına birilerinin hayatını gözlüyorum. Bir dahaki ders devam edeceğiz çocuklar.

Marie Winckler

The Temptation of Documentation: Potential and Challenges of Videographic Documentation and Interpretation. A Case-Study from a Civic Education Research Project in Germany

Insights into the civic education classroom can be gained through *videographic documentation*. Videographic material offers, as I argue in this article, great possibilities: Through a *reconstructive approach* insights into dimensions of civic education such as spatial organisation, symbolic representation and non-verbal communication may emerge. In this way, a deeper understanding of *informal political learning in school* can be obtained. These aspects have not yet been considered in depth with videographic documentation primarily employed to date in *teacher training* contexts and lesson evaluation.

The case study I present here was inspired by the *documentary method* and both the potential and limitations of videographic interpretation are discussed in this context. The study also suggests that what is not offered by videographic documentation includes insights into the *individual and collective integration* of experiences in civic education lessons.

Keywords
videography, reconstructive approach, documentary method, gender, recognition

1 Introduction
1.1 Katharina, discussing peace and war
   While Katharina is talking, Nico turns towards the boys in the back and apparently tries to communicate with them. When Katharina ends her statement, he – by now he had turned towards the discussion table again – is looking downwards and says (silently and without any clear emotion): "see, we already got her… there we go again". Till is laughing and clapping, while Katharina, smiling, looks at Nico and shakes her head. Between the teacher, Till and Nico a discussion starts regarding whether they convinced Katharina or not.

The description of this short sequence is part of a more complex process of interpretation. The case I work with in this text is that of a fourteen year old girl, Katharina, who took part in a project conducted by the Chair of Didactics of Civic Education at the Philipps-University Marburg and her Civics teacher (see Henkenborg, Mambour and Winckler 2014). One of the outputs of the project was a videographic documentation of a teaching unit composed of ten individual lessons. In addition to this audiovisual documentation, we also conducted focus-group discussions and interviews with the students. In this paper, I focus on a video-sequence in which Katharina discusses the question of whether peace can be made through war with three of her classmates. The video shows how meaning is constructed beyond the spoken word through the facial expressions, gestures and the symbolic performances in interaction. In the following text, I consider, on the basis of the above

example, the potential and challenges of videographic documentation. My readings, or possible explanations or frameworks within which this particular videographic extract can be interpreted, are considered in the light of further data related to this particular sequence emerging from other sources, including recorded group work and interviews.

1.2 Insights into citizenship classrooms – figuring out what to do
   The Call for Papers for this particular issue asked for insights into citizenship classrooms and a reflection on the art of documentation. On first considering this call, my intention was to write a video-based documentary interpretation of Katharina's case. On further reflection and re-reading the call, I realized that I wasn't being asked to foreground my own interpretation.. Instead, the call asked for reflection on the art of documentation. To be honest, it was somewhat unclear to me what the "art of documentation" implied. However, the Journal of Social Science Education has already focused on qualitative research in the field of civic education. The issue was called "*voice*s from the classroom" (JSSE 3/2010), while the current issue bears the title "*insights* into the classroom".

   I understood that as a shift from auditive to visual data-based research, i.e. from *voices* to *insights,* and took it as an opportunity to share my experiences with videography. And as I was part of the aforementioned project, I can return to different kinds of data, videos, recordings from group work, focus-group discussions and interviews. With this, I am in the privileged situation of being able to consider which of these documents help to illuminate which dimension of what happens in the classroom.

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I will start with a short introduction to the project itself and our experiences with the documentation of civic education lessons in school. We, the project-team including Professor Henkenborg with his team and the school teacher Dr. Gerrit Mambour, focused on the work with videography in order to get documentation with which we could work in academic courses and in the training of teachers. Our initial focus was not research based. However, we later decided to consider the material in a workshop on the documentary interpretation of videos.

1.3 Why videography?

There are many ways to document what happens in the classroom. Indeed, as videography poses more challenges to researchers than having to deal with solely auditive documentation, one might ask: why videography? The technical challenges are bigger, the juridical questions stricter, the limitations regarding the authenticity of lessons are greater and last but not least: the material generated is much more complex.

However, the video can be considered a method of mimetic character (see Tuma et. al. 2013, 34) and has the potential to bring the researcher very close to the complex processes in the classroom. It contrasts with researcher observation in that the observation and reconstruction of what happens both sequentially and simultaneously can be repeated and shared. This helps to make interpretations more transparent. In addition, in contrast with interviews or group discussion, the video offers insights into the corporal and symbolic dimension of interaction (see Fritzsche, Wagner-Willi 2013, 268). In our experience, this contiguity poses challenges and requires great awareness, specific attitudes and sophisticated standards of interpretation.

Considering the state of the art of documentation in our field, I now reflect on the question of whether the specific potential offered by a video-documented lesson has been made use of in our field. This is followed by a video-based, documentary interpretation, and then by increasingly complex material necessitating further interpretation obtained when data from other sources was taken into account. This will be used to identify what the video doesn't show and why there might be a 'temptation' to jump to conclusions too quickly.

The two main questions are:

- Focusing on videographic documentation, what needs to be considered methodologically when we work with documentation of lessons?
- Focusing on the case of Katharina, which data delivers insights into which aspects of learning and socialization?

2 Teaching political competencies. A collaborative project between school and university

Ever since international comparative studies such as PISA became a reference point for the political and academic discussion about the quality of education, many magical terms like 'outcome governance',

'standardization', 'competencies' and others have emerged. The educational and didactic disciplines intensified empirical research and fed into the professionalization of teachers. In the field of the didactics of civic education – faster than in other areas of social science education – models of core political competencies were formulated and published. Nearly all protagonists found such developments to be a good opportunity to stress what they had always considered to be of importance for the development of political responsibility.

We, like many others in the field of the didactics of civic education, wondered how to actually implement the innovations in the academic training of teachers. How do we teach future educators to plan and construct lessons according to competencies? And in what way do these lessons differ from traditionally planned ones? Questions like these marked the beginning of this project which had two goals: First, to produce a book on the process of planning and evaluating the ten lessons which made up our teaching unit and second, to create a CD with videographic material that could be used in training contexts. We were fortunate in that we found Gerrit Mambour, a teacher who was already interested in the discussion around competencies and agreed to both join the planning team and allow himself be filmed teaching the unit in question.

In December 2011, the lesson planning was finished and the technical equipment set up. In the last three weeks before the Christmas break of 2011 the project was realized and ten lessons were documented.

2.1 Working with videographic documentation – experiences and challenges

In early 2012, we started the process of video-based reflection. Considering those sessions in hindsight, I am quite surprised by our first approach to the materials, how quickly we judged, how difficult it was to keep a certain distance and how often we brought up superficial explanations for the teacher's and students' behavior: "if he only explained that, the students would have understood it perfectly!" "look, you can see he is ashamed because she said it like that"… When I analysed videographic documentation in my own classes at the university I noticed a similar phenomenon. While videographic documentation is generally considered of particular value in contributing to understanding of the complexity of interaction in a lesson, the question of how to analyze and interpret the video remains relevant.

In the literature two different ways of dealing with videography in the context of school are identified. The first stems from educational ethnography and approaches the documented lessons as unfamiliar, as obscure, as new to the beholder. The viewer adopts a reconstructive attitude which means that he or she doesn't aim to pass judgments on the quality or effectiveness of lessons and doesn't explain behaviour psychologically (see Fritzsche, Wagner-Willi 2013, 269). The second can be seen in the context of quality

management and evaluation-research. According to this latter approach, one observes the documented lessons according to given quality standards, the attitude adopted here may be considered less open and to have a greater focus on assessment.

For Professor Hans-Werner Kuhn in Freiburg, the interpretation of lessons is a core-competence of teachers and one which his strongly associated with sensitivity, awareness and carefully considered judgment (see Kuhn 2004). This view reflects in my opinion the optimum approach to the use of *videographic* documentation. There are many ways to document processes of teaching and learning. These include dense description, reflective portfolios, records and transcriptions, interviews, analysis of work sheets or videographic documentation and all of them have both potential and associated challenges. Out of all these, the videographic data needs to be handled with the most care in both research contexts and in academic courses as it can become a distorting mirror when used to focus on the deficits without reflecting on the fact that documentation are never more than a fraction of reality (see Dorlöchter et.al.).

3 Insights into the classroom – The state of the art of documentation

Qualitative empirical research into what goes on in the classroom has produced a rich fundus of insights, although the systematic documentation and provision of documentation has been rare so far. In short, this is the state of the art of documentation in the field of civic education in Germany. But what does that mean in detail? The implications of this state of affairs are considered in the following sections.

3.1 The empirical turn and the dilemma between practical use and methodological reflection

The so called 'empirical turn' in the didactics of civic education, the change from mainly theoretical and normative scientific work to a more empirically oriented research, resulted in a variety of empirical approaches to political learning in school. The three aspects of the so called 'didactic triangle', the teacher, the student and the subject, were the focus of various research projects and helped to understand what is actually happening in the classroom as well as to link this enhanced understanding to the theories and normative standards of the academic discipline (Grammes 2007; Schelle 2007).[1]

Gaining insights into classrooms, especially videographic insights, is a challenging and time consuming task. As mentioned above, in addition, the data is hugely complex. In order to avoid arbitrary interpretation, particular methodical standards must be employed. Therefore it comes as no surprise that videographic projects are generally conducted by research teams. Nearly all research projects in which civic education lessons were documented arose from cooperations between universities, schools and teacher-training institutions (e.g. Gagel, Grammes and Unger 1992; Grammes, Weißeno 1993; Massing, Weißeno 1997; Kuhn, Massing 1999).

Obviously, for an academic discipline such as the didactics of civic education which performs both teacher training and research on the various topics of civic education, cooperation between university and school is reasonable. We find ourselves nonetheless facing a dilemma whereby an (understandable!) focus on practical use goes hand in hand with a certain lack of methodological discussions in educational and teaching research (e.g. in Schelle, Rabenstein, Reh 2010). This lack of methodological reflection in turn reduces the ability of researchers to adhere to standard procedures when it comes to interpreting material and thus reduces the comparability of findings in the area.

3.2 State of the art – What we have, what we are missing

There are of course those interested in methodological research (e.g. the anthologies edited by Richter 2000 and Schelle, Richter 2006; also Schelle 2003). Kuhn, in particular has developed a method he called 'politikdidaktische Hermeneutik' (civic education hermeneutics) and also took part in several videographic projects (for an overview see Kuhn 2008). Furthermore, as mentioned before, he himself described the interpretation of lessons as a 'core competence' of teachers (Kuhn in 2004) and stressed the significance of methodological reflection. Nonetheless many of the contributions in anthologies edited by Kuhn rather *present* interpretations than reflect their work from a methodological perspective.

An absence of methodological reflection and clear standards of interpretation does not, of course, imply that the texts are without value. On the contrary, they offer many benefits and help to focus on core questions of didactic thinking.[2] The lack I refer to becomes relevant when we compare the state of the art in our field with the methodological reflections and standards that exist in the educational sciences and research into teaching in particular. It would be desirable if, instead of everyone following their own procedures of interpretation, more standardised methods including, for example, as *Objektive Hermeneutik* (objective / structural hermeneutics), *Konversationsanalyse* (conversation analysis) or *Dokumentarische Methode* (the documentary method) were used with the choice of method dependent on the particular focus of the research.

Therefore, an intensive discussion around theoretical and methodological approaches as well as particular techniques is called for in civic education. As Sander (2007) concludes, many methodological approaches have been developed and tried, but there is no elaborated overview of two aspects in particular: 1) which methods could be used for the interpretation of lessons in our field? 2) which methodological approaches actually help to answer which questions? A possible approach to the categorisation of methods could be to define them as evaluative or reconstructive. Evaluative methods focus

more directly on questions of learning and teaching, while reconstructive methods would focus more on implicit aspects which might only indirectly answer questions concerning the arrangement of lessons, but should help to understand informal processes of political socialization during the lesson.

What we have are video-documented lessons from various projects on the one hand and case studies, mostly based on transcribed lessons and interpreted very differently, on the other hand. While there is no video-archive of civic education lessons which would make the material available to a larger set of researchers, we do have some anthologies containing studies about lessons, of which some even include a CD with videographic material.

Although the methodological discussion in the field of the didactics of civic education isn't that extensive, there are some valuable publications in which we find a greater focus on methodological questions (e.g. Richter 2000). Yet most of the interpretations focus on the spoken word during a lesson – while visual, non-verbal aspects, performative and symbolic dimensions of interaction have not yet been considered in a systematic manner.

Yet two aspects merit a mention. Firstly, there is an awareness of and interest in aspects such as spatial organisation and materials in civic education research (see Grammes 1998). Secondly, the focus on language at the expense of pictorial and spatial embeddedness of social practice reflects a more widespread tendancy in this regard in qualitative research in general (see Fritzsche, Wagner-Willi 2013, 269). [3]

Concluding the overview on the state of the art of documentation, I would like to highlight two aspects of the video-projects in our field. First, to the best of my knowledge, most projects were situated in training rather than research contexts and, as a result, discussion and analysis focused more on issues of lesson quality than reconstructive questions. Second, while the projects used videography in order to document lessons they focused on language in their analysis, thereby rather neglecting the specific potential videography offers.

4 Videographic interpretation – potential and limitations

4.1 The documentary method

The context in which Katharina's case was interpreted was a workshop on videographic interpretation using the documentary method.

The method is part of the reconstructive paradigm and derives from Karl Mannheim's *Wissenssoziologie* (sociology of knowledge). The documentary method had initially been developed for the interpretation of group-discussions (see Bohnsack 1989. Further variations for the interpretation of biographic interviews (see Nohl 2005) and for the interpretation of pictures and videos (see Bohnsack et. al. 2007) were developed (also see: Bohnsack, Pfaff, Weller 2010 in English). Working according to the rules of the documentary method one has to abstain from assessing. The reconstructive

attitude and the interpretation process instead help to understand underlying dynamics of interaction, collective orientations and the production of shared experiences and meanings. Attention is paid to *how* things are done or said and to the performative aspects of interaction (see Tuma 2013, 50; Fritzsche/ Wagner-Willi 2013).

As Schelle, Rabenstein and Reh (2010, 60) comment, the potential of this method has not been exploited for the study of lessons to date despite the fact that it could be an appropriate tool to analyse and understand the interconnectivity of content and social processes, for example during group work (see Schelle / Rabenstein / Reh 2010, 60) and might thus illuminate the relationship between formal and informal learning.

4.2 A sample interpretation

This preliminary interpretation arose from a workshop about the documentary interpretation of videos is not presented here as a model approach but is instead intended to provide an example of one way in which one could deal with videographic material according to methodological standards (see Wagner-Willi 2007).

In the interpretation of the sequence we focused on the student, Katharina. She and three classmates discuss the thesis: 'Peace cannot be made through war! Or can it?' While Nico and Till argue that peace can be made through war, Katharina and Julia argue that it cannot. The discussion follows a certain structure: introductory statements, free discussion, final statements.

The interpretation was inspired by the question of how experiences in civic education lessons are integrated into the formation of a political self-image.[4] The videographic interpretation should help in gaining an understanding of what Katharina actually experienced. For this purpose, we concentrated on the nature of the interactions and identified three different levels which intermingled, clashed with and intensified one another with certain consequences for Katharina.

- The interaction between the students as experts in the debate: Communication here happens rather seldom and is disturbed easily by peer-specific interaction, such as the demonstration of dominance by Nico or the expression of annoyance by Katharina:

```
KATHARINA: yes, as I already said,
that depending on how you define peace
and war it is uhm (..) @well@ not
possible uh to make peace through war;
if one sees it like that what we have
in Libya now is peace; for(.) yea if
you see it like that(.) well then(.)
alright then maybe the war is
justified(.) but (…) if you define
peace and war differently °then(.)
not°
NICO: see, we already got her (..)
there we go again
```

Taking the nonverbal aspect into account, Nico focuses on the students at the back and doesn't look at

Katharina. His posture and gestures are rather effortless and 'cool'. His spoken words, 'there we go again…' refer to a general experience he had had with convincing Katharina. It seems that Nico does not really see Katharina as a debating partner by whom he might be challenged..

Her gestures and facial expressions in turn give the impression of both amusement and annoyance in that she reacts to Nico's comments nonverbally. She smiles, she shakes her head, she crosses her arms, she roles her eyes. Her verbal response then follows and is, according to her body language addressed to Till, not Nico.

- The interaction between the Mr. Mambour and the adolescents: The interaction on this level is dominated by *educational* interventions by Mr. Mambour. Through minimal gestures such as pointing at the adolescents and nodding, he remains the one who grants permission to speak. One could say that he carries out his task very much in the role of a teacher, which here means that he structures the debate in terms of its content.

```
Teacher:But I want to look at another
point (.) because I think there are
some similarities […]
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… and intervenes pedagogically:
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Teacher: @I don't have the impression
that you convinced her!@ not yet.
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- The debating adolescents follow this to different degrees; for Katharina the combination of pedagogical intervention and structuring of content has ambivalent consequences. Although the teacher rebukes the boys, he supports the devaluation of what she said with no consideration of her argument and as such contributes to her marginalization.
- The interaction between the students directly involved in the debate and their classmates who are not: Non-verbally the student, Nico, communicates with the boys in the back rows or at least tries to. The intensity with which he tries to communicate with these students might indicate that he sees *them* as his counterparts. His low level of commitment to the debate goes along with the (non-verbal) communication with the boys at the back and the level of ironic interjections towards Katharina goes hand in hand with the degree to which his classmates reduce the communication with him.

4.3 Recognition and gender: interpreting the sequence readings

Readings of the interaction suggest that this case can be framed in terms of gender roles and according to *Anerkennungstheorie* (recognition theory).

First reading: recognition theory

For example, starting with the latter, one possible interpretation of what happens during the sequence is inspired by the *Anerkennungstheorie* (theory of recognition) of Honneth and the transfer of that theory to civic education by Henkenborg (Henkenborg 2002). Following this perspective, one could view the debate as a struggle for recognition. The students' status as experts in a debate is repeatedly questioned by the teacher's performance (structuring the content, intervening pedagogically). *Kognitive Achtung*, which means to experience oneself as someone who has rights, isn't certain. The fact that Katharina's argument had been misunderstood by Nico and then ignored by the teacher could be interpreted as a lack of *Soziale Wertschätzung* or the experiencing of oneself as someone who contributes something of value.

An uncertain struggle for recognition documents itself in the interaction in the sequence. Katharina tried to participate in terms of content but had difficulties asserting herself in the confrontation involving the denial of her status as a debating partner. That denial was acted out ironically by the student Nico and was intensified by the fact that the teacher, while rebuking the boy on a pedagogical level, ignored her argument just as the student did.

Second reading: gender

A second possible reading ties in with perspectives on gender and political socialization. Studies (Kuhn 2010) suggest that even where girls know as much as boys do, girls are less self-confident about it. In the field of the didactics of civic education, these gender-specificities have also been confirmed empirically (see Kroll 2001; Boeser 2002). Reinhardt (1996) suggests that gendered access to the world can be differentiated.. According to her, girls prefer subjects from the private sphere and demonstrate a social rather than a political orientation. One might discuss whether this assumption can be proved by the sequence?

My answer to this is different though. If one makes gender specificities a categorical presupposition, one will find them confirmed. Other approaches have been established (in other social-sciences and also in the educational school-research; for example see Faulstich-Wieland et.al. 2004) which no longer focus on the differences but on the common *process of their production*[5]. For the gender reading, the question as to whether further orientations and attitudes can be found remains relevant.

Considering how her self-image is documenting itself in the debate and what the experience of the debate in turn meant to it, both readings suggest a rather 'pessimistic' view. Taking into account what happened to her argument, ironical comment by Nico (there we go again), translation by Till (I understand her…), dismissal by the teacher, one must think that she lacks the experience of *soziale Wertschätzung*, in terms of an evaluation of her way of thinking about war and peace. Concerning the gender-reading it remains unclear,

whether the case Katharina can be seen as an example of a rather stereotypical way of 'doing gender' or not.

In reconstructive research, findings arise from an intensive process of comparison. That pertains to the work with videography as well. In other words, the interpretation of the case should not be based on one single sequence and one single piece of data. Instead, triangulation with other data such as interviews is recommended (see Fritzsche, Wagner-Willi 2013, 278-279).

4.4 Completing the picture: Contradictions and complementary information from additional documentation

Other data from our project raises some interesting issues. They do not only touch on the readings, but also demonstrate what the videographic documentation does not offer, an insight into the self-reflective integration of experiences.

The three documents I offer here are, in different degrees, such self-reflections: There is the advance engagement with the debate in group-work during which Katharina and two classmates prepared for the debate (material 2: group work). There is a focus-group discussion with some of the students after the lesson, including Katharina and Nico (material 3: discussion after lesson ten). And there is an interview with Katharina six months after the debate, in which she and I watched the video and reflected on it (material 4: excerpts from an interview with Katharina).

Space limitations mean that a full interpretation of these additional documents is not possible, however an attempt is made to formulate questions and indicate to which aspects of the readings developed from the video they might be compared. I am aware that many further questions from the field of didactics might be considered. However, I focus on those aspects connected to the readings above, i.e. recognition and gender as well as to the formation of a political self-image.

4.4.1 Own perspectives, should they be considered or not?

```
I: What did you think when you just
watched that?
KATHARINA: @typically these two!@
I: @okay?@
KATHARINA: yea that's what I thought
really ehm (…) to be honest I don't
understand why he said that we
convinced her that I didn't understand
when I stood there @ but(.) I don't
know it's typical of them of him
```

This sequence from the interview with Katharina (material 4) makes what Nico did a general behaviour, something 'typical'. On the one hand she describes it as puzzling 'I didn't understand when I stood there' but on the other hand the description as typical 'of them of him'

makes it a general matter which hasn't much to do with her.

Still, in the way she talks about political conversations, it becomes obvious that she is rather uncertain about the value her statements and thoughts have:

```
KATHARINA: well actually when we talk
sometimes with some then I don't have
problems with it. But (..) I only say
something if I am certain about it
when I am absolutely certain about
that I exactly(.) like that I really
know how I mean it and how I want to
say it and yea (…) that's why I think
that sometimes it seems like I don't
say much  because (.) yes
I: mhm
KATHARINA: because I know I have to be
@really certain@
(...)
I: well you uhm just described that
they didn't understand what you said
(…) and uhm is it like(…) do you have
an impression like this often in
conversations about politics?
KATHARINA: sometimes yes but then I
know that it has to do with me that I
sometimes (.) @ just say anything and
it doesn't make much sense or (..)
yea. But generally yea(.) °mostly I
think that people understand what I
say and how I mean it°
```

This uncertainty had probably been confirmed in the debate. If we look into the group-work in which they prepared themselves for the debate (material 2) she presents herself differently:

```
KATHARINA: (we present that) so I'd be
available for that debate
CLAIRE: e:h what?
KATHARINA: so on Monday we shall one
of us be there and represent us in
that debate
CLAIRE: you wanna do that?
KATHARINA: yea. I would do that
SARA: I'd also do that but I don't
mind(.) if you wanna do that
desperately you can do that;
KATHARINA: **Cool!** @(.)@ but no you can
also do it, I'm not so hot about it
```

And even after the debate, Katharina disagrees with Nico's statement concerning the wrong ones who took part in the debate (material 3):

```
NICO: no, with the discussion round as
such I liked it but it was the wrong
persons well I don't want to say that
somebody didn't fit in it but uhm
JAKOB: °but that's what you're doing
indirectly°
(…)
```

```
I1: How did you like the debate?
Did(.) well(.) did you(.) feel good or
did you find have you rather been
uncertain?
KATHARINA: well yea(..) actually (..)
the wrong ones I don't see it like
that I think it like normally it's
always the same ones I mean(.) and now
it had been others uhm
ERIK: °see Nico°
```

In terms of issues around recognition, the value of her contributions to political conversations remains unclear to Katherina. On the other hand, she makes use of the right to participate in a debate on a political question and presents herself as used to Nico's behaviour and not overly concerned by it.

4.4.2 Doing gender, undoing gender

The group-work (material 2) shows that the girls approached the question of the debate quite differently and not according to a shared 'female access' to the world: While Katharina wanted to bring up an example from the private realm to illustrate why peace cannot be made through war, Sara doubted the transferability of the private example to the political sphere and insisted on a political case as an example:

```
KATHARINA: Look. I'd do it like
that(.) argument for the statement(.)
we have. Death(.) and innocents(.)
that is linked again to. When when
people in war, that hits a family with
children (…) and then(.) you don't
find peace anymore because then of
course you have like feelings of
revenge and
CLAIRE: yes
KATHARINA: and eh (…) yes in my
opinion peace cannot be made then
SARA: but the question is if that(.)
the politi-(.) if that politically
considered somehow works out then(..)
because when they(.) for example like
in Libya have a dictator then you also
have to look for someone you can
really establish peace again because I
mean if you have again someone who
acts like Gaddafi because he thinks he
had all the power that's cool
actually(.) to be here on the top and
then
```

In the focus-group discussion after the debate (material 3), the students place one another along a continuum from introvert to extrovert. What we see confirms that most of the girls are introvert and don't participate in political conversations, what one could understand as an act of 'doing gender'. But at the same time it's a matter of personality, not gender for them – which can be understood as an act of 'undoing gender':

```
I1: You said now with the girls it's
like this with the boys it's like that
it came up that the girls don't say
much during the lessons
ERIK: here it is like the boys destroy
their good grades again with talking
too much well so it is in Mrs. –
always
JAKOB: well in comparison I would say
that the boys are more active
KATHARINA: yes
NICO: yes
I1: especially in that school subject
or is it
KATHARINA: no it's everywhere like
that
JAKOB: especially in our class
ERIK: yea. Especially in our class(.)
in this class it's very
different(..)(pointing to another
classroom)
JAKOB: hm=yea
I2: why is that?
JAKOB: because of the individuals
themselves
NICO: it's these really shy girls
ERIK: (?)
KATHARINA: Yea I would see it like
that as well
```

The gender-reading can be developed and changed by the student's orientations. Gender is a differentiating factor for them, but not the most important one.

All these aspects help to reconstruct Katharina's self-image. The video is one and its potential lies in the link that can be built up to a specific situation or sequence in a specific lesson. Other data, especially the interviews, helps to reconstruct how such situations are embedded in common orientations or individual perspectives.

5 Conclusion

I focus here on videographic interpretation and consider it to have significant potential to develop our perspective on what happens in the classroom. Moving from a narrow perspective and focus on questions of immediate didactic importance, a reconstructive interpretation of videographic documentation leads us towards an understanding of what is happening between individuals as well as of the informal processes of political learning through socialization.

This potential cannot be made use of if videographic documentation of lessons functions as a means of assessing what teachers do. Rather, the video should help to understand, through reconstructive interpretative work, how students experience a class and how the processes of political learning happens in connection with performances and artefacts (see Kolbe et.al. 2008).

At the same time, it seems important to me to reflect on what videographic documentation may not offer, an insight into the self-reflective integration of experiences.

The art of documentation could be developed in different directions: 1) videographic documentation of lessons in order to gain insights into the complexity of experiences in the classroom and 2) documentations of reflective integration of these experiences, possibly through interviews or through the interpretation of learning-diaries (see Youniss, Yates 1997).

A systematic overview and provision of what has already been collected in the field of civic education would be helpful. As it should be self-evident that the documentation itself is not a key to understanding what happens in the classroom but instead provides a basis for interpretation, an intensified reflection on methodological questions and standards would also be helpful.

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Endnotes:

[1] For example, in our video-project we used a productive combination of theoretical claims and empirically grounded criteria. We evaluated the lessons we had documented using 'learning traps' identified in previous studies as particularly associated with civic education on the one hand and with a system of didactic principles and quality criteria on the other (see Henkenborg, Mambour and Winckler *in press)*

[2] For example, we see this in Gramme's (1998) "Kommunikative Fachdidaktik" where the focus on research questions offered findings of great importance for the academic discussion in our field despite the fact that the work with the empirical material followed individually constructed methodological procedures.

[3] In the educational sciences there are by now concepts of a cultural-science based research of learning culture. To be differentiated from the normative concept of a 'new learning culture' which the authors critizise, culture here is constituted in pedagogic practices and can be reconstructed empirically through video-based interpretations (see Kolbe et. al. 2008).

[4] Of course there are many other questions from the field of political learning which could be discussed with the material, for example: what positive or negative implications come from the method debate as such and the specific thesis the students have to discuss? What could be described as Katharina's cognitive map on politics?

[5] This shift from gender-differences to the process of 'doing gender' goes back to theoretical innovations in gender studies since the 1980's which haven't necessarily reached the research in the field of didactics of civic education in Germany yet.

Appendix:

The documents I offer come from the project mentioned above. The spoken language is German. The translated transcriptions of interviews or group discussions should be handled with care because a translation is always a methodologically uncontrolled interpretation and therefore unreliable. So it would be best if you as a reader work with the German original, my English translation, a dictionary and the will to reflect my efforts critically. It is different with the video and, in the context of its specific visual potential, maybe a good thing if you watch the film without the English transcription as you will necessarily focus on the nonverbal aspects of communication, its physical representation and on the spatial organisation of the situation and therefore approach the documented situation with the reconstructive attitude, I claimed.

May Jehle, Benita Blessing

Using Classroom Recordings in Educational History Research. An East German Civics Lesson

Students learned in civics lessons in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) that their socialist society uniquely guaranteed all individuals the right to work, and that, as good socialists, they had the duty to take on socially meaningful work. Using the example of a video recording of an East German civics lesson and its transcription, this article demonstrates how to use audio-visual sources in historical scholarship on educational research. In this manner, we offer a new source in the evaluation of the East German state's attempt to socialize young East Germans to value work as part of their socialist responsibility to the nation.

Im Staatsbürgerkundeunterricht der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR) sollte den Schüler_innen vermittelt werden, dass nur in einer sozialistischen Gesellschaft das Recht auf Arbeit gesichert ist und dass damit auch die Pflicht eines sozialistischen Staatsbürgers zu gesellschaftlich nützlicher Tätigkeit verbunden ist. Am Beispiel einer Videoaufzeichnung einer Unterrichtsstunde zu dieser Thematik und ausgewählten Transkriptauszügen diskutiert der Artikel, wie audiovisuelle Quellen in der historischen Unterrichtsforschung genutzt werden können. Diskutiert werden damit auch die Möglichkeiten der Erschließung einer neuen Quelle zur Erforschung des Versuchs staatlich organisierter Erziehung, die den Schüler_innen die Bedeutung von Arbeit als eine sozialistische Errungenschaft und als Verpflichtung jedes sozialistischen Staatsbürgers zugleich vermitteln sollte.

Keywords

GDR, East Germany, Cold War, civics lessons, employment, unemployment, right to work, national duty, socialism, videorecordings, educational research, methodology, Oral History, students, teachers

Consequences of Unemployment in the Capitalist West

Male student: They start up with pot, or, um, become criminals, or (...)

Another male student: Well, that then they probably go rob banks, to get money.

Teacher: Umm-hmm.

Student: Juvenile delinquency goes up.

Teacher: Yes. Do you know where juvenile delinquency is highest?

Another student: In the USA.

Teacher: In New York.

1 Introduction

The claim of full employment in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) has long been recognized as a "matter of politics, not of economics" (Sperlich 2006, 127). Without a doubt, the GDR's constitutional guarantee of employment did not follow market principles and contributed to a distorted labor market in the GDR and ensuing persistent unemployment in that region after German unification in

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1990. Yet, a history of work in the GDR that focuses only on economic analyses of "disguised unemployment" and "overmanning" (Nativel 2004, 2) neglects the social and cultural aspects of how East Germans understood their role in a policy of full employment. In this article we use a video recording of a secondary school civics lesson to demonstrate how East German students and their teachers constructed a shared paradigm of individual and collective responsibility to work for and as part of their socialist state.

The lesson we analyse is a video recording that is part of a larger collection of recordings of civics lessons in the GDR from the archive of the Academy of Educational Sciences of the GDR (*Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften*, hereafter APW), located in then-East Berlin. These recordings, primarily made for the research school of the department of pedagogy that was housed in the APW from 1978-1986, were used in research projects regarding the training and continuing education of teachers. Along with similar recordings from the GDR's Humboldt University (1970-1989) and other educational colleges from these periods, they fell into obscurity after German unification. A key problem was the loss of equipment made to play these recordings, as well as unfavourable storage conditions of the films that threatened to damage them beyond repair. A series of research projects (see http://www.schulunterricht-ddr.de/) allowed for the digitalization of the recordings, making them available for scholars in accordance with data privacy laws in an online databank (http://www.fachportal-paedagogik.de/ forschungsdaten bildung/studie.php?studien_id=4).

Because these recordings present a relatively new historical source, discussions about methodological considerations for their use in educational research are at an early phase (Schluß, Jehle 2013). However, contemporary documents, including recorded evaluations of discussions in the APW's research school

about the lessons, informational films for educators based on audiovisual excerpts of exemplary instruction, and Oral History interviews with the director of the video we present here and the teacher featured in it have helped provide insight into the recordings' uses and evolution.[1]

We have transcribed the video recording in order to enhance our ability to document the audio and visual aspects of this lesson, rather than merely summarizing key themes in it. After a brief overview of basic questions regarding transcription as a research aid, including its explanatory possibilities and limits, we describe how we use the transcript in our analysis. This discussion then underlines the need to bring in other sources such as contemporary textbooks and teaching aids in order to identify the approximate date of this recording, as well as to facilitate viable interpretations of the pedagogical aims of this lesson and the degree to which it can be regarded as typical of civics lessons in the GDR.

2 Issues regarding documentation and transcription

The documentation of a historical moment that is based primarily on the transcription of a video recording immediately faces the problem of the creation of the transcript itself, a phenomenon that Dinkelaker and Herrle identify as the "overcomplexity of videographic data" (Dinkelaker, Herrle 2009, 41).[2] Transcription, given the impossibility of an exact transmission of content from one medium to another, cannot claim to provide a textual duplicate of a recording (Reichertz, Englert 2011, 21-22). Nor is the transcript intended to replace the video; underpinning our analysis is the recognition of the "tape as the final authority" (Jordan, Henderson 1995, 45). We have therefore selected a transcription method that makes the best use of a recording's ability to show discretely the sequence and simultaneity of communication and interactions of the filmed subjects (Erickson 1992, 219; Jordan, Henderson 1995, 48; Dinkelaker, Herrle 2009, 44-51). The transcription excerpts here show the discussions that take place during the lesson alongside the accompanying actions that are observable and/or audible.

A further column includes details about the cameras' settings. This information provides the basis for the different perspectives that contribute to how a given scene is constructed and perceived. Moreover, an analysis of camera angles and shots allow for the "action that is shown" to be distinguished from "action of showing" and to question the degree to which the lesson takes on performative dimensions, turning it into a staged production during the recording.[3] Since the data collection in the form of a transcription is always intertwined with the analysis of the recording being transcribed, there can never be a final version of it; it is always a working transcript that can and must be edited and reworked alongside and throughout the process of analysis.

3 Civics Lessons about the right and duty to work

3.1 Background information about the recording

The theme of "The Right and Duty to Work" (Video File: "Das Recht und die Pflicht zur Arbeit") discussed in this recording was included in the civics curriculum for the eighth grade under the topic "The Rights and Duties of the Socialist Citizen". The students in this class are between thirteen and fourteen years of age; there are approximately twenty-five to thirty students in the class. Based on the information available to us through the videorecording and other documents, it is not possible to ascertain the gender ratio. However, it is likely that, given demographic statistics and the students who are visible on-screen and, and to a lesser degree, student voices off-screen, that there are about the same number of girls and boy in this class.

In a June 2012 interview, the teacher of this lesson remembered that this instructional unit generally bored students, since they were not interested in regulations, laws or the role of the state in society. The exact date of this lesson is unknown; however, in this recording, the teacher reads newspaper articles from the 17th and 20th of February 1982 to the students, narrowing the possible timeframe somewhat, since it is a logical assumption that she was using current materials. Other indicators point to the likelihood that this lesson took place during the testing stage of the new curriculum that was implemented in 1983; during the aforementioned interview, the teacher also vividly remembered this period of testing out these lesson plans and the emphasis on "problem-based instruction" (*problemhafte Unterrichtsgestaltung*) that was intended to facilitate the Marxist-Leninist-oriented dialectal approach to teaching and learning.[4] The lesson plans themselves and the accompanying new teaching aids increase the probability that the teacher based her lesson on the new curriculum, including the way in which the lesson reflects the model of problem-based instruction.

3.2 Transcript excerpts

We have selected the first fifteen minutes of the recorded lesson as illustrative of a GDR civics lesson concerned with the question of work in a socialist society. The analysis of this section is presented here in two parts, with parts of the transcribed lesson presented in text. The full transcript of these fifteen minutes can be found at the end of the article in the original German and translated into English. We make occasional reference to the entire hour, summarizing important aspects not included in the part of the transcript presented here.

A few words regarding the constellation of the classroom and cameras are in order: Students who can be seen on-camera are identified by gender and seat number, for example, S(tudent)f(emale)(seat number)9, Sf9. Information about the student that is not available is indicated by a question mark (?). Three cameras were used to record the lesson. One camera stands to the front and left of the room and recorded a frontal view of

the class, whereby the middle and right rows of benches can be seen. The left row of benches cannot be seen. This camera angle is noted as "class" in the transcript. A second camera is positioned to the rear of the classroom on the right side, and shows the chalkboard and part of the two right rear rows of benches. This angle is noted as "chalkboard". The third camera is focused on one female student (Sf9); other students (Sm8, Sm12, Sm13, S?17) can also be seen. This angle is noted as "partial".

Sm19			
S?16	S?17		Sm18 Michael
Sm12	Sm13 Martin / Marten	Sf14	Sm15
Sm8	Sf9	Sm10	Sm11
Sm4 Frank	Sf5	Sf6	Sm7
Sf1 Marion	Sm2 Carsten	S?3	

Based on this information, the seating chart (above) can be reconstructed:

Only the benches that are visible in the recording are noted in the seating chart. Those students who are called on by name are given aliases to protect anonymity. Since only parts of S?3, S?16 and S?17 can be seen, their gender remains unknown. Another problem is presented with students who have the same names. Thus, in addition to "Carsten" (Sm2), there is another student out of the camera's range named "Carsten". There are also two students named "Michael"; one is visible in the recording (Sm18) while the other is not. One student, Sm13, is sometimes identified as "Martin" and at other times as "Marten". It is probable that there is another male student in the class named Marten – which would explain the confusion of names – who sits in the left section of the class, off-camera.

In the approximate first ten minutes of the sequence, the teacher writes down students' terms that address the meaning of work for the individual. The recording starts after the beginning of the class – the teacher had written the word "work" on the chalkboard and then asks what students associate with the word. It is possible that the terms "rights and duties" had been mentioned before the beginning of the recording, which the teacher writes on the chalkboard at the beginning of the recording. Based on the students' answers ("livelihood is […] guaranteed", "you earn your living", "the right to work", "increase in the standard of living", "good apartment", "wages", "societal conditions"), the teacher writes "guarantees livelihood", "subsistence", "increase" and "wage" on the board. After the teacher once again encouraged the students to be more "concrete", she

Camera perspectives (from top down): 'class', 'chalkboard', 'partial'

reminds them of the assignment. At this point, 2:31 minutes have elapsed, and at this point the first transcript excerpt begins (See Transcript Excerpt 1 in the appendix).

The following stills show the development of what appears on the chalkboard:

At this point, the teacher transitions from writing students' suggestions on the board to a discussion of the meaning of work for individuals (see Transcript Excerpt 2 in the appendix).

4 Beyond the GDR: A lesson about unemployment

After the class discusses the meaning of work for people during the first quarter-hour, the lesson turns to the theme of "unemployment". The teacher introduces the topic by opening up the chalkboard so that the terms from the first ten minutes are visible. She then asks students for answers to the question "And now think for a second about what it would mean for someone who doesn't have any work?" As students read the terms from the chalkboard out loud, she responds by drawing a line through the benefits that someone without employment would not be able to enjoy. At the end, it is clear that all aspects of guaranteed employment would fall away.
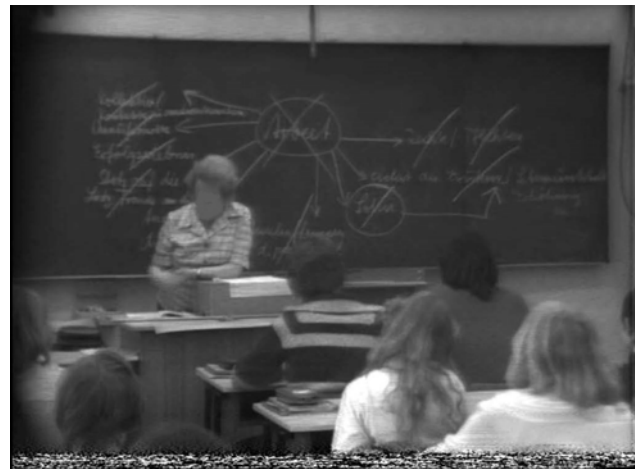
The teacher announces that the class should think of examples to go with the phrases on the board, but first asks the students about their ideal jobs, which she comments on favourably. In response to the answers to her question as to why students were so certain that they would be able to practice their chosen professions, which could be summarized as society guaranteeing them employment, one student protested that individual ability played a role. The teacher decided to let those comments stand and moved on to the next part of the lesson, reading two newspaper articles from "Neues Deutschland", the central organ of the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)*, the GDR's official political party. Both reports dramatically portrayed the situation of unemployed youth in West Berlin and London as a desperate one with no hope of a solution.

The teacher then provided data about unemployment in the West (see the student notes below), which juxtaposed 28.5 million unemployed in capitalist countries with the fully employed population of the GDR (17 million), although the source of these statistics or their context is unclear. The teacher concluded that, in the face of these numbers, "No one here, more than that even, would have work, not a single person." She then went on to state that, in the "FRG" (an abbreviation for the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, that

the West did not use during the Cold War in order to distance itself from the common usage of "GDR"), it was only possible to receive unemployment benefits after twelve months of employment, a condition that no one could meet upon completing secondary school if immediate employment could not be found. Then her next question: "So, what happens if you don't have any guarantee of support, if you get nothing, what's the final consequence of that?"

The discussion then took place as follows (see German version in appendix):

Sm?: They start up with pot, or, um, become criminals, or (...)

Tf: (Umm-hmm.) That's what you all wanted to say, right, what did you want to say, Marten?

Sm13: Well, that then they probably go rob banks, to get money.

Tf: Umm-hmm.

S?: Juvenile delinquency goes up.

Tf: Yes. Do you know where juvenile delinquency is highest?

S?: In the USA.

Tf: In New York. Yes, youth, um, crimes committed by young people, is highest of all. There are whole city districts, where foreigners, for example, who go to New York, where, at the airport, before anything else, where they are given a pamphlet where it says that you shouldn't take this or that subway line, we're warning you that you shouldn't go to this or that area, and at night, after such-and-such a time, don't you dare go out on the street, no matter what. Because youth gangs, of course, they will try to earn a living somehow. So criminality is the highest in New York, in the entire world.

S?: Yeah I saw this news report once, they, they took, so they arrested this boy, he was fourteen years old, had a, he had a knife, and then he, well four, he pushed his way into a hotel, in an elevator, and he threatened four people, umm, that they give him their jewellery and cash.

Tf: And that's not unusual, right. It's just normal. So where are young people s'posed to earn a living? It doesn't give them a single chance.

The students repeat the drastic formulations in their answers that the newspaper articles employ about the hopelessness of young people's situation in the West, naming drug use as the first likely crime that those western youth would likely turn to as an escape. The students' claims are not put into any kind of context by the teacher, who affirms their validity by placing them into one single narrative about "criminality" in New York. Even the news report that one student mentions is not seen as unique, but rather as an unassailable generalization with the teacher's remark that "And that's

not unusual, right." The message of this lesson, that capitalism robs people "of the right to work, the most important human right that they have," is made clear by the entry that the teacher directs students to write in their notebooks:

"Work is the basis for human life.
Work is the source of all wealth.
It is the basic condition for life... it created people.
Unemployment: 28.5 million in capitalist industrial states, of which 14 million is young people.
Capitalism denies humans the right to work."

In the last ten minutes of the class, the teacher turns to the possibility of "the absolute enforcement (*Durchsetzung*) of the right to work" by means of a socialist revolution, which would bring about the elimination of private ownership of the means of production. She then instructs a student to read a section out loud from the GDR's constitution, which guarantees all citizens of the GDR the right to work and fair wages.[1] The students then are directed to read a paragraph of the constitution on their own and identify topics that had not yet been discussed in class. The objective here is to guide the students to the issue of socialist citizens' duty to work, a point that Sm13 starts to address. After acknowledging his point, she then begins to wrap up the lesson and gives the students their homework assignment: "Why is work also a duty?", which they are to talk about with their parents and friends at home and bring notes about the answers to the next class. The teacher instructs the students to stand – the official signal for the end of the class – and the recording stops as well.

5 Comments
5.1 Normative or typical?

Before turning our attention to the first fifteen minutes of the lesson, it is perhaps helpful to understand how this teacher's approach to the subject fit into larger discussions by the APW about best teaching practices. This same teacher had already been the subject of another video recording about a similar theme with a different class; the resulting film, a selection of highlights of that hour, became part of the APW's informational films for educators (Video File: "Forschungsgegenstand Unterricht"). In the introduction to the film, a commentator presents it as part of a research project that identified successful examples of effective use of problem-based instruction that encouraged students in civics classes to engage actively with the material. After an excerpt from the teacher's class is shown, the commentator observes that the teacher had again demonstrated the successful use of the appropriate pedagogical concept throughout the class – suggesting that the teacher's lessons were a trusted source for

modelling good teaching that could be used in instructional training. Clearly, not all civics lessons would have included every element shown in this video; more important is its normative aspect. That is, the APW intended for viewers to regard this as representative of an ideal civics lesson.

5.2 Role of the teacher in problem-based instruction

In the first transcript excerpt, in which the teacher asks for students' ideas about the meaning of work, there is no actual presentation of a problem that – using the terminology of contemporary literature on the subject – contains a "contradiction" that would push the students to solve the problem. It seems more important to the teacher that the lesson be connected to the students' lives, an approach that does reflects a tenet of problem-based instruction (Feige 1974, Fuhrmann 1986). The likelihood that the teacher was consciously working within a framework of problem-based instruction is furthermore demonstrated by the teacher's later memory of students normally not being able to see a connection between the topic of the lesson and their own life experiences, so that she was careful to help students make this connection in class. The initial question of the teacher does not do this successfully; after all, "work" in the sense of employment was not yet part of students' life experiences. Since their answers had been too general, she brought in the issue of wages and how students imagined their future professional hopes and dreams. Their responses seem more typical of modest, bourgeois aspirations than socialist ones; indeed, the students' and teacher's delighted reaction to Sm2's response that he wanted a house and car point to the limited possibilities open to students for such high aspirations.

It is interesting to note that, for the second time, the students bring up relatively quickly the topic of the "right to work", even before the teacher is ready to discuss that point in the lesson. It seems that the students might have anticipated that this theme would continue to play an important role throughout the rest of the class. Having ignored for all intents and purposes the first response regarding this topic by writing a different concept on the board, the teacher now points to the board and the concepts "rights / duties" written there and summarizes the answers as part of "the material side" of work. By inserting herself into the discussion, she offers the students an example of how they might make associations with the term "recognition", so that she is able to tie the students' examples back into their own lives and experiences. The idea of a "collective" is dealt with fairly swiftly before the end of this phase of the class. Perhaps the teacher suspects that the students will not have much to say about this topic; it might also be the case that she is trying to get through the entire lesson and decides to move to the next stage of it. In any

case, it is clear that she has been successful in facilitating a high level of student participation in this part of class, as evidenced by the numerous responses that can be seen in the transcript.

5.3 Classroom interaction:
Limits and possibilities of analysis

When the teacher asks (Transcript Excerpt 2) which answer students like best regarding the question of what work means for the individual, the difficulty of using recordings of a class to document what actually happened in the classroom becomes clear. Sm13, for example, is addressed as "Martin", but then later as "Marten", making it almost impossible to reconstruct who said what. Sm7 and S?3 respond to "Marten's" answer, but given the content of their responses, they do not mean Sm13. Who, then, is Sm13? He might be "Martin", or "Marten"; his visible reactions to parts of the discussion offer evidence for either possibility. Because we sometimes only hear, and do not see, the teacher talking to "Martin" and/or "Marten", we do not have enough evidence to know with certainty which students are actively participating in class.

This confusion is important in recognizing the limits of our ability to understand the interactions in the classroom. It is impossible to know whether student participation is evenly spread throughout the class, or if there are students who passively listen to the lesson. If one person dominates the discussion, then it is possible that some students see no connection between the topic at hand and their lives, or else are not interested in helping construct an atmosphere where all members of this particular collective have the right and duty to learn the lesson presented to them as part of their education to become responsible socialist citizens. When the teacher asks for clarification about Sm13's answer that work comprises the basis (*"Ausgangspunkt"*) of everything, other students chime in with answers that included work as the basis of life. The teacher does not seem to notice the difference in these expressions and asks Sm13 to make a full sentence out of the phrase. The student then incorporates the element of "life" into his answer, whereby she insists that he had said something else in his earlier answer. After he still does not provide the exact phrase that she is looking for, she pushes him to specify "whose life?" He gets closer to her desired answer with "for the individual", which she reformulates on the board as "Work is the basis for human life", with the side note that this answer would include individuals anyway. The work involved in the creation of this grand statement could be interpreted to mean that students cooperated in the endeavour to provide an acceptable answer to the teacher that also made sense to them. Still, it falls clearly to the teacher to make the final decisions about how to articulate the lessons that

students are to learn. What is less clear, despite the technology of camera recordings, especially given the relatively lengthy dialogue between Sm13 and the teacher, is how inclusive the problem-based instruction was, or even could be.

The teacher then transitions to the next step in the lesson, showing the students a quote from Friedrich Engels that she had already written on the right side of the chalkboard. It is a shortened form of the quotation found in the revised teaching aids, which suggests using it to prepare students from the homework assignment of discussing "The Meaning of Work in Socialism" (Autorenkollektiv 1984, 56). Several students respond after the teacher instructs them to compare the two phrases on the chalkboard ("Work is the basis for human life" and "Work is the source of all wealth. It is the basic condition for life... it created people"). The teacher uses the question about the degree to which work created humans as a bridge to make a joke about Engels, distancing herself from a too dogmatic identification with him or all his ideas: Tf: "(Laughing) Engels also said that humans came from apes, we're not quite of the same opinion there"), and then continues with a brief historical summary of socialist understandings of the relationship between work and humans. These presentations of the material reflect the appendix to the teaching manual that accompanies the new textbooks (Autorenkollektiv 1987, 50). Older textbooks do not include guidelines to follow this line of instruction (Autorenkollektiv 1982, 92-97); not until the 1984 revised teaching aids does the use of historical knowledge as part of this lesson receive mention. Earlier versions of the teaching aids, in line with the accompanying textbook, foresee the lesson as an introduction to the basic concepts of Article 24 of the GDR's constitution regarding the right of all citizens to work (Autorenkollektiv 1975, 123). In contrast to the clear emphasis on societal perspectives on the topic as outlined in the teaching aids (Autorenkollektiv 1984, 56), the teacher brings the question of the perspective of the individual to the forefront. Most of the students' answers that address the meaning of work within its existential dimension point to their understanding of the teacher's intended goal for the lesson, but they have difficulty constructing the exact sentence that she is looking for. After one student tries and fails to come up with a satisfactory response, the teacher takes over and helps him finish his thought with the provocative formulation, "How you work is how you….(?)" The student then completes the statement: "…live".

During the brief sequence in which the teacher departs from the lesson, Sm10 catches Sm13's eye. Sm13 crosses his arms over his chest, a gesture that Sm10, Sm11 Sm13 immediately imitate. Many interpretations are possible regarding this visible exchange between students; of concern here is more that the scene offers an example of the challenges of analysing the various events in the classroom. Although the transcripts of this part of the lesson offer a clear illustration of such classroom interactions, the camera is ultimately focused primarily on the "front stage", that is, on the teacher and the way in which she conducts the lesson. A closer look at the scene, however, allows a glimpse into the "back stage", where students typically interact with each other, possibly responding to, but independent of, the teacher's pedagogical aims. Other scenes show similar student activity that might not, at first glance, seem relevant to the lesson and certainly do not belong in the official conceptions of classroom behaviour. Nonetheless, although there are no clear guidelines on how to incorporate these other aspects of class activity in an analysis of this recording about a civics lesson, it is evident that the use of multiple tools of analyses – the video recording itself and its transcription – demonstrate the agency of students that is both part of and removed from the construction of the lesson between the various members of the classroom.

6 Questions for further research

The comments of these transcript excerpts pointed to multiple possibilities for using recordings of classroom instruction in educational research. In order to make sense of the original APW documentation of the hour with video cameras in a historical analysis, other sources are of significant help: lesson plans, teaching aids, textbooks, and contemporary pedagogical discussions (such as the articles of educational journals on the teaching of history and civics, like *Geschichtsunterricht und Staatsbürgerkunde*). Moreover, an analysis of such a recording can provide information about the teacher's pedagogical objectives, especially in terms of the research program on problem-centred instruction. In addition to the APW's publication on their evaluation of the recordings, other recordings of events such as education conferences and written observations of classes might also prove fruitful for a further understanding of how this video recording can help further research on the development of civics courses in the GDR.

Other research questions opened up by our analysis here include a further discussion of the degree to which the implementation of new pedagogical models can be reconstructed using historical video recordings, as well as whether different disciplines might need different approaches in such endeavours. It would certainly appear useful to consider video recordings of classrooms within the related secondary literature on pedagogical models of civics lessons (Grammes, Schluß, Vogler 2006; Blessing, Grammes, Schluß 2012). Questions of the role of the cameras as part of a conscious or unconscious "staging" of a lesson are also in need of further scholarly attention, both in order to recognize any distortions that the act of recordings might bring into the lesson and as a

basis for reflection on how the way a lesson is filmed influences interpretations of what we are actually seeing – or not seeing. Certainly, the interdependence between transcript and recording must be part of such considerations. Finally, we have demonstrated that more analyses of such recorded lessons and transcripts of them are necessary in the on-going development of a methodology for their use as a historical resource, including new possibilities for accessing the role of civics lessons, but also other disciplines, in the formation of young socialists. We close with the observation that new online data banks make it possible to store entire transcripts of recorded lessons, which the space of printed journals does not generally permit; such an endeavour would significantly enrich our ability to make full use of these sources.

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Endnotes:

[1] See Mirschel (2013) for additional scholarship on autobiographical sources regarding the APW video recordings.

[2] All translations by authors unless otherwise noted. When possible, we have attempted to maintain the language register used during class: The teacher and students in this video recording have a distinctly Berlin accent and use colloquial language at times. As in any classroom setting the teacher and students do not always finish sentences or thoughts, which can be seen in the transcripts.

[3] For an in-depth discussion of "staging" ("*Inszenierung*"), see Jehle, Schluß 2013, 44-51.

[4] For a discussion of the theory on problem-centered learning in GDR civics lessons, see Vogler 1997, 226-239. Note: the English concept of "problem-based instruction" as currently used is not generally associated with Marxist-Leninism, although does capture the way in which the lessons are conceptualized (Memory, Yoder, Williams 2003).

Appendix:

German version of quoted/documented discussion in the article:

Sm?: Sie greifen also zu Haschisch, oder, ähm, wern zu Verbrechern, oder

Lw: (Mhm.) Das wolltet ihr sagen, ja, was wolltest du noch sagen, Marten?

Sm13: Naja, dass die dann wahrscheinlich Banken überfallen, um sich Geld zu verschaffen.

Lw: Mhm.

S?: Die Jugendkriminalität steigt an.

Lw: Ja. Wisst ihr, wo die Jugendkriminalität am höchsten ist?

S?: In den USA.

Lw: In New York. Ja, ist die Jugend, äh, ist die Jugendkriminalität, überhaupt die Kriminalität am höchsten. Dort gibt es ganze Stadtviertel, da werden zum Beispiel Ausländer, die nach New York kommen, vorher schon, am Flugplatz, kriegen die ein Schriftstück in die Hand und da wird gesagt, du darfst die und die U-Bahnlinie nicht benutzen, wir warnen dich davor, in die und die Stadtviertel zu gehen und abends nach soundsoviel Uhr, betrete auf gar keinen Fall die und die Straßen. Weil dort jugendliche Banden, natürlich nun versuchen, sich auf irgendeine Weise ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Und das Verbrechertum ist also in New York am höchsten, auf der ganzen Welt.

S?: Ick hab mal n Filmbericht jesehn, da ham, ham se en Jungen ge-, also festgenommen, der war vierzehn Jahre alt jewesen, der hat n, mit m Messer, hat er vier, is er in n Hotel eingedrungen, in Fahrstuhl, da hat er vier Leute bedroht, ähm, dass sie ihm den Schmuck und det Jeld geben.

Lw: Und das ist keine Seltenheit, nich. Das ist also gang und gäbe. Wo solln die jungen Menschen nun ihren Lebensunterhalt herbekommen? Es gibt ihnen keiner eine Changse.

Transcriptions
Transcription key:
Tf – teacher (female)
Sf – student (female)
Sm – student (male)
Ss – students (plural)
( ) – unclear
(xxx) – quiet or difficult to understand
(number) – Pause, in seconds
@ - Laughter
@xxx@ / @xxx – spoken laughingly
└ - overlapping
° - change in camera angle

1. Sequence (00:02:31-00:10:39): Discussion of terms about the meaning of work for the individual

Time-code	Camera	Speaker	In-class conversation	Other classroom activities
00:02:31 00:02:54 00:03:02	class chalk-board class	Tf	I want to remind you of the assignment so that you don't start going down too many different paths. Think concretely about what the individual achieves with work? What can people achieve with it? You've said wages°, with wages an individual can guarantee subsistence. And now I want to have more about that.° Let's get rid of the apartment, you can pay your rent with that, etc. So, what else, then, about subsistence?	Sm4, Sf1, Sm2 lower their hands, Sm10 keeps his hand raised Tf points , Tf go towards the chalkboard, draws an oval around "wages", Sf1 raises hand, Tf draws an arrow next to subsistence, walks towards the class, points with her index finger , Sm10 changes the hand he is raising Sm4 lifts right arm, strokes his hair, , Sm2, Sm19 raise their hands.
00:03:14	chalk-board	Sm2	Um, the money, that someone earned,° they can buy something, afford something.	
		Tf	∟ Yes exactly, yes exactly,, subsistence, ( ) you can acquire something. Imagine that you're ploughing now, @you're finally done with school@, Carsten, und then you've managed it and now you get° the coolest job, that you could ever dream of, and then you earn a bunch of money, what're you gonna do with it? Do you share it with your friends, @yes, and you say, hey, you guys can also live it up, you should see how a worker like that gets along, right, or what?	Tf goes to the chalkboard, draws an arrow downwards away from "work", turns to class Sm12 props up his chin with his hand Sf9 turns left, laughs S?17 raises hand
00:03:27	partial			
00:03:44	class	Sm2	Um, nope, I would° bring home (part for my wife), maybe I'd get me, so I'd buy things, that you need for everyday stuff.	Sm10, Sm18, Sm19 raise their hands Sm10 lowers hand
		Tf	And? Don't you have any hopes, any dreams?	Sm7 raises hand, Sm10 raises hand
		Sm2	Yeah, well, that comes later.	Sm13 drums on the table with his right hand
		Tf	@HaHaHa@ Can't you at least start, what kind of a dream do you have, Carsten?	Sf1 laughs Sm7 lowers hand, Sw5 raises hand
		Sm2	Um, well, maybe a house and a (car)	Laughter among the Ss
		Ss	@@@	
00:04:06 00:04:14	partial class	Tf	@hehheh@ I've been dreaming about° that my whole life @, a house and a car. Wonderful. Anybody else have such dreams? What do you dream° about?	Sf9 laughs, Sf5, Sm12, S?17 raise their hands Sm13 drums on the table with his right hand
		Sf?	Maybe now when you, well, you'd want to renovate the apartment and get new furniture	Sf5 raises her arm Sm10 turns to look behind him Tf goes to the chalkboard
00:04:37 00:04:53	chalk-board class	Tf	So, what can I write down here? Acquiring things, yes, we aquire things. Things for personal, I'll abbreviate that here, for personal use° (.) and when you get married, Carsten's already thinking about that one, then he of course wants a little house with a garden, where he can live with his family, a commendable plan. Good, so, acquiring things, you can do that with work.° What else? (Carsten.)	Sm4, Sm18 raise their hands, Tf writes something on the chalkboard,, Sm10 raises his hand Tf writes on the chalkboard, draws an arrow downwards from "work", Sm4, Sf5 raise their hands; Tf turns to class, walks towards them Sm10 raises his hand Sm5, Sf5, Sm10, Sm18 raise their hands Sm18 lowers his hand
		Sm?	Maybe get insurance.	
		Tf	How come?	
		Sm?	Huh, so that you're insured, so if something happens to you, like with the car or (house)	
		Tf	∟ (comprehensive insurance) Right, so what else?	
		Sm?	You have the right to work ( )	Sm 10 lowers his hand Sf6 raises her hand
		Tf	Mmm. We've been there already. Now we've said, w-, a worker or when we work we get wages or a salary, and	

00:05:53	chalk-board		we can use that to get things for our personal use, we can use our salary that we need every day to live, I'll include rent and everything here. But that by itself is just the material side, are there other things that work gives to people? (.) I'm excited about "Teacher's Day". Could you tell me, why I'm excited about "Teacher's Day"? For yourself in the position of Mrs. Bode, who has taught for twenty-six years and why would I still get excited about "Teacher's° Day"?	Sm2 raises his hand Sm4 lowers his hand and raises it again Sf5 lowers her hand Sf6 lowers her hand, Sm10 raises his hand, lowers it again, Sm18 raises his hand, lowers it again, Sm2 lowers his hand partially, holds it in from of his face, lowers it slowly; Sm7 raises his hand, S?3 raises hand; Chuckles among Ss Sm10 raises his hand
		Sf?	(Because) you finally get recognition, you're praised for your work.	S?3, Sm10 lower their hands Sm4 lowers his hand
00:06:03	class	Tf	Good. Through praise. More, what else? Who can think of something else?°	Sm4 raises hand Tf gestures to call on someone
		Sm4	By honours maybe.	Sm10 bent forward, chin in hands
		Tf	Umm. Carsten.	
		Sm2	Or something nice from your husband.	
		Tf	Right. Of course.	Tf points left Sf6 turns around to the back briefly, laughs
		Sm?	Maybe a prize or something, so, after you've worked for a while.	Sm4 looks quickly to the side, grins; Sf9 quickly looks to the side, Sm10 grins Tf goes to the chalkboard
00:06:33 00:06:37	chalk-board class	Tf	Excellent. Well, I think it gets a little more concrete with Mrs. Bode. That means, then, recognition, you've said now, Carsten has said recognition from my husband, (is) my family, but you've said even more about that, a prize, who gives it° to me, who recognizes me, you also just , said something° that goes together with recognition. Go ahead.	Tf writes something on the chalkboard Sm10 raises his hand Sm10 briefly lowers his hand, raises it again, begin to snap his fingers to get Tf's attention, S?3 raises hand, Tf points towards the right Sm4 raises his hand high in the sky to get Tf's attention S?3, Sm7, Sm10, Sm11, Sm15, Sm19 raise their hands; Sf4 raises her hand,, Sm13 hesitates
		Sm?	From other teachers and people, too.	Sm4, Sm10 raises other hand Sm7, Sm11 lower their hands
		Tf	Yes.	Tf points to Sm4
		Sm4	Basically from the state.	Sm10 lowers his hand, props his head on both hands, Sm7 raises his hand briefly, Sm13 raises his hand
		Tf	Maybe we can say that in a larger sense?	Ts underlines "larger sense", large gesture with arm, Sm13 lowers his hand, Sm4 raises his hand, Tf calls on him, all others lower their hands.,
		Sm4	From society.	
00:07:06 00:07:11	chalk-board class	Lw	Lovely. So, really super, recognition from society, and then there's something in that for all of us. When you get your grades at the end of the year or semester,° and there's not just the grade for the class, but there are° a bunch of small certificates that are a recognition, an affirmation for you, that you're good, that you've been very good. What happens then inside you? Something happens. Carsten.	Tf goes to the chalkboard, writes something Tf goes towards the chalkboard Adds more arrows to the chalkboard picture that point down and to the left under "recognition by society" ; Sm10 still sits with his chin on his hands , Sf6 looks down at the desk with lowered head; Tf turns to Sf1, who turns away; Sf6 looks up
		Sm?	You're happy inside.	S?3, Sm4, Sf6, S?17 raise their hands Sm15 raises hand
		Tf	Right.	Sm4, Sf6, Sm15 lower their hands
		Sf?	You're excited about next year.	Sm13 hesitates and then raises hand Sf1 raises hand, turns to the side, lowers hand, S?3 lowers arm, Sm4, Sf5, Sf6, Sm7, Sm11 turn to the side
		Sm?	You're proud of yourself.	Sm10 takes his right arm off the desk Sm11 raises hand briefly Tf looks to Sm11, who nods and smiles;
00:07:50	chalk-board	Tf	Pride. (.) Good, you did a great job, so recognition means then, pride about what you've accomplished, right? Pride for the accomplishment. You enjoy work°. And of course you also have, if you are good and really good, I ( ) have to start with me again, it's always best, you guys have known me for quite some time now, then the recognition isn't only about that, that you get a price, rather you started as a teacher and did your job well and then come the others and say, actually	Tf goes towards the chalkboard, Sm11 looks to the side; Tf writes something on the chalkboard Chalkboard now shows arrow pointing left under "pride of achievement, joy of work", Tf turns to class and walks towards them,

				Tf points to the left, Sf1 raises her hand Tf nods
00:08:25	class	Sm?	Umm. (.) A, um , work leader -, or an administrative function. °	
		Tf	Right, right.	Sf1 lowers hand, Sm11 raises his hand
		Sm?	Maybe a salary increase.	
		Tf	Mmmhmm.	
		Sf?	You're presented as a () role model.	Sm4, Sm7, Sm19, Sf1 raise their hands
		Sm7	You can get certified to do something.	Sm19 lowers hand
00:08:42	chalk-board	Tf	Wonderful. So, that means certification () for work°, (3) and you are successful, and being successful, that is always an experience. When someone's not successful, I think that you have all felt that way in such a situation, yes, you've worked really hard and thought that you gave your best and then don't get° any recognition for that. And what you had planned, it just goes down the drain. So then you're really feeling down and out. Well, and all that, then you go home on your last legs, and you say, Man, just leave me alone, no experience of success, (no more work). So, and this topic that we've talked about, it is closely connected to work, and we have to remember one point, you don't work alone after all. You don't study alone. So what else belongs to the concept of work – for you guys I could substitute studying?	Sf1, Sm4 lower their hands; Tf goes to the chalkboard, draws an arrow pointing left: "qualification, experience of success," goes back towards the class Sm2 hits his left hand with his right Tf goes towards the chalkboard, Sf9 turns around to look behind her Tf goes towards the class Sm13 raises his hand
00:09:06	class			
		Sm12	Competition with each other.	
		Tf	Yes.	Tf points in the direction of Sm13
		Sm13	To act as a collective.	
00:09:55	chalk-board	Tf	(Right.) That is, the collective° (3) and contact to other people (3), that's really closely connected with work. Good job everybody. Frank, something else occur to you?	Tf goes to chalkboard, draws an arrow pointing upwards and left: "Collective/contacts to other people", goes back towards the class
00:10:18	class	Sm4	Maybe also, um,° use your wages for your free time?	
00:10:33	chalk-board	Tf	Of course, yes, you can do that too. So, do we wanna stop here? I know, @you'll think of other things if we kept talking, certainly, we'd think of a lot else°, but it's not like it's the last time that work or study plays such an important role in our lives.	
00:10:40				

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1. Sequenz (00:02:31-00:10:39): Begriffssammlung zur Bedeutung der Arbeit für den Einzelnen

Zeit	Kamera	Spre-cherIn	Unterrichtsgespräch	Andere Aktivitäten
00:02:31 00:02:54 00:03:02	Klasse Tafel Klasse	Lw	Ich möchte euch noch mal an die Aufgabe erinnern, damit ihr nicht zu viel Umwege geht. Überlegt konkret, was erreicht der Einzelne mit der Arbeit? Was kann er dadurch alles für sich erreichen? Ihr habt gesagt, den Lohn°, mit dem Lohn sichert er sein Lebensunterhalt. Und jetzt möchte ich dazu mehr haben.° Die Wohnung lassen wir mal weg, sicherlich, dafür kann er denn Miete bezahlen undsoweiter. Was denn noch, hier, mit dem Lebensunterhalt?	Sm4, Sw1, Sm2 lassen die Arme sinken, Sm10 meldet sich noch Lw gestikuliert, Lw geht Richtung Tafel, zeichnet ein Oval um „Lohn", Sw1 meldet sich, Lw zeichnet Pfeil zu Lebensunterhalt, geht auf Klasse zu, gestikuliert mit dem Zeigefinger, Sm10 wechselt Arm beim Melden Sm4 hebt rechten Arm, streicht sich über den Kopf, Sm2, Sm19 melden sich
00:03:14	Tafel	Sm2	Äh, das Geld, was er erwirtschaftet °hat, damit kann er sich was kaufen, was leisten.	
00:03:27	Aus-schnitt	Lw	└ Na eben, na eben, der Lebensunterhalt, ( ) der kann sich etwas anschaffen. Stell dir mal vor, du ackerst jetzt, haste endlich @die Schule hinter dir@, Carsten, und dann hastes jeschafft und jetzt kriegste° den schicksten Job, den du dir überhaupt vorstellen kannst und da verdienste ne Menge Geld, was machstn damit? Verteilste unter deinen Kumpels, @ja, und sachst, hier, könnt ihr auch mal leben, sollt ihr mal sehn, wies so nem Arbeiter geht, ja, oder wie?	Lw geht zur Tafel, zeichnet Pfeil nach unten weg von „Arbeit", wendet sich zur Klasse Sm12 hat Kopf auf linken Arm gestützt Sw9 blickt nach links, lacht S?17 meldet sich
00:03:44	Klasse	Sm2	Äh, nö, ich würde° (n Teil der Frau) mitbringen, vielleicht würd ich mir, also, Sachen kaufen, die man für n täglichen Bedarf braucht	Sm10, Sm18, Sm19 melden sich Sm10 lässt Arm sinken
		Lw	Und? Hast du keine Wünsche, keine Träume?	Sm7 meldet sich, Sm10 meldet sich Sm13 trommelt mit rechter Hand auf den Tisch
		Sm2	Also, das, das kommt später dran.	
		Lw	@Hehehe@ Kannste nich schon anfangen, was hast n du für n Traum, Carsten?	Sw1 lacht Sm7 lässt Arm sinken, Sw5 meldet sich
		Sm2	Äh, vielleicht n Einfamilienhaus und n (Auto)	Heiterkeit unter den SuS
		SuS	@@@	
00:04:06 00:04:14	Aus-schnitt Klasse	Lw	@hehe@ Davon° träum ich n ganzes Leben lang @, ein Einfamilienhaus und ein Auto. Wunderschön. Hat jemand noch etwa solche Träume? Wovon träumst denn° du?	Sw9 lacht, Sw5, Sm12, S?17 melden sich Sm13 trommelt mit rechter Hand auf den Tisch
		Sw?	Vielleicht wenn man jetzte, na, man möcht ja auch mal die Wohnung wieder neu renovieren und neue Möbel an-schaffen	Sw5 meldet sich Sm10 dreht sich nach hinten um
00:04:37 00:04:53	Tafel Klasse	Lw	Also, was kann ich hier hinschreiben? Anschaffungen, ja, wir schaffen an. Anschaffungen für den persönlichen, ich kürze mal ab, persönlichen Bedarf° (.) und wenn ihr verheiratet seid, der Carsten denkt ja schon da dran, dann will er natürlich das Häuschen mit Garten haben, wo er seine Familie gut unterbringen kann, ein löblicher Vorsatz. Gut, also, Anschaffungen, kann man durch die Arbeit erreichen.° Was noch? (Carsten.)	Lw geht zur Tafel Sm4, Sm18 melden sich, Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel, Sm10 meldet sich Lw schreibt an Tafel, Pfeil von „Arbeit" nach unten, Sm4, Sw5 melden sich; Lw wendet sich zur Klasse, auf sie zu Sm10 meldet sich Sm5, Sw5, Sm10, Sm18 melden sich Sm18 nimmt Arm runter
		Sm?	Vielleicht eine Versicherung abschließen.	
		Lw	Warum denn das?	
		Sm?	Na, damit man ebent gesichert ist, wenn eenem mal was passiert, zum Beispiel mit dem Auto oder (Haus)	
		Lw	└ (Kasko) versichert, nich, ja gut, was noch?	
		Sm?	Man hat auch Recht auf seine Arbeit, ( )	Sm 10 nimmt Arm runter Sw6 meldet sich

00:05:53	Tafel	Lw	Mhm. Das ham wer schon dran. Wir haben jetzt gesagt, w-, der Arbeiter oder wenn wir arbeiten kriegen wir Lohn oder Gehalt, dafür könn wir persönliche Anschaffungen machen für unsern Bedarf, wir können unsern Lebensunterhalt, das was wir täglich zum Leben brauchen, ich zähl jetzt mal dazu die Miete und alles, auch mit abdecken. Das allein ist aber nur die materielle Seite, gibt es vielleicht noch andere Dinge, die die Arbeit für den Menschen bringt? (.) Ich freue mich auf den Tag des Lehrers. Könnt ihr mir mal sagen, warum ich mich auf den Tag des Lehrer freue? Versetzt euch mal in die Lage der Frau Bode, Lehrerin seit sechsundzwanzig Jahren und warum freu ich mich immer noch auf den Tag° des Lehrers?	Sm2 meldet sich Sm4 nimmt Arm runter und meldet sich wieder Sw5 nimmt Arm runter Sw6 nimmt Arm runter, Sm10 meldet sich, nimmt Arm wieder runter, Sm18 meldet sich, nimmt Arm wieder runter, Sm2 lässt Arm sinken, hält ihn vors Gesicht, nimmt ihn langsam runter; Sm7 meldet sich, S?3 meldet sich; Schmunzeln unter SuS Sm10 meldet sich
		Sw?	(Weil) endlich die Anerkennung kommt, da wird man von den andern mal geehrt für seine Arbeit.	S?3, Sm10 nehmen Arm runter Sm4 nimmt Arm runter
00:06:03	Klasse	Lw	Gut. Durch die Ehrung. Weiter, was noch? Wem fällt noch was ein?°	Sm4 meldet sich Lw: Geste des Drannehmens
		Sm4	Durch die Auszeichnung vielleicht.	Sm10 vornübergebeugt, Kopf auf Ellbogen gestützt,
		Lw	Mhm. Carsten.	
		Sm2	Oder ne Freude von Ihrem Mann.	
		Lw:	Richtig. Klar.	Lw zeigt nach links Sw6 dreht sich kurz nach hinten um, lacht
		Sm?	Vielleicht auch ne Prämie so, also , wenn man ne Zeit gearbeitet hat.	Sm4 blickt kurz zur Seite, grinst; Sw9 blickt kurz zur Seite, Sm10 grinst Lw geht Richtung Tafel
00:06:33 00:06:37	Tafel Klasse	Lw	Prima. Also, ich glaube, mit der Frau Bode wird es ganz konkret, nich. Das heißt also, Anerkennung, nun habt ihr ja gesagt, Carsten sagt Anerkennung durch meinen Mann, (is) meine Familie, ihr habt aber gesagt, noch mehr dazu, ne Prämie, wer gibt sie° mir, durch wen werde ich anerkenn-, -kannt, du hast ebent auch° etwas gesagt, was mit der Anerkennung zu sammenhängt. Bitte.	Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel Sm10 meldet sich Sm10 nimmt Arm kurz runter, meldet sich wieder, fängt an, zu schnipsen, S?3 meldet sich, Lw zeigt nach rechts Sm4 meldet sich mit ganz ausgestrecktem Arm S?3, Sm7, Sm10, Sm11, Sm15, Sm19 melden sich; Sw4 meldet sich, Sm13 zögert
		Sm?	Durch andern Lehrern und durch andern Leuten auch.	Sm4, Sm10 wechseln den Arm beim Melden Sm7, Sm11 nehmen Arm runter
		Lw	Ja.	Lw zeigt auf Sm4
		Sm4	Im Endeffekt vom Staat.	Sm10 nimmt Arm runter, stützt Kopf auf beide Hände, Sm7 meldet sich ganz kurz, Sm13 meldet sich
		Lw	Vielleicht könn wers noch größer formulieren?	Lw unterstreicht „noch größer" mit Armbewegung, Sm13 nimmt Arm runter, Sm4 meldet sich, Lw nimmt ihn dran, alle andern lassen Arm sinken
		Sm4	Von der Gesellschaft.	
00:07:06 00:07:11	Tafel Klasse	Lw	Fein. Also, ganz große Klasse, Anerkennung durch die Gesellschaft, und damit hängt natürlich etwas für jeden von uns zusammen. Wenn ihr am Ende des Jahres oder zum Halbjahr euer Zeugnis bekommt°, und da ist nicht nur drauf die Zensur für das Fach sowieso, sondern da liegen° noch lauter kleine Urkunden drin, die eine Anerkennung sind, eine Bestätigung für euch, dass ihr gut und sehr gut gewesen seid. Was passiert dann in euch? Da geht was vor. Carsten.	Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt etwas an Lw geht wieder Richtung Klasse Tafelbild ergänzt um weiteren Pfeile nach links unten „Anerkennung d. d. Gesellschaft" Sm10 hält Kopf immer noch aufgestützt, Sw6 blickt mit gesenktem Kopf auf den Tisch; Lw wendet sich Sw1 zu, diese blickt weg, Sw6 blickt wieder auf S?3, Sm4, Sw6, S?17 melden sich
		Sm?	Man freut sich innerlich.	Sm15 meldet sich
		Lw	Richtich.	
		Sw?	Man is angespornt für das nächste Jahr.	Sm4, Sw6, Sm15 nehmen Arm runter Sm13 meldet sich nach Zögern Sw1 meldet sich, blickt zur Seite, nimmt Arm wieder runter, S?3 nimmt Arm runter, Sm4, Sw5, Sw6, Sm7, Sm11 blicken zur Seite
		Sm?	Man is stolz auf sich.	Sm10 nimmt rechten Arm vom Tisch Sm11 meldet sich kurz
		Lw	Stolz. (.) Gut, dass habt ihr prima gemacht, die Anerkennung bedeutet also, Stolz, auf die eigene Leistung, ja? Stolz auf die Leistung. Man hat Freude an der° Arbeit. Und natürlich hat man auch, wenn man dann gut und sehr gut is, ich ( ) muss mal wieder mit mir anfangen, s is immer am besten,	Lw blickt zu Sm11, der nickt und lächelt; Lw geht Richtung Tafel, Sm11 blickt zur Seite Lw schreibt etwas an Tafel Tafelbild: Pfeil nach links untern „Stolz auf die
00:07:50	Tafel			Leistung, Freude an der Arbeit", Lw dreht sich zur

			ihr kennt mich ja auch schon ne ganze Weile, dann sieht die Anerkennung nicht nur so aus, dass man ne Prämie bekommt, sondern man hat als Lehrer angefangen, und dann hat man seine Arbeit gut gemacht und dann kommen die andern und sagen, eigentlich	Klasse, geht Richtung Klasse
00:08:25	Klasse	Sm?	Äh.(.) Eine, äh, Arbeitsleitung-, oder eine Leitungsfunktion. °	Lw zeigt nach links, Sw1 meldet sich Lw nickt
		Lw	Richtich. Richtich.	Sw1 nimmt Arm runter, Sm11 meldet sich
		Sm?	Vielleicht eine Lohnerhöhung.	
		Lw	Mhm.	
		Sw?	Man wird als Vorbild ( ) hingestellt.	Sm4, Sm7, Sm19, Sw1 melden sich
		Sm7	Man kann sich qualifizieren.	Sm19 nimmt Arm runter
00:08:42	Tafel	Lw	Wunderbar. So, das heißt also, qualifizieren ( ) für die Arbeit°, (3) und man hat Erfolge und Erfolge zu haben, das ist schon immer ein Erlebnis. Wenn ein Mensch keine Erfolge hat, ich glaube, euch gings allen mehr oder weniger doch schon mal in so ner Situation da, ja, ihr habt euch angestrengt und habt geglaubt, das Beste zu geben	Sw1, Sm4 nehmen Arm runter; Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt an: Pfeil nach links: „Qualifizieren, Erfolgserleben", geht wieder Richtung Klasse
00:09:06	Klasse		und dann kriecht° ihr keine Anerkennung. Und das, was ihr euch vorgenommen habt, das ist so richtig in die Binsen gegangen. Na, dann seid ihr richtig innerlich fix und alle, dann geht ihr so richtig auf n Röhren so, nach Hause, und sagt, Mensch, lass mich bloß zufrieden, kein Erfolgserlebnis, (keine Arbeit mehr). So, und dieser Bereich, den wir jetzt hier durchgesprochen haben, der hängt doch auch mit der Arbeit zusammen und ein Punkt müssen wir noch be-rücksichtigen, du arbeitest ja nicht allein. Du lernst nicht allein. Was gehört also zu dem Begriff Arbeit, für euch könnt ich einsetzen Lernen, noch dazu?	Sm2 klopft mit rechter Hand auf linke Hand Lw geht Richtung Tafel, Sw9 blickt nach hinten Lw geht Richtung Klasse Sm13 meldet sich
		Sm12	Der Wettbewerb vielleicht untereinander.	
		Lw	Ja.	Lw zeigt Richtung Sm13
		Sm13	Als ein Kollektiv wirken.	
00:09:55	Tafel	Lw	(Richtig.) Das heißt, das Kollektiv° (3) und die Kontakte zu anderen Menschen (3), das ist mit der Arbeit ganz eng verbunden. Das habt ihr ausgezeichnet gemacht. Frank, dir fällt noch was ein?	Lw geht Richtung Tafel, schreibt: Pfeil nach links oben: „Kollektiv/ Kontakte zu anderen Menschen", geht wieder Richtung Klasse
00:10:18	Klasse	Sm4	Vielleicht auch noch, äh°, den Lohn für die Freizeit verwenden?	
00:10:33	Tafel	Lw	Natürlich, ja, das kannst du auch. Wolln wer mal an dieser Stelle Schluss machen? Ich weiß, @euch fällt bestimmt noch das ein oder andere ein, wenn wir noch länger darüber reden, sicherlich, da fällt uns noch viel ein°, aber das ist ja nich das letzte Mal, dass das Arbeiten oder das Lernen in unserem Leben eine so bedeutsame Rolle spielt.	
00:10:40				

2. Sequence (00:10:40-00:15:39): The existential meaning of work for humans

Time-code	Camera	Speak-er	In-class conversation	Other classroom activities
00:10:40	chalk-board	Tf	Um, and that is what I wanted to ask you about now. When you look at the whole thing, everything we have written down, then work is extremely important. So what does it mean for the individual? (2)°	
00:10:58	class			Sm7, Sf1 raise their hands; Sm4, Sm18 raise their hands
		Sm7	His whole life.	
		Tf	Yes.	
		Sm?	Basically the experience of success.	
		Sm18	A (meaningful) undertaking.	Sm13 raises his hand
00:11:16	chalk-board	Sm4	Employment against (work), against boredom. (.)°	Tf points to Sf1
00:11:17	class	Sf1	Improvement in the standard of living.°	Tf points left
		Sf?	Life (determining) of an individual.	
		Sm?	Self-validation, so what, how you work, what you (do)	
		Tf	∟(Thus you can). How you work is how you	
		Sm?	∟ live.	Tf nods, points to Sm13
		Sm13	Work is the basis of everything else.	
		Tf	Which answer did you like best of all the ones here, you've been listening to them all. Which answer covers everything that we've said here?	Sm7 raises his hand, Tf points left
		Sf?	I thought (Martin's) was pretty good..	Sm13 smiles
		Tf	(Martin), can you repeat that?	
		Sm13	Work is the basis for everything.	
		Tf	Yes.	
		Sm7	Um, I thought Marten's, so, work is life.	S?3 lowers hand.
		Tf	Yes, work is the basis. What else did you want to say?	
		S?3	I would also say, Marten's (life)	
		Tf	Good. Then I would say, that we write these answers down. Work, maybe we can turn that into a nice sentence, Marten.	
		Sm13	Work is the basis for the other, um, experiences, in life.	Tf writes something on the chalkboard.
00:12:23	chalk-board	Tf	Work, you said it differently, is the° basis (5) of what?	Tf closed the left wing of the chalkboard, writes: "Work is the basis", turns to class
		Sm13	Life.	Sf1 raises her hand briefly
		Tf	For whose life?	
		Sm13	The individual's	
00:12:50	partial	Tf	Yes. For (6) human life (..)°. And that includes the individual. Okay with this phrase? Yes? Everyone? So we've got everything covered. These thoughts about work that we have just° made have been thought about by a lot of people, not just us. Because it's, like we just said, the basis of everything that determines the life of a human, of course you have to think about that, right. And other people have come to this same conclusion. One of them, I think the one who had the most definitive thoughts about it, is Friedrich Engels, and Karl Marx of course. And Friedrich Engels wrote this. And I put a part of the quote	Tf turns to the chalkboard, writes, "for human life."; Sm12 turns to the side, speaks (?), laughs
00:12:58	chalk-board			

00:13:36	class			on the chalkboard and now you have° the following assignment: Compare that what Engels said about work and the role of work for people with what you came up with.°	Sm2 sits up, stretches his back Tf go towards the chalkboard Tf opens up the right wing of the chalkboard
00:13:46	chalk-board				On the chalkboard: "Work is the source of all wealth. It is the basic condition for life... it created people." Tf pushes up the chalkboard, goes to the side.
			Tf	(3) and then tell me what you think about that. (8)°	
00:13:59	class			(3) Carsten.	Sm10 raises his hand S?3, Sm4 raise their hands, Tf points left S?3 lowers hand
			Sm?	So, it's about the same, just a bit better stated.	Sm10 lowers his hand
			Tf	What do you think?	
			Sm4	Um, I don't really understand that, it created people.	S?3 raises hand
			Tf	Hmm, think about your biology class. Where did standing upright come from?	S?3 holds up his hand high in the air to respond.
			S?	(Apes)	S?3 puts hand down
			Sm4	@from apes.	Sf9 smiles Sm10, Sm11 grin
			Tf	@heh-heh@ Engels also said that humans came from apes, we're not quite of the same opinion there. Uh, they have the same origin. The – go ahead.	Sm10 coughs Sm10 raises hand; Tf points to Sm10.
			Sm10	Through work that they had to do earlier.	Tf makes a gesture of support; Tf turns briefly to the chalkboard
			Tf	Human thought was constructed, the human hand, upright gait, that is, that through the work that humans did, namely to be able to live, (through work we can), if it is a savage or if it's a modern, civilised human, work has to be done to live, must ( ) can be fed. You have to earn your living. And since humans were forced to, they turned to new instruments for help, yes, they used tools and this development made humans develop into that what we call a human today, with a highly developed consciousness, with language and with a, with a universal instrument. Your two hands with ten fingers, and of course standing upright. So, all this is work for people°, and you have shown that beautifully.	Tf bends forward Eye contact Sm10, Sm11 Sm10 turns to Sm13, Sm13 demonstratively crosses his arms on the desk, Sm10, Sm11cross their arms in imitation Tf walks towards the chalkboard. Tf stand behind the lectern.
00:15:37	chalk-board				
00:15:39					

2. Sequenz (00:10:40-00:15:39): Die existentielle Bedeutung der Arbeit für den Menschen

Zeit	Kamera	Spre-cherIn	Unterrichtsgespräch	Andere Aktivitäten
00:10:40	Tafel	Lw	Äh, und das wollt ich euch jetzt eigentlich fragen. Wenn ihr euch das Ganze mal anseht, was wir hier zusammen getragen haben, dann ist doch die Arbeit außerordentlich wichtig. Was bedeutet sie für den einzelnen Menschen eigentlich? (2)°	
00:10:58	Klasse			Sm7, Sw1 melden sich, Sm4, Sm18 melden sich
		Sm7	Sein ganzes Leben.	
		Lw	Ja.	
		Sm?	Ebent ein Erfolgserlebnis.	
		Sm18	Eine (erfüllende) Aufgabe.	Sm13 meldet sich
00:11:16	Tafel	Sm4	Beschäftigung gegen (die Arbeit), gegen Langeweile. (.)°	Lw zeigt zu Sw1
00:11:17	Klasse	Sw1	Verbesserung des Lebensniveaus.°	
		Sm?	Das Leben (bestimmend) eines Einzelnen.	Lw zeigt nach links
		Sm?	Eigene Bestätigung von sich selbst, also was-, wie man arbeitet, was man (arbeitet)	
		Lw	└ (So kann man). Wie man arbeitet, so kann man	
		Sm?	└ leben.	Lw nickt, zeigt zu Sm13
		Sm13	Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für alles andere.	
		Lw	Welche Antwort hat euch denn jetzt eigentlich am besten gefallen, von allen, die hier gekommen sind, ihr habt doch zugehört. Welche Antwort hat, das alles enthält eigentlich alles, was wir hier gesagt haben?	Sm7 meldet sich, Lw zeigt nach links
		Sw?	Ich fand (Martin) seine ganz gut.	Sm13 lächelt
		Lw	(Martin), wiederholst du noch mal?	
		Sm13	Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für alles andere.	
		Lw	Ja.	
		Sm7	Äh, ich fand Marten seine, Arbeit ist Leben, also.	S?3 nimmt Arm herunter
		Lw	Ja, Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt. Du wolltest noch was sagen?	
		S?3	Ich würd auch sagen, von Marten (Leben)	
		Lw	Gut. Dann würd ich sagen, schreiben wir uns mal diese Aussage an. Die Arbeit, vielleicht formulieren wir das noch mal schön im Satz, Marten	
		Sm13	Die Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt für die andern, äh, Er-lebnisse, im Leben	
00:12:23	Tafel	Lw	Die Arbeit, du hast es noch anders gesagt, ist der° Aus-gangspunkt (5) wofür?	Lw schreibt etwas an die Tafel. Lw hat linke Tafelseite zugeklappt, schreibt:: „Die Arbeit ist der Ausgangspunkt", dreht sich zur Klasse, Sw1 meldet sich kurz
		Sm13	Das Leben.	
		Lw	Für das Leben wessen?	
		Sm13	Des Einzelnen.	
00:12:50	Aus-schnitt	Lw	Ja. Für das Leben (6) des Menschen (..)°. Und da is ja der Einzelne erfasst. Einverstanden mit der Formulierung? Ja? Alle? Ham wer alles drin. Diese Gedanken um die	Lw dreht sich zur Tafel, schreibt: „für das Leben des Menschen" Sm12 dreht sich zur Seite, spricht (?), lacht
00:12:58	Tafel		Arbeit, die wir uns jetzt° ebent gemacht ham, ham sich	

				natürlich schon viele Menschen gemacht, nicht nur wir. Denn weil sie ja grade, wie ihr gesagt habt, der Ausgangspunkt für alles, was das Leben des Menschen bestimmt, ist, muss man natürlich darüber nachdenken, nich. Und zu dieser Erkenntnis sind also andere schon gekommen. Und einer von ihnen, ich glaube derjenige, der die entscheidendsten Gedanken gehabt hat, ist Friedrich Engels, und Karl Marx natürlich. Und Friedrich Engels hat das auch formuliert. Und ich habe euch ein Teil dieser Formulierung als Zitat mal an die Tafel geschrieben und ihr habt jetzt mal° folgende Aufgabe: Vergleicht mal das, was Engels gesagt hat zur Arbeit und zur Rolle der Arbeit für den Menschen mit dem, was ihr festgestellt habt.°	
00:13:36	Klasse				Sm2 richtet sich auf, streckt Rücken
					Lw geht Richtung Tafel
00:13:46	Tafel				Lw klappt rechte Tafelseite zu, Tafelanschrift: „Die Arbeit ist die Quelle allen Reichtums. Sie ist die erste Grundbedingung allen Lebens… Sie hat den Menschen selbst geschaffen.“
		Lw		(3) und sagt mir eure Meinung dazu. (8)°	Lw schiebt Tafel nach oben, tritt zur Seite
00:13:59	Klasse				
				(3) Carsten.	Sm10 meldet sich
					S?3, Sm4 melden sich, Lw zeigt nach links
		Sm?		Also, ist fast das Gleiche, bloß ist es etwas besser ausformuliert.	S?3 nimmt Arm runter
					Sm10 nimmt Arm runter
		Lw		Was meinst du?	
		Sm4		Na, ick versteh das nich ganz. Sie hat den Menschen selbst geschaffen.	S?3 meldet sich
		Lw		Äh, denkt mal an den Biologieunterricht. Woher kommt der aufrechte Gang?	S?3 streckt Arm durch beim Melden
		S?		(Affen)	
		Sm4		@Vom Affen.	S?3 nimmt Arm runter
					Sw9 lächelt, Sm10, Sm11 grinsen
		Lw		@Hehe@ Engels hat auch gesagt, der Mensch stammt vom Affen ab, aber ich glaube, da sind wir nicht ganz so einer Meinung, ja. Äh, sie haben gleiche Ausgangspunkte. Der-, bitte.	Sm10 hustet
					Sm10 meldet sich
					Lw zeigt zu Sm10.
		Sm10		Durch die Arbeit, die se früher verrichten mussten.	
		Lw		Hat sich ausgebildet das Denken des Menschen, die Hand des Menschen, der aufrechte Gang, das heißt, durch die Arbeit, die der Mensch verrichtet, nämlich um leben zu können, (könn wer durch Arbeiten), ob das der Urmensch ist oder ob das der moderne, zivilisierte Mensch ist, Arbeit muss geleistet werden, um leben zu können, muss ( ) dich ernähren können. Du musst doch deinen Lebensunterhalt schaffen können. Und dadurch dass der Mensch dazu gezwungen war, hat er sich ja immer neue Hilfsmittel genommen, ja, er hat also Werkzeuge benutzt und durch diese Entwicklung hat sich der Mensch eigentlich zu dem entwickelt, was er heute als Mensch ist, mit einem ausgeprägten Bewusstsein, mit einer Sprache und mit einer, mit einem Universalhandwerkszeug. Deine beiden Hände mit zehn Fingern, und natürlich dem aufrechten Gang. So. Das alles ist also die Arbeit für den Menschen°, und das habt ihr ganz ausjezeichnet gemacht.	Lw gestikuliert unterstützend
					Lw dreht sich kurz zur Tafel
					Lw beugt sich nach vorne
					Blickkontakt Sm10, Sm11
					Sm10 dreht sich um zu Sm13, Sm13 deutet gestisch verschränkte Hände auf dem Tisch an, Sm10, Sm11, Sm13 verschränken die Arme
00:15:37	Tafel				Lw geht Richtung Tafel
					Lw steht hinterm Pult
00:15:39					

Tilman Grammes

Symbols of Citizenship Education in Schools: A Pictoral Analysis

This gallery is designed to simulate a walk through a school building regarding symbols, moments and rituals of formal and informal citizenship education as it might appear to a pupil/student/teacher during the course of a normal school day.

The five contributions from Japan, Poland, Luxemburg/Germany[1], Germany and Denmark document examples from the actual citizenship studies curriculum.

A contribution from Turkey had to be halted owing to a failure to obtain permission for the project from the Ministry of Education.

The following elements (motifs) were to be included in all of the examples to facilitate comparability:

1 The school entrance
(open/closed; name of the school; security facilities …)

2 The school grounds/courtyards
(with symbols and signs of belonging)

3 The entrance foyer
as often displaying a mission statement, flag or other forms of identification and affiliation

4 Corridors to the classrooms, including wall decorations
(official artefacts, student work …)

5 The interior of a Civics or Social Studies classroom
a) The front of a classroom with the teacher's desk (if there is one), and black or white board, including wall decorations around it
b) Civics or Social Studies lesson of,
students engaging in individual or group work or indicating a desire to speak in a plenary setting,
seating arrangements,
examples of the clothes students might wear including school uniforms.
c) Wall decoration in the classroom
(poster with classroom rules, examples from student work, …)

6 A "typical" page from a civics textbook

7 An assembly hall, probably during a particular school event
(associated in some way with CE)
8 An entrance to a teachers'/staff room

(open to everybody/closed)

9 School events related to Citizenship Education
("Independence Day" or substitute)

10 The school's homepage: the presentation of the school to the wider public
(with reference perhaps to how the school got its name or to other facets of its history)

The various elements are presented below in two ways:
First in a "vertical" gallery arranged randomly by school and secondly in a "horizontal" gallery according to theme with commentaries omitted in the latter.

All photographs were taken by the authors; in one case (Denmark), the team employed a professional photographer.

The inclusion of students and staff in the photographs was not specified in advance. In the Japanese collection, students and staff are included in most pictures.

Two of the schools (Deutsch-Luxemburgisches Schengen-Lyzeum Perl; Stadtteilschule Am Hafen, Hamburg) have an explicit "European" profile. The Danish educational site is an example of a university campus and does not contain all of the motifs. With the exception of the Japanese gallery, the individual contributions focus on one location only. Furthermore, bilingual commentaries are available in the case of the Japanese contribution in other to facilitate analysis of the translation.

Additional motifs for own attempts might for example be:
- A student assembly room or student assembly in progress
- Links with the outside work: for example a student project or service learning in the local community or other form of contact with the general public
- Power and access: For example access to different forms of digital tools; students with or without iphones during breaks/school site online or off-line

For use in academic seminars, the photographs can be printed in colour and sorted into groups, commenting on the nature of the classifications afterwards. Interpretation in seminars could focus on explicit or informal symbols, rituals, gestures and perfomative elements (Bergstedt, Herbert, Kraus, Wulf 2012, Wulf 2012).

Which similarities and which differences do we observe? Do the explicit and implicit codes of the photographs represent specific regional or national cultures or a kind of international "world" CE-classroom? Issues around the arrangement of signs and symbols of affiliation at different levels could be discussed including the local level (the school's mission statement or the school name), the regional level, the level of the state, the European level and finally in a more global sense (for example references to human rights).

The following references give a flavour of existing research in the field: Ito 2011, Schiffauer et.al. 2002, Su 2010, Journal of Tacit Pedagogical Knowledge

This material is intended to stimulate comparative research. JSSE would like to publish research on this material or on additional aspects including for example national holidays and their relationship with citizenship (Sauer 2012).

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Endnote:

[1] The „Deutsch-Luxemburgisches Schengen-Lyzeum Perl/German-Luxembourgish Schengen Lyceum Perl" (official school name) is situated in the town of Perl in the federal state of Saarland, Germany. Provider of the school are Germany and Luxembourg. "Schengen" is a small village in Luxembourg, where in 1985 the Schengen agreement was signed.

Ryoko Sano

Elementary Schools, Japan
(Different Prefectures)

Sources

All schools are boarding schools.

(A) Shinmei elementary school Nagano Prefecture

(B) Shimosuwa-minami elementary school Nagano Prefecture

(C) Ishihama-nishi elementary school Aichi Prefecture

(D) Unosato elementary school Aichi Prefecture

(E) Ichiba elementary school Tokushima Prefecture

(F) Mihama-utase elementary school Chiba Prefecture

(G) Ohoka elementary school Kanagawa Prefecture

The entrance to a school building (A)
Up until 40 years ago, every school building in Japan was the same design. The number of school buildings of different designs has increased in recent years. In many schools, flower beds and flower pots are placed near the entrance to welcome the children and visitors. The school crest adorns the outer wall of the school building. A monument containing a carving of the school song is placed at the entrance.

Courtyard (A)

In this school, teachers think it important to learn through experiential activity. The fourth graders (9 years old or 10 years old) keep a goat in the schoolyard. Following extensive discussion, the children decided to keep a goat. By caring for it, they acquire both biological and social knowledge. They also acquire knowledge and skills from specialists. For example, they learn how to build a hut and paint it from a carpenter, how to breed a goat from a veterinarian and how to milk it from a farmer.

An entrance foyer

Since an entrance foyer is a place where all the children often come and go, it is used for the provision or information. A slogan is put up on the wall of the entrance foyer. Children considered the wording of the slogan and decided on "a school with many pleasant things". There are two notices other than children's slogan. One "will often read a newspaper." Another "will get to know the beauty of a flower." These reflect a teacher's wishes. The history of the school is also exhibited and makes locals nostalgic.

Corridors to the classrooms: Learning from cleaning (A)

Cleaning in a school may be performed in a multi-grade group which consists of children of different ages. An older student may teach a lower grade student the method of cleaning. The opportunity to use a broom has been decreasing at home recently. It is also an opportunity to study the traditional cleaning method.

In the classroom: Speaking during the lesson (B)

In the third grader's (8 years old or 9 years old) classroom, public speaking in preparation for a town event is practiced. In this class, children made bean paste from the soybean and have studied the dish. The children want the people of the town to eat a class-made bean paste dish at the event. They explain how well the dish has been cooked. A student raises their hand before expressing an opinion. If nominated to speak, they then stand-up and speak at an appropriate volume to allow everyone to hear. They are also encouraged to face their audience. These are the rules of the classroom.

In the classroom: A social studies lesson (A)

The social studies lesson is performed in the sixth grader's (11 years old or 12 years old) classroom. The contents are the history of Japan. Children consider the policies which the government of the Edo period followed for a long time. They consider evaluations of these policies using various sources of information such as a textbook, a reference book, an atlas or an old map, and history comics. The Internet is also often used as an investigative tool. The desks are arranged in the form of "U" so that it is easy to hear everybody's opinion. When discussing, the role of a chairman is decided by children. They sit on the seat in front of a blackboard. The school target and the class target are hung up over the wall near the blackboard.

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A classroom wall (E)

Cleaning of the classroom by teachers and children is performed after lunch in many schools. Various notices are stuck on the wall at the back of a classroom. These concern learning outcome such as penmanship of calligraphy, record of vegetable observation, and a picture diary etc.

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A social studies (citizenship) textbook

Sixth graders (11 years old or 12 years old) in an elementary school, and third graders (14 years old or 15 years old) in a junior high school that study politics, economy, or the constitution. The textbook explain issues in a simple fashion using illustrations and photographs. Social-studies is intended to develop active citizenship and the application of knowledge.

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A social studies (citizenship) textbook

Center and the left are the textbooks of a junior high school. On the right is a textbook from an elementary school. There is the photograph of the Diet Building on the cover of the elementary school textbook.

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Arrangements for a ceremony (D)

In many cases, ceremonies are held in a gymnasium. The national flag and the regional flag may be hung in the center of a stage. Those who make a speech bow towards the flag(s), before going up onto the stage.

A ceremony

The entrance to the staff room (F)

Should a staffroom door encourage you to enter the room? Or should it discourage you? This is a difficult problem. As shown in the photograph, a school used a glass wall as the staff room wall. As teachers can be seen from outside, many children enter in search of comfort. However, some rules do apply. Firstly the children must greet the teacher and then introduce themselves explaining why they have come.

In the staff room (G)

View into the staff room with conference tables, information walls, boards and a projector. The design of the walls and the equipment creates a pleasant atmosphere. Next door to the staff room, there is a tea kitchen with sofas where the teachers can relax during their free lessons.

Graduation ceremony (C)

The photos give an insight into the graduation ceremony at the end of the school year. The sports hall is decorated with Polish flags, the Polish coat of arms and a portrait of the schools´ patron Marie Skłodowska-Curie. The school flag is presented by students. For students, parents and teachers, this day is the most significant celebration after three years of cooperation, intensive work and final exams.

1	学校の入口	日本の校舎建築は、４０年ほど前までは、画一性が高いことが特徴だったが、近年は様々なデザインの校舎が増えてきている。多くの学校が、入口付近に花壇を設けたり、花の咲いたプランターを置いて、子どもたちや来校者を迎えるための工夫をしている。入口には、学校の校章や校歌の歌詞を刻んだ石碑などが置かれている。
2	中庭	この学校では、体験的な活動を通して学ぶことを重視している。中庭では4年生（9才～10才）がみんなでヤギを飼っている。ヤギの世話を通して、生物学的な知識や社会的なルールを学んでいく。地域の専門家に学校に来てもらい、小屋のたて方やペンキの塗り方を教わったり、獣医からヤギの出産について学んだり、酪農家から乳の絞り方を教えてもらう。
3	昇降口の廊下	昇降口の廊下は、全校児童が行き交うため、交流の場としての機能を持たせている。校舎に入って、すぐ目に留まる場所に、子どもたちが考えた理想の学校のスローガンが掲示されている。それは「楽しい思い出を作れる学校」と子どもの字で書かれている。また、世の中のことをよく知るために「しんぶんをたくさんよもう」という掲示が、新聞記事のスクラップと共に掲示されていたり、身近なものに目をむけるために「はなの美しさをかんじよう」という言葉が掲げられている。古い学校の表札もここに飾り、学校の歴史を感じたり、校舎が新しくなっても地域の人たちが懐かしく思えるよう配慮されている。ベンチは子どもたちのおしゃべりの場として活用されている。
4	掃除の様子	学校内の掃除は、「たてわり活動」と呼ばれるグループで行われることがある。上級生と下級生がペアを組んで、一緒に掃除を行う。上級生は下級生に掃除の仕方を教えることもある。最近は家庭で箒を使ったり、雑巾がけをする機会が少なくなってきている。昔ながらの清掃方法を学ぶ機会にもなっている。
5a	授業での指名と発言	3年生（8才～9才）の教室では、地域のイベントに参加するための話し合いが行われている。このクラスでは授業で大豆から味噌をつくり、味噌を使った料理の研究をしてきた。地域のイベントで自分たちの味噌料理を食べてもらうために、どうすれば美味しく作れるか、グループで工夫したことを発表している。話し合いの時には、挙手－指名－起立（イスをつくえに入れて姿勢を正して立つ）－発言、という一連の動作が話す時のルールになっている。話を聞く子どもたちは、話す人の方へ体をむけることを心がけるよう指導されている。
5b	社会科の授業	6年生（11才～12才）の教室、社会科で歴史の授業が行われている。江戸幕府が長く続いた理由を考える授業で、子どもたちは教科書や参考書や地図帳、あるいは古い地図や歴史マンガなど様々な資料をみながら予想をたてている。調べるツールとしては、インターネットもしばしば利用される。皆の意見が聞きやすいように、机をコの字に配列し、話し合いの時には司会役を決めて、黒板の前の席にすわる。黒板の周りには、学校目標や学級目標が掲げられている。
5c	教室の背面	日本では多くの学校で昼食後に教師と子どもたちによる校内の清掃活動が行われる。教室後方の壁面は、習字や植物の観察記録などの学習成果物や係活動のお知らせ、連絡など様々な掲示物が貼られている。
6.1	社会科の教科書	公民的学習（政治・法律・憲法の仕組みに関する学習）は、小学校では６年生で、中学校では３年生で行われる。教科書には挿絵や写真を使って、分かりやすく説明している。社会科教育は、市民として社会を創造していく力を育てることを目的としている。実際には、知識を理解するような授業になることが多い。

6.2	社会科の教科書	中央と左にあるのが中学校の教科書。右が小学校の教科書。小学校の教科書の表紙には、国会議事堂の写真がある。
7	式典の様子	式典はおもに体育館で行われる。舞台の中央には国旗や地域の旗が掲げられることがある。舞台で話をする人は、舞台にあがる前に旗に向かって一礼する。
8.1	職員室の入口	職員室は、開かれた方がいいのか、閉じている方がいいのか、今も議論がわかれている。このようにガラス壁面にして、視覚的にはオープンな状態にしている校舎もある。見えることで、安心して職員室にやってくる子どもも多い。しかし、子どもの入室自体は一定の制限を設けている場合が多く、入る時にも挨拶と用件を先に述べるルールが徹底されている。
8.2	校長室の歴代校長写真	校長室には、歴代校長の写真が飾られていることが多い。校長室の広さはあまり広くないが、そこには執務用の個人机とミーティングテーブルとティーテーブルの3つがあり、用途で使い分けられている。
9	集団的行事	親や地域の人々を招待して、学校での教育活動の成果を「発表会」で披露することがある。 「発表会」の時には、体育館を様々に装飾したり、ステージを子どもたちの手作りの花などで飾ったりする。国旗と校旗も飾られ、儀式としての空間を設える。

Ewa Artych, Wieslawa Witkowska

Maria Skłodowska-Curie Liceum, Sokołów Podlaski, Polen

The entrance to the school building

The First Lyceum called Maria Skłodowska-Curie is the oldest and largest Secondary school in Sokołów Podlaski, a town with 20.000 inhabitants in eastern Poland. Over three years, students prepare for their high school diploma. The main goal of the school is to encourage a broad and diverse development of the students.

The photo shows the main entrance to the school building. In the annex on the right hand side, there is a small auditorium which is also used as a canteen.

Courtyard

The courtyard of the Lyceum was created as part of a school project with the participation of the students. There are lots of lawns, plants and seating where the students can relax during the breaks and after school.

An entrance hall
The entrance hall with access to the secretary´s office and the headmaster´s office. In the entrance hall, there is the Polish flag and a portrait of Marie Skłodowska-Curie (1867-1934), the Jewish-Polish nuclear physicist, Nobel prize winner and school´s patron. In a glass case, the founding flag of the school is displayed. On the opposite side of the office, the students can visit a small library with schoolbooks, current magazines and newspapers.

Corridors to the classrooms
Corridor to the classrooms with lockers for students. At the end of the corridor, a small shop is situated where teachers and students can buy sweets and drinks. In the stairwell, pictures illustrating the school traditions: the most important events of school life such as school feasts, exchange projects or graduation ceremonies are displayed as components of a photo collage which is added to every school year.

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In the classroom: view of the board

View into a classroom with board, whiteboard and projector. Teachers have their own classroom which is prepared according to the subject

In the classroom: A social studies lesson

The subjects "Wiedza o społeczeństwie" (social studies) and history are taught in combination as one subject. The photo demonstrates the regular study of a textbook. In the background, there are other media such as maps and globes.

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In the classroom: decoration on the walls

The Catholic Church is of great importance in Polish schools. There is a crucifix in every classroom. Beside the crucifix, there are the coat of arms of Sokołów Podlaski and the coat of arms of Poland (gold crowned white eagle on a red background).

Pictures from a textbook in Civic Education

The textbook "Wiedza o społeczeństwie" (Engl.: knowledge about society / social studies) written by Piotr Krzesicki and Małgorzata Poręba is one of the best known books on social studies in Poland. The cover photo shows hands in different colours raised to vote. It underlines how important it is in a democracy to participate in political processes and to express one's opinion, even if it is different from those of others.

Auditorium

The school auditorium with a small stage for school performances. During the week, the auditorium is also used as a canteen and as a rehearsal room for a theatre group or other working groups. As the auditorium is too small for big school events where the whole school community participates, these events take place in the sports hall of the school.

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The entrance to the staff room

The door can be opened with a magnetic card (see card reader at the right). In the glass case on the left, there are materials produced by the students for different projects or subjects.

In the staff room

View into the staff room with conference tables, information walls, boards and a projector. The design of the walls and the equipment creates a pleasant atmosphere. Next door to the staff room, there is a tea kitchen with sofas where the teachers can relax during their free lessons.

Graduation ceremony / independence ceremony

The photos give an insight into the graduation ceremony at the end of the school year. The sports hall is decorated with Polish flags, the Polish coat of arms and a portrait of the schools´ patron Marie Skłodowska-Curie. The school flag is presented by students. For students, parents and teachers, this day is the most significant celebration after three years of cooperation, intensive work and final exams.

Graduation ceremony

Screenshot of the school homepage:
The homepage of the Maria Skłodowska-Curie Lyceum presents the traditions and the pedagogical concept of the school. At the same time, it offers information about timetables, current school projects and e-learning-tools (www.liceum.sokolowpodl.pl).

Nancy Morys, Matthias Busch

German-Luxembourgish Schengen Lyceum, Perl, Luxembourg

The entrance to the school building

Forecourt of the school with flagpole: Normally, the European flag and the school´s flag are flying here on the forecourt, on special feast days there are also the German and the Luxembourgish flag as well as the flag of the Saarland region. The German-Luxemburgish Schengen Lyceum, founded in 2007, is a modern bi-national Secondary School at the German-Luxembourgish-French border. The school is funded and administrated by the ministries of Luxembourg and the Saarland region. It offers a full-time programme for students. The Schengen Lyceum combines characteristic elements of the Luxembourgish and German school systems and offers qualifications from both countries. Teachers and students come from Luxembourg and Germany, some of them also from France.

Courtyard

View into the courtyard: In the middle of the courtyard, there is a fountain and a podium which is used as a stage for school events when the weather is good. In the background, there are a football field and a basketball court. They can also be used for volleyball, hiking, table tennis, fitness or other games during recreation, in physical education, and in the afternoon.

An entrance hall

The entrance hall with seating created by the students, an electronic display and a board for current information. Suspended from the ceiling are boards displaying statements of the school´s mission ("Leitbild") which has been developed by teachers, parents, and students. In the "Leitbild", the school community emphasizes the importance of the European idea as well as the opportunities created by the cultural diversity ensured by the transnational character of the school. According to the Leitbild, the students shall be qualified to live and work in an intercultural, open minded Europe. This is intended to be achieved through student engagement with active, collaborative forms of learning as well as through cooperation with partners and institutions of the Greater Saarland-Lorraine/France-Luxembourg region.

Corridors to the classrooms

The corridors to the classrooms with "learning units" in the form of separate tables where students can work in small groups during the lessons. On the left hand side we see lockers for students and on the walls student output from the art classes.

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In the classroom: view of the board

Classroom with smart-board and table groups, wooden door with transparent glass feature. On the wall: the class photo taken during the recording of the TV show "Tigerentenclub".

In the classroom: A social studies lesson

Social studies / Civic education: Simulation of an election with voting booth, election committee, and ballot box. It is intended that students should gain an insight into the significance, purpose and function of a democratic election. This lesson is inspired by the occasion of an upcoming federal election in Germany.

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The wall at the back of the classroom

In the cupboard, there are the students´ files and various dictionaries and encyclopedias which can be used autonomously during the lessons and free studies (dictionary French-German, Luxembourgish-German, English-German, The Duden of the German orthography, dictionary of foreign words and synonyms, encyclopedia for politics, …). On the right and left hand sides, we can see current student productions created in different subjects or projects, e.g. posters presenting the programs of diverse political parties for the federal election, posters summarizing the rules of safe internet use ("Bee Secure") or supporting the professional orientation of the students. Furthermore, students can find useful information here, e.g. the timetable, the school calendar, opening hours for tutoring and assistance in different subjects, the classes´ birthday calendar, an overall view of the tasks to be accomplished (cleaning up, board and paper service, …).

Pictures from a textbook in Civic Education

These extracts are taken from the schoolbook "Éducation à la citoyenneté. Enseignement secondaire technique Luxembourg" (authors: Marie-Paule Eyschen, Michèle Schilt, Marc Schoentgen et al.; editors: Luxembourgish ministry of Education, publishing house Cornelsen; published in 2012). The book has been published in German and in French. It covers contents and methods concerning the school specific curriculum in Civic Education: The subject is taught in the German language up to the 8th grade (15 year old students), and after that in French. The curriculum includes genetic learning arrangements (e.g. the piece "Isle", p. 10) or diverse aspects of the European Union for all grades.

Auditorium

The auditorium is the central venue for all kinds of school events (e.g. school concerts, public lectures, panel discussions, conferences and feasts). Here, students also come together for the school assemblies where the head informs them about important issues and news relating to school life and the school community. On the left hand side at the rear of the auditorium are the flags of Luxembourg, Germany, France, the European Union and the Saarland region. On the right is the school logo. To the left of the stage, there is a sculpture created by 6th grade students (12 years old) which symbolizes living together in the school community. The auditorium can be expanded using sliding walls. When there are no events, the walls are opened and the auditorium can be used during recreation.

The entrance to a staff room
The entrance to a staff room, called "team room": In the school, there are seven of these team rooms for the teachers of the different grades. Students are encouraged to knock at the door, and they are not allowed to enter the team rooms without the teachers´ permission. Beside the team room is a wall with current information and student productions.

In the staff room

In the staff room:
   Team room with conference table, internet stations, post boxes, and cupboards. View to the shared terrace.

Christmas Party
   The most important event of the school year is the Christmas Party which is celebrated on a school-free Saturday in December. The event is prepared by teachers, students and parents over several months. Classes, project groups, and parents´ initiatives contribute to this event with artistic performances, decoration or food. The whole school is decorated. On the day of the Christmas Party, parents and grandparents, friends and interested persons from the whole region attend the event.
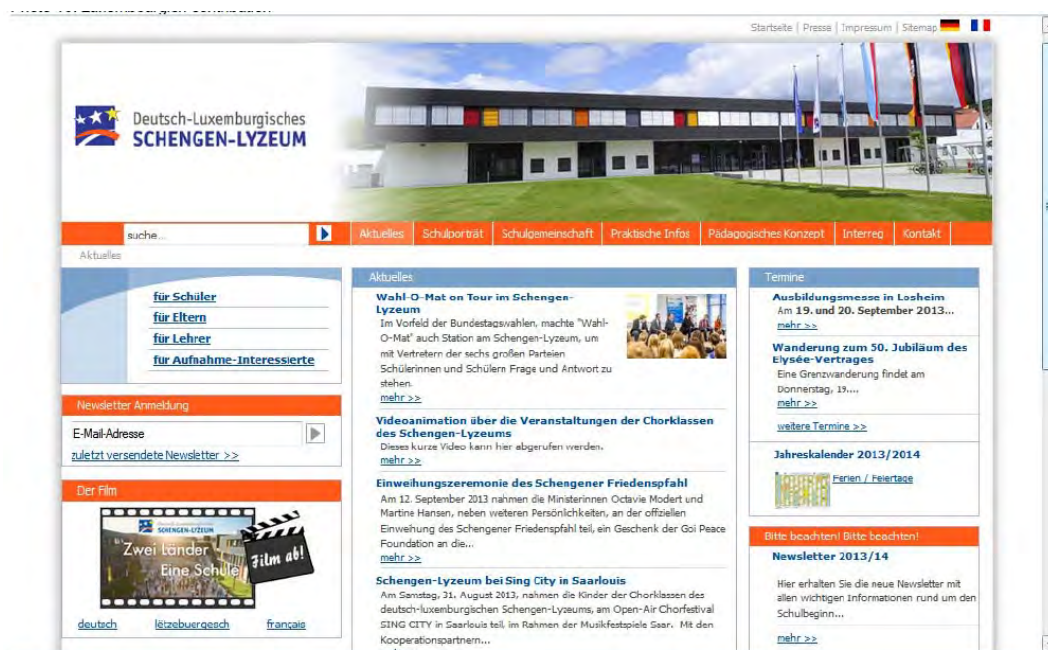
Screen-shot of the school homepage

Homepage of the school with current information about school life, events and an explanation of the pedagogical school concept (www.schengenlyzeum.eu).

Sascha Fronz

Stadtteilschule Am Hafen, Hamburg, Germany

Situation at the school entrance
Shown is the unused entrance as well as the outside of a newly constructed building which houses the canteen/cafeteria/hall as well as some classrooms and event rooms. The school's logo in combination with the school's name as well as a blue banner with a circle of „European Stars" and the slogan „Europaschule" (European School) can be seen on the outer wall. Furthermore, there are prominent white columns that are a specific part of the newly constructed buildings, shown on the righthand side of the picture. The actual entrance to the school is to be found in a side street which is can be seen to the extreme right of the picture. Built in the 1890s, the main building and the schoolground were extended by three new buildings at the beginning of the 21st century. Since 2005, the school has been called an "Europaschule" and since the years 2010/2011, the school has been a district school - a comprehensive school with senior grades. The four locations of the school are distributed all over the municipal area of Hamburg.

Courtyard
Part of the Courtyard with seats for the pupils. Roofed pavilions which are used as meeting points can be seen in the background. On the righthand side of the picture, the main building that consists of a newly constructed part as well as an old part, can be identified. The stairs at the entrance are covered with colored installations and are located between these two buildings.
A second courtyard, which is connected to the one shown, is at the back of the main building. There are a basketball and a football field as well as table-tennis tables. The gymnasium is linked with this second part. Between these sports fields there are more seats and open spaces for the pupils. Both courtyards can be used during recess and free working periods. Some of the school's festivities are held on the courtyard.

An entrance hall

Entrance area of the main building. The colored entrance stairs lead the way to two glass doors which are the entrance to the main building. The logo "Europaschule" is on the door mat.

Inside the entrance hall, the first thing we see is a screen displaying with the current schedule for teacher substitutions. Underneath there are showcases for internal school communication. The walls are covered with colorful pieces of paper greeting visitors in the different national languages of the pupils: Welcome.

Corridors to the classrooms

The corridor on the second floor of the main building is called „Europaflur"–„Europe corridor". Benches for sitting and resting are placed in this corridor. The fundamental stance of the school: peaceful co-existance in Europe is represented on the walls in the shape of projects made by the pupils.

Various design elements are found all over the school's corridors and represent the pupils' artistic self-expression. In another corridor, there are private lockers for the pupils to use.
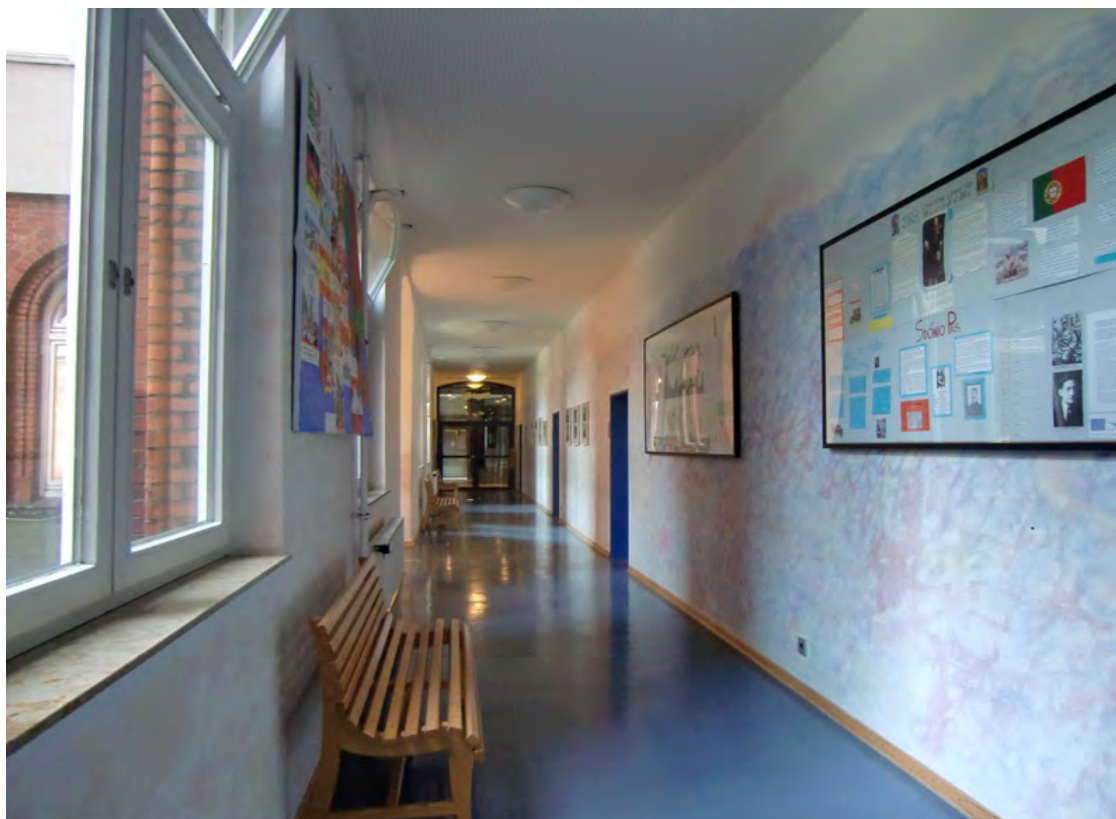
Classroom: Rear

Back wall of a classroom on the 2nd floor of the main building. This classroom is located in the old part of the school. Therefore, the walls and windows are quite large, which results in a bright and friendly atmosphere. Flags of EU member countries, as well as one of Turkey, are hanging on the wall in form of a garland. Between the individual national flags there are several EU flags. The Turkish flag is bigger, because it was attached afterwards.

Below the garland, each of the folders on the shelf has the name of a pupil on it. Further aspects of personalization can only be found occasionally.

Tables and chairs are arranged in a U-shape and directed towards the teacher's table as the central point in front of the panel. Additional tables, which are aligned with the others, fill the inner space of the U-shape. Therefore, various possibilities present themselves for changing the work and communication forms during the lessons as well as during the breaks.

Classroom: CE-lessons

Two different scenes from the CE lesson are shown. In the photos, both classes are working on the topic of the upcoming election for the German Bundestag. The pupils are preparing for an exploratory tour on which they will examine election posters in the school's surrounding areas.

The lower picture shows a classic question-answer situation between teacher and pupils, while the upper picture shows small groups working on the topic. The use of mobile phones and other online resources is permitted for research purposes.

Knowledge about the German electoral system and political parties is tested during the lesson shown in the lower picture. At this point, the pupils in the upper picture are not tested on such knowledge.

The unusual seating plan leads to a different approach to the topic as well as a difference in the pupils' motivation. While the pupils in the lower picture are focused on the teacher and only some are participating, the upper picture depicts a group-centered approach.

Classroom: Wall decoration

The side wall of a 10th grade classroom serves as an organizational area for both the class and school community.

In the upper row, two posters made by pupils are exhibited - one about Islam and the other one about Christianity. Next to it, there are two more posters on the rules of working together in a group. Below this we find a notice board with a schedule showing school appointments and class services.

Storage compartments for the pupils are situated on the wall, distinguished according to the subjects. Further storage areas which can be used by the teachers are to be found on a separate table next to the pupils' storage compartments, as well as an encyclopaedia and the class-register.

M4 Die Sage von der Entstehung Europas

M1 Die Europäische Zentralbank in Frankfurt/Main

„Festung Europa"

M1 Karikatur

M3 Sicherung der Außengrenze der EU (spanische Exklave Ceuta in Marokko)

Pictures from the CE book

Several graphics from the CE schoolbook of the 9th and 10th grade are shown: Brameier, Ulrich: Society for Hamburg 9/10. Westermann publishing house 2013. The students are being equipped with political as well as historical and geographical knowledge.

Every main chapter of the book starts with a prelude page – a double page which is intended to arouse interest and curiosity in the pupils. Furthermore, there are so-called method and project pages which convey basic methods and competences for every topic. The content pages offer topic-related information with secondary online references and further exercises.

The selection shown consists of photos and materials on the topic of Europe. The prelude page for this chapter shows the geography of Europe in a picture taken from outer space. On the lefthand side, a reference to Greek antiquity and the legend of how the European continents were named is presented. It shows the king's daughter Europe and the God father Zeus in form of a bull that is kidnapping Europe.

Below this, the picture shows the European Central Bank in Frankfurt am Main with the Euro symbol in front of the building as a symbol of European (monetary) Union. Another two sources are shown in the lower right corner. These symbolize the debate around dealing with aliens and refugees from other countries coming into the European Union. On the lefthand side of the picture, a caricature illustrates the EU as a fortress. The external boarder of the EU in the Spanish Ceuta can be seen on the right hand side of the picture.

Hall/school festivities

Within the school, the schoolyard and hall are the two most important places for school festivities, events, discussions and meetings.

The upper picture shows the back part of the schoolyard, which is primarily used for various events like the presentation of prizes and exhibitions, as well as sporting events in the summer months.

In the lower picture, the school's cafeteria, which is also used as hall, is visible. Pupils' projects are exhibited throughout the building which is open to the public. An installation which looks like colorful fish is hanging from the ceiling. National flags to the right of the picture represent the different countries of origin of the pupils.

The stage in the foreground is used for discussions and smaller events. A platform for spectators, which is located above the food counter, can be found on the other side of the room. During recess, or even before classes, the cafeteria serves as a meeting place for the pupils. The pupils have also created the motto panels above the food counter which display the slogan „peacefully, friendly, fairly", which has been the school's slogan since 2010.

The hall

The entrance to a staff room

The general staffroom is located on the second floor, in the old part of the main building. Additional subject teacher rooms are distributed across the other buildings. Furthermore, classrooms as well as the school administration are located in the same corridor. The administrative area includes the publically accessible secretary's office, the principal's office, which is also accessible as well as additional administrative and secretarial support.

The paintings around the entrance to the staffroom were produced by a previous class and symbolize some of Hamburg's prominent sights and buildings, such as the port, churches, the television tower and Hagenbeck's zoo. More photos, drawings and sculptures made by the pupils, as well as photos of school festivities, are presented in this corridor.

The staffroom can only be accessed by knocking on the door and waiting for a teacher to open from the inside. It is not possible for pupils to enter the staffroom independently. In addition, some seats for waiting pupils and visitors are situated in the corridor.

Europatag/exhibition

A special moment in the school's calendar of events is the "Europawoche" –Europe Week– and the "Europatag" –Europe Day–, which take place every year. In 2013, the "Europawoche" was held on the topic: „Hamburg, all of Europe in one town".

In one project, pupils in the 10th grade took photos with the help of a professional photographer under the title: „All of Europe in one school". Teachers, pupils and parents were invited to the presentation of the photos in a vernissage, so it became an event for the whole school. The photos include portraits, as well as landscape and architectural photographs created on specific topics. One important topic is the origin of the pupils. In addition, social and political questions regarding Europe and the European Union are approached in the pictures. Further events take place within the school and the lessons during the "Europawoche" and the "Europatag".

Screenshot school homepage

The homepage of the school shows the school's logo and name as well as a reference to the title "Europaschule", in front of a picture taken in class.

The homepage contains further information on the different school levels as well as contact persons within the school. Additionally, some information about the school's partners within Hamburg, which the school cooperates with, is listed.

The main part of the homepage consists of announcements and information on festivities, important appointments and school offers. These are updated ongoingly in form of a blog.

Klarissa Lueg, Rainer Lueg

Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark

The entrance: Memorial tablet for AU students who fell during German occupation

Another topic relevant in the context of representation, is keeping alive the memory of student resistance fighters during World War II. This plate lists victims of the German occupation who studied or had studied at AU: „I kampen for Denmarks frihed mistede følgende studenter fra Aarhus Universitet livet under verdenskrigen 1939-1945"/"Fighting for Denmark's freedom the following students from Aarhus University lost their lives during the world war 1939-1945". AU's annual report for the academic year 1944/1945 outlines what happened to each of the students: some were executed, some were killed during sabotage, and others lost their lives in concentration camps (Aarhus Universitet 1945).

The entrance to the university's assembly hall

The Danish flag 'Dannebrog' is officially flown at several university venues. Here, the impressive number of ten flags frame the otherwise rather unpretentious entrance to the main assembly hall. Flags are only flown on special and official occasions, still, the flag does not exclusively represent citizenship in a narrow official and institutionalized sense. Flags can also be found on employees' desks, lunch and dinner tables, and come in all forms (for a discussion of Danish national symbolism and political instrumentalisation, s. Jenkins 2011). The Dannebrog is often pointed to as the "most important symbol of Danishness, that is, the idea of a bond between all Danes independent of all (class-) differences." (Adriansen 1999, 100).

Above the entrance, we see the relief 'tree of science' by Olaf Stæhr-Nielsen. The relief shows the university seal, thus reflecting the bond with the town of Aarhus; and it also shows two common illustrative figures: a dolphin, and an anchor as a Christian symbol (Lykke 2011).

Social Meeting Room: The "studenterforeninger" maintain their own bars

Students' associations and unions are given much space and room for representation on campus. The many student organizations are responsible for maintaining their Friday's bars: around 40 rooms at AU are given to the 42,000 students for social gathering as well as the regular Friday afternoon parties (sometimes regular lecture halls). The price lists in the background of this picture display the beer selection.

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Wall in an auditorium

Pictures and representations of state representatives or even members of the Danish royal family are unlikely to be found in Danish universities. Instead, paintings, often contemporary expressionist and – quite unusual in other European university landscapes – sculptures are to be found in lecture halls and hallways at Aarhus University (AU). This picture by Danish artist Niels Reumert (1989) is displayed in one of the largest auditoriums of the Department of Business and Social Sciences, right next to the blackboard.

The auditorium

This large assembly hall ('Aula') fosters an understanding of a Danish display of culture and education in three ways:

The assembly hall was designed by C.F. Møller – the renowned architect of all university buildings in Aarhus since 1933. C.F. Møller has – almost consistently over the decades – stuck to a functionalist and strictly 'anti-monumental' ("umiddelbart antimonumental", Wiggers et al. 2006, 13) building style. C.F. Møller is, with his work for Aarhus University, represented in the Danish "Kulturkanon", a list of 108 artworks essential for the Danish cultural understanding and heritage (Kulturministeriet 2006).

The large wooden representations by sculptor Bent Sørensen (installed in 1970, Dreisler et al. 2006, 8) remind viewers of Christian cross symbols and Nordic natural religions at the same time - and especially so in the cathedral-like surroundings.

The lamps are designed by the Dane Poul Henningsen. Danish design interior is of considerable importance in constructing and discussing `Danishness', be it in common literature (Kingsley 2012) or in the academic Bourdieu-inspired discussion about what cultural capital in a comparatively homogenous society such as in Denmark could be (Prieur et al. 2008). The symbolic meaning of Danish design may be reflected in the tendency to give preference to domestic Designers in university interiors as well.
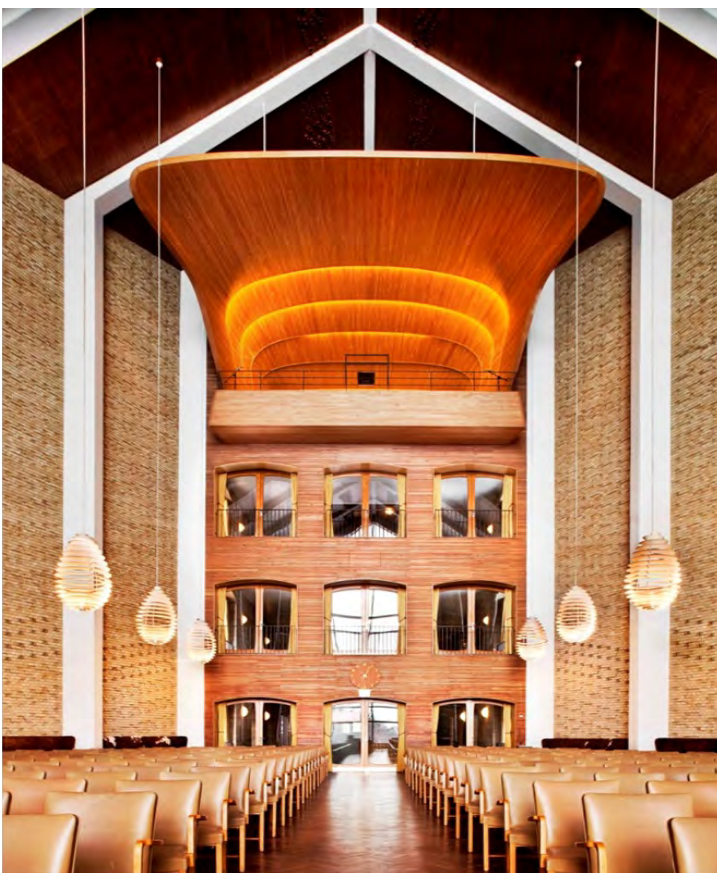
The auditorium

The interior design of this assembly hall was inspired by Grundtvigskirken in Copenhagen (Lykke 2012). Yet, Christian references, other than in artwork, are scarce. In this hall, too, it is rather the absence of decoration that constitutes the university's approach to cultural signifiers and a "regional dansk karakter" (Wiggers et al. 2006, 13). The pendant lamps, "Spiralllampen" were designed especially for the university, again by the Dane Poul Henningsen. They are a rather dominant feature of the otherwise decoration-free room, reflecting the emphasis on design as a form of cultural representation. The room's understatement is deceptive considering that even later versions of the spiral lamp are auctioned for around 10.000 Euro and more (Bruun Rasmussen 2013).

The entrance to the student council

The student councils are different from the student clubs, in that they are political associations for presenting students' perspectives on the university and politics in general. Student councils have regular offices, right among academic staff offices, and often display their claims on their office doors.

Danish design: The Hoptimist

The every-day usage of the national flag is apparent in several decoratiove objects, such as a special edition of the popular desk-decoration "Hoptimist". The Danish flag appears further in form of napkin prints, food flags, garlands, stickers (often found on students' laptops) and small to medium sized desktop banners. This extensive use of the flag is one issue that has contributed to discussions, in the media and in academe, about the possibly conflicting notions of Denmark as an ethnic-culturally homogenous society, on the one hand, and a modern pluralistic nation state, on the other hand (Berdichevsky 2004). Considering the banner motives on diverse bibelot objects, some researchers differentiate between the flag as a symbol of state belonging and citizenship and the use of "one's own private flag" ("sit eget private flag", Adriansen 2002, 133). As Richard Jenkins observes, the flag can "symbolise celebration and joy" (2011, 155) and "grief, respect and solidarity" on private occasions (ibid, 157), and commercially, it can "be used to sell almost everything" (ibid, 158). In this chosen case, the interlocking of national symbolism and domestic design objects may predominantly emphasize the importance of Danish design as national representation.

Cultures of Citizenship Education in Schools
Thematic Arrangement of Photographs

Entrances to the
school buildings
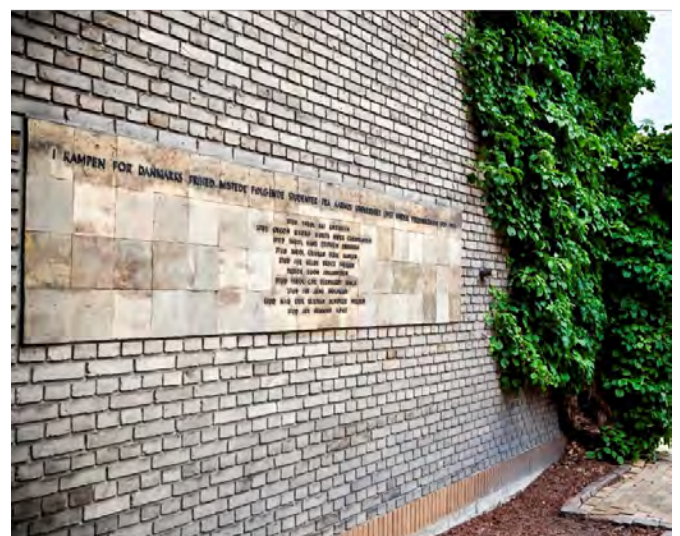
Courtyards

The open space
of the entrances /
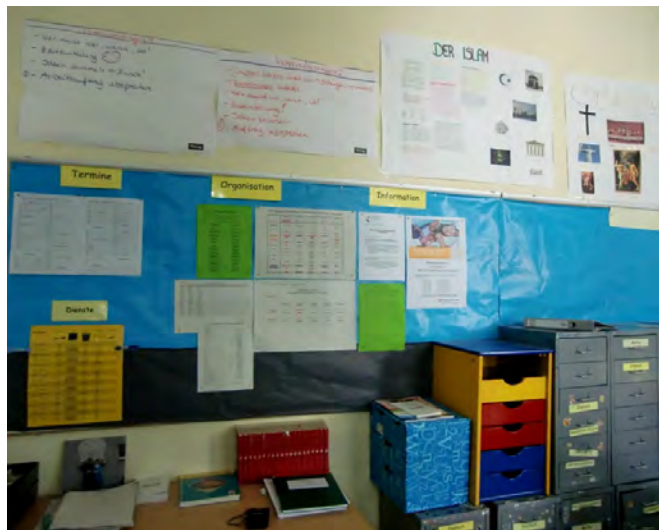entrance halls

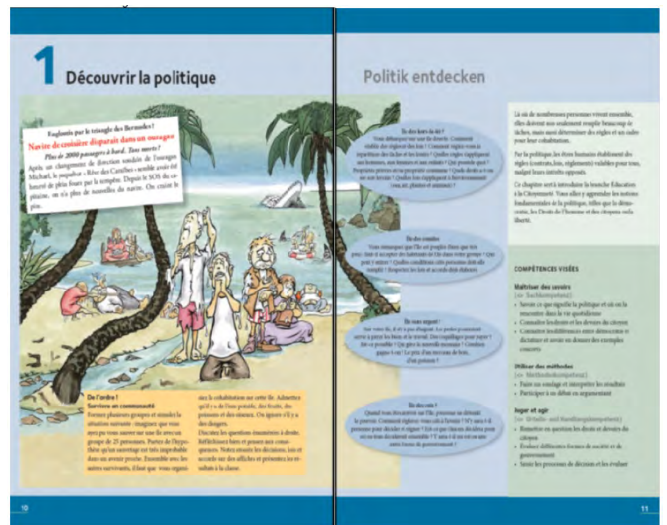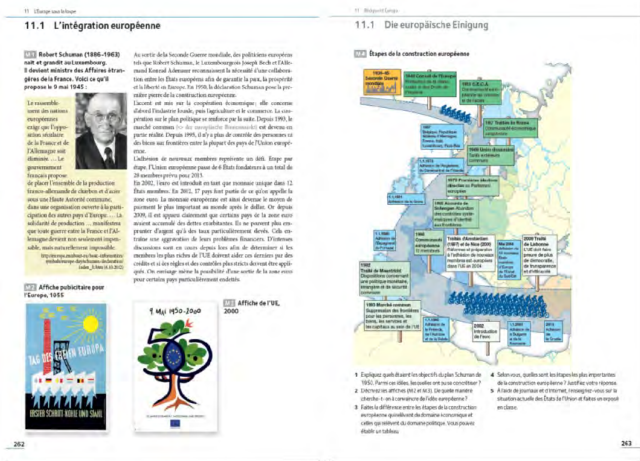# Corridors to the classrooms

In the
classrooms

Lessons of
social studies

Wall decorations
in the classrooms
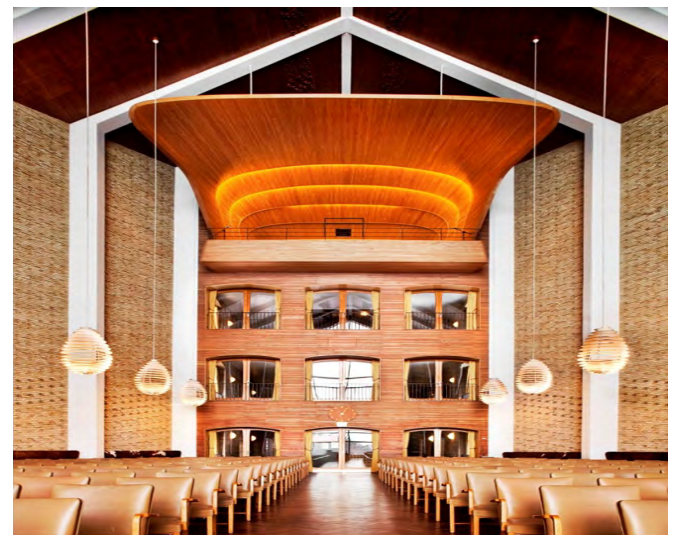
Pictures from the schoolbook in Civic Education

The
auditorium / halls

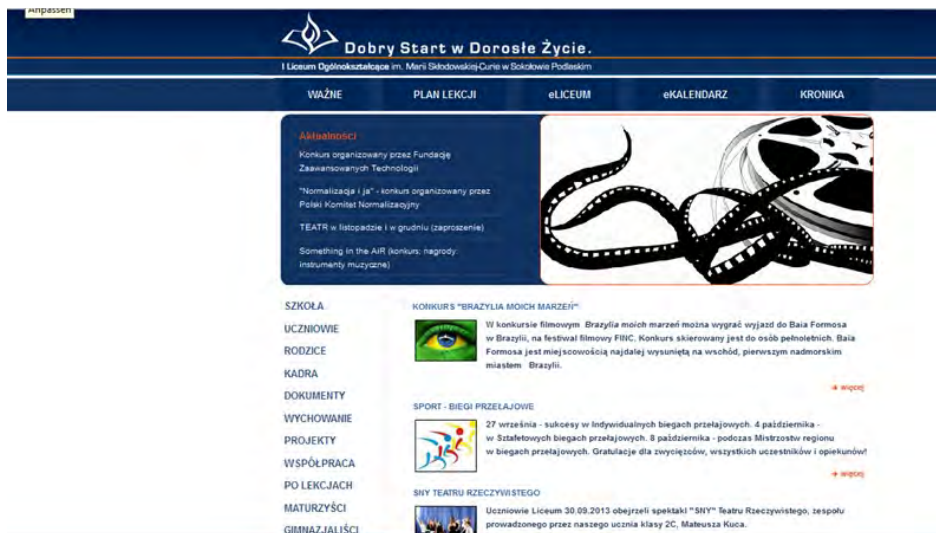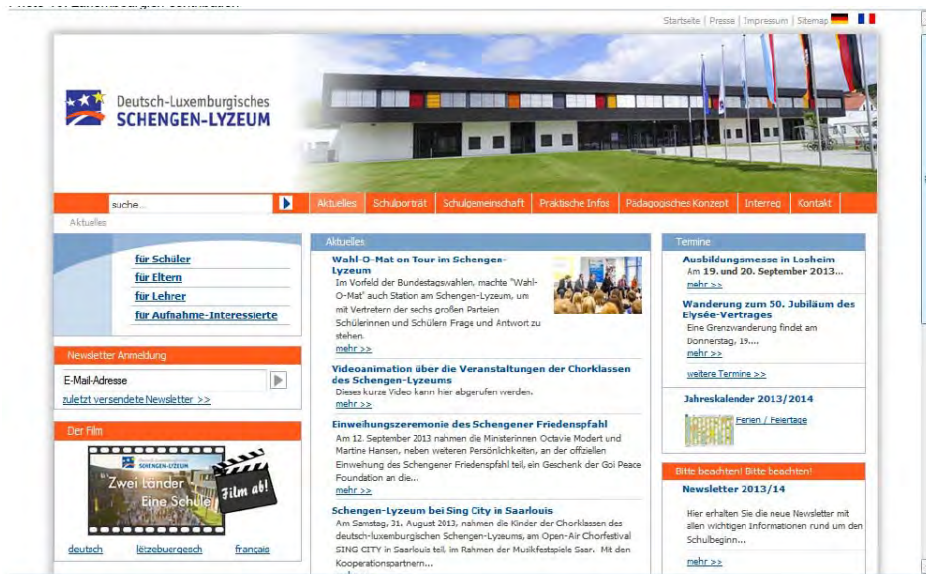# The
auditorium / halls

Staff rooms

Staff rooms

Independence Day / School events

Screen-shots
of the
school homepages