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Controversial Issues in the Political Classroom

edited by

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The Beutelsbach Consensus
Sibylle Reinhardt

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David Jahr, Christopher Hempel, Marcus Heinz

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Editorial: Controversial Issues in the Political Classroom

Keywords

Beutelsbach Consensus (Beutelsbacher Konsens), controversial issues, Dewey, indoctrination, political action

1 Introduction: The Beutelsbach Consensus and its core principles

„Was in Wissenschaft und Politik kontrovers ist, muss auch im Unterricht kontrovers erscheinen.“

“Ce qui dans les sciences et en politique fait l'objet de controverses doit l'être au même titre dans l'enseignement.”

“Lo que resulta controvertido en el mundo de las ciencias y la política, tiene que aparecer asimismo como tema controvertido en clase.”

“Matters which are controversial in intellectual and political affairs must also be taught as controversial in educational instruction.”

Website of *Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg* (Federal Agency of Political Education Baden-Württemberg)

www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html

The above are official translations of one of the most famous extracts from the Beutelsbach Consensus (*Beutelsbacher Konsens*) which this year celebrates its 40th anniversary. Originating from an informal set of minutes, documenting a meeting held in a small town in the South of Germany in 1976, the Consensus encapsulates core principles intended to underpin political education in Germany and has become a central pillar of the education landscape in the German-speaking world (for ongoing debate see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2016; Frech & Richter, 2016).

While many of the concepts, with which the Consensus grapples, are universal, others are deeply rooted in German educational culture rendering the document itself notoriously difficult to translate. Official translations exist, nonetheless, in English, Spanish and French, and

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unofficial translations in, for example, Danish, Italian, Russian, Polish, Turkish, Korean and Chinese. As a result, the Beutelsbach Consensus remains probably Germany's most prominent contribution to date to international discourse on citizenship education. It can be argued that its existence allays to some extent the concerns of academics in the German tradition that their contributions may at times be perceived by an international audience as being somewhat individualistic, perhaps even overly “cerebral”.

The principle of respect for controversy underpins all other principles elucidated in the Beutelsbach Consensus. Indeed, it is widely cherished as one of the fundamental values of democratic education (see Council of Europe “Training Pack”, 2015). This notion that an education system should not attempt to present issues as being either “harmonious” or resolved when they are viewed by the wider public as controversial can be traced back to the ideological debates which took place during the era of the Weimar Republic in Germany. In the aftermath of the First World War, this principle was used to differentiate between political education (*politische Bildung*), on the one hand, and party political schooling (*parteilpolitische Schulung*) on the other, or more broadly between education and the transfer of values between successive generations (*Erziehung*) and indoctrination¹.

The relationship between (prohibited) indoctrination and teaching in schools remains ambiguous, however. While explicit, dogmatic indoctrination can be clearly identified, for example in the educational dictatorship that was Nazi Germany, more subtle means of influencing students using persuasive strategies of omission and avoidance, for example, may be less apparent. Thus, the ban in the Beutelsbach Consensus on the indoctrination of students, primarily by overwhelming them with information giving only one side of an argument, is widely recognized as an essential component of teachers' professional ethics both in Germany and further afield. It is argued that a student should instead be regularly confronted with opposing, contradictory views, claims, demands and judgments and in order to truly experience contemporary debates taking place around them.

Given the continuing relevance of the Beutelsbach principles to contemporary educational debate, we introduce this issue with a contribution by Sibylle Reinhardt (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany), entitled The Beutelsbach Consensus. Reinhardt's contribution provides an English version of the full text of the core principles of Beutelsbach Consensus (see summary translations for French and Spanish below), giving their historical context and explaining the relevance the Consensus continues to have for German discourse on democratic education. Ever since 1976, a period of intense ideological conflict, the Beutelsbach Consensus has played a pivotal role in debates in Germany concerning the teaching of political education and civics in schools.



In an extract from her book, *Teaching civics. A Manual for Secondary Education Teachers*, a seminal text in the German speaking world (Politikdidaktik, 2005, 4th edition in 2012), Reinhardt uses her experience as a young teacher in the early 1970s as a starting point. She draws on how she and her post-1968 generation of novice teachers struggled with the problem of controversy and ideology in the classroom. These struggles included conflicts among teachers, with both students and parents, and with the wider public. They took place at a time during which political education was a “hot topic” ideologically to the extent that, in 1974, debate around guidelines for political education contributed significantly to the fall of a federal government in the German state of Hesse, an experience which paralyzed developments in this field for a long period. Reflecting on 25 years’ experience as a secondary school teacher, prior to accepting a University Chair, Reinhardt identifies a typology of learner groups and related professional strategies for civics teachers. She addresses in particular the crucial questions of whether or not teachers should disclose their personal political views in the classroom.

Reinhardt’s seminal work is frequently used as a foundation text in teacher training and such translation of Reinhardt’s subject-specific didactic principles in tandem with examples of best practice in their implementation makes the “German tradition” accessible to the non-German speaking scholar in an exemplary manner. Her work is also capable of being amended and adapted for use in a variety of contexts. Partially to stimulate such exchange, two reviewers, in this issue, approach Reinhardt’s conceptualisation of political education from different perspectives. A focus in both reviews is on the extent to which her principles and practices are capable of becoming embedded in different national and regional contexts. *John Lalor* (Dublin City University, Dublin, Ireland) presents a comprehensive and reflective review from the perspective of an Irish educational context, while *Anders Christensen* (Syddansk Universitet, Odense, Denmark) provides an intriguing insight into the nature and applicability of Reinhardt’s principles from a Scandinavian perspective. Perspectives on Reinhardt’s text and the implementation of the re-commended principles from francophone, eastern European or other educational cultures would be extremely welcome. As JSSE editors, we hope that highlighting Reinhardt’s work in translation will foster the mutual exchange of ideas and practices among civics education cultures in Europe and beyond.

Many authors refer to Dewey in their introduction reflecting an ongoing transatlantic conversation about education theory and practice (Oelkers & Rhyne, 2000). Indeed, Dewey’s seminal “Democracy and Education”, first published in 1916, celebrates its centenary this year. This “most important book on education in American history” remains celebrated and is considered by some as, “...the bible of democratic education worldwide”. It continues to be cited more frequently than all other classics of American educational studies.ⁱⁱ Transatlantic conversation and coincidental parallel discovery is also

obvious in the similarities between Reinhardt’s typology (discussed previously) and Kelly (1996).

Reinhardt’s contribution grants the reader access to the various “embryonic societies” (Dewey, 1907, p. 32) encapsulated within civics classrooms, many of which mirror the social and political culture in which they are rooted. Central questions include the extent to which we are informed about “doing controversy”, the everyday practices of controversial discourse and debate in the classroom, and ways in these controversial processes of negotiation of meaning and knowledge construction can be described and analysed.

El consenso de Beutelsbach

- 1. Prohibición de abrumar al alumno con objeto de lograr su adhesión a una opinión política determinada ...**
- 2. Lo que resulta controvertido en el mundo de las ciencias y la política, tiene que aparecer asimismo como tema controvertido en clase.**

Esta exigencia está íntimamente ligada a la anterior, pues si se pasan por alto posiciones y posturas divergentes, se ignoran opciones y no se discuten alternativas, ya se está caminando por la senda del adoctrinamiento. Cabe preguntarse si el enseñante no debería incluso asumir una función correctora, es decir, si no debe elaborar y presentar muy particularmente aquellos puntos de vista y alternativas que a los alumnos (y a otras personas participantes en los programas de formación política), por su origen político y social específico, les son ajenos. Al constatar este segundo principio queda claramente de manifiesto por qué la posición personal del enseñante, el fundamento teórico de su actividad científica y su opinión política, carecen relativamente de su interés. Para volver sobre un ejemplo ya citado, su noción de democracia no constituye problema alguno, dado que también se tienen en cuenta las opiniones contrarias.

Traducción de: Das Konsensproblem in der politischen Bildung (El problema del consenso en la formación política), editado por Siegfried Schiele y Herbert Schneider, Stuttgart 1977 (Traducción al español: Ute Schammann y Raúl Sánchez) Hans-Georg Wehling (S. 179/180) in: Siegfried Schiele/ Herbert Schneider (Hrsg.): Das Konsensproblem in der politischen Bildung, Stuttgart 1977

Versión completa -> www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html

2 Insights into classrooms: “Doing controversy”

The PEGIDA movement (with the abbreviation standing for ‘Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident’), based primarily but not exclusively in eastern Germany, represents a growing right-wing movement alongside the right-wing populist party ‘Alternative für

Deutschland' (AfD). The weekly PEGIDA demonstrations, which have been taking place since autumn 2014, have captured the attention of the international media.ⁱⁱⁱ

In their contribution, David Jahr, Christopher Hempel and Marcus Heinz (Universität Halle and Universität Leipzig, Germany), entitled "... *not simply say that they are all Nazis*", take us into German civics classes and discussions of current "hot topics" (*heisse Eisen*). Their focus is on two approaches to teaching politics, 'Numbers of the Day' (*Zahlen des Tages*), a teacher-centred classroom discussion, and 'Weekly Newsreel' (*Wochenschau*), a student-led classroom discussion. These facilitate the raising of fundamental questions around challenges to democracy, such as those posed by movements like PEGIDA. The two contrasting scenes from classroom discourse presented in Jahr, Hempel and Heinz's paper distinguish between "deep" and "surface" approaches to dealing with controversy (see also further discussion of this issue in Bruen, 2014).

Figure 1: PEGIDA – „Wutbürger“ (enraged citizens) on the streets of Dresden, Saxonia/Germany



By Kalispera Dell (<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/115724065>)
//creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0, via Wikimedia Commons
The slogan on banner reads "The problem is the system."

Describing an experimental study conducted in the USA, Alongi (Sequoyah High School, Pasadena, USA) Heddi (University of Oklahoma, US) and Sinatra (University of Southern California, USA) in their paper entitled *Teaching for Transformative Experiences in History: Experiencing Controversial History Ideas* present a pedagogical intervention known as Transformative Experience in History, or TTEH. Originally developed for the study of science, the approach focuses on facilitating two constructs, 'transformative experience' and 'conceptual change' through the exploration of controversial issues. Alongi, Heddi and Sinatra describe the development and implementation of this approach in two secondary school classrooms located in a large urban setting in the western United States of America. Using an experimental approach and a combination of qualitative and quantitative measures, they demonstrate how TTEH can lead to higher levels of student motivation and development in conceptual understanding applicable by students beyond their secondary school classroom. The concepts, in this case, are "liberty" and "power" in a US

government context. The question as to the extent to which students' perspectives are clear "misconceptions" or to be regarded as substantive and legitimate, albeit controversial, views, is central.

"Should there be a second attempt to ban the National Democratic Party?" This controversial issue was the "hot topic" of choice for our next contributor at a time when ongoing public debate regarding right-wing extremism in Germany had been triggered by the disclosure of a series of assassinations by the neo-Nazi group National Socialist Underground (*Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund*) in November 2011. In her study, Dorothee Gronostay (Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany) describes "... *patterns of argument reappraisal in controversial classroom discussions*". The process of "doing controversy" is again explored, this time by analysing the dynamics of argumentative discourse that emerge in fishbowl discussions. The scenes are part of a video study entitled "Argumentative teaching-learning processes". Scenes are presented from a sub-sample of four classes that did not receive any intervention, while other classes received a standardized political learning unit within regular civic education lessons. The sample consisted of ten classes of 8th/9th graders in urban secondary schools throughout North Rhine-Westphalia, all of an average socioeconomic standing. After studying the related subject-matter, the students discussed a controversial political issue in class. Effectively bringing theory to life, the classroom scenes provide useful material for the teacher of political education.

As is the case for Alongi et al's paper, Gronostay also relates to a Deweyian principle, the notion of "argumentative transactivity", or "reasoning that operates on the reasoning of another" (Dewey and Bentley 1949). Implications of the findings include the fact that learning goals in political education classes may not be achieved unless students are encouraged to reflect on arguments after a discussion. This necessitates a "second reflective loop" (*zweite Reflexionsschleife*) leading to "higher order thinking" (Sandahl, 2011) in order to prevent unintended outcomes which include the promotion of anti-democratic views. Where this does not take place, unintended outcomes including the inadvertent promotion of anti-democratic positions may occur. The second reflective loop could take the form, for example, of observing students taking notes coming back to "lost moments" in hasty and/or heated classroom discussions, and turning them into fruitful teaching and learning moments or 'critical incidents' (*fruchtbare Momente*) (see also Bruen & Grammes, 2014, p. 6). The well-known maxim "learning by doing", also ascribed to Dewey, could be more accurately articulated to acknowledge the present of this second loop as "learning by thinking about what we are doing". This necessarily entails "reflection" which is itself considered a form of "action" ("doing controversy"). A possible approach known as "Structured Academic Controversy" which incorporates a link to higher order thinking and the notion of a 'reflective loop' will be explored in the next edition of JSSE in Bruen, Crosbie, Kelly, Loftus, McGillicuddy,

Maillot and Péchenart (2016). As Bernt Gebauer (Bensheim, Germany) reports from an international trainer training course which forms part of the Council of Europe's Pestalozzi Programme (entitled "Evaluation of Transversal Attitudes, Skills and Knowledge"), the "gold" resides in the debrief.

Polarising political and ideological issues are increasingly prevalent in European societies and hence also in the civics classroom. The growth of right wing populist movements is one such issue and highlights the fact that the teaching of controversial issues in the classroom requires that participants must be prepared to 'agree to disagree'^{iv} or 'agree to differ' up to a point. Significant challenges are associated with the identification of the 'point' at which this becomes impossible or undesirable. These challenges arise partially from a tension between democratic principles and the desire to ensure the survival of democracy. The degree of tension may differ depending on the nature of the democratic culture. For example, there may be more of a focus on defence against threats to the survival of democracy in more 'militant' (*wehrhafte* or *streitbare*) democratic political cultures, as opposed to a greater focus on the freedoms afforded to all by democratic principles in less militant democracies. For instance, the question can be posed as to the extent to which the right to freedom of expression extend to those who oppose that right. A similar question concerns the extent to which arguments for tolerance include tolerating those who would oppose tolerance. This brings us up against Popper's (1945) "Paradox of Tolerance" which arises when a tolerant person is intolerant of intolerance. In a pedagogical context, this is only part of the question, however, in that consideration should also be given to the process of child or adolescent development or even in some cases the continuing development of the more mature adult. This presents the need for a teacher to be intolerant of intolerance in principle but to tolerate a currently intolerant student at particular times. Systematic clarification combined with instructive case studies are presented in Hess and McAvoys' *The Political Classroom. Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education* (New York/London: Routledge 2015).^v This subject-specific didactic conceptualisation is reviewed by Gebauer (Bensheim, Germany) in this issue and drawn on by many of our contributors. This is a further indicator of the dynamic, transatlantic discourse which characterises this field.^{vi}

A further core principle of the Beutelsbach Consensus moves our understanding of the role of political education from reflection to positive action. The third principle emphasises the fact that the student should be empowered to both analyse political situations in which they find themselves and to influence such situations to their own advantage (*eigene Interessenlage*). This principle is related to empowering the student to engage directly and in a concrete manner with the world beyond their classrooms in the sense that "Political Education is itself part of the political", and "Political Education creates opportunities to change society, both individually and collectively" (Eis et. al. 2016)^{vii}. It also aligns to a

degree with Jeliazova's (2015) depiction of the neutral teacher as a scared teacher.

3 Reflection and/or engagement?

The principle of empowerment sits, additionally, within the Deweyian learning tradition, in recognizing the need for immediate concrete action to move the learning experience beyond an experience approaching rote learning. On the other hand, implementing this principle in full may involve activities alien to "normal" school culture and the principle has, as a result, been a source of heated debate with some educators preferring a focus on analysis and judgement (*Urteilsbildung*) in the classroom, and tending to avoid active 'interference' with the socio-political world outside its doors. In other words, there is a tension between reflection and active political engagement and the degree of priority that is (or should be) assigned to the two in the political education or civics classrooms. This tension is illustrated by several of the contributors to this volume

3. El alumno tiene que estar en condiciones de poder analizar una situación política concreta y sus intereses más fundamentales,

así como buscar las soluciones más adecuadas para influir sobre la situación política existente en el sentido que marcan sus propios intereses. Semejante objetivo significa conceder gran importancia a las aptitudes de acción concreta, lo cual, sin embargo, es una consecuencia lógica de los principios anteriores. El reproche que a veces se puede escuchar en este contexto _ por ejemplo contra Hermann Giesecke y Rolf Schmiederer _ de que ello es un retorno al formalismo" a fin de no tener que corregir los propios contenidos, no es acertado en la medida en que no se trata de buscar un máximo consenso, sino de lograr un consenso mínimo.

3. L' élève devra être en mesure d'analyser une situation politique en la confrontant à sa propre situation,

pour rechercher les moyens et les procédures qui lui permettront d'exercer une influence dans le sens qui lui convient. Un tel objectif contient une mise en relief particulière de l'aptitude à agir concrètement, conséquence logique des deux principes cités ci-dessus. Le reproche de retour au formalisme " formulé parfois à ce sujet _ entre autres contre Hermann Giesecke et Rolf Schmiederer _ qui consiste à dire qu'on se dispenserait ainsi de corriger ses propres positions, est dénué de toute valeur, puisqu'il s'agit de rechercher un consensus minimum et non pas maximum.

www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html

On the side of positive action, for example, Majella McSharry and Mella Cusack (Dublin City University, Dublin, Ireland) analyse five action projects in their paper, *Teachers' stories of engaging students in controversial action projects on the island of Ireland*, some of

which some readers may consider to have been highly controversial. Two of the projects were carried out in Northern Ireland and three in the Republic of Ireland with the first project completed in 2004 and the remainder carried out between 2010 and 2011. These projects range from involving students in a debate at the US Embassy concerning the role of the UN in East Timor, involving students directly in investigating the ease with which small arms can be procured online, creating a film on homophobic bullying using the concept of role reversal, requiring students to interview civil rights activists and members of voluntary organizations involved in the Northern Ireland peace process, and finally designing an animation intended to reflect geographic barriers and restrictions on movement for members of different communities in Northern Ireland. Analysis of the projects reinforce Dewey's views regarding the value of a combination of reflection, direct action, and further reflection, or again "learning by thinking about what we are doing" as well as the value associated with debriefing.

Of interest to the reader may be the possibility or otherwise, in terms of intercultural comparison, of conducting similar projects within their own culture of citizenship education.^{viii} Critical transcultural studies depict "controversy" as an effective "Western" principle of democratic decision making and systemic learning. From this dominant perspective, "Asian" or "Muslim" teaching and learning cultures are constructed as supposedly focussing more on "harmonious", consensual knowledge by ignoring or concealing factual conflict and controversy. A genuine form of "othering". Of course, questions of perspective and observer focus or perhaps even bias remain. Even within European civics classrooms, culture and context, opinions may differ as to the feasibility, practicality and indeed legality of positive action projects in public schools. The five projects presented by McSharry and Cusack serve as excellent academic teaching material to initiate a discussion about the risks, needs and the limitations of political action and political education (see also the "Chestnut case" outlined in Sammoray & Welniak, 2012).

It may be that taboos and Foucault's *zones-du-non-pensée* exist which are not touched upon in official citizenship curricula which may also, in some cases, not respect the principle of presenting controversial issues as such.^{ix} This phenomenon arises owing to the fact that textbooks often reveal what narrative a society wishes to convey to the next generation. This means that an analysis of textbooks can be used to capture the social and political parameters of society. Based on a total of 76 Finnish textbooks in geography, history and social studies for grades 5 to 9, Pia Mikander's (University of Helsinki, Finland), *Globalization as Continuing Colonialism – Critical Global Citizenship Education in an Unequal World* takes a critical look at textbooks in Finland, a country, where, in Mikander's words, students are often told that being born in Finland is like "winning the lottery". Finland has not been considered a colonial power, and this might explain some (of the observed) reluctance of Finnish

society to grasp the extent of this legacy. Even the construction of Western supremacy, prevalent in society at large during the 20th century, was introduced and confirmed in school textbooks, although what could have been considered more obviously racist statements began to fade from the 1960s onwards. Mikander observes that current textbooks continue in some cases to take on a perspective of "us" Westerners and to portray other peoples selectively as the opposites of progressive, civilized Europeans. The analysis is embedded in international discourse on post-colonial and anti-racist pedagogies (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012), and "teaching about privilege". The study is further related to the global citizenship education initiative recently launched by UNESCO ([//en.unesco.org/gced](http://en.unesco.org/gced)). Mikander's study contains a number of important implications for teachers. The experienced teacher of citizenship education may find themselves having to prepare challenging classes with less than optimal material. Use of more than one textbook simultaneously is a suggested approach where multiperspectivity on the part of the student is one of the objectives. Or, as the English chemist, educator and political theorist, Priestley (1765, 27), stated 250 years before: "If the subject be a controverted one, let (the tutor) refer to books written on both sides of the question."^x

Ahmet Copur and Muammer Demirel's (Uludag University, Bursa Turkey) questionnaire used in their article, *Turkish Social Studies: Teachers' Thoughts About The Teaching of Controversial Issues* gives access to the professional thinking of more than hundred social studies teachers' in a western region of Turkey, the province of Bursa at the Aegean Sea. The authors describe Turkey as a "turntable" between East and West, and a country challenged by a struggle concerning its future path. Issues involve Kemalism and Laicism, ongoing discussions around membership of European Union, and current policies on refugees. These struggles are also reflected within the school system (see also Acikalin 2016 and the controversial interpretations of a Turkish Human Rights lesson in JSSE 2014-2 by Brodsky-Schur, Gürsoy and Kesten). The results of Copur and Demirel's study indicate that the principle of respect for controversy appears accepted in teachers' everyday educational theories, however obstacles remain to its implementation. Among these are issues of ethnicity, for example, the Kurdish and Armenian questions are mentioned, as is the related issue of the provision or otherwise of education through the mother tongue at school. The problem of "closed families" is also drawn into the discussion alongside the reactions of parents as an obstacle to engagement with controversial issues in social studies. Fear of prosecution is also proposed as an obstacle to approaching controversial issues. It is possible that findings from other, more eastern and/or rural regions of Turkey might potentially reveal stronger such fears. Questions remain regarding the extent to which a teaching approach involving controversial issues can be realised in contemporary Turkish education.^{xi}

A photographic series^{xii} from a secondary school in Istanbul, taken in 2014, (<http://www.ew.uni-hamburg.de/ueber-die-fakultaet/personen/grammes/files/politische-bildung-in-der-tuerkei.pdf>, Kab 2015) documented a mainly Kemalist citizenship culture in education. Revisiting this school which is now an “Imam hatip” school^{xiii}, two years later, revealed a dramatically transformed learning environment (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Wall decoration in a school corridor, Istanbul



Above: citation by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
„Peace is the best way to develop wellbeing und happiness among nations! “

Below: „For a comfortable and welcoming school, I solve my problems through negotiation. When I can’t solve them, I get support from friendly intermediaries“

Copyright: Irem Kab, 2015

The Beutelsbach Consensus was originally intended to apply to public schools. However, in the meantime, its scope has been extended to include extra-curricular political education for both adults and young people, including adolescents. With regard to extra-curricular political education, the applicability of the principle can be controversial given the sometimes mandatory nature of participation in political education provided by

organizations like political parties, religious groups, trade unions or NGOs (Oxfam 2006). There are questions to be raised around whether such organisations, which may enjoy certain constitutional freedoms in light of their status, have the right or duty to impose a particular non-controversial worldview. Questions around public funding of such organisations may also have some relevance here. ACRI, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, founded in 1972 and considered Israel’s oldest and largest human rights organization, is used as an example by Ayman Kamel Agbaria and Revital Katz-Pade (University of Haifa, Israel). Their article dealing with *Human Rights Education in Israel and the role of NGO’s*, discriminates between four types of good citizenship. These reflect some of the major socio-political controversies in Israeli society and respond to the ethno-national parameters of a Jewish and democratic political framework (for related examples of classroom culture in Israel see Cohen, 2014).

Le consensus de Beutelsbach

1. Interdiction d'user de son influence pour emporter l'adhésion d'une autre personne ...

2. Ce qui dans les sciences et en politique fait l'objet de controverses doit l'être au même titre dans l'enseignement.

Cette exigence est intimement liée à la précédente, car c'est lorsque des points de vue divergents ne sont pas pris en compte, lorsque des choix sont écartés, lorsque des solutions alternatives ne font jamais l'objet de débats, que l'on s'engage sur la voie de l'endoctrinement.

Il faudrait plutôt se demander si l'enseignant ne devrait pas avoir, de surcroît, une fonction correctrice, ce qui signifie qu'il devrait mettre particulièrement en lumière les solutions et les points de vue peu familiers aux élèves (et à d'autres participants à des programmes de formation politique), en raison de leurs respectives origines politiques et sociales.

Traduit de: Das Konsensproblem in der politischen Bildung (Le problème du consensus dans la formation politique), publié par Siegfried Schiele et Herbert Schneider, Stuttgart 1977 (Traduction française établie par Annie Blumenthal)

Version complete: www.lpb-bw.de/beutelsbacher-konsens.html

4 Future pathways: Dogmatism, core republican values, and the open mind

Within the so called didactic triangle, encompassing teacher, student and content, the contributions in this issue focus on the role of the teacher and/or the teaching of content (knowledge). We feel that the students’ cognition remains underrepresented and would value further contributions concerning controversy and

dogmatism, for example, from the perspective of developmental or political psychology. Issues of interest include ways in which the cognitive characteristics of a dogmatic versus an “democratic open mind” (Milton Rokeach, 1960) can be described in citizenship teaching; empirical evidence of an assumed “ideological” developmental stage in late adolescence which is seen as necessary transitional stage towards adulthood; the amount of ambiguous controversial knowledge that can be tolerated by the adolescent seeking certain and secure knowledge and belief systems; the role of social stress and ideological relativism; and finally the role of tolerance of ambiguity and complexity (Berczyk & Vermeulen, 2015). Questions abound in this increasingly dogmatic twenty-first century around the criteria for democratic schools with hermeneutic-friendly, interpretative knowledge cultures of ambiguity (Bauer, 2011).

The next issue of JSSE (autumn 2016) continues the focus on controversial issues in teaching and learning with a review of French educational culture and, in particular, the recent program, “Grande mobilisation de l’École pour les valeurs de la République” (Matthias Busch/Nancy Morys). Please also note the call for papers on [character education and citizenship education](#) (JSSE 2017-3. This represents another highly controversial topic, played out in “curricular battles” between proponents of moral and/or political education.^{xiv} The Association of Citizenship Teaching (ACT 2016) in the United Kingdom has also dedicated the latest issue of its professional journal to the topic of “Teaching Controversial Issues”. We hope such contributions will continue to deepen and intensify discussion in Europe in this fascinating and highly relevant field.

Sincere thanks to all of the contributors to this volume. We very much appreciate their time, effort and input.

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Endnotes

ⁱ It is, in some ways, surprising to observe that in socialist pedagogy in the communist sphere pre-1989, including the approaches to the teaching of civics (*Staatsbürgerkundemethodik*) in the former GDR, the principle of controversy is represented in a form of dialectical thinking reflected in the developmental laws of Marxism-Leninism and Scientific Communism. This ideology draws on contradictions evident at the level of everyday experiences (*alltagsweltliche Erscheinungen*). These are then eventually resolved with recourse to an essence (*Wesen*) and the historical legality (*Gesetzmäßigkeiten*) of the higher development of society on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The teacher acts as propagandist for the leading political party and is required to actively confront the student body with controversy. Leadership (*Führung*) and trust (*Vertrauen*) are used offensively as means of strengthening conviction (*Überzeugungsbildung*) and building support for the single one party (see also Bruen 2013).

ⁱⁱ See for example thedemocracycommitment.org/100-years-of-john-dewey-democracy-and-education-commemorate-in-dc-in-april-2016/

ⁱⁱⁱ The new digital media have also facilitated the growth of such organisations. Erik Andersson (University of Skövde, Sweden) has explored this domain further in his paper, Producing and Consuming the

Controversial: A Social Media Perspectives on Political Conversations in the Social Science Classroom, published in the previous edition of [JSSE \(2016-1\)](#). As he outlines, the use of social media creates both new challenges and new opportunities, transforming the role of the learner who becomes a producer and consumer, or “prosumer”, of educational content. With a social media perspective and a focus on learning and political action, Andersson leads us to consider the learning opportunities provided by controversial political conversations in social science education and derives a set of didactic strategies. Approaching the classroom as a diverse, ideological public space, recognising the students as political agents and using a social media perspective, his work implies the possibility of balancing different educational functions. www.isse.org/index.php/isse/article/view/1487/1552

^{iv} The concept of ‘agreeing to disagree’ refers to the resolution of, for example, a debate or discussion by tolerating but not accepting the alternative position(s).

^v See also Hand 2007 for a detailed exposition of a particular moral case and the role of the “epistemic criterion”; or Mouffe’s 2013 “agonistic” approach from the perspective of critical democratic theory.

^{vi} Reinhardt (2015) and Hess/McAvoy (2015) are similar text genres. However, they do not recognize at all their respective parallel discourses. Reinhardt (with one peripheral exception) does not mention literature on citizenship education from the US/anglo-saxon tradition, while Hess and McAvoy do not refer to literature from German educational discourse.

^{vii} More recently, the Beutelsbach consensus has been challenged by authors of The Frankfurt Declaration for Critical Emancipatory Political Education (*Frankfurter Erklärung. Für eine kritisch-emanzipatorische Politische Bildung*) (Eis et.al. 2016) in Germany, the Frankfurt declaration is already regarded as an important document in the field of social science education). www.isse.org/index.php/isse/article/view/1520/1558

^{viii} An example includes the Dutch „Handboek vakdidactiek maatschappijleer“ (Handbook on subject matter didactics in the field of civics) which discusses the role of the teacher in relation to “neutraliteit versus betrokkenheid” (Olgers et.al. 2010, pp. 22ff.: “impartiality versus partiality”).

^{ix} Again, the Frankfurt declaration discusses this point critically as follows: “Controversy, understood as a principle of teaching and learning, is not only the documentation of different positions alongside already existing and influential perspectives, it deals with contentious issues and underlying dissent, reveals opposition and encourages critical thinking.” (No. 2).

^x Disputation is known in classic Greece and Roman rhetorics, e.g. the Sophistic movement or the medieval scholasticism, as the cognitive and public skill of value clarification, judgement and well-argued decision-making.

^{xi} With the initial support of the Council of Europe, Turkey has a vibrant social studies teacher trainer association, the USBES, which recently held its 5th annual conference at Denizli University (www.pau.edu.tr/usbess/en).

^{xii} In a previous issue (JSSE 2014, 1 www.isse.org/index.php/isse/article/view/1323), JSSE initiated a research project focusing on symbolic scenes and spatial learning environments from citizenship classrooms seen through the lens of an ideal or typical student’s day at school. Photographic documentation was received from Denmark, Poland, Japan and Germany. Feedback to this journal indicates that this material has, since then, enjoyed frequent use as a teaching resource.

^{xiii} Imam hatip school in the new Turkish system refers to a school which trains prayer leaders and leaders of muslim communities. As well as the standard curriculum, students also take obligatory subjects including Arabic, Study of the Quran and Islamic Studies. Graduates can also go on to take University entrance exams.

^{xiv} See forthcoming CitizEd Conference due to take place in Birmingham on “citizenship and character” shop.bham.ac.uk/browse/_extra_info.asp?compid=1&modid=2&catid=81&prodid=1213

Sibylle Reinhardt

The Beutelsbach Consensus

Keywords:

Controversial matters, pluralistic democracy, individual
an common interests, typology of learner groups,
strategies for teaching

In 2016 there is an important anniversary coming up: The Beutelsbach consensus will have its 40th birthday. This consensus is of vital significance for the German dispute and discussion on teaching civics. Therefore we want to comment on how it was generated and how big its importance still is.

The Beutelsbach consensus

For a number of decades after its inception, the school subject of civics was shaped by disputes over its goals (for a survey of the German context, see Gagel, 1994). For a long time, teachers were watched suspiciously for fear they would impose their own political opinions on students. When teachers were accused of manipulating students, the charge was that they - without full disclosure and against the interests of learners - were imperceptibly but potently disseminating one-sided information, judgments, and choices in their classrooms. It took quite some time for the subject to be treated like any other subject - until, for instance, parents demanded a no more elaborate decision-making and approval process for new civics school books than they did for math books.

In 1976, during a time of polarized teaching concepts in Germany, the Baden-Württemberg Agency for Civic Education hosted a conference in the locality of Beutelsbach. The now-famous outcome of this conference was not a substantive agreement on goals and concepts, but rather the establishment of a consensus on fundamental principles for classroom instruction. Although Wehling (1977), the minute taker, added a question mark to his summary ("Konsens à la Beutelsbach?") because the outcome, at the time, was intended as a proposal for consensus-building, the consensus has long since become a generally accepted building block of civics instruction in Germany. This also became evident after reunification, when the three tenets met with great approval in former East Germany.

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They are as follows:

Beutelsbach Consensus

1. Prohibition against overwhelming the student. It is not permissible to catch students off-guard, by whatever means, for the sake of imparting desirable opinions, thereby hindering them from 'forming an independent judgment.' This is the difference between political education and indoctrination. Indoctrination is incompatible with the role of a teacher in a democratic society and the generally accepted objective of making students capable of independent responsibility and maturity (Mündigkeit).
2. Matters which are controversial in scholarship and political affairs should also be presented as controversial in the classroom. This requirement is very closely linked to the first point above: a teacher who loses sight of differing points of view, suppresses options, and leaves alternatives undiscussed is already well on his or her way to indoctrinating students. We must ask, on the contrary, whether teachers should in fact play a corrective role. [...]
3. Students should be put in a position to analyze a political situation and their own personal interests as well as to seek ways to have an effect on given political realities in view of these interests. Such an objective strongly emphasizes the acquisition of operational skills, which follows logically from the first two principles set out above (Wehling, 1977, p. 179f.).

These three principles - the prohibition against overwhelming students, the imperative to present controversy, and the consideration of student interests - make intuitive sense, and they have been discussed at length in the literature on teaching civics (see Breit and Massing, 1992, Schiele & Schneider, 1996). I would like to emphasize two points here: that of the formulation of interests in the third principle and the practical question of teacher behavior.

The third principle regarding students' interests, that is, the focus on the student as subject, is aimed exclusively at the individual. This is understandable for the time these principles were articulated, when advocacy groups did not have the same status as they do today of important and legitimate parts of a pluralistic society. The Beutelsbach educators did not want to support subordination or conformity, but rather students' ability to stand up for their own interests. In time, the flipside of this - still appropriate - goal became evident: the ruthless

assertion of self-interest without consideration of the interests of others or a notion of the common good. Serious political problems cannot be solved “if members of a community do not display solidarity with each other above and beyond their own interests” (Schiele, 1996, p. 7). One of the suggestions for a revision of the third tenet is as follows (cf. also Schiele & Schneider, 1996):

Students (as well as adults) should be enabled to analyze political problems and to see things from the perspective of those affected by them, as well as to seek ways to contribute to solutions to such problems in view of their own interests while taking into account their shared responsibility for society as a whole (Schneider, 1996, 201).

This version of the third tenet has a greater social and political reach and includes the triad of individual (need), integration of others (rules, institutions), and critical reflection on the system. Its more sophisticated concept of interest comprises short-term self-interest as well as long-term self-interest (which in an enlightened anticipation of dependencies factors in the interests of others), and, finally, an idea of or a commitment to the public interest. For these reasons, it has come to replace the original third tenet.

In addition to this conceptual criticism, there was also the question of how teachers should handle the imperative to present controversy. For working teachers, demands such as those of the Beutelsbach Consensus are abstract postulates that have to be rendered concrete in the classroom. As a young teacher - even prior to 1976 - I struggled with the problem of controversiality (as did, it seemed to me, all of my colleagues). Based on my experience of classroom discussions, I put together a typology of learner groups and suggested strategies for teachers (Reinhardt, 1976 and 1988), which I draw on in the next section.

May civics teachers express their political views in the classroom? Should they?

Scenario 1: The learner group is politically heterogeneous, i.e., harbors the potential for controversy. Since the group itself represents the controversy, the teacher need only moderate.

Scenario 2: The learner group is politically polarized, potentially even aggressive in debates. In this case, the teacher must ensure a minimum consensus (rules).

In both cases, the learner group’s composition represents the content of the dispute. The teacher’s task here is to create the form conditions for the dispute to be carried out. She can remain “apolitical” - her own opinion is rarely of interest to the students anyway, nor is it necessary for the dynamics of the process. The following situations are an entirely different matter:

Scenario 3: The learner group is politically homogeneous; unity and calm prevail. In this case, the teacher must take corrective measures by introducing other points of view.

Scenario 4: The learner group is uninterested in the presented issues and lacks spontaneity. The teacher must galvanize the class, possibly provoking the students with her own opinion.

In both of these cases, the learner group represents no controversy whatsoever and must be motivated to debate. The cognitive representation of other points of view can suffice for this, although sometimes a forceful statement of opinion on the part of the teacher—either genuine or merely provocative - is necessary in order to galvanize learners. The teacher will come across as politically one-sided in this phase of the lesson, making it necessary for her to explain this strategy later on.

In short, it seems that a “political” learner group does not need a political teacher, while an “apolitical” group does. This can easily lead to misunderstandings and make people suspicious (see also Blanck, 2006). The approach described here is not about inculcating students and does not implement the question-based format for classroom discussions, which makes it - in the overall school context - rather unusual and therefore potentially confusing to learners and parents (who hear about it from their children or from teachers). The classroom conversation is a difficult form of interaction, so it is important to find ways to introduce controversy less by means of teacher guidance and more by means of rules for interaction established from the outset (see the methods proposed in this book, also Reinhardt 1992). Classroom research has shown the problems substantive conflict and contentious interaction pose for teachers (particularly when they are teaching outside of their subject area) (see Henkenborg et al., 2008).

The Beutelsbach Consensus is a key building block of civics teaching, but also applies to other subjects involving debates over controversial issues. It is particularly essential for civics instruction because it describes the dynamic of the subject matter (politics) as well as that of the learning process (development). In the same way, the principle of controversy constitutes a general principle of education in the social sciences and should be applied in all related subjects - thus also in law and economics.

(Reinhardt, Sibylle: *Teaching Civics. A Manual for Secondary Education Teachers*. Opladen, Berlin, Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers 2015, pp. 29-32)

Still today, in the year of 2016, the Beutelsbach consensus renders central criteria for the planning of lessons, the steering of ongoing interactions and their evaluation afterwards. It gives democratic orientation to what is going on in the classroom. It is also a tool for judging on materials and school books. Just today it is the main reference point for a bitter dispute on the publication of



the German Federal Agency for Civic Education on "Economics and society" (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung/bpb, 2015; for a case study see: [Weber, 2015, p. 5](#)). The key message of the Beutelsbach Consensus – controversy – is without any doubt a landmark of education for democracy.

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David Jahr, Christopher Hempel, Marcus Heinz

“...not simply say that they are all Nazis.” Controversy in Discussions of Current Topics in German Civics Classes

Studies have shown that the Requirement of Controversy defined in the German Beutelsbach Consensus is repeatedly violated in the practice of teaching Civic Education. However, little is known about the impact that different teaching settings have on the quality of controversy in the classroom. In this article, two scenes of classroom discussions that deal with current topics are analysed and compared by using reconstructive research methods: the ‘Numbers of the Day’ [Zahlen des Tages] as a teacher-centred classroom discussion and the ‘Weekly Newsreel’ [Wochenschau] as a student-led classroom discussion. We could reconstruct an active prevention of controversy in the ‘Numbers of the Day’. In contrary, the discussion in the ‘Weekly Newsreel’ is developing in a modus of disagreement. By analysing the discussion with the documentary method, we show that this controversy is based on homogeneous (and so non-controversial) shared orientations among the students. This leads to the result that the foreground of a discussion should be distinguished from its background of milieu-based orientations. This outcome raises new questions regarding controversy in Civic Education classrooms.

Empirische Studien haben gezeigt, dass es im Politikunterricht regelmäßig zu Verletzungen des im Beutelsbacher Konsens verankerten Kontroversitätsgebots kommt. Wenig ist hingegen darüber bekannt, wie sich bestimmte didaktisch-methodische Settings auf Ausmaß und Formen der Kontroversität im Unterricht auswirken. Im vorliegenden Artikel werden zwei solcher Settings, in denen aktuelle gesellschaftliche Themen verhandelt werden (die ‚Zahlen des Tages‘ als lehrerzentrierte Klassendiskussion und die ‚Wochenschau‘ als schülergeleitete Klassendiskussion), hinsichtlich ihrer Auswirkung auf Kontroversität im Klassenzimmer qualitativ analysiert. Rekonstruiert werden konnte einerseits ein weitgehendes Verhindern von Kontroversität bei den ‚Zahlen des Tages‘. In der ‚Wochenschau‘ hingegen entfaltet sich durchaus eine Kontroversität im Klassenzimmer. Mit Hilfe der Dokumentarischen Methode kann dabei aber gezeigt werden, dass auf der Ebene des impliziten Wissens mehrere, teilweise problematische geteilte Orientierungen in der untersuchten Klasse vorliegen. Dies führt zur Feststellung, dass man Lerngruppen hinsichtlich ihrer Kontroversität auf zwei Ebenen unterscheiden muss: auf einer schneller kontrovers erscheinenden, vordergründigen Ebene und einer tieferliegenden Ebene des milieu-basierten Hintergrunds kollektiver Orientierungen. Diese Diagnose stellt neue Fragen bezüglich Kontroversität im Politikunterricht.

Keywords:

Civic education, requirement of controversy, documentary method, beutelsbach consensus, classroom discussions

1 Introduction: Controversy as a requirement for civic education

Controversy is an important characteristic of Civic Education. Although it can be seen as a “cross-subject matter task” (Grammes, 2010b, p. 106) in school generally, it foremost regulates both the design of teaching (curriculum and teaching methods) and the way of

conducting communication in Civic Education classroom. Deeply based in the idea of a democratic and pluralistic society, it defines the work ethic of a teacher in Civic Education (Grammes, 2014b, p. 266f.). Controversy found its way as a commonly accepted teaching principle for this subject in 1976, as it was placed in a prominent position in the Beutelsbach Consensus [*Beutelsbacher Konsens*]. This paper was the outcome of a conference in the small German town Beutelsbach, where scholars of Civic Education discussed different ideas of the foundations and aims of this subject (Reinhardt, 2007, p. 69). The conference took place in a highly controversial political environment as the parties in (West-)Germany disputed about the appropriate answers to the polarized atmosphere following the student protest in 1968. The Beutelsbach Consensus expressed the shared views of the debate. Thus, it represents the end of a dispute between different ‘schools’ of Civic Education. Today, the Beutelsbach Consensus is still regarded as a basic law for teaching in Civic Education (Petrik, 2013, p. 21). It is regulating the planning, conducting and reflection of teaching Civic Education and can be considered as a “Meta Strategy” (Reinhardt, 2013, p. 102).

One of its three principles is the Requirement of Controversy [*Kontroversitätsgebot*]. It basically demands that everything has to be presented in the classroom in the same controversy, as it is discussed in science and politics outside the classroom. No points of view, no options and no alternatives should be speculated in order

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to give the students a real opportunity to form an opinion about a political topic by themselves. The 'Requirement of Controversy' is connected to another principle of the Beutelsbach Consensus: the 'Ban of Overwhelming' [*Überwältigungsverbot*]. It is not acceptable in a democratic society to indoctrinate students with the usually more elaborated perspective of the teacher – whether intentionally or not. The third principle can be seen as the main purpose of Civic Education. Student-orientation [*Schülerorientierung*] is demanding to enable the students to analyse the political situation and their own interests relating to the political situation and to empower the students to act in their interests towards a change in society. Although the concentration on these three principles alone is not without its critics, the Requirement to Controversy in Civic Education is not questioned in general.ⁱ

In the practice of teaching, controversy shows its character as an idea of differences and ambiguities and in the appearance of various *perspectives* on lesson-topics (Grammes, 2014b, p. 271). Controversy is formulating a claim how to deal with a political topic in the classroom: it must be developed considering various-perspectives. At a minimum, this means that the single perspective of the teacher must be complemented with those of the students. An important marker for controversy is contradiction: "Controversial political issues (...) are unresolved questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement" (Hess, 2002, p. 11). Studies have shown that although the concept of controversy is highly accepted among teachers, it is repeatedly violated in the practice of teaching (for Germany see Reinhardt, 2007; Grammes, 1998; for the United States see Hess, 2009; Niemi & Niemi, 2007). The missing of taking position and discussing controversial topics can be seen as "the Ideology gap in Civic Education" (Petrik, 2010). A Study of Henkenborg, Krieger, Pinseler and Behrens (2008) has shown this phenomenon in particular for East Germany, the regional context in which our study was conducted as well. They have noticed a widespread refusal of bringing conflicts into the classroom. The authors stated that this denial of controversy is founded in a narrow understanding of democracy among the teachers they observed. Democracy is seen then as based in institutions but not as a dynamic process of struggling and arguing (Henkenborg, 2007, p. 41).

This widespread gap between the aspiration of constructing a political topic controversially and what happens in reality in Civic Education classrooms is of interest in this article. In contrast to research that focuses on the 'input' or 'output' of teaching, we want to emphasize the "space in-between" (Grammes, 2010a, p. 2), the *situation* of teaching as a setting that is affecting the acting and communication of the people involved in a specific way. We want to illustrate how different settings have a different impact on controversy. Therefore we use two scenes from two different lessons of Civic Education that we videotaped in the suburbs of a city in East Germany.ⁱⁱ The interpretation of this material is carried out with the documentary method, aiming at

"reconstructing the [milieu based] implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice" (Bohnsack, Pfaff, Weller, 2010, p. 20). In both scenes there is a highly emotionalising and current topic in the classroom and they are handled in the way of a classroom discussion. In the first scene – the 'Numbers of the Day' [*Zahlen des Tages*] – teacher and students deal with the terrorist attacks on the editorial office of the satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" that took place in Paris on 7th January 2015, two days before this lesson was conducted. In the second scene – the 'Weekly Newsreel' [*Wochenschau*] – the classroom discussion is combining the terrorist attacks in Paris with the xenophobic and islamophobic movement of 'Pegida' that was in the centre of media coverage in those days.

The acronym 'Pegida' stands for "Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident". This political movement is based in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, with smaller offshoots around Germany. Along with the appearance of the right-wing populist party 'Alternative für Deutschland', 'Pegida' represents a growing right-wing populism especially in East Germany (Adam, 2015; Decker, 2015). The Pegida movement carries out weekly demonstrations since autumn 2014, primarily and with the highest numbers of participants in Dresden, and it is accompanied by a high media attention. 'Pegida' offers the possibility of expressing fears and reservations against refugees, Muslims and the political and social establishment. This includes the instrumentalisation of Islamist terrorist attacks such as in January or November 2015 in Paris. On the one hand, 'Pegida' can be seen as a local or regional phenomenon with causes in the history and political culture of East Germany. On the other hand, the populist positions articulated by 'Pegida' are a subject of nationwide disputes and they are comparable to the discourses that are led by right-wing populist movements and related political parties in other countries in Europe and beyond (Wodak, Khosravini, & Mral, 2013).ⁱⁱⁱ Both classroom scenes presented in this article refer to these discourses and therefore have the potential to be controversial.

The article is structured as follows: In the next section, we present the research method and the theoretical perspective that we follow to analyse the lessons in short (2). After that, we present the results of our documentary interpretation and didactic reflection of the two mentioned scenes – the 'Numbers of the Day' (3.1) and the 'Weekly Newsreel' (3.2). In the last section, we want to conclude our findings and summarise some perspectives we see in the interpretation of everyday classroom situations using the documentary method (4).

2 About qualitative research on teaching

The aim of the research project is to reconstruct social practice in educational contexts. In sociological terms it can be said that we want to understand the common sense constructions performed through patterns of orientation (Bohnsack, 2010). To value this phrase, some key points of our assumptions will be explained next. Qualitative researchers refer to a big variety of



theoretical and methodological approaches (Krüger 2010, p. 53). By doing so they have in common, that not a characterisation (as a description) of a social field is important, but the question *how* social reality is accomplished in everyday practice. For this reason pre-formulated theories are not used to understand the respective field. The researcher concentrates on the relevant actors. They are taken seriously as creators of social reality. That is why approaches like the one we use are understood as *praxeologically* and *knowledge based*.

It is important that the “orientation towards understanding [is] a principle of gaining knowledge” (ibid., 54). Thereby we follow the idea that actions can be analysed because they are embedded in orientations and constructions (Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014, p. 12). Hence, the interpretations done by researchers are connected to everyday life constructions of actors. These constructions are the starting point of the research process. In other words qualitative research is per se reconstructive research (ibid.) Therefore, what we show as a result in this article is reconstructed common sense. Nevertheless it is essential to emphasise that the constructions we are looking for are not inevitable reflexive for the actors. They are often part of an unconscious and complex knowledge. Hereby the difference between *implicit* and *explicit knowledge* is significant.

To reach this goal it is important to be familiar with the context we took an inside at. Similar to praxeological approaches (e.g. Reckwitz, 2003) teaching in class can be understood as a social field itself. The practices happening in class are routine actions. They are based on speaking and linguistic use, but – at the same time – they are also defined by moving of bodies and handling of things in the classroom (Martens, Petersen, & Asbrand, 2014). All these elements are part of the emphasised common sense constructions. Within this perspective we take distance from attempts that understand teaching and learning as simple intended actions and focus on how Civic Education is carried out in class. The observable acting in educational contexts is structured by independent orientations, which are created in a “conjunctive space of experience” (Bohnsack, 2010, p. 105). Regarding teaching and learning, we have to be aware of the multidimensional overlapping of these patterns of orientation in the classroom, which can be educational itself or from outside school (Przyborski, 2004, p. 49). The overlapping process shows not only the relations between different conjunctive spaces of experience but also the relations between milieus and the educational organisation. In addition students as well as teachers due to their social affiliation to milieus bring orientations into school (Nohl, 2007).

Since we understand Civic Education as an *everyday school* situation we need to observe the lessons. That is why we use data, which was created during a videography in school. Compared to a ‘simple’ observation a videography holds the advantage of showing the complexity of an educational situation more precisely. This includes facial expressions and gesturing as well as nonverbal activities. Moreover due to the possibility of

repetitive viewing it is possible to change the focus. Already the first results can be reviewed intersubjectively because of using the original videos. Since our research project is characterised by an explorative character, we used the videography at one secondary school in the surroundings of an East German city.^{iv} From December 2014 to January 2015 we observed seven lessons (9th, 11th and 12th grade) of Civic Education (each 90 minutes) done by three different teachers. One camera filmed the classroom with the students and another one focused the teacher and the board. Because of these positions we captured the actions and reactions of all persons in class.^v At the same time we did participant observations and used this protocols to structure the data. Furthermore we used the material handed out in class for our analysis. As a first result we got an extensive corpus of data. To start with a more detailed analysis, a transcription of specific situations in class was done.^{vi} Important for the selection of specific parts for the interpretation are the so-called focusing passages or focusing metaphors that “are characterized by detailed or dense depictions (what we call metaphorical density) and by a high commitment (what we call interactive density). The identification of these passages makes it possible to get a quick and valid access to the central patterns of orientation.” (Bohnsack, 2010, p. 104f.) For this article we chose an open (student-led) and interactive discussion (‘Weekly Newsreel’) because different opinions appear at first glance. In contrast we selected a more structured scene including conversations towards the teacher (‘Numbers of the day’).

The empirical analysis of these scenes was done in orientation towards the *documentary method*. Since our here shown analysis is mainly focused on the verbal interactions, we treat the interactions in class similar to a conversation. Doing so, we are able to use the instruments worked out by Przyborski (2004, p. 50ff.). According to that, we separate between *formulating* and *reflecting* interpretation. These steps include separating the “immanent and the documentary meaning” (Bohnsack, 2010, p. 110). The first step of the formulating interpretation “is the decoding and formulation of the topical structure of a text” (ibid., p. 111). After that, “the task of the reflecting interpretation is [...] the reconstruction of the framework of orientation” (ibid.). This includes the question of how the participants refer to each other. Thereby it can be found out, if the patterns of orientations performed during class are collectively shared. In short, we reconstruct the content, the way the content is produced and how it is handled within the interaction in class.

3 Empirical case studies and didactic interpretation

3.1 The ‘Numbers of the day’: A quiz show on the latest terrorist attacks

In one of the civics classes that we videotaped, we were able to observe a frequently used way to address current events. The so called ‘Numbers of the Day’ is a variation of a common ritual in Civic Education, known as e.g. ‘Current Hour’ [*aktuelle Stunde*]. The teacher writes



numbers on the board. Students guess the current event that is represented by the numbers and discuss this event altogether. The lesson that we present here took place the next days after the terrorist attack at the headquarters of the satire magazine 'Charlie Hebdo' in Paris in January 2015. This event, which caused stir and controversy all around the world, is the subject of this nearly 15-minute sequence.

While the teacher is writing down three numbers ("88, 12, 2") on the board without any explanation, some students immediately raise their hands. She is surprised by this active participation and jokes about the difficult decision of choosing the student who can try to answer first. No one seems to be confused about these three numbers. This shows that the students here are very familiar with this ritual. Furthermore, the situation in the classroom as well as the relation between the teacher and the students seems to be relaxed. The following 15 minutes can be characterised as a typical form of classroom-interaction with a very common *three-turn communication*: teacher is asking, student is answering and teacher is evaluating. At first, she addresses the entire class and directs the attention to the listed numbers:

5	Teacher: Ok attention, for all of you to think about. Eighty-eight, twelve and two are the figures of the day.
6	Lukas: Eighty-eight thousand.
7	Teacher: Oh eighty-eight thousand, yeah sure, sorry, are the figures of the day. Now, I'll do it like in primary school. So attention, in the order in which I call you now, everybody can deal with one number. Ben, you can tell us the first number.
8	Ben: Ok, so twelve people were killed.
9	Felix: (nice) ((laughing))
10	Ben: Should I say more?
11	Felix: That's it.
12	Ben: Ok, so twelve people were killed in an attack in Paris.
13	Teacher: <u>Very nice</u> , and that was even a sentence.
14	Ben: Yes, but the one before was also a sentence.
15	Teacher: That was also a sentence. That were two sentences.
16	Mia: Um eighty-eight thousand police officers are looking for these twelve people, um for the two offenders.
17	Class: ((groaning))
18	Teacher: ((claps her hands)) We may only name one number. ((laughing)) But it was very difficult now I can see that.

With her statement the teacher initiates the well-known instructional ritual (5) and explains – after a brief correction (6, 7) – the special rules for today's task (7). Anyone who is assigned has to speak out the one fact that is symbolized by one of the numbers. She points out the low complexity of this task herself by marking it as a

typical requirement of primary school. Possibilities for the solution of the task are already clearly limited. The aim is to guess and mention a part of the event represented by the numbers. This narrow procedure is perpetuated by the teacher strictly. Insisting on the rule "one number one student", there is no possibility for the students to establish links or explain their own perceptions of the current event yet. The setting appears to be that of a quiz show orchestrated by the teacher as the show master, leading the audience (class) through the show. This allows distance to the event that is neither framed as an emotionally touching nor a controversial one. The first student that is assigned mentions the killing of twelve people (8). Potentially unsettled by the laughter of another student (9), Ben reconfirms with the teacher if his response was sufficient (10). While Felix is already prompting him to stop (11), he expands his answer by adding "in an attack in Paris" (12). With his answer, Ben accepts the prefigured setting and the role of the teacher as the moderator of the show. The teacher validates the purely descriptive mentioning of a fact as an adequate response (13). Thus, the frame within which the topic will be discussed seems to be clarified. This is followed by a brief discussion about the formal characteristics of the response (14-16), whereby the conversation is moving away from the actual content of the statement. Also the substantive statement of Mia who accidentally solves the other two numbers is handled formally by making her infraction the subject of the discussion. It is clear – and the teacher admits it at the end – that the rules of the game are hardly compatible with the substantive connection of the three numbers. From a didactic perspective, students are reduced to "solvers of crossword puzzles" (Grammes 1998, p. 301) and have no chance to unfold their perspectives towards the topic at all.

The context of the events is then discussed, after the basic facts have been clarified. The teacher leads the conversation consistently and keeps showing her already established communication pattern from the opening sequence. The topic continues to be handled abstractly and non-politically. The form of speech remains the benchmark of the teacher's evaluative comments. Whilst the subject of the discussion is structured in the above-mentioned way, the discussed subject seems to have little impact on the mode of the conversation. The subsequent phase is about the consequences of the jointly reconstructed events:



62	Teacher: Ok, what was yesterday? What reactions of the world do we know about? What do politicians say, how do people react? What happened in Paris? What can one say, Emma?
63	Emma: Well, quite a lot are just unsettled now because um because of the freedom of the press, and the freedom of speech. That, well, fears could rise again, what can happen in France, can happen with us, too. If something critical or something else is in the newspaper now, and perhaps there is also some sort of generalisation of um Muslim people that they are just different.
64	Teacher: Islamist satire. Things like this, where terms are quickly thrown together, where they say all followers of Islam-
65	Tim: Well it also matters-
66	Teacher: Just a little moment. Could be under a general suspicion now, um, to commit terrorist attacks, too. I generalise <u>very</u> meanly. Um yes, <u>that</u> must be set very, very right, and reactions of Imam for example have indeed shown that they dissociate from this very, very, very clearly, ok. What else happened?
67	Tim: Well, that plays into the hands of organisations like now for example Pegida in Dresden, because well they speak against the Islamisation of the West. And well if Islamists want to restrict the liberties that indeed are codified in our Constitution, um, this just plays into their hands and they will find even more followers and yes, that isn't ideal.
68	Teacher: Um I still have to ask again, um, in the terminology and also what is behind, Tim you have used it for the second time now, that's why I just have to ask again. You said Islamists. Are these are these all the followers of Islam? Or why do you say Islamists?

The teacher asks a series of questions about reactions to the attacks in Paris (62). Doing so, she sets a very broad framework with many possible connections for the students. It is only clear that one must be able to contribute something. Thus, the event itself seems to be somehow significant. Emma who responds, then suggests two aspects: firstly, the fear of attacks in Germany and, secondly, an instrumentalisation of this danger of terrorist attacks by discriminating Muslims collectively as "different" (63). She formulates her response carefully and remains distant from the events. Simultaneously, the briefness of her statement and the use of words such as "just" or "again" indicate that the discourse she refers to is known in class. The teacher connects to the second aspect by demanding the correct use of terms and warning about the generalisation of people (64). This statement is important to her: she interrupts Tim to speak out against generalisations in all clarity and elaborates her position in reference to the representatives of Muslims who clearly distanced themselves from the attacks (66). With that, the debate about Islamophobia becomes the subject of the conversation, which is only connected indirectly with the terrorist attack. Her final question ("What else was happening?") is remarkable: it can be read as an attempt to end the talk about the consideration introduced by Emma, even before an actual negotiation could take

place. Instead of picking up the different answers from the students more intensively, the question goes back to the reconstruction of events and does not focus in an interpretation of these events, as laid out in the student's statement. What is documented here is the orientation towards a pattern of interaction, in which the students are assigned to reconstruct the events, whereas the teacher alone disposes the interpretation of these events. However, the next student does not connect to the question raised by the teacher, but rather focuses on the Islamophobic movement of 'Pegida' (67), which is omnipresent in the public debate and can be seen as the place where the previously mentioned generalisation takes place. The now fixed intention of the attack – the restriction of the freedom of press and opinion – appears as a real danger that threatens the constitution and that 'Pegida' warned of since a long time. 'Pegida' will therefore benefit, which – according to Tim – was "not ideal". What interests us at this point is only the connection performed by the teacher, which is why an in-depth interpretation does not take place here. The teacher does not deal with the thoughts of Tim, but responds to the term "Islamists" used by him. She brings up the (rhetorical) question if all Muslims are meant with this term. Thus, she shows herself not as equal dialog partner, but again as a moderator with the task to monitor the formal correctness of the statements. As a consequence, the flow of the conversation is interrupted by problematizing conceptual differentiations.

Conceptual differentiations also shape the further conversation and they are marked by the teacher as retaining knowledge. The implicit plan of the teacher where this whole discussion should go to undermines the potential of the discussion for unfolding diverse perspectives and for becoming controversial. Another inhibitory factor for controversy is the narrow form of conversation: By picking up and evaluating every single contribution of a student, the teacher is controlling the development of the conversation based on her single perspective. This narrow form of communication is often criticised for its inability of giving room for the students and their perspectives and to be unsuitable for controversy (e.g. Schelle, 2003, p. 60). Thormann (2012) has shown, that different arrangements of teaching have different effects regarding the way a political conflict is discussed in classroom. Hereby, the narrow form of classroom communication keeps the students at distance to the 'foreign world' of politics (ibid., p. 330). At the end of our example here, again a student tries to bring up the topic of Islamophobic movements. This is followed by an abrupt change of subjects by the teacher, asking what happened the day before at 12 o'clock in Paris. After a lengthy final monologue of the teacher, the transition to the actual and totally different topic of the lesson (economics and the 'magic square') is made. Today's topic discussed in the context of the 'Numbers of the Day' stands on its own and is not part of a wider teaching unit.

One basic teaching principle of Civic Education is its 'principle of topicality' [*Aktualitätsprinzip*]. There are

good didactic reasons to bring ‘up-to-date topics’ such as the terrorist attacks in Paris into the classroom: Education can become less abstract and closer to the everyday lives of the students. Its primary function is to increase motivation. In our example the ‘Numbers of the Day’ is motivating the class indeed: We can see an agile discussion in the classroom, the students pay attention and no one is disturbing the conversation. However, the setting ‘Numbers of the day’ is *preventing* controversy. By making the students to ‘solvers of crossword puzzles’, it is *increasing* the unfavourable effects of teacher-centred communication in the classroom. The unsatisfactory quality of this form of education is implying the question, why it is conducted in the classroom at all? What is its function besides increasing motivation of the students by bringing in current topics? Teaching has its own practices – rituals that are known by all participants and, by experiencing these rituals many times, the knowledge about these rituals becomes incorporated. The special form of a lesson *transforms* subjects that are critical to talk about (e.g. violence, dead, suffering) into expressible topics. It makes an answer like “very nice” (13) a possible connection to a phrase like “twelve people were killed in an attack in Paris” (12). This distanced form of talking about a topic in classroom as shown in this example is transforming the topic into an expressible one and takes away its potential textual risk to jeopardise the lesson. This phenomenon was also worked out by Meseth, Proske and Radtke (2004). They observed how teaching is perpetuated by teachers *and* students and by their ‘expert knowledge’ to communicate in a certain way about ‘vulnerable’ topics like nationalism and holocaust in history classes. The point is that this distanced form of communicating is likely to prevent disagreement and controversy.

From a didactic point of view, we have to ask for the impacts on this setting for learning. Civic Education has a specific conceptual problem that no other subject has: every political problem, case, solution etc. has its own fleeting place in *time* (Petrik, 2013, p. 42f.). For instance, every international conflict that is happening right now, will probably be history next year. Therefore Civic Education should be conducted as *exemplary* learning (Grammes, 2014a). The *particular* occasions of the *particular* case ‘terrorist attacks in Paris’ have to be analysed as an example for something *general* (like the contradiction between security and freedom). The curriculum for Civic Education in Saxony^{viii} (Sächsisches Staatsministerium für Kultus, 2004) is defining some general subject fields in which the particular case could be included easily (for tenth grade an obvious connection is the field of ‘international relations’ with the subthemes ‘conceptions of peace and peacekeeping’, ‘European integration’ or ‘analysing an international conflict’). The teacher in our example is not connecting the topic to one of these fields. This is another indication that the main reason to bring in the topic is its topicality and that the teacher has a different plan during the discussion about it, what the schedule for this lesson should be actually. The discussion is staged as a private and delimited chat

about a current topic. A clear point of learning is neither visible nor made transparent by the teacher.

As we have seen, the main problems regarding controversy here are the narrow teacher-centred communication and her implicit schedule, intensified by the form of the quiz show, in which the setting is framed. Regarding this, our second case becomes interesting. In the ‘Weekly Newsreel’ there is no narrowing framework like a quiz show and the teacher is completely out of the discussion.

3.2 The ‘Weekly Newsreel’: A students’ debate on how to deal with a xenophobic movements

In another politics lesson at the same school we found a different variant of how current events are integrated into the classroom. Like the setting ‘Numbers of the Day’ the ‘Weekly Newsreel’ is around 15 minutes long and it is usually performed at the beginning of the lesson. This time, it was conducted at the last third of the lesson due to a test that the whole class was writing at the beginning. Basically, the ‘Weekly Newsreel’ is a presentation of one or two students about current topics. As well as the ‘Numbers of the Day’, this setting can therefore be seen as a variation of the ritual ‘Current Hour’. The presentation is divided into two parts: in the first part the students give a lecture to inform the class about current national and international news of the past week. In the second part they are supposed to initiate and lead a discussion. In our example, this discussion is kicked off with a provocative message by questioning the common negative public attitude towards the islamophobic movement ‘Pegida’. It is very likely that the students in the class have heard and discussed this topic outside the classroom before, as ‘Pegida’ is a widely discussed object in the public debate. The teacher is not interfering in this discussion at all. He sits aside and observes the conversation to give marks. After the discussion the teacher gives a statement to some aspects he observed during the conversation. The fact that the discussion is framed by school evaluation as well as the applause the students give themselves at the end of it, marks the passage as a typical and ‘artificial’ school discussion unlike a parliamentary debate or an everyday life discussion. Contrary to the ‘Numbers of the Day’ we can mark this setting as a ‘student-led free classroom discussion’ – a teaching method that is supposed to be suitable for controversial conversations at a first glance (Grammes, 2014b, p. 271). The discussion itself is, besides the fact that the teacher sits aside, a well-known school ritual: students that want to talk raise their hand and the moderator is disposing the right to speak.

The discussion is initiated by Jörg, one of the moderators, asking: “Islamist terrorism is all over the world and everybody criticises Pegida - are we against the wrong ones?” Before he presented his question to the class, he framed it as “provocative” and thereby differentiated it from his own potential opinion. With his question he compares the handling of two current and controversial phenomena. They are related because ‘Pegida’ publicly presents itself in an opposition to



‘Islamism’. The moderator thereby emphasised the problem of rejecting ‘Pegida’ and its (anti-Islamic) goals in a time of repeated “Islamist terrorism”. With this question, the *topic* ‘terrorism and Pegida’ is transformed into an *issue* (Leps, 2010). By connecting ‘Pegida’ with the terrorist attacks in Paris (and elsewhere), the topic becomes a disputatious question. The question is demanding to take position and to argue for it.

In the first part of the discussion, a rather conventional form of teaching and classroom communication is reproduced. The students talk quite distanced about the topic and argue about using terms in an adequate way. This ‘technical mode’ of talking is very similar to the discussion in the setting ‘Numbers of the Day’. It creates distance and ‘helps’ to avoid an own political positioning. By commenting nearly every statement of the audience, the discussion leader Jörg is copying a typical teacher behaviour (‘three-turn communication’). He is preserving the common way to talk about political issues in school as seen above in the ‘Numbers of the Day’. But in opposition to the ‘Numbers of the Day’, his comments do not have the strength to lead the discussion in a certain direction. As a student, Jörg might not have a wider plan of embedding the topic in the schedule and so the contributions of his classmates do not have to be formed in a certain perspective. After this first ‘technical’ part, the discussion is developing more and more into a modus of disagreement.

In the second part of the discussion, more emotionally charged political contributions are made. The students have time and space to elaborate their opinions towards the issue. The content is developing from a more general classification of ‘Pegida’ (How is the connection between terrorism and ‘Pegida’? Is there a connection between refugees and so called Islamisation? What are the positions of ‘Pegida’?) to the refugee policy in Germany (Is immigration necessary? How to deal with immigrants? How to manage immigration?) and finally to the role of the media. Most of these topics have not been included in Jörg’s original input but emerge during the interaction, as they are specific political issues represented by the ‘Pegida’-Movement.

The statements of the students are stretching a wide field and controversies in the classroom are developing. An example for a concrete point of controversy within the discussion is the question if counter-demonstrations against ‘Pegida’ are legitimate. The student Paul is starting this subtopic:

26	Paul: [...] and for this reason there’s so much popularity and to respond simply with counter-demonstrations <u>without</u> any sense- as an example, for example, um, I told this already in history class, um, friends of mine who are in Dresden to study there, um, they sometimes go to these they just went a few times to these protests, Pegida. There are some at the <u>university</u> , professors, who actually <u>command</u> them to participate on counter-demonstrations. So <u>without reason</u> , although they don’t even <u>inform</u> themselves properly. And that is that’s just a nuisance.
27	Jörg: You’d say one has to take the program’s points seriously.
28	Paul: You <u>have to</u> take this seriously and you have to take these people seriously. And not simply say that they are all <u>Nazis</u> .

Here, Paul calls counter-demonstrations against ‘Pegida’ “senseless” (26, also see below). Later on, the student Kathrin is defending the right to demonstrate against ‘Pegida’ (“to send a signal”). She is placing herself in opposition to the statement of Paul. On the *foreground* of the discussion we can see a lively and controversial debate also in other subtopics. Controversy becomes a characteristic of the classroom discussion. Didactic thinkers mark differences between different students groups and the resultant consequences for the teacher’s acting. Sibylle Reinhardt (2015, p. 31f.) distinguishes four groups. In a *politically heterogeneous class controversy is present* and the teacher is in the role to simply chair this controversy. In a *politically polarised class controversy is present* but can become *too heated*. Therefore, the teacher is supposed to make sure that everyone is *respecting* the rules of a fair discussion. In a *political homogeneous class controversy is missing* and so it is up to the teacher to bring in missing positions. Finally, teachers have to become ‘political’ as well in a class that is *uninterested* und *not spontaneously* willing to discuss. Our discussion ‘Weekly Newsreel’ seems to belong to the first group of a political heterogeneous group (with the specificity that a student is doing the moderation role usually conducted by the teacher).

We want to argue that defining a class discussion marked by many, even multi-perspective statements as a controversy group can be too hasty. There is a need to look closer to a discussion and distinguish its *foreground* from its *background* of cultural based orientations. This distinguishing points back to the methodology of the sociology of knowledge, where there are fundamental differences between the foreground of the communication and its underlying milieu-based orientations (see above). Analysing a class discussion with the documentary method gives the possibility to expose this orientations. For example: With the above mentioned statement of Paul (26), he is not only disqualifying counter-demonstrations as senseless, he is also opening an orientation. By a narrative about his friend in Dresden, Paul opposes the lack of a substantive debate and the denial of an own judgment by state institutions. Instead, the agenda of ‘Pegida’ must be taken seriously and a dialogue on the related positions has to be enabled, as



he elaborates his previously raised argument together with Jörg (27, 28). The designation of protestors as “Nazis” is marked here as a strategy of ‘Pegida’-criticising people to prevent a debate. This orientation is proving to be collectively shared in the class, even though the subsequent discourse shows that a fundamental rejection of counter-demonstrations is not dominating after all. Instead, it is crucial *how* the individual articulates their own convictions (in this manner, controversy is downright demanded by this group of students).

Two other – in the end not rejected orientations – are enfolded in the classroom discussion, as we can see in this sequence:

45	Astrid: I think the point is not that we- want to get rid of the foreigners who are working, but rather of those who are somehow a bit of a burden to the state who come and think they don't have to do anything and get ((looking at Caro)) how did you call the money?
46	Caro: They get very little, I mean, they get a lot of money from <u>us</u> , I mean, yes, from us. They get their asylum money, they get- like Paul said before about this <u>asylum camps</u> where they are squeezed in, I don't believe that, that well I don't know about that, but they still get their housing benefits and they get <u>a lot</u> , they get apartments from us.
47	Astrid: And that's the point where I say <u>that's</u> not OK in my opinion. I think it's right when they integrate here and try to settle in here, in German, when they go to <u>work</u> or study, or so, in that sense I have no problem at all and I think neither do most followers of Pegida. It's simply about the many people who are a drain on our pocket and who simply don't care because they believe it will be fine somehow, that they are dealt with a little bit now.

First, we can see that the students participating in this discussion construct themselves as representatives of the community's majority. This community is to be distinguished from ‘the others’ in a rigid manner – from the foreigners and especially from the Muslims. This clear difference is not questioned by anyone, it is rather reproduced by a lot of statements. Second, a difference between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ foreigners is articulated and passed on. This distinction remains dichotomous. The acceptance of immigration in the community is thereby dependent on the economic benefits of immigrants and their willingness to integrate. Such economic benefits and integration are nevertheless subject to certain conditions, such as being able to work. It can be said that politics is hardly considered from the perspective of certain values or of the law, but rather focuses on economic distribution and performance. Astrid and Caro jointly conduct the distinction between good foreigners (the well-integrated ones who go to work or study) and the bad foreigners who “do nothing” and still “get money” (45-47). In a pictorial and dramatic language, these foreigners are designed as a burden from which one must be freed. On the other hand, the argument is also characterised by relativizing expressions (“I think”, “somehow”, “I don't know”, “a little bit”) that may indicate an uncertainty, a search for reasonable terms for the situation. What is also striking here is the emphasis on the community to which they feel they belong to and

that they separate from the foreigners. Foreigners remain vague and strange, but still have to be economically supported without “deserving it”.

Another student – almost shocked about the previous contributions – responds to the now emotionally-charged talk about the question of how to deal with certain groups of migrants by referring to “Islamisation” as the actual subject of the discussion. This change of subject can be read as an attempt of executing a ‘ritual conclusion’. The moderator, however, ignores this attempt and elaborates the concept of a control of immigration depending on the expected benefits (“to look specifically who we need”) and the willingness to adapt (“who integrates”). He brings the Canadian immigration system as a role model, which works like an authority argument. So far, he is completely in line with Astrid and Caro that have spoken before, but chooses nevertheless a different, less emotional language. He shifts the mode of the debate once again towards a stronger technical discussion and makes it compatible with the context of a school lesson. Finally, the discussion ends by request of the teacher.

Overall, the setting allows indeed a quite controversial debate as well as the articulation of different positions, but the arguments are taking place within a common framework, under common assumptions. Some of this shared orientations are ‘unproblematic’. The one ‘*Individuals should be able to form an independent judgement within a differentiated debate and without being patronized or being taken in by others*’ is undisputed in theory and practice of Civil Education as it is a part of the Beutelsbach Consensus (see 1). But some orientations lead to statements that could be considered as problematic. This includes for example the non-reflected use of vocabulary used by ‘Pegida’ to defame groups or individuals such as ‘press of lies’ [*Lügenpresse*], the missing sensibility to distinguish different groups of migrants, the construction of a major society (“we”) in opposite to the people that come to Germany or that have a Muslim background (“them”) and the purely economic perspective in assessing migration. Recent studies have shown for the German context that this orientation can be a condition for the enveloping of racism and xenophobia (Decker, Kiess, & Brähler, 2014). Applying the documentary method, we could reconstruct homogeneity on the level of implicit knowledge. So, the class can be defined as a *homogeneous* group referring to their cultural-/ milieu-based background.

In other words: Regarding to the levels *what* the students say and *how* they say it, we have to mark this group as *political heterogeneous* but *cultural homogeneous* and in this perspective *controversial on the first level* but *non-controversial on the second*. Problematic for the ‘Requirement of Controversy’, as the Beutelsbach Consensus defines it, is the missing of some perspectives in the classroom like the orientation of Muslim believers towards the topic or the critical questioning if ‘Pegida’ is a legitimate dialogue partner in a democracy at all regarding their human rights-critical announcement and their refuse to talk to people with a different point of

view. This now enlarged *gap of cultural-based positions in Civic Education* is very hard to fill by the teacher. This is a challenge of practice first: Is it even possible in everyday practice of teaching to *recognise* the missing perspectives, claims and orientations in discussions (where there is almost no time for intense interpretation of group discussions)? And it is a problem of the teacher's background secondly: The level focused by the documentary method is the level of implicit knowledge that is by definition hard to expatiate because it is deepening on experiences and not on communicative knowledge. Can a teacher, who is (very likely in our case) coming from the same milieu as the students, even bring in the missing perspectives, claims and orientations into the discussions?

4 Conclusion: The instructional setting as a framework for the emergence of controversy

In both sequences that we summarised here current and potentially controversial events are topics of politics lessons. In both lessons the Islamic-motivated terrorist attacks in Paris play a role, which are discussed – more or less explicitly – against the background of the Pegida-Movement that is particularly active in Saxony and that was very present in the media at this times. In both classes, this takes place in a special setting apart from the actual subject teaching. These two settings, however, differ significantly when we look to their impact to controversy.

In the first case, a quiz show is staged, which is the occasion for the reconstruction of current events. The teacher takes the central role as a moderator and comments on every statement without any exception. Students repeatedly bring in the consequences of the terrorist attacks on the discourses of their local environment. However, the teacher does not pick up these comments. Instead she tries to move on with the reconstruction of the events (already known by the students) on the one hand and demands conceptual differentiations on the other hand. Apart from a little slip of one of the students, here is no clear occasion to do so. Assuming that the teacher is aware of the controversy about the Islamophobic 'Pegida'-movement, this insistence on conceptual differentiation seems like a preventive educational action. In this respect, the teacher is having the same premise as the students: the terrorist attacks are particular important to the discourse on Islamophobia. However, she does not discuss the topic in respect of the content, but rather in a formal sense. As a consequence, the sequence becomes a conversation that is rather sluggish and with a low density of interaction, occasionally relaxed with small jokes. Perspectives of the students that are based on certain experiences from outside school appear, but seem to get domesticated through the on-going teaching pattern. A controversial negotiating of this issue is thus actively prevented.

In the second case, on the contrary, a student-led discussion is offered by the prestructured setting in which knowledge and convictions about political issues

generated outside school may be introduced and deployed. Here, students use the opportunity to address the current discourse on xenophobia and Islamophobia that is familiar to them through their outside-school environment. Due to the higher interactive density, we were able to reconstruct markedly collective orientations in this classroom, which refer to a homogeneous milieu of the students. Differences are continuously produced between the locals and the foreigners, whereby the perception of these foreigners is determined by their economic contribution and their cultural proximity to the locals. At the level of communicative knowledge, we can observe a controversial discussion in this sequence, however, the underlying assumptions are basically homogeneous. In regard to the Beutelsbach Consensus the teacher is supposed to irritate these collective assumptions and establish pluralism, based on the different experiences he should have got – at the latest in the following teacher-centered discussion.

The comparison of these two sequences shows, how much the instructional setting frames the handling of controversial issues in Civic Education lessons. That is, while in one case the teacher and her strict orientation towards the perpetuation of a didactic settings prevents the deployment of a controversial debate, there is a controversial debate in the other case, in which – however – certain fundamental perspectives do not emerge. In both settings we have reconstructed und reflected problems regarding controversy. This is by no means a critique to the two teachers observed. Everyday teaching and qualitative research are in conflict because there will always be more elements to desire in comparison to what actually happens in the classroom (Breidenstein, 2015, p. 18). Qualitative research has the chance to point out problems that cannot be seen in everyday practice of teaching with its restrictions in time and administrative guidelines. Using documentary interpretation, the *development of the topic* can be analysed. Furthermore, with this method a difference can be made between the *foreground* and the cultural-based *background* of a discussion in school and by this a more differentiated image of school classes is becoming available. The praxeological approach is highlighting the *routines* of teaching by shifting the didactic judgement at the beginning of analysing to a later point of interpretation. A more complex understanding of teaching situations is possible by the *concept of multidimensional orientations* (framed inside and outside school) that are affecting the talking and acting of the people involved. Regarding this, a distinction can be made between shared orientations among the students that result from joint *inside-school* experiences and from such orientations that are based in *outside-school* experiences. Shared outside-school orientations among the students of a class can be reflected as *collective* preconditions for teaching – a central didactic question for planning lessons.

Controversy in Civic Education is highly depending on the way a topic is presented in the classroom. Conventional forms of classroom communication like the 'Numbers of the Day' seem to be rather unfavourable for



controversy. Free student-led discussions without a teacher interfering give more space to enfold the student's perspectives and evolve into disagreement. But in free discussions other problems regarding Civic Education come up. In our example we reconstructed how the topic was skipping from one to another very fast. Without a teacher participating in and framing the discussion, there is a remarkable lack of control. Many subtopics do not get disputed, some misconceptions remain 'wrong' in content and some very critical statements remain uncommented. More framing methods in Civic Education that are not focussed on the teacher, but help to concentrate the discussion by narrowing the statements – like 'fishbowl discussions', 'panel discussions' [*Podiumsdiskussion*] or 'pro-contra-debates' (Grammes, 2014b, p. 271) – have to be considered as an alternative. More structure in the procedure may help to 'tame' a class-room discussion and to prevent it from being a place of repeating superficial knowledge. Another remaining question is the limit of controversy. In a democratic society the teacher needs to clarify, which statements in classrooms are legitimate and which statements cross the limits. At least, positions that are questioning the human rights of certain groups or individuals cannot stand on the same level like other positions (Pohl, 2015/ Sander, 2009, p. 247). A lot of 'Pegida'-statements that came into the classroom as seen above, are such 'borderline cases' for Civic Education. It is again up to the teacher to interfere and position himself in such cases – maybe to the detriment of controversy, but in defence for democracy.^{viii}

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Endnotes

ⁱ One point of contention is how far controversy in Civic Education classroom should go. Is it merely the mapping of positions that are already present in science and politics or is it more about ‘discovering’ marginalized and yet not drafted positions ([Eis, Lösch, Schröder, & Steffens, 2016](#)).

ⁱⁱ The scenes and interpretations are outcomes of a research project located at the University of Leipzig (see www.erzwiss.uni-leipzig.de/allgemeine-didaktik-und-schulpaedagogik-des-sekundarbereichs/personen?view=proforschungsprojekt&id=204)

ⁱⁱⁱ Examples are the National Front in France, the United Kingdom Independence Party, the Lega Nord in Italy, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands or the Tea Party movement in the United States. With the Swiss People's Party, the True Finns, Fidesz in Hungary and PiS in Polen right-wing populist parties are now also involved in European governments.

^{iv} The discussion were recorded in Saxony, the ‘heartland’ of the Pegida movement (see 1). Hence, we can assume that the corresponding right-wing populist positions reach into the mainstream of the society (Decker et al., 2014). At the same time, questions of how to deal with such positions are relevant for Civic Education in principle and anywhere.

^v It must be remembered that the observer is not in an absolute position. He or she is part of the social interaction. Hence, if we participate as researchers in class the students will also react towards us.

^{vi} The transcription is oriented towards the guidelines of TiQ (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 253ff.): ((laughing)) = scenic comments, very nice = stressed, (nice) = uncertainty in the transcription

^{vii} In the Federal Republic of Germany education policy is executed by the German Länder.

^{viii} The study was designed exploratory. Thus, we could only gain sporadic insights into the practice of teaching Civic Education in (East-) Germany. It would be eligible to realize more, also comparative studies focusing on controversy in Civic Education classrooms, depending on different didactic settings and in the context of different milieus, which are represented by the members of a class.

Marc D. Alongi, Benjamin C. Heddy, Gale M. Sinatra

Real-World Engagement with Controversial Issues in History and Social Studies: Teaching for Transformative Experiences and Conceptual Change

Controversial issues have been established within the larger framework of civic education as an effective pedagogical approach to developing critical thinking in the classroom, preparing students with intellectual habits necessary for participation in scholarship, civic life and democracy. In this study, we found that a pedagogical intervention, Teaching for Transformative Experience in History, in some cases led to significantly higher engagement with political concepts beyond the classroom, and in other cases, the intervention led to significantly improved conceptual change. The study addresses some of the challenges presented by the research on civic education, providing a potential framework for developing pedagogical practice in history and social studies education that grounds a participatory, meaning-making process in curriculum design and assessment framed by controversial issues.

Keywords:

controversial issues, history education, social studies education, transformative experience, critical pedagogy, service learning, problem-based learning

1 Introduction: Experiencing controversial ideas in history and social studies

Since the days of America's Founding Fathers, the purpose of education in the United States has been closely tied to a set of political concepts and values that espouse the ideals of democracy and civic life (Jamieson, 2013). Over time, the notion that education is necessarily intertwined with democracy has become *cliché*. Yet today in the United States, we find ourselves in an increasingly polarized partisan political culture, often fueled by ideological positions, which begs the question: How do students interpret and makes sense of this

polarization? How do students understand historical ideas like *liberty*, which has always been controversial, both in and out of the classroom? The following paper looks at an attempt to answer these questions and considers the possible impacts on our understanding of history, social studies and civics education.

John Dewey, on the topic of learning history and geography in *Democracy and Education* (Dewey, 1916) said,

We realize that we are citizens of no mean city in discovering the scene in space of which we are denizens, and the continuous manifestation of endeavor in time of which we are heirs and continuers. Thus our ordinary daily experiences cease to be things of the moment and gain enduring substance (Dewey, 1916, p. 208).

Dewey's sense of aesthetic value and democratic promise emerge from intellectual engagement with daily experience. Here "enduring substance" is seen as valuable for the learner, as well as the community in which she acts as a citizen. This sentiment was echoed in the 1916 report *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* (1994) which established the importance of education for citizenship as encompassed within the "social studies (including a "problems of democracy" course designed to emphasize political issues) (Hess, 2004)." The past decades of research have produced a handful of overlapping frames for examining these phenomena within the context of the secondary school classroom (Barton & McCully, 2007; Evans, Saxe, & National Council for the Social Studies., 1996; Hahn, 1998; Jamieson, 2013; Malin et al., 2014; Ochoa-Becker, 1996). These include civic and citizenship education, critical pedagogy, place-based learning, and those with a more narrow focus like, issue-centered education, service learning, and problem-based learning.

In the late 1970's Dewey's interpretation of civic education was revived to more carefully examine the meaning of social studies, setting apart issues-centered education from the conventional didactic approach more concerned with the learning of historical or geographic facts (Ochoa-Becker, 1996; Shaver, 1977a). Issues-centered education approaches emphasized depth of understanding of concepts, thematic patterns, and a

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sense of student engagement that included room for inquiry, construction of meaning and application to contextualized issues beyond the classroom (Evans et al., 1996; Hahn, 1998).

However, issues-centered approaches have yet to emerge as a solution to the quagmire of social studies education reforms. The work of Jamieson (2013) provides a thorough history of civic education and addresses one of the biggest recent education reforms in the United States that occurred in 2002 with the signing of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The act, and a later revision in 2007 failed to include social studies goals in the stated proficiency standards, nor was civics education included as a priority. Despite the efforts by coalition organizations like the Civic Mission of Schools, work to include civics education goals in the K-12 system in the U.S. remains, and has perhaps become more controversial. Simply put, some believe that students do not benefit from thinking about competing perspectives. Ironically, the very conception of “civics education,” has created an ideological divide that has effectively marginalized the goals at the policy level, limiting possible impacts on student learning (Hess, 2004; Jamieson, 2013; Malin et al., 2014).

With that said, the recently adopted Common Core standards of 2010, for English language and literacy in history and social studies includes one out of ten standards for grades 11 and 12 that explicitly addresses the need for students to think about different perspectives on historical issues: “Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, 2010).” For 9th and 10th grades, the standard reads, “Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, 2010).” At the 6th-8th grade levels, none of the ten standards ask students to analyze the differences between perspectives. Despite the fact that the new Common Core standards draw attention to the importance of identifying different perspectives in history, much remains implicit for teachers to interpret as to how, or if, a teacher should challenge students to grapple with core concepts and issues that have for generations remained central to civic dialogue in the United States.

The recent Youth Civic & Education conference report issued by the Stanford Center on Adolescence (Malin et al., 2014) echoes the work of Jamieson, stating that,

Schools today limit their efforts almost exclusively to teaching civics knowledge, especially the kinds of knowledge that can easily be measured by standardized achievement tests. Discussions of democratic ideals and values are often neglected due to possible partisanship and politicization that arise when civic values are brought to school, some educators steer clear of flashpoints rather than allowing controversy to

be explored in the classroom as a pedagogical method (Malin et al., 2014, p. 9).

At all levels of the education system in the United States, from policy makers to teachers, there is often a tendency to avoid controversial discussions of civic values that can lead to possible “partisanship and politicization,” rather than utilizing the controversy as a pedagogical tool (Jamieson, 2013; Malin et al., 2014). This is unfortunate considering the fact that controversial issues have been proven to be an effective way that teachers can address, not only the lack of motivation that many young people exhibit in regard to public affairs, but the underlying critical thinking skills that students need to engage with local and global issues (Barton & McCully, 2007; Hess, 2009; Malin et al., 2014). We argue that if students' guided critical thinking is essential for their understanding of controversial issues, then we must engage students starting with the conceptions, and misconceptions, that they bring to the classroom. Students can be guided to understand the historical and contemporary relevance of important concepts in social studies, how those concepts relate to their own view of the world, and the support and practice they need to engage with the challenging discourse around those ideas. Core concepts like liberty, equality, equity, justice, and power, provide not only a foundation for understanding societies and their histories, but also the, “values that [students] need to identify with and be inspired by if they are to fully participate in and reap the benefits of belonging to a democratic society (Malin et al., 2014, p. 11).”

Let us look at an example to better understand the connection between core concepts in history and social studies and controversial issues, and how it might relate to one's individual values. *Liberty*, one of the concepts examined in this study, has been and remains a controversial idea due to the variety of definitions and applications. On the one hand, liberty can be defined in terms of individual freedoms, and on the other, civil rights, protections or a sense of the common good. The controversy emerges in contexts where the two are at odds. From the early days of the United States, voting rights presented a novel tension: who should be able to vote? Many colonists in positions of power feared wide democratic participation would result in mob rule, and therefore granted the right to vote only to propertied or tax paying “citizens.” By limiting “liberty,” colonial leaders believed they could achieve a common good: greater experienced freedom. From those days, liberty has had many interpretations, yet liberty is a key term in the United States' founding documents. Today, debates on “liberty” are ubiquitous, from cyber security, to gun control, reproductive rights, and health care, and they are debates that resonate from the deeply held values of those speaking out.

The controversy around civics education, the relationship to history and social studies education, and the vague nature of the Common Core standards for social studies in regard to important concepts and issues,



leaves much to be determined by districts, schools, and especially teachers. Hess (2004) has looked closely at history and social studies teachers' reactions to bringing controversial issues into the curriculum, arriving at the conclusion that there are four categories of teacher responses: 1) teachers deny that the issues are controversial and teach one perspective only, 2) teachers acknowledge the controversy but privilege one perspective, 3) teachers avoid controversial issues altogether, or 4) teachers take a balanced approach and let students grapple with the controversy (Hess, 2004).

Studies have shown that teachers can, however, find effective ways to use controversial issues as a pedagogical strategy. Barton and McCully (2007) looked at how teachers in Northern Ireland used controversial issues in the history classroom and found successful strategies for constructive discussions. They advocate for teachers expose students to ideological diversity and bring out, what they call "subtle forms" of diversity from within the student group. They also argue for a rationalist approach, one that asks students to weigh evidence and express a point of view. Importantly, the authors point out the difficulty that students have transferring historical thinking to the present without direct teacher support.

Additional support for teaching about controversial issues in social studies can be found in the research on historical and critical consciousness. These efforts have looked more broadly at the effects that institutional forms of socio-cultural, political and economic power have on the individual learner (Freire, 2000; Limón, 2002; Seixas, 2004; Von Borries, 2000). What Freire (2000) called a *reading of the world*, others have characterized as the relationship between academic and popular history and what we know about the habits of mind of historians. This is echoed in the work of Bodo Von Borries (2000) who concluded that, "textbooks necessarily reflect 'school' rather than 'life,' 'results' rather than 'problems.' Therefore, historical instruction must go beyond school and textbooks to embrace films, television, newspapers, museums, archives, citizens' initiatives and other evidence of life lived in a contentious historical culture" (Von Borries, 2000).

Historical thinking, especially when involving controversial issues, is a cognitive and affective process that is embedded in a socio-cultural context (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007; Sinatra, 2005; Sinatra, Broughton, & Lombardi, 2014). Based on personal experiences, every individual develops a priori assumptions about the past and their connection to it, which influences their beliefs, values, and actions (Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000). As such, scholars have argued for a history curriculum and instruction that helps the individual situate his or herself within the practice of academic and popular history (Drake & Nelson, 2005; Leinhardt & Ravi, 2008; Limón, 2002; Loewen, 1995; Seixas, 2004; Stearns et al., 2000).

In order to better understand the affective and cognitive dimensions of engagement in history, social studies and civics learning, this study looked to research on

Transformative Experience (TE) and conceptual change (CC). A number of prior studies have looked at TE and conceptual change together, however none of these was conducted in a history or social studies context (Heddy & Sinatra, 2013; Pugh, 2004; Pugh, Linnenbrink-Garcia, Koskey, Stewart, & Manzey, 2010a).

2 Transformative experience

The integrative construct, Transformative Experience (TE), was developed by Pugh (2002) based largely on the work of John Dewey. Pugh (2011) defines TE as an integrated construct with three components *motivated use*, *expansion of perception*, and *experiential value* (Pugh, 2011).

The first component, *motivated use*, includes any instance during which an individual, teacher or student, applied the concept to experiences outside the history class. In other words, it is a form of engagement through application of subject content. This dimension focuses on the effort of the individual to *use* his or her ideas outside of the history classroom, regardless of the individual's clarity or sophistication of the concept. Other synonyms may be helpful to more accurately capture the nature of the motivation. These synonyms include: *apply*, *notice*, and *see*.

The second component, *expansion of perception*, occurs when an individual is able to use his or her knowledge in a new way or modify the existing understanding (Pugh, 2011). *Expansion of perception* can also be understood as the result of the individual connecting new ideas and information into an existing schema or pattern of understanding. Furthermore, those connections are between new academic knowledge and conceptual frameworks and existing real-world experiences and memories that necessarily involve socially-embed emotional cognitive processes (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007; Piaget, 1954). In other words, our learning, the attempt to grapple with new ideas in our lives, involves emotional thought that is informed by the social contexts in which we live, ultimately engaging one's human capacity for moral decision making.

The third component of TE is *experiential value*, which Pugh (2011) defines as the "valuing of content for the experience it provides" (Pugh, 2011, p. 113). This type of value for a learning task exists at the intersection of utility value or usefulness and intrinsic value or interests (Pugh, 2011; Wigfield & Eccles, 1992). In other words, being able to apply conceptual knowledge to one's own experiences is not only useful, but provides a richer, more meaningful experience through which the individual can continue learning.

3 Conceptual change

Conceptual change is defined as a cognitive-affective process a learner undergoes when attempting to accommodate new ideas into his or her existing schema (Dole & Sinatra, 1998; Gregoire, 2003; Posner, 1982). The process of accommodation that occurs via conceptual change, in some cases, involved overcoming a misconception or restructuring a naïve conception. The political



concepts presented in this study were controversial, thus presenting opportunities for conceptual change.

Conceptual change theory has shed light on how individuals change or restructure their thinking to overcome preconceived notions, naïve conceptions, or misconceptions (Sinatra & Pintrich, 2003). Conceptual change research has been primarily conducted in science education (for notable exception see Limon's 2002 work in history). However, this is important in the area for learning history, as historical thinking is bound to belief systems and ideologies of one's cultural milieu. Pugh (2011) points out that "acting on an idea" as is the goal in TE, is a form of intentional transfer, but also parallels processes of conceptual change. Therefore, the body of work on conceptual change theory will provide additional support and new perspectives on transformative experiences of teachers and students with history concepts.

Transformative Experience (TE) as an integrative construct (Pugh, 2011) overlaps well with conceptual change models. TE requires motivated use of concepts, a change or *expansion of perception* and *value* for those concepts. Each of the aforementioned components of TE are predictors of conceptual change in Dole and Sinatra's (1998) Cognitive Reconstruction of Knowledge Model or CRKM. The CRKM posits several variables that may predict engagement with conceptual knowledge, and in the model, high engagement predicts conceptual change. Included in these variables is motivation and value, each is integral to engaging in TE. Furthermore, on a macro level, TE is considered out-of-school engagement and thus according to the CRKM, this engagement should predict conceptual change.

Heddy and Sinatra (2013) implemented an intervention, developed by Pugh and Colleagues (2010a), for university students called Teaching for Transformative Experience in Science (TTES) that increased conceptual change of concepts of evolution. The authors (Heddy & Sinatra, 2013) found that students who experienced TTES model showed greater TE and conceptual change. Heddy and Sinatra (2013) also showed a decrease in negative emotions, an important finding for students learning about a controversial subject that can spark strong emotions. The Heddy and Sinatra (2013) study serves as a model for the present study due to the fact that the intervention was effectively used to facilitate conceptual change.

4 Conceptual change with history concepts

As in all learning, students do not begin a class as blank slates, but rather they bring with them ideas, personal experiences, motivations and dispositions. Limón (2002) outlined four dimensions of individuals' prior domain specific knowledge: 1) certainty of knowledge, from uncertain to certain; 2) affective entrenchment of knowledge, low emotional reactions to strong emotional reactions; 3) coherence of knowledge, from no coherence to highly structured and ordered according to the individual's theories; 4) generality-specificity of knowledge, from specific knowledge to one area of history to general knowledge applicable to a number of areas. Prior

domain specific knowledge is particularly relevant when teachers are guiding students to think about how important core concepts like *liberty* or *power* (in this case Executive Branch power) are useful for historical and contemporary application. Not only do teachers need to be prepared to deal with individual students level of understanding (coherence or degrees of misconceptions), but also the degree of certainty students feel for their understanding and the affective or emotional "entrenchment" of that conception. This is not to suggest that teachers are simply correcting misconceptions only to provide a correct understanding and position on a controversial issue, but rather that some misconceptions can limit coherence and logical understanding of one or both sides of the issue, as well as more deeply "entrench" one's emotional connection to the idea. In other words, it's important for teachers to help students understand how the core concept is used in the logic of arguments on both sides of the issue. Vis-à-vis the research on controversial issues, conceptual change theory provides a useful frame for analyzing how students learn to think about controversial issues in history and social studies.

However, research on conceptual change in the field of history and social studies education is limited. In the case of learning and using history knowledge, Limón (2002) has argued that,

History learning assessment should place more emphasis on such concepts [empire, revolution or democracy]: what teachers tend to evaluate is how much correct information students remember from the textbook accounts, but it is unusual to ask students to compare types of concepts mentioned above in different historical situations, in order to give them meaning or relate them to others. In general, more attention should be paid to the teaching of history concepts (Limón, 2002, p. 277).

This study was designed to focus on how teachers model, facilitate and assess how students learn and use specified core concepts, like *liberty* and *power* (relating to the Executive branch of the U.S. federal government).

5 Teaching for historical understanding and conceptual change

Limón (2002) proposes three important skills for historical understanding: relativistic thought, narration/argumentation/ problem-solving, and analytical and integrational reasoning. Relativistic thought involves three features (Kramer, 1983; Limón, 2002): a) awareness of the relativistic nature of knowledge, b) acceptance of contradiction, and c) integration of contradiction into the dialectical whole. Limón (2002) also proposes that high school students be able to move between solving problems, developing arguments and narrating history. In this way, students are challenged to employ various historiographic positions. Lastly, Limón (2002) argues for "analytical and integrational reasoning skills," such as analysis of situations vis-à-vis economic, social, political



and ideological levels of analysis. Controversial issues presented by core concepts in history and social studies provide this opportunity for the classroom. Limón (2002) provides the example of the common practice of teaching the French Revolution in isolation, without awareness of concurrent global trends. Furthermore, history-learning assessments should place more emphasis on concepts that are traditionally implicit (Limón, 2002), such as the idea of *revolution*, which may not be examined conceptually in a unit on the French, Russian or Islamic Revolutions.

The following study sought to consider the cognitive journey of the student, moving between the classroom and their daily experience outside of the classroom. For example, how often does a teacher consider the question, "What do I know about how, and if, my student applied her understanding of federalism in her experiences outside of class? Does my student recognize the controversy surrounding federal v. state policies?" Dewey (1938) said nearly eighty years ago speaking of the role of teachers, "...It is the business to be on the alert to see what attitudes and habitual tendencies are being created...He must, in addition, have that sympathetic understanding of individuals as individuals which gives him an idea of what is actually going on in the minds of those who are learning" (Dewey, 1938, p. 39).

There is too little research on the underlying psychological processes that shape one's history learning experience, particularly on controversial issues in social studies education. This study attempts to begin bridging that gap.

6 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to examine how students engage with thinking about controversial issues beyond the classroom. In particular, we wanted to understand the relationship between transformative experience and conceptual change with specific core ideas and concepts, and whether there were differences between an experimental condition using the Teaching for Transformative Experience in History (TTEH) model and a control condition. The study was designed to understand the impact of the pedagogical model, Teaching for Transformative Experience in Science (Pugh, 2004) as it is applied to History. We modified the model slightly for our context and renamed it the Teaching for Transformative Experience in History or TTEH model, using controversial political concepts. The study measured the effects of the TTEH intervention on transformative experience (TE) and conceptual change (CC).

7 Research Questions

The study addressed the following research questions:

1. Do participants (teachers and students) who experience TTEH instructional intervention for controversial political concepts report significantly higher levels of TE than those in a control group who have traditional instruction?

2. Do participants who experience TTEH instruction demonstrate significantly greater conceptual change than those in the control group?

In regard to the first research question, based on prior research, we hypothesized that students who were guided through the TTEH intervention would report significantly higher degrees of TE than participants in the control condition (Heddy & Sinatra, 2013; Pugh et al., 2010a).

Regarding conceptual change with the controversial political concepts, we predicted that students in the treatment group would demonstrate significantly greater conceptual change than those in the control due to increased motivation and the demonstrated relationship between motivation and conceptual change (Dole & Sinatra, 1998; Heddy & Sinatra, 2013).

8 Participants and setting

This study took place in two high schools in a large urban metropolis in the western United States. Participants were teachers and students in one 10th, and one mixed 11th and 12th grade history classroom. Each of the two schools has different socio-economic or gender-based demographics. Two class sections were chosen using a stratified random selection process; teachers were asked to assign colors to each course section and we assigned the color to each condition (Creswell, 2009; Teddlie & Yu, 2007).

University High. The first school, University High (pseudonym), is a private girls school serving roughly 430 students in grades 6-12 in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. The participants in this study represented the following ethnicities: 64% Caucasian, 12% Hispanic, 9% African American, 6% Asian, 1% Indian, and 8% other (including one or more ethnicities). Approximately 26% of the students receive financial assistance. This site presented a demographic, which has the potential to shed light on whether there are differences in teaching and learning of history for girls. The study focused on an 11th grade U.S. History course, with one treatment group and one control group, each with 12 students ($n=24$). *Liberty* was the overarching political concept for the unit of study. Prior to the study, the teacher mentioned that most students tend to have either misconceptions or underdeveloped conceptions about liberty, often times believing that "liberty" is simply being able to do as one pleases.

Diego Rivera High School. The second school, Diego Rivera High School (pseudonym) is a public charter high school serving approximately 400 students in a large metropolitan area. As of 2012, of the student population, 87% identify as being Latino, 6% as Asian and 3% as Black. All of the students are classified as "economically disadvantaged" according to the school district's report card. At this site, the study focused on an 11th and 12th grade U.S. Government course, with one treatment group and one control group, each with 27 students ($n=54$). *Executive branch power* (balance of powers) was the overarching political concept for the unit of study



and was identified as a controversial issue due to the fact that there are common misconceptions about the actual authority of the President of the U.S. compared to the perceived power the office holds. Furthermore, there are frequently debates about limiting the power of the Executive Branch, primarily concerning the constitutionality of executive orders.

9 Transformative experience measure

To measure students' TE, we adapted a TE Survey that uses 20 Likert scale items adapted from previous measures for TE in science learning (Pugh, Linnenbrink-Garcia, Koskey, Stewart, & Manzey, 2010b). The TE Survey was administered before and after the intervention. The items measured the three components of TE: each student's motivated use of the concept, re-seeing or expanded perception of the concept and experiential value for the concept. For example, for motivated use, one item asks for students to rate the extent to which they agree with the statement, "I thought about executive branch power (or liberty) outside of class." The Likert-based 6-point scale ranges from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" (See Appendix D for the complete survey). An example of re-seeing or expansion of perception is, "The executive branch power (or liberty) ideas changed the way I view situations." Lastly, an example of an experiential value item is, "The Executive Branch power (or liberty) ideas I learned make my out-of-class experience more meaningful."

The survey has nine questions that determine the degree to which students actively used the history concept, five questions that measure the students' expansion of perception, and six that measure the students' experiential value for the history concept. All three dimensions were aggregated to provide an overall TE score. Reliability of the TE survey was high (pretest Chronbach's $\alpha = .96$; posttest Chronbach's $\alpha = .94$).

10 Conceptual change measure

The conceptual change measure included four open-ended questions, based on the class assessment used in each course. Specifically, each assessed the students' understanding and conceptual change of the respective concepts of *liberty* or *Executive Branch power*. The conceptual knowledge was measured, both at pre and posttest, through open response questions and graded using a 4 point rubric: "0" indicating the student has an inaccurate, misconception, "1" indicating the student has a hybrid conception that mixes misconceptions with accurate understanding of the concept(s), a "2" indicating an accurate, but underdeveloped understanding of the concept(s), and "3" indicating the student has a well-developed and nuanced understanding of the concept. Each rubric followed this format but was specifically tailored to the content of that class.

At University High, the conceptual change essay prompts were: 1) Define liberty. 2) How has the idea of liberty changed throughout American history? 3) How was the concept of liberty used in the framing of the United States Constitution? 4) To what extent is the

concept of liberty relevant today? The four questions provided an overall sense of how the students think about the concepts, as well as providing specific prompts that address potential misconceptions with historic understandings of the concept of *liberty* as well as contemporary applications. Two of the authors applied the rubric to each of the four prompts and interrater reliability was recorded. Interrater reliability was established at 78%, considered to be substantial agreement (Fleiss, 1981).

The four prompts for Diego Rivera included: 1) How do you define the role of the President of the United States? 2) What role does the President play in policymaking? 3) How can the political ideology of the President affect the entire country? 4) Describe the primary Constitutional conflict between Congress and the President with the decision to go to war? Overall the four questions provided a sense of how the student understood the Executive branch power and authority, as well as more specific information about how the student understood specific powers such as the decision to go to war. Two of the authors applied these codes to each of the four prompts and interrater reliability was recorded. At Diego Rivera, interrater reliability was established at 77%, considered substantial agreement (Fleiss, 1981).

11 Interviews

Teacher and focus group interviews were used to gather additional data about student TE. This qualitative data was triangulated with quantitative measure to increase the external validity of each measures. Student focus groups from each classroom, both treatment and control, had four to six students, randomly selected, and met during the class period in an adjacent classroom or library for up to 30 minutes. This totaled to four focus group interviews. The interview was designed to elicit student reflections on the use of the concepts of the *role of the President (or liberty)*, how the class changed the way the student perceived the *concepts*, and how their value for the *concepts* changed. For example, the first question, "Were you able to *use* what you learned about the role of the President (*or liberty*) when you weren't in history class? Explain when, where and how often." Additionally there were three teacher interviews designed to understand teacher perceptions about student TE outcomes and implementation of TTEH. The interviews were recorded digitally, transcribed and hand coded for components of TE: *motivated use*, *expansion of perception*, *experiential value*, as well as *conceptual change*. Each of the components was assigned a color, useful for detecting thematic patterns in the qualitative data.

12 Procedures

At both sites, one of the sections served as control group and received typical instruction, while the other section, the treatment, received the TTEH approach, which the teacher layered over the typical instruction.

Students at University High explored philosophical notions of positive and negative *liberty* from Early

America until today. *Positive liberty* can be understood as, "The possibility of acting - or the fact of acting - in such a way as to take control of one's life and realize one's fundamental purposes" (Carter, 2012), while negative liberty is, "The absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints. While negative liberty is usually attributed to individual agents, positive liberty is sometimes attributed to collectivities, or to individuals considered primarily as members of given collectivities" (Carter, 2012, para. 1). In other words, *positive liberty* views policies, rules or actions in terms of the freedom to have opportunities they bring a group of people, while *negative liberty* can be understood in terms of freedom from restrictions. These two notions of "liberty" are the basis for central ideological differences today, presenting an important opportunity to explore multiple controversial issues. Prior to the study, the teacher at University High believed that most of her students tend to adopt a negative conception of *liberty*; common for teenagers who are looking forward to new freedoms to go where they want and do as they choose.

At the Diego Rivera site, students learned about *Executive Branch power* in the United States federal government. The teacher reported that one of the most common misconceptions her students had coming into the course on United States Government, is the amount of power and authority the President has to create or change legislation. A more nuanced, less naïve, conception would include not only the different types of legislation (municipal, county, state, federal), but also the process for passing or amending legislation, especially at the federal level, including the use of executive orders. Students in both sections were taught a more accurate conception of the role of the Executive branch regarding public policy, including the role of the Executive branch in policy making, the effects of a President's ideology on policy, and the primary Constitutional conflict between Congress and the President in a decision to go to war.

Table 1 in Appendix A shows the timeline of the instrument administration and the intervention.

13 Professional development

In order to train teachers participating in the study, a 3-step professional development process was conducted for teachers at both school sites.

Step 1. A few weeks prior to the study, the first author met with each participating teacher to discuss his or her plan for the course and proposed unit for the experiment. This included outlining the types of knowledge outcomes using *Understanding by Design* (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005), a common pedagogical planning tool, which includes central concepts of the unit, key factual knowledge that students will need to know in order to make sense of conceptual knowledge and an examination of the summative assessments the teachers intend to use at the unit. Specific attention was given to the construction of the assessment, especially each level of a 4-point rubric for conceptual knowledge.

Step 2. Once a history concept was identified, the teacher reflected on his or her own TEs with that concept

and any conceptual change that may have occurred for that teacher over time. For example, for the study at Diego Rivera High School, the teacher reflected on her experience with learning about the branches of government, and specifically the degree of power and authority granted to the Executive branch. With the help of the researcher, the teacher considered how she was initially able to *use, notice* or *apply* that concept outside of the classroom (*motivated use*), how that experience changed the way she looked at the world (*expansion of perception*) and what value she developed for that idea (*experiential value*). This process helped prepare the teacher to identify opportunities for scaffolding student *reseeing*, as well as modeling for students the process and value that was derived from the TE.

Step 3. With specific instances of TE and conceptual change in mind, the teacher learned the TTEH instructional strategy, which was then layered onto the normal curriculum. TTEH included modeling for the students, the teacher's personal TE with the concept(s), encouragement on a daily basis for student TE, and brief daily independent and group reflection (including student journals) and discussion.

14 TTEH Condition

The selected treatment group students at each school site received the TTEH model of instruction which included the following elements to promote *transformative experience*: (a) the teacher modeled how she has experienced thinking about the concept in her life and how that has shaped her thinking about society and history, (b) students were guided to plan how they could *notice* and *re-see* concepts in diverse contexts in the classroom (this was predicted to increase student self-efficacy for the task), c) teachers provided encouragement for students to explore *using* the concept in their life outside of the classroom (e.g. this could include *using* or seeing the role of the President expressed in literature, songs, TV, movies, conversations with family, etc.), (d) students completed a daily written reflection about how he or she *used* the concept, how it changed their perception of something in their normal experience and how their value for that concept may have changed, (e) students had a brief daily discussion with a peer, small group or whole class about their individual experience with the concept.

Prior to Day 1, of the unit of study, each of the measures was administered to both treatment and control groups, including a demographics survey. Teachers took the following steps in order to effectively implement the intervention.

The primary objective of Day 1 was for students to unpack the primary concept(s), questions and objectives of the unit, including that they will be able to more often use the idea in their daily lives. The teacher shared with students that they would be expected to keep a UCV (Use, Change, Value) Journal nightly, and they will be asked to participate in a daily "Show & Tell" relating their journal entries. It was recommended that the concepts be framed as *essential questions* (Wiggins & McTighe,



2005) that are open-ended questions challenging the student to use and explore the concept from multiple angles, e.g. "How should we judge the President?" The teacher was also asked to talk about her own personal experience thinking about the concept, e.g. for the *role of the President*, the teacher could make specific reference to who the President was when she started to think about the role, why she cared to think about and evaluate that President, and how she began to think about the role differently and interpret the opinions of others. By comparing specific issues like education or health care reform, the teacher could illustrate that depending on the issue, that the President has varying levels of authority and power.

On Day 2 the students were able to apply UCV in class with sources provided by the teacher. For example, it was suggested to the teacher that after learning more about the role of the President vis-à-vis the whole political process, students could be given an activity to observe video interviews with citizens about their thoughts about how President Obama was doing prior to the 2012 elections. Students could be asked to pay attention to how interviewees were thinking about the *role of the President*.

The primary objective of Day 3 was to create a space for students to individually and collectively brainstorm places where they may *re-see* the concept. At some point before the next class, students are asked to record in a journal their response to the following questions: 1) Where did I look or how did I try to use the concept? 2) How did it change the way I see that thing, place, situation? 3) How is that valuable to me?

Day 4 was planned as the first opportunity to hear student responses. For the first 5 minutes of class, it was recommended that the teacher ask students to share their UCV Journal entry with a partner. Then, in a show and tell style discussion, the teacher would then have students share with the whole class their personal experience, or that of their partner. It was recommended that the teacher document the unique experiences on a chart with three columns Use, Change and Value.

Day 5 onward the teacher was encouraged to begin class with the UCV Show and Tell before moving on to the course content. If the teacher were to notice that individuals were having difficulty with the UCV assignment, she was urged to confer with the student individually.

Control Group. As was previously mentioned, each of the classrooms selected for the study utilized teaching methods that engaged students with the same history concepts presented in the treatment group.

15 Results

Table 2 (Appendix B) shows the means and standard deviations for the transformative experience (TE) and conceptual change surveys at pretest and posttest for each school by condition. Due to the observations of Teaching for Transformative Experience in History (TTEH) implementation differences between sites during the study, individual school data is presented in order to

understand relevant differences between school sites. All data screening techniques, descriptive statistics and advanced statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS version 22 software.

16 Transformative experience findings

To address the first research question, *Do participants who experience TTEH instruction demonstrate greater Transformative Experience (use, change, value) than those in the control?* a repeated measures ANOVA was used comparing time (pre- to post test on the TE measure) as the within-subjects factor and group (treatment and control) as the between-subjects factor. A Box's *M* test for unequal group sizes indicated that our assumption of equality of the variance-covariance matrices was met (Box's *M* = 3.11, *p* = .409). This means that equal variances can be assumed between conditions. The results of the repeated measures ANOVA did not show significant differences between conditions at either school. However, univariate analyses were conducted based on differences of post hoc means. Results from Diego Rivera did show significant differences between conditions at posttest, $F(1, 32) = 5.29, p = .003, \eta^2 = .422$. The effect size was large and this suggests that the TTEH intervention did play a significant role in increasing TE in the treatment condition. This is confirmed further from paired samples *t* tests that demonstrated significant difference for the treatment condition; treatment, $t = -3.227, p = .005$, while the control condition did not show, $t = -1.393, p = .185$. This result suggests that the treatment group reported a significant gain with TE from pretest to posttest, while this did not happen with the control condition.

17 Qualitative analysis of student interviews

Students at Diego Rivera in the treatment condition focus group interview shared many examples of *TE*. Student one shared, "We had to see what we were learning and relate it to watching the news and hearing songs and like we see a lot of connections between what we learned and the songs." Other students echoed that comment, revealing that the TTEH intervention was clearly presented to and practiced by students. Another student shared, "I think you understand more the stuff you find...looking for things that relate to the *role of the President*. And when you go out and look for that stuff, you're like 'oh yeah, I learned this' and I know why." Here the student is able to articulate how the process of *noticing* helped him *value* the concept, and in the case of the *role of the President*, see how misconceptions are present in our popular culture. Another student summarized, "That too, when we were researching media, I found that a lot of people really like putting the President in a bad light. Because well it's easy to blame, they're looking for someone to blame what's wrong in the world, I assume so, so they choose to blame the authority figure." Another student shared her *value* derived from the TTEH experience,

Well to be honest, I really didn't care much for Congress and the President before learning about what he [the President] did and what he can and cannot do. And now that I know I can apply what decisions he makes...and how it affects everybody, not just the whole but also as it can affect individuals."

Overall, the treatment focus group conversation was filled with enthusiasm and praise for the teacher and activities that encouraged students to *apply* what they were learning outside of class and share those experiences in class with their peers. Students all commented that they feel more confident when thinking about the Executive branch of the U.S. government.

The control condition focus group conversation differed considerably. Students could not identify the *role of the President* as a central concept for the class. Instead, students offered that they were talking about Congress. When asked how this unit changed the way they think about the *role of the President*, only two of the five shared. One student responded, "I don't think this class changed it, I feel like U.S. History kinda changed it more. This is kinda repeating information from U.S. History." This sample of students had more difficulty identifying the central goal of the class, and were not about to share and thoughts about how they are able to *use* the concept, how that concept *changed* the way they look at the world, nor how the concept is *valuable*. In fact, when asked directly how the ideas from this class are *valuable*, one student shared, "It's not." The comment was accompanied with laughter from the group. Although the focus group was randomly selected, it is possible that the group of five did not represent the whole class.

18 Qualitative analysis of teacher interviews

When interviewed about her perceptions about the experiment, the teacher at Diego Rivera, Estelle (pseudonym) explained that the *TTEH* intervention was challenging at first, but improved over time with adjustments to address misconceptions. Estelle shared that there was a group of students who were engaged with the *UCV* discussions and another group that seemed to be confused at first, leaving *UCV* worksheets blank. "I thought it [TTEH] was going to be really easy, like really easy. It was challenging. But it was good in showing me that the learning I was hoping for well, right away it showed me that it wasn't happening. And then I was able to see some progress. Still not at the level I thought I would see, but it did help me see what was going on in their heads and in their understanding of these concepts and how they relate." She referenced a phone conversation she had with the first author. During the beginning when students were confused with conspiracy theories they encountered, she shared a concern that *TTEH* seemed to be leading to misconceptions. During the conversation the researcher and teacher agreed that the *UCV* discussion was, in fact, a perfect place to directly and explicitly point out misconceptions.

Estelle saw *TTEH* as an important instructional strategy to help students *notice* and *apply* learning beyond the

classroom, but also as an assessment tool to gauge conceptual clarity and sophistication as those concepts are applied to different contexts in the lives of students. Estelle also shared that overall the experience was valuable for her. "I was talking about it [TTEH] in an instructional leadership team meeting, and I was explaining what I was doing with my second and my fourth period, and how I found it really valuable. It kind of helped me reflect on my teaching and the assumptions that I make as a teacher." The assumptions Estelle referred to are about how students *use* what they learn in the classroom and how they connect it to their own experiences. For Estelle, *TTEH* was viewed as scaffolding for student metacognition about what they are learning.

19 Conceptual change findings

To address the second research question, "Do participants who experience *TTEH* instruction demonstrate greater conceptual change than those in the control group?" conceptual change was measured at both sites: University Prep focused on the concept of "liberty" and Diego Rivera focused on the concept of "Executive Branch power." According to the measure, students at Diego Rivera did not experience significant gains in conceptual change, but students at University Prep did. On the measure of conceptual change for *liberty* the treatment condition outperformed the control condition, demonstrating statistically significant differences (treatment pretest $M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.10$, control pretest $M = 4.72$, $SD = .90$, treatment posttest $M = 9.76$, $SD = 1.87$, control posttest $M = 7.36$, $SD = 2.24$; $F(1, 22) = 7.97$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .296$). This result shows that the treatment experienced significantly greater conceptual change than did the control group. Further, the effect size was large, suggesting that the *TTEH* intervention was a key determinate of conceptual change.

To further investigate the nature of the interaction, univariate analyses of pretests for both conditions confirmed there were no significant differences prior to the intervention, pretest $F(1, 22) = .007$, $p = .934$, suggesting that prior knowledge did not differ between conditions. However, posttest univariate analysis showed significant differences, $F(1, 22) = 8.170$, $p = .009$. This shows that the *TTEH* group engaged in greater conceptual change than the control. To further investigate growth made by each group on the conceptual change measure, *t* tests were used. Results of *t* tests showed significant scores for the treatment, $t(13) = -8.71$, $p < .001$, and the control, $t(11) = -4.45$, $p = .001$. These results suggest that in addition to the treatment significantly outperforming the control, both groups benefited from instruction, performing well on the conceptual change measure for *liberty*.

20 Qualitative analysis of student interviews

We used thematic analysis coding (Maxwell, 2013) triangulate and crystallize statements that provided rich data on the phenomenon of teaching and learning for *TE* with selected concepts. After we transcribed each of the interviews, we used a color-coding process to identify

motivated use, expansion of perception, experiential value and conceptual change. This scheme allowed us to see thematic patterns and differences between conditions.

Focus groups of five students from both conditions were randomly selected for interviews. As predicted, there were notable differences between focus group interviews. At University Prep, students in the treatment group were very comfortable discussing how the concept of *liberty*, was used or applied to their daily experiences, and how that *changed* the way they looked at the world. Each of the five participants in the treatment condition focus group was engaged in the discussion and offered different perspectives, including ideas about what helped the process of *applying* concepts outside of class. The control condition had positive comments about their experience with the unit in general, but the conversation tended to gravitate back to classroom assignments.

Students in the treatment condition eagerly described a number of examples of how they were able to apply what they were learning about *liberty* outside the class. Here are three consecutive contributions from three different students: Student 1 said, "It helped me in my elections class (a different class) because we were talking about current events...we had to argue things about if the Electoral College is good or not, and liberty and individual liberties are kind of an argument you could make." Then from Student 2, "I think kinda similar, but also just like in our daily lives, like, going home and hearing stories or talking to other people, you start to recognize real life situations, and things that I would have never noticed before as *liberty*, things that I just kind of started thinking about as I went home over the weekend and stuff." Finally Student 3,

Yeah, we have to choose primary sources off of news articles and one of the ones that I chose, like outside of class to talk about and show how it like connects to *liberty*, was about the debt ceiling for the government shutting down and it just made think (sic) about things in a different way, and like, made me question, like, the ideas of the separations of powers.

Not only were students very eager to share that they were able to *use* or apply *liberty*, Student 2 and 3 included a self-awareness that they developed an ability to apply the concept in a new way, in other words, the process helped *expand their perception, reseeing and valuing* the concept. For example, noticing that the debt ceiling was a policy action that affects *liberty* and is connected to a political balance of powers, a concept learned in a previous unit. The student implies that she was previously unaware of these connections. Although the comments in the case of student one and three are undeveloped, they contribute to a larger picture presented in the focus group, which suggested that the students had developed increased willingness to apply the concept outside of class and connect it to other background knowledge.

Students in the treatment condition also noted the initial challenge of applying *liberty* outside the class, but eventually learning to see the concept. Student 4 stated, "I feel like all of us when we looked for liberty we couldn't find it...and after we learned more...it came to us easily and so unexpectedly because like our knowledge like broadened like our perspective on it."

For the most part, the connections drawn by the students in the control condition tended to relate different concepts of government from class activities. Although there were two comments about liberty, both were relatively naïve conceptions and applications, focusing more on *negative liberty*.

21 Qualitative analysis of teacher interviews

The teacher at University Prep, Maria (pseudonym), shared her perspective on how students from her class engaged with the concept of *liberty* beyond the classroom provided valuable data regarding how students responded to the intervention, as well as differences between conditions. Overall, Maria felt that the treatment condition was able to articulate an understanding of *negative liberty*, and as she predicted moved to a more sophisticated understanding of *positive liberty*. She added, "I think probably that the TE group, some less confident students were able to do more of that than the less confident students in that [control] class. Maria proceeded to share a story of one student who greatly benefited from the intervention,

I would say, there's a particular student who pops out as one...who had a more *transformative experience*. She was in the experimental group...and she was the one who came in with the Obamacare analogy and...in that discussion started us on the road to articulating a difference between *positive* and *negative liberty*. Part of the reason I think, the reason she strikes me, is that first of all, she was more excited about it than other kids in the classroom. She was also pretty quick to try and use the *positive liberty* concept in subsequent classes like she wanted to bring it up a couple times and I remember why it was important to her. She's a good student but I don't think she's a superstar. I don't think she experiences as a top of the class kind of student and so I think part of what was meaningful to her was to be the source of this class breakthrough. I think that that was really meaningful for her.

Later in the interview the teacher said, "The TE approach helped us focus much more tightly on the essential questions...I really appreciate the explicit direction to apply what they're learning outside of class on their own...and changing the way they see the relationship between the past and the present. I think is really valuable to history education and part of what a history education is supposed to do, right?" When asked how the students were able to *use* the concept outside of class the teacher shared, "I feel more confident that the TE group was able to do that - principally because of the conversations they would have in the first ten



minutes of class. The teacher added that the students would say things like, “My parents were talking about the [Federal government] shutdown and I was asking questions about it and it made me think about liberty.” While Maria implicitly acknowledges that she does not know much about how students in the control condition were applying the concept beyond the classroom, this raises an important point for discussion. Even generally effective classroom pedagogy does not provide this type of assessment, which is necessary for achieving a goal like *TE*.

22 Discussion

This experiment was based on two main constructs: transformative experience (*TE*) and conceptual change. Research to date in both areas has yet to include experiments about history and social studies learning, or civic education. We found that this study provided an important next step for research in this area, providing insights not only about how students learn in and out of the classroom, but also curriculum design and research methods.

In regard to the first research question, “Do participants (teachers and students) who experience TTEH instructional intervention for controversial political concepts report significantly higher levels of *TE* (use, change, value) than those in a control group who have traditional instruction?” the hypothesis was confirmed in one of the school sites. The post hoc analysis of results of the treatment condition at Diego Rivera revealed significant growth in *TE* due to the TTEH intervention. Focus group and teacher interviews provided rich testimony to describe differences between conditions. These differences made it clear that participants who experienced the TTEH intervention were better able to engage with the respective history concept beyond the classroom. We believe that the instruction via the TTEH intervention at Diego Rivera differed considerably from instruction in the control condition, providing opportunities to engage with Executive Branch power as a relevant controversial issue in their own daily lives. At University Prep, there are a couple likely reasons why results were not significant. First, differences between instructional conditions might have not differed enough due the influence of TTEH on the teacher when teaching the control group (this admission was noted in interview data). Secondly, students at University Prep, a high SES and high performing school, seemed likely to self-report higher ratings on the TTEH measure at pre-test, thereby impacting the possibility of significant findings. These challenges will be discussed further in the limitations section.

Qualitative analyses of student focus groups and teacher interviews at both schools provided an abundance of data that suggested the treatment conditions more readily demonstrated *motivated use* of the concepts, shared how it *expanded their perception* of the way they look at daily situations, and had increased *experiential value* for those concepts in daily contexts.

In regard to the second research question, “Do participants who experience TTEH instruction demonstrate greater conceptual change than those in the control group?” the hypothesis was confirmed at one of the school sites. Results at Diego Rivera did not show significant conceptual growth, but at University High, the treatment group significantly outperformed the control on the conceptual change measure and the effect size was large. We believe that the short duration of this study may have impacted students in the larger classes at Diego Rivera. While they did have enough time to see significant growth in *TE*, or their engagement with the concept of Executive Branch power beyond the classroom, their written essays for the conceptual change measure didn’t yield significantly different results. On the other hand, students in the treatment condition at University High, seemed better able to focus on one concept, liberty, whereas control condition participants tended to move on more quickly to other concepts, like federalism, without as nuanced of an understanding of the liberty. We expand on these challenges in the following limitations section.

23 Implications for instruction

The study findings provide evidence that it is possible to promote habits of conceptual application, whether those concepts are based in history or civics. TTEH did support students to not only become more confident in *noticing* the concept beyond the classroom, but experience *value* for it. Then when back in the classroom, students are able to share each of the three dimensions, behavioral (use), cognitive (change), affective (value), which can create, as one teacher put it, a “conversational currency” through which the teacher can lead further exploration. These findings regarding the implementation of the TTEH model by teachers, addresses prior research that questioned both how teachers accommodate and assimilate the TTEH model with their own prior beliefs and practices, as well as differences in implementation between university researchers and practicing teachers (Pugh et al., 2010b).

A professional development plan for the TTEH model should include the following: (1) clear and thorough modeling with additional questions and scaffolding for each dimension, (2) training on how to identify quality controversial concepts (including political, social, cultural and economic concepts), (3) training on how to identify and address misconceptions, and (4) alignment with the final assessments, including greater transparency for students regarding expected outcomes.

The final suggested improvement to the TTEH model is the alignment of expected outcomes, academic goals, assessments and instructional practices (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). For the purpose of this experiment, TTEH was gently overlaid on three different idea-based classes that utilized an Understanding By Design approach (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005). The problem with layering an instructional intervention “on top” of an existing unit or course plan is that misalignment is possible. For example, while students were guided to



apply their understanding of controversial political concepts beyond the classroom as an instructional activity, neither school included that type of applied thinking on the final assessment. If students are clear that this is one of the larger objectives for the unit or course of study, they will more likely work to accomplish that objective. More dynamic summative assessments, such as *performance tasks*, as presented in *Understanding by Design* (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005), could prove to be a useful model. One of the teachers suggested that the ultimate learning goal is to increase students' civic engagement, using history and government concepts to be able to affect change. With this view education becomes a more democratic experience by which the students, as individuals and collectively with the help of the teacher, engage in learning beyond the classroom for the purpose of societal progress (Goldfarb, 2005).

On a final note, one should consider whole system alignment, i.e. to acknowledge the type of district or school within which the curriculum, assessment and instruction is being designed. Schools with clearly stated missions expressing value for real-world or civic engagement, may adopt this type of curriculum design and pedagogical approach with greater ease.

24 Implications for future research

This study has added to the body of research on TE and conceptual change (Broughton, Sinatra, & Nussbaum, 2011; Heddy & Sinatra, 2013; Limón, 2002; Pugh et al., 2010b; 2010a), and controversial issues in social studies and history (Barton & McCully, 2007; Hess, 2009; Jamieson, 2013; Malin et al., 2014). It builds on prior findings and presents new questions concerning research methodology, teacher assessment and instructional practices, and conceptual change in history.

Implications for History Conceptual Change Research. As was previously stated, future research should consider a TTEH model using multiple concepts and controversial issues from different areas (e.g. political, economic, cultural and/or social, geographic and ecological) (Drake & Nelson, 2005; Limón, 2002), as well as secondary concepts or *meta-concepts*, such as the epistemological paradigms outlined by Limón (2002). Further research should examine how both primary and secondary concepts are taught and assessed secondary level and undergraduate courses. Finally, future studies of this type should consider other data collection methods for measuring TE, in addition to the self-report survey. Other social science methodology has observed the phenomenon of social desirability bias in self-reported measures (Brenner, 2011; Presser & Stinson, 1998) and suggests a systematic behavioral analysis could be productive. UCV Journals are a potential source of daily behaviors, and could be structured in such a way that useful data is collected and measured.

Implications for Instructional Practices Research. Building upon the TTES instructional models of Pugh and colleagues (2002, 2004, 2011; 2005; 2010b; 2010a) and Heddy and Sinatra (2013), and the TTEH model in this

study, there is room for revised models that promote engagement with controversial history concepts beyond the classroom. Specifically, developments on the model should explore how teachers best share and frame *experiential value* for the history content, and how to explicitly communicate and involve students in understanding the desired intentional conceptual change for history concepts. Next, future research should synthesize and test effective strategies of modeling UCV and scaffolding *reseeing*, including use of digital media as a proxy for real-world experiences. Lastly, further research can also be conducted with workshop style strategies to support individuals or groups with misconceptions that are revealed during the process. This includes how teachers best structure lessons to advance the goals of TTEH.

25 Limitations of the study

As in any study in a school setting, there are a number of limitations that affect the generalizability of these findings. First, the study sought to observe the same experiment at two separate school sites. Naturally, the curriculum, assessment and instructions at both sites varied considerably due to differences between student demographics, the teachers and school cultures.

Students from one site were from a public school, the other half were from a secular private girls school. Results from individual schools do not necessarily represent a diverse and representative sample of school age students, and therefore, caution should be exercised when generalizing about these results.

A second limitation involves the implementation of this study. Implementation of the TTEH intervention post-professional development was beyond the control of the researchers, and therefore allowed for teachers to diverge from the recommended model. There were benefits of teachers slightly modifying the model, such as some innovations that will inform implications for practice. However, such differences between schools impacted the fidelity of the intervention.

A third limitation is the short time duration of the TTEH intervention. Ideally, students would have had opportunities for more practice and feedback. An entire semester, or even a year, would allow for teachers and students to more deeply examine the highlighted controversial issues (liberty and Executive Branch power). These types of core concepts can be applied to any timeframe in history, social studies of civics education, and ideally applied continuously. For most students in the treatment conditions, there were only about six opportunities to practice TTEH. Because TTEH involves students practicing *reseeing*, i.e. *noticing* a concept in their daily life, or in other classes, it is likely that increased practice with *reseeing* would result in improved outcomes. Ideally, teachers should consider a set of essential controversial concepts to practice with for an extended period, like a semester or a year.

A final limitation concerns the sample size. While the two case studies at each school provide results that are useful for comparison, a larger scale unified study would

increase the likelihood of finding significant interactions on repeated measures ANOVAs. This idea is supported by significant findings on *t* tests for TE and conceptual change. Ideally future studies would look for one teacher teaching four sections of the same class, allowing for two treatment and two control conditions. To account for the small sample sizes of each school site, this study included student and teacher interviews to provide additional data useful for post-hoc triangulation.

26 Conclusions

To conclude, the Teaching for Transformative Experience in History (TTEH) intervention, showed promise as a means of facilitating engagement with controversial history concepts beyond the secondary school classroom. Future research should examine how instructors promote engagement beyond the classroom with a wider variety of history concepts, including specific use of UCV Journals and the alignment of instructional strategies with unit, and course, summative assessments that may include performance tasks directly connected to community issues.

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Appendix A

Table 1
 Schedule of instrument administration and instructional activities

Activity	Duration
Preinstruction instrument administration	One class period
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformative Experience in History Measure (TEHM) • Conceptual Change Measure 	
Experimental phase	Six to ten class periods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Treatment group: Teaching for Transformative Experience in History (TTEH) model • Control group: Normal idea-based instruction • Classroom observation 	One class period
Postinstruction instrument administration	One class period for instruments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transformative Experience in History Measure (TEHM) • Conceptual Change Measure • Student focus group interviews • Teacher interview 	One class period for focus groups One half-hour meeting with instructor

Appendix B

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics
 Means and Standard Deviations By School and Condition Pre to Post for TE, Conceptual Change (CC) (N=88).

Statistic	University High		Diego Rivera	
	Treatment	Control	Treatment	Control
TTEH(pre)	70.38(19.14)	78.90(17.07)	73.26(17.74)	71.93(11.86)
TTEH(post)	88.84(14.99)	88.90(9.87)	82.63*(20.77)	76.73(14.88)
CC(pre)	4.69(1.10)	4.72(.90)	5.15(2.06)	5.93(1.66)
CC(post)	9.76*(1.87)	7.36(2.24)	6.00(2.33)	6.33(2.49)

Appendix C
Student Interview Protocol

- 1) Were you able to use, notice or apply what you learned about the role of the president (*liberty*) when you weren't in history class? Explain when, where and how often.
- 2) Did this change the way you looked at your everyday experiences?
- 3) Are the ideas about the role of the president (*liberty*) important to you? In what ways and when are those ideas important or valuable?

Teacher Interview Protocol

- 1) How do you think the two conditions compared?
- 2) Do you think students were able to use or apply these concepts about the role of the President (*liberty*) outside of class? How do you know?
- 3) Did this differ between conditions? How?
- 4) Do you think this class changed the way that students "see" the world? If so, how so and what caused that? Was there a difference between conditions?
- 5) Do you think this class helped students value the idea about the role of the Presidency in their lives outside of class? How so? Was there a difference between conditions?
- 6) Is there anything else that you think worked or didn't work about the TTEH intervention?



Appendix D
Transformative Experience Survey

Instructions: Think about the ideas you've learned about the role of the President (liberty) during this unit and indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following.

(Responses will be on a 6pt. Likert Scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)

1. During this unit I talked about the ideas about the role of the President I have learned.
2. I talked about the ideas about the role of the President I've learned outside of this class.
3. I talked about the ideas about the role of the President I've learned just for fun.
4. During this unit I thought about the ideas about the role of the President.
5. I thought about the ideas about the role of the President outside of this study.
6. I used the ideas about the role of the President I've learned in my everyday experience.
7. I used the ideas about the role of the President even when I didn't have to.
8. I sought out opportunities to use the ideas about the role of the President I've learned.
9. I looked for examples of the ideas about the role of the President in TV shows, movies, books, online or in other media around me.
10. During this study, I thought about the ideas about the role of the President differently.
11. The ideas about the role of the President changed the way I view situations.
12. I think about experiences differently now that I have learned these ideas about the role of the President.
13. I can't help but to think about the ideas about the role of the President I've learned.
14. The ideas about the role of the President I have learned changed the way I think about situations that occur in TV shows, movies, books, online or in other media around me.
15. I found it interesting to learn about the ideas about the role of the President.
16. I found it interesting to think about the ideas about the role of the President outside of class.
17. The ideas about the role of the President I learned are valuable in my everyday life.
18. The ideas about the role of the President I learned make my out-of-class experience more meaningful.
19. The ideas about the role of the President make my life more interesting.
20. The ideas about the role of the President make TV shows, movies, books, online or in other media around me more interesting.

Dorothee Gronostay

Argument, Counterargument, and Integration? Patterns of Argument Reappraisal in Controversial Classroom Discussions

Being challenged by opposing views in a controversial discussion can stimulate the production of more elaborate and sophisticated argumentations. According to the model of argument reappraisal (Leitão, 2000), such processes require transactivity, meaning that students do not only give reasons to support their own position (e.g., pro/contra argument) but also try to refute the opponent's claims (e.g., counterargument) and respond to critique (e.g., integration). However, there is little research in the field of political education that systematically examines how processes of argument reappraisal unfold in student-centered classroom discussions when students were asked to defend (randomly) assigned positions (pro/contra). In this study, four civic education classes (8th/9th grade) in Germany received the same standardized political learning unit and conducted a controversial fishbowl discussion. A total of 452 argumentative moves were coded for argumentative transactivity. The characteristics of this type of discourse will be described regarding the use of argumentative moves and the complexity of argumentations. Explorative sequential analyses revealed five patterns of argument reappraisal that will be illustrated by transcript excerpts.

Keywords:

Argumentation, classroom discussion, controversy, transactivity, sequential analysis, discourse patterns

1 Introduction

This year's 40th anniversary of the Beutelsbach Consensus (1976), with its commonly accepted ethical guidelines for dealing with controversy in the classroom, brings to the foreground questions associated with discussions and debates in the classroom. The present paper deals with the interactional dimension of controversial discussions in German civic education classes (8th/9th grade, secondary school). Theoretically, it is based on the model of argument reappraisal (Leitão, 2000), which implies that critical evaluation of arguments requires interlocutors to give reasons to support their position (e.g., pro/contra argument), try to refute the opponent's claims (e.g., counterargument), and respond to critique (e.g., integration). The purpose of this study is to describe processes of argument reappraisal in (fishbowl) discussions with randomly assigned positions (pro/contra). For example, what type of response (e.g., rebuttal, counterargument) is most likely to occur after an argument has been initiated in the discussion or how often will objections to an argument be dismissed or integrated? Moreover, the use of different argumentative speech acts and the complexity of argumentations will be examined to identify characteristics of this type of discussion setting.

The "controversial issue" approach within civic and democratic education essentially postulates "discussion as a key aspect of democratic education" (Hess, 2009, p. 28). Furthermore, discussion-based methods and the democratic classroom climate improve "students' political

content knowledge and democratic attitudes" (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Watermann, 2003). Likewise, controversy in classes has the potential to improve reasoning and critical thinking skills (Dam & Volman, 2004; Johnson & Johnson, 2009, 2014), moral education (Berkowitz, 1986; Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983), subject-matter learning (Zohar & Nemet, 2002), and can be implemented to foster reflective judgement and decision-making as targeted in the model of political competence (Detjen, Massing, Richter, & Weißeno, 2012).

The multitude of learning goals associated with controversial discussions can be realized with a variety of instructional formats and teaching methods (e.g., pro-contra debate, fishbowl discussion, role-play, or constructive controversy). These differ in criteria such as the assignment of positions, necessity to reach consensus, number of active discussants, and rules of turntaking. Nevertheless, it is not the surface structures (e.g., instructional format) but the deep structures of classroom settings (e.g., cognitive activation) that are the decisive factors for learning (Klieme & Rakoczy, 2008; Kunter & Voss, 2013; Reusser, Pauli, & Waldis, 2010). There are several, deep-structured quality indicators of controversial classroom discussions, for example, the Toulmin-based (1958) structure (Petrik, 2010) and complexity of argumentation (Osborne, Erduran, & Simon, 2004) or the conceptual level of subject-matter content (von Aufschnaiter & Rogge, 2010). However, these criteria focus on verbal discourse as a product and do not account for the process dimension of verbal interaction (Nielsen, 2013). Therefore, argumentative transactivity, defined as "reasoning that operates on the reasoning of another" (Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983, p. 402) and being an important feature of high-quality discussion processes, will be focused on in this paper.

The following section is dedicated to characteristics of discussing controversial political issues (2.1). These lay the groundwork for the importance of argument reappraisal in classroom discussions. The process of argument reappraisal itself will be presented in more detail in

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section 2.2 and related to the concept of transactivity. Section 3 deals with the paper's goal and research questions. The study design (4.1) and coding scheme (4.2) will be presented in section 4, and a brief introduction to methods of sequential analysis will be given (4.3). Results are reported in sections 5.1–5.3; section 5.4 illustrates sequential patterns and types of argumentations identified in this study by transcript excerpts, and can be read after the results presented or beforehand in order to gain better understanding of the different types and patterns of argument reappraisal. Section 6 discusses pedagogical implications and offers an outlook for future research.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Discussion of controversial political issues

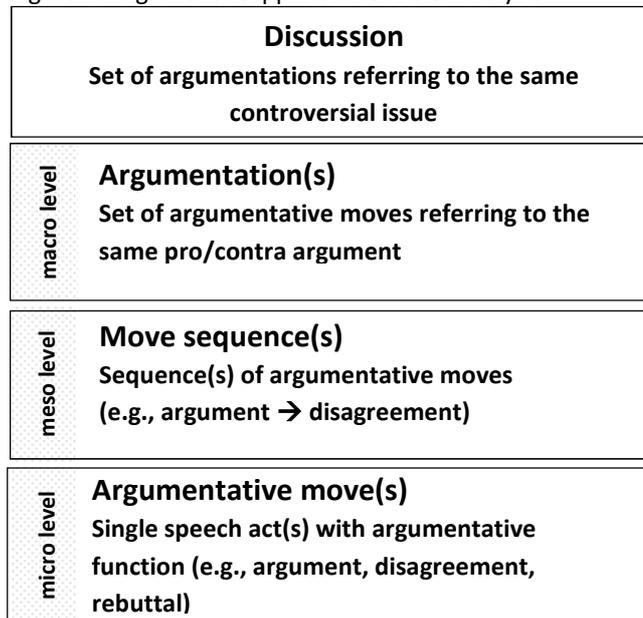
Controversial political issues can be defined as “authentic questions about the kinds of public policies that should be adopted to address public problems” (Hess, 2009, p. 5). They generally take the form of “Should ... be done?” or “What should be done to ...?” (p. 38f.). However, “topics are not controversial by nature” (p. 114). In fact, what is considered controversial depends on temporality and culture due to the socially constructed nature of controversy. For example, the issue of women's suffrage was viewed as controversial in the early decades of Western democracies, and the issue of evolution is considered as very controversial in certain parts of the United States of America but is much less controversial in Europe (p. 113ff.).

Controversy in the political domain may refer to the truth of propositions and/or the rightness of proposals (Habermas, 1997). This distinction “implies deep differences in the way argumentation works” (Kock, 2007, p. 234). Argumentation can prove or disprove the truth of a proposition (thus, consensus being possible and necessary); however, this is not possible in the case of proposals (p. 235).

Whereas in an investment, costs and output share a common currency (money) and can be summed up, such a dimension is missing in political controversies (p. 237). Moreover, in cases of insufficient or conflicting evidence, there may also be disagreement about the rightness of propositions (Levinson, 2006, p. 1208). Even if there is consensus about the rightness of the propositions used to justify the different standpoints, divergent value systems or personal interests can cause a “reasonable disagreement” (Rawls, 1993) about the relevant criteria for judging a controversial issue, different interpretations of the relevant criteria or the weight to be given to these criteria (Levinson, 2006, p. 1209ff). Consensus seems nearly impossible if people hold different ideologies or views of the world such as religious fanaticism (p. 1212). Thus, discussions on controversial issues do not necessarily lead to consensus. However, they bear potential for the critical evaluation of arguments. Such processes of argument reappraisal can be investigated at different

levels of analysis (see Figure 1): the micro level of argumentative moves, the intermediate level of move sequences, and the macro level of argumentations.

Figure 1: Argument reappraisal: levels of analysis

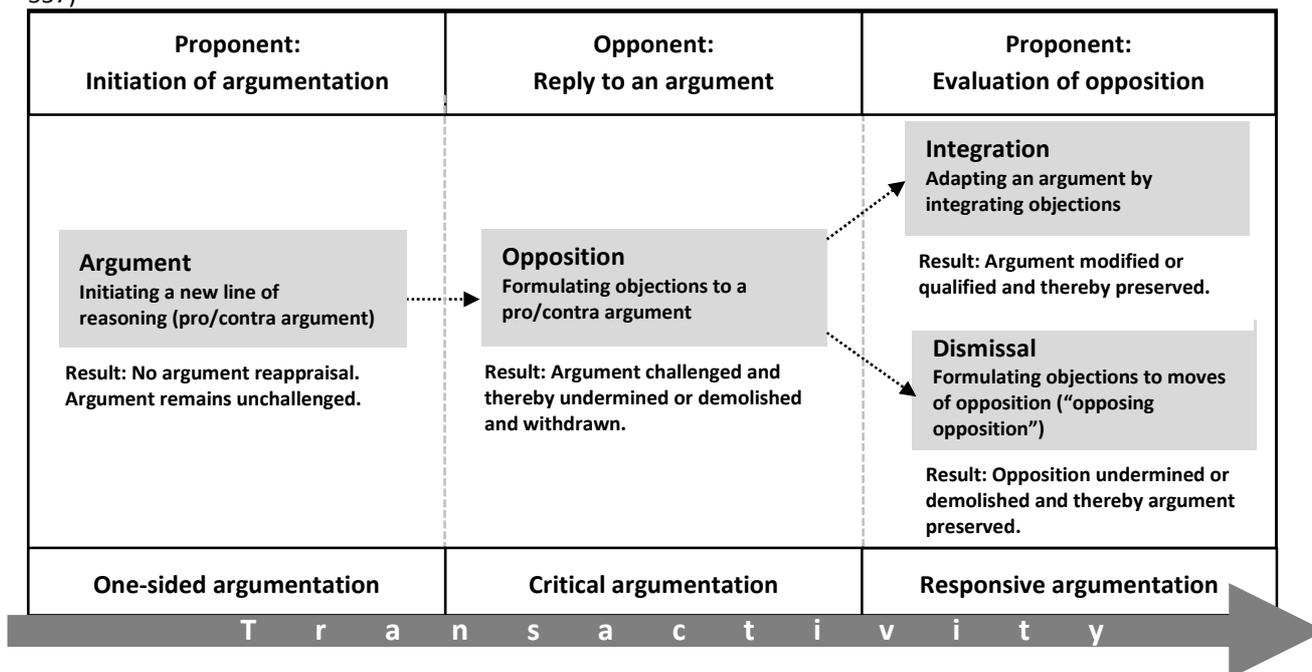


2.2 Model of argument reappraisal

The model of argument reappraisal (Leitão, 2000) is based on the Piagetian theory of conceptual conflict. As outlined in chapter 2.1, argumentation on the rightness of political actions does not lead to the falsification of an argument. Therefore, Leitão argues that complete changes in view are possible, but unlike in controversy. More probable are “subtle changes in aspects of an argument (e.g., inclusion of qualifiers, changes of lexical items, etc.)” (p. 338). The model of argument reappraisal was designed to trace this kind of knowledge building and belief revision in argumentative discourse (p. 342). Figure 2 shows a modified version: The four grey boxes represent different discourse modes: discussants can initiate a new line of reasoning (argument), formulate objections to an argument (opposition), integrate critique (integration) or dismiss moves of opposition (dismissal). The process of argument reappraisal begins with the elicitation of a pro or contra argument with/without statement of position. If there are no doubts regarding the validity or truth of this argument, the process of argument reappraisal ends at this initiating phase (indicated by dotted arrows). Otherwise, the opponents will formulate objections (e.g., questioning the truth of a claim). In a third step, the proponent of an argument responds to opposition.



Figure 2: Model of argument reappraisal for discussions with assigned positions (own figure based on Leitão 2000, p. 357)



Originally, Leitão (2000) differentiates four possible reactions. The objections can be accepted, integrated, localized (i.e., local acceptance) or dismissed (pp. 348–354, p. 357). In discussions with assigned positions (e.g., pro/contra), not all four options of reacting to opposition are rational strategies. Felton, Garcia-Mila, and Gilabert (2009) point out that if discussion-settings aim at persuasion (e.g., debate or settings with assigned positions), “individuals must dismiss or deflect counter-arguments in order to convince others to adopt their conclusions” (p. 422). Thus, discussants will not withdraw arguments explicitly nor will they make explicit concessions. In cases in which they had to, it would be rational to do this implicitly (e.g., by shifting the focus of discussion instead of replying to a convincing critique). Therefore, the complete or local acceptance of objections is not included in the modified model for discussions with assigned positions. Accordingly, Figure 2 shows two types of reply to opposition: a) integration: the proponent adapts their argument to the critique either by qualifying (but not withdrawing) the argument or by providing more evidence in support of it and b) dismissal: the proponent rejects opposition to their argument by attacking the statement of opposition itself. This can be realized with the same argumentative moves, such as opposition to an argument (e.g., rebuttal, counterargument, disagreement, see coding scheme in section 4.2).

This triadic unit of argument, opposition, and reply is reminiscent of the well-known initiation-response-feedback (IRF) pattern (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) or initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) pattern (Mehan, 1979) in teacher-led classroom talk. In this terminology, an argument can be considered an initiating move that invites reasoning on one specific aspect regarding the controversial issue for discussion. Opposition corresponds to a legitimate response in argumentative

discourse aimed at argument reappraisal. The replies to opposition link both elements: the argument of the proponent and the objections of the opponent (just like the teacher in classroom talk links his or her question and the appropriateness of the student’s answer). Both patterns serve analytical purposes but do not reflect authentic discourse, either in classroom discussion or in teacher-led classroom talk. Similar to the IRE/IRF-pattern, the argument-opposition-reply (AOR) pattern can rather be interpreted as a triadic core that optionally becomes complemented by additional argumentative moves (Molinari, Mameli, & Gnisci, 2012, p. 416).

From the model of argument reappraisal it follows that at least three discourse modes (and argumentative moves) are required to fulfill the process of argument reappraisal: argument, opposition, and reply to opposition. Thus, three types of argumentations can be defined (see Figure 2). In one-sided argumentations, arguments are not challenged by opposition. In critical argumentation, opponents formulate objections and thereby undermine or demolish the argument. If the proponent does not respond to opposition, this implicitly corresponds to a withdrawal. Responsive argumentation occurs when the proponent reacts to opposition by either integrating critique (responsive-integrative) or challenging statements of opposition (responsive-dismissive). Responsive argumentation is of specific interest in learning settings because it indicates impact of opposition on the proponent’s reasoning (Leitão, 2000, p. 356). Additionally, if more than one student argues for the same position, students can support a line of reasoning of their discussion partner (see discourse mode “co-construction” in coding scheme, table 1).

As opposed to the formulation of new arguments (discourse mode: argument), the discourse modes of opposition, integration, and dismissal imply reference to preceding arguments. Thus, processes of argument

reappraisal require transactivity, defined as “reasoning that operates on the reasoning of another” (Berkowitz & Gibbs, 1983, p. 402). The notion of “transactivity” goes back to Dewey and Bentley (1949). Later on, it was transferred to learning processes in other contexts, especially to identify high-quality collaborative learning processes (Stegmann, Weinberger, & Fischer, 2011; Teasley, 1997) and classroom discussions (Felton, 2004; Sionti, Ai, Rosé, & Resnick, 2011). While arguing, students “become aware of inconsistencies between their reasoning and that of their partner or even within their own [mental, D.G.] model itself (Teasley, 1997)” (Sionti et al., 2011, p. 33f.). Argumentative transactivity is considered a high-quality feature of learning processes because it indicates shared reasoning, in-depth discussions, and may trigger cognitive conflict in case of opposition. It is a necessary condition for argument reappraisal in discussions.

3 Goal and research questions

The goal of this study is to describe processes of argument reappraisal in fishbowl discussions with assigned positions. The research questions combine different levels of analysis to provide a differentiated view. Differences and similarities between the classes examined will be investigated for all research questions.

Research question 1 (micro level): What is the distribution of different argumentative moves (e.g., disagreement, rebuttal) in processes of argument reappraisal?

Research question 2 (macro level): What is the complexity of argumentations (number of reply moves per argument)? What is the distribution of types of argumentations (one-sided/critical/responsive)?

Research question 3 (meso level): What patterns of argument reappraisal (e.g., argument -> disagreement) can be identified?

4 Method

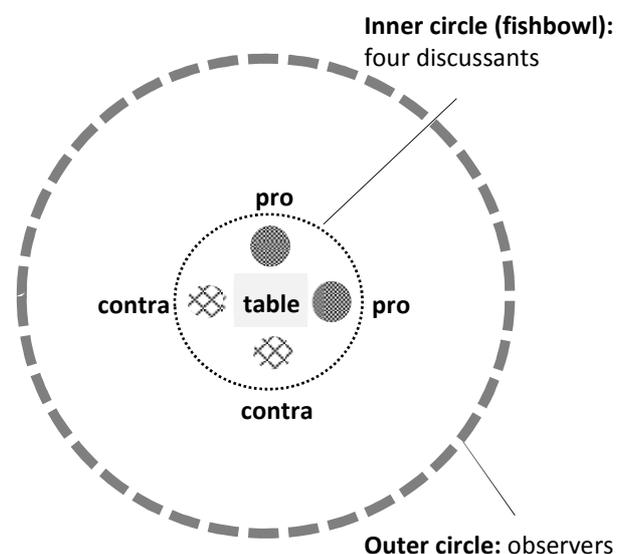
4.1 The video study “Argumentative teaching-learning processes”

The research presented here is part of a video study titled “Argumentative teaching-learning processes” (November 2013–May 2014, Gronostay, 2015), realized as a PhD project at the chair of Didactics of Social Science Education (Prof. Sabine Manzel) at the University of Duisburg-Essen. The project describes argumentative discourse that emerges in fishbowl discussions and relates the quality of discourse to influencing factors (e.g., argumentation training, student’s political self-concept). Ten classes of 8th/9th graders in secondary schools throughout North Rhine-Westphalia received a standardized political learning unit (4 × 45 min.) within regular civic education lessons. After learning subject-matter content, the classes discussed a controversial political issue.

This study draws on a sub-sample of four classes that did not receive any intervention. Two of the participating classes were from grade 9 and two from grade 8. The classes had different teachers and were from three schools (class A and B from same school). All schools were urban and of average socio economic levels. Three were public schools and one a private confessional school. The learning unit was audio and video recorded. Despite the presence of cameras in class, students perceived the video recorded lessons as predominantly authentic and comparable to regular lessons (Gronostay, Neumann, & Manzel, 2015).

The learning unit dealt with political concepts of (right-wing) extremism and well-fortified democracy (in German “*Streitbare Demokratie*” or “*Wehrhafte Demokratie*”). In Germany, extremist political parties can be banned by decision of the Constitutional Court if they or their adherents “seek to undermine or abolish the free democratic basic order or [...] endanger the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany” (Article 21(2), German Basic Law). Well-fortified democracy is a concept not common to all democratic states; the United States of America or the United Kingdom as western democracies with long traditions do not have an instrument for banning extremist political parties. The focus of the learning unit was on the tension between principles of democracy and the will to ensure the persistence of democracy. This controversial political issue was chosen because of the ongoing public debate regarding right-wing extremism in Germany, triggered by the disclosure of a series of assassinations by the neo-Nazi group National Socialist Underground (Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund) in November 2011. After a failed attempt to ban the far right-wing extremist National Democratic Party (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) in 2003, a second attempt was initiated in December 2013 by the German federal states and is still pending (for more information see e.g., Borrud, 2015 or Crossland, 2013).

Figure 3: Seating arrangement of fishbowl discussion



The precise issue put up for discussion was “Should there be a second attempt to ban the National Democratic Party?” It was conducted as a fishbowl discussion: four students argue in the inner circle of the “fishbowl” and the other students in attendance are seated in an outer circle around the “fishbowl” (see Figure 3). This method was chosen because it allows students to participate as much as they want to, given that they could change between inner and outer circle at all times. To ensure controversy, half of the students had to argue for the pro position and the other half for the contra position of the discussion. Later on, students were encouraged to reflect on their own standpoint regarding this controversial issue.

4.2 The coding scheme

Based on transcripts, the discussions were segmented into numbered talk turns ($T_1, T_2 \dots T_n$) according to the non-content criteria of continuous speech. In the first step, talk turns that referred to the discussion topic and had argumentative function were coded as “on topic,” whereas all other turns (e.g., organizational questions, teacher asking for silence, requests for/statements of clarification or explanation) were coded as “off-topic.” In the second step, “on topic” turns were coded for argumentative transactivity, using a coding scheme (see Table 1) that draws on the codes used in Felton and Kuhn (2001), Felton, Garcia-Mila, and Gilabert (2009) and Felton, Garcia-Mila, Villarroel, and Gilabert (2015). The scheme includes eight exhaustive and mutually exclusive codes that correspond at a more general level to four discourse modes. The default was that every talk turn had to be assigned exactly one code. However, coders had to split talk turns (e.g., $T_1 \rightarrow T_{1,1}, T_{1,2}$) if these included more than one argumentative move. If coders disagreed on the number of moves per talk turn, the higher number of moves was chosen. Additionally, the coders had to indicate if there was a reference move. The process of coding was performed according to methods of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014) and procedures for quantifying verbal data recommended by Chi (1997). All discussions were coded independently by two coders (the author being one of them). A coder training and manual was conducted beforehand.

The codings were entered in IBM SPSS statistics software (version 22.0) to compute inter-coder reliability and descriptive statistics. Cohen’s Kappa = .90 was reached for the “on/off-topic” codings. The inter-coder reliability for all categories of argumentative transactivity was Cohen’s Kappa = .65 or higher. Given the high inference of coding discourse data, this can be considered satisfactory (Bakeman & Quera, 2011, p. 62ff.). The codings were compared, and disagreements were resolved through discussion.

Table 1: Coding scheme for argumentative transactivity

Discourse mode	Argumentative move	Description of argumentative move (based on Felton & Kuhn, 2001; Felton et al., 2009; Felton et al., 2015)
Argument	Argument	Claim advanced in support of speaker’s position (can be a pro or contra argument)
Co-Construction	Agreement	Statement of (unjustified) agreement with a preceding assertion of the discussion partner
	Continuation	Continuation or completion of a preceding assertion of the discussion partner
	Elaboration	Extension or elaboration of a point made by the discussion partner in a preceding assertion, adding something new
Opposition/Dismissal	Disagreement	Statement of (unjustified) disagreement with a preceding assertion of an opponent
	Counterargument	Critique of an opponent’s assertion that advances an unrelated claim, rather than addressing the opponent’s claim
	Rebuttal	Critique of an opponent’s assertion that challenges or undermines the strength of the opponent’s claim
Integration	Integration	Statement that integrates a point advanced by an opponent by either qualifying the argument or by providing more evidence in support of the argument

Annotation: “Discussion partner” refers to discussants with congruent (assigned) position to the speaker. “Opponents” are discussants with conflicting (assigned) position to the speaker’s position.

4.3 Sequential analysis

To detect the dynamics of argumentative discourse, methods of sequential analysis were conducted. As opposed to traditional methods of data analysis, the data sheet in sequential analysis not only includes the coding category per coded event but also the relationship between the coded events. Sequential analysis was realized with the Discussion Analysis Tool (DAT, Jeong, 2005b). Its algorithm allows for analyzing threaded discourse data (Jeong, 2005a), which is not supported by the alternative software (for an overview, see O’Connor, 1999). Figure 4 illustrates the type of information in the data file: the first column displays row numbers; the second column contains information regarding the coding category (see coding scheme); and the third column indicates the sequential relationship (thread level). For example, the argument in row 4 initiates a longer argumentation and two counterarguments (row 5 and 7) refer to this argument (thread level: 2). The first counterargument



(row 5) is co-constructed via agreement (row 6), whereas the second counterargument (row 7) elicits a rebuttal (row 8). By contrast, the argument in row 3 does not elicit any replies (thread level of following event: 1).

Figure 4: Example of data file

	Coding category	Thread level
1	argument	1
2	elaboration	2
3	argument	1
4	argument	1
5	counterargument	2
6	agreement	3
7	counterargument	2
8	rebuttal	3

Transitional probabilities and z-scores of two event sequences (e.g., argument -> counterargument) were used to identify patterns in the discourse data. Transitional probabilities P_t (like conditional probabilities) are the probabilities of a reply move (target move) following a given move. They were calculated with the formula $P_t = F_g / F_t$ in which F_g is the observed frequency of a given move sequence and F_t marks the marginal total for the given move (Bakeman & Gottman, 1997, pp. 95–99). The z-scores for each event pairing were computed according to Bakeman and Gottman (pp. 108–111). The formula used “takes into account the differences in relative and observed frequencies of both given and target events” (Jeong, 2001, p. 59, italics in original). Given the small sample size, z-scores were used to identify patterns in the data and not to claim statistical significance.

5 Results

5.1 Use of argumentative moves (micro level)

Table 2 shows absolute and relative frequencies of argumentative moves (and corresponding discourse mo-

des). On average, students engaged 55.54 % (SD = 5.27) of the moves in opposing claims of their peers. A proportion of 25.65 % (SD = 4.44) was dedicated to the externalization of arguments. Moreover, 11.61 % (SD = 1.71) were used for the integration of critique. Students co-constructed argumentation in 7.21 % (SD = 1.70) of the moves.

Counterarguments are the most frequently used move, accounting for 36.38 % (SD = 1.99) of all moves. Furthermore, in 12.40 % (SD = 2.38) of the moves, opposition was realized by rebuttals. Students co-constructed argumentation via elaborations in 4.64 % (SD = 2.31) of the moves, via agreements in 1.75 % (SD = 0.68) and via continuations by 0.82 % (SD = 0.57). In general, the distribution of argumentative moves was very similar across classes. However, chi square test showed a significant difference in the use of disagreements ($\chi^2(3, N = 452) = 17.55, p < .001$). The proportion of disagreements varies in fact between 14.20 % in class A and 0.00 % in class B.

The classes produced a quite different total amount of argumentative moves (ranging from 67 moves in class C up to 169 moves in class A). Therefore, the occurrence of each argumentative move was further tested for significant differences between the first and the last half of each discussion to examine if there was heterogeneity in the use of moves within the discussions. Again, the code disagreement was the only one that showed significant differences. In class A, it occurred more frequently in the last half of the discussion than in the first half ($\chi^2(1, N = 169) = 15.00, p = .000$). As disagreement was the only move used differently to a significant degree across classes and across discussion time (in class A), it can be identified as a type of outlier. In sum, the use of argumentative moves (and corresponding discourse modes) on the micro level of analysis was very homogenous both between and within classes.

Table 2: Distribution of argumentative moves (absolute und relative frequencies) (N=452)

	Class A		Class B		Class C		Class D		All classes (%)	
	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	Num.	%	M	SD
Argument	34	20.12	27	32.14	18	26.87	31	23.48	25.65	4.44
Co-Construction	15	8.88	6	7.14	3	4.48	11	8.33	7.21	1.70
Agreement	4	2.37	2	2.38	1	1.49	1	0.76	1.75	0.68
Continuation	1	0.59	1	1.19	1	1.49	0	0.00	0.82	0.57
Elaboration	10	5.92	3	3.57	1	1.49	10	7.58	4.64	2.31
Opposition	100	59.17	39	46.43	39	58.21	77	58.33	55.54	5.27
Disagreement	24	14.20	0	0.00	2	2.99	13	9.85	6.76	5.59
Counterargument	58	34.32	29	34.52	26	38.81	50	37.88	36.38	1.99
Rebuttal	18	10.65	10	11.90	11	16.42	14	10.61	12.40	2.38
Integration	20	11.83	12	14.29	7	10.45	13	9.85	11.61	1.71
Total*	169	100.00	84	100.00	67	100.00	132	100.00		

* Minimal deviations from the total value of 100.00% are due to rounding.

5.2 Complexity of argumentations (macro level)

The analysis of single argumentative moves provides no information about the complexity of argumentations. Theoretically, it was argued that the discourse modes argument, opposition, and integration and therefore argumentations with at least three argumentative moves (one argument plus two reply moves) are needed to complete the minimum requirements of argument reappraisal.

Therefore, the number of reply moves per argument was examined. In class A, arguments received on average 3.97 reply moves (SD = 5.21); in class B, 2.11 moves (SD = 2.50); in class C, 2.72 moves (SD = 3.41); and in class D, 3.26 moves (SD = 4.41). Kruskal-Wallis test showed no significant differences in the number of reply moves per argument between the four classes ($\chi^2(3, N = 110) = .265, n.s.$).

Moreover, the median was only one reply move per argument in all classes. The maximum number of reply moves varied between 12 moves in class B up to 20 moves in class A; the minimum number was zero replies in all classes. As reflected in the high standard deviations and maximum values, the complexity of argumentations was very heterogeneous within discussions of one class but much less between the discussions of different classes.

Figure 5: Types of argumentations (classes A-D)

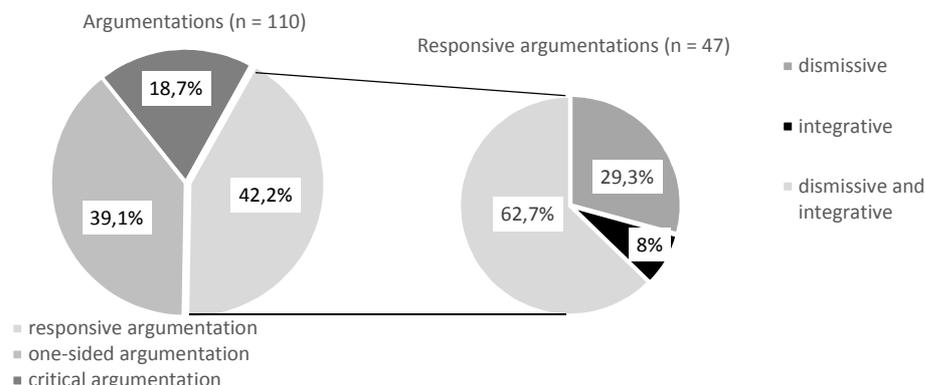


Figure 5 shows the distribution of types of argumentations. Again, no significant differences were found in the distribution of types of argumentations ($\chi^2(6, N = 110) = .789, n.s.$). Across all classes, a majority of 42.2 % pertains to the type responsive argumentation. One-sided argumentations account for 39.1 %. Critical argumentations were observed in 18.7 %. Regarding the responsive type, a further differentiation between the type of response to opposition was made: 62.7 % of the responsive argumentations included both dismissive and integrative replies, 29.3 % included only dismissive, and 8.0 % included only integrative replies. Additionally, the co-constructive mode was used in 20.5 % of all argumentations (not depicted in Figure 5).

5.3 Sequential patterns of discourse (intermediate level)

Research question 3 concerns the identification of sequential patterns in processes of argument reappraisal. Note that the following results concern move sequences within argumentations. Argumentations are defined as conjunctions of argumentative moves referring to the same pro/contra argument (see Figure 1). The results will be presented graphically by transitional state diagrams to provide an intuitive view on the sequential flow within argumentations.

Figure 6 shows transitional state diagrams for the classes A–D. The values on the arrows are transitional probabilities. For example: out of the total of 18 replies given to disagreements in class A, a proportion of 10 replies were likewise disagreements, which results in a transitional probability of $10 \cdot 100 / 18 = 56\%$. Given the low absolute frequencies of co-constructive moves (see Table 2), all three moves of co-construction were treated as one category in the diagrams.

In general, the four transitional state diagrams show quite diverse, idiosyncratic sequential structures. The rare use of co-construction and disagreements in two of the classes results in four-node diagrams in the case of classes B and C compared to the more complex diagrams of the classes A and D. Some event sequences are present in one or part of the classes, but absent in others. However, five sequential patterns, i.e., sequences with transitional probabilities (P_t) that were significantly higher than the expected probability, z-score >1.96 , alpha <0.05 , could be identified.

The pattern rebuttal \rightarrow integration was observed in all classes but with different transitional probabilities (P_t : 46 % in class A and D, up to 88 % in class B). There is no other significant sequence common to all classes. For classes A, B and C, the pattern argument \rightarrow counter-argument was observed with transitional probabilities between 63 % in class A and 79 % in class C. By contrast, class D shows the pattern argument \rightarrow rebuttal ($P_t = 27\%$). Furthermore, an iterative disagreement \rightarrow disagreement pattern with $P_t = 44\%$ in class D and 56 % in class A was found. In class A, a second iterative sequence was observed significantly more often than expected: co-construction \rightarrow co-construction (P_t : 38%). This sequence was observed in class D, too. However, it was based on only two event pairs and therefore not tested for statistical significance.

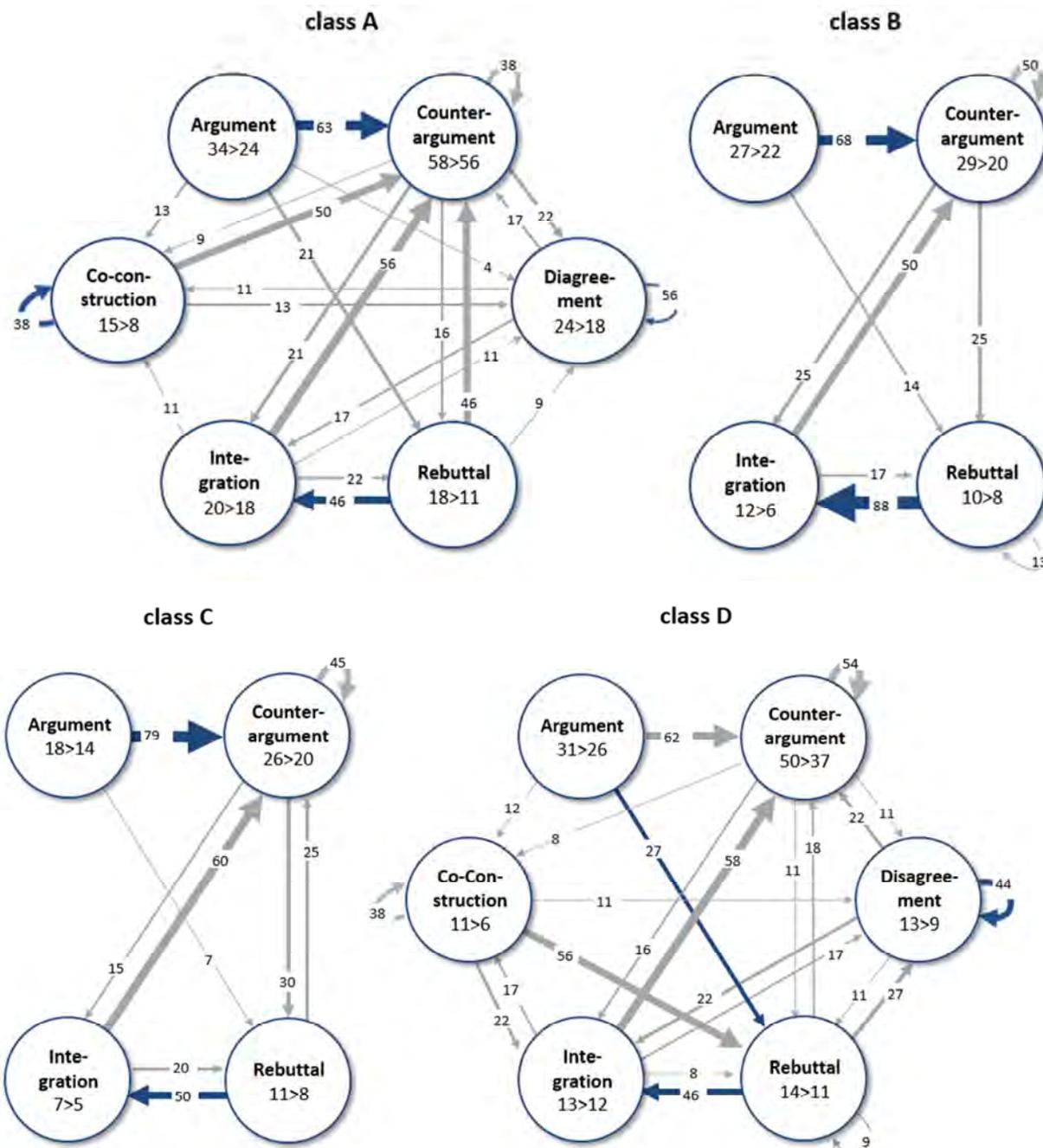


Figure 6: Transitional State Diagrams: Sequences of argumentative moves

Annotation: The circles denote the argumentative moves. The values in the circles show the number of given moves of the respective move category and the number of replies (e.g., in class A 34 arguments elicited 24 replies). The values on the arrows are transitional probabilities (e.g., in class A an argument was followed by 63% transitional probability by counterargument). The width of the arrows between moves represents the strength of the transitional probabilities. Blue arrows indicate transitional probabilities that were significantly higher than the expected probability (z -score > 1.96 , $\alpha < 0.05$). The transitional probabilities of outgoing arrows do not always sum to 100% either because event categories that occurred rarely were not included or due to rounding. Transitional probabilities were computed using the Discussion Analysis Tool (DAT, Jeong, 2005b).

The transitional state diagram in figure 7 provides a condensed view of the sequential dynamics at the level of discourse modes (the three moves of opposition were treated as one category). At this level of granularity only two sequences were observed with transitional probability higher than expected: opposition \rightarrow integration ($P_t = 23\%$ in class C and D up to 43% in class B) and co-construction \rightarrow co-construction ($P_t = 38\%$ in class A). Although other transitions were not observed significantly more often than expected, the diagram visualizes

in a descriptive way which transitions were more likely compared to others. Moreover, the low response ratios of co-construction (RSP: 0.00 in class B up to 0.54 in class D) indicate that this discourse mode was used predominantly as a reply move to preceding statements and rarely elicited moves itself. By contrast, moves of integration show very high response ratios (RSP: 0.50 in class B up to 0.92 in class D), meaning they were very likely to elicit replies.

To conclude, analyses showed that processes of argument reappraisal unfold in very diverse ways. The different argumentative moves were highly interconnected and used as given moves (that elicit replies) as well as reply moves to preceding statements. Moreover, the sequential structure of the classes was much more comparable at the level of discourse modes. Sequential patterns that were common to more than one class will be illustrated in chapter 5.4.

Results regarding event categories with large row sums (and less extreme expected probabilities) are more

reliable and better to interpret than those that are based on few (< 30) tallies (Bakeman & Quera, 2011, p. 110). In general, the marginal totals (row sums) of the observed move sequences in this study were small. Two alternatives were available to enlarge row sums: Pooling the data across classes or reducing the number of categories by adding up the eight argumentative moves to four discourse modes (see figure 7). The author decided against the first alternative because the scope of this paper was to gain explorative and detailed insights into sequential patterns of controversial discussions.

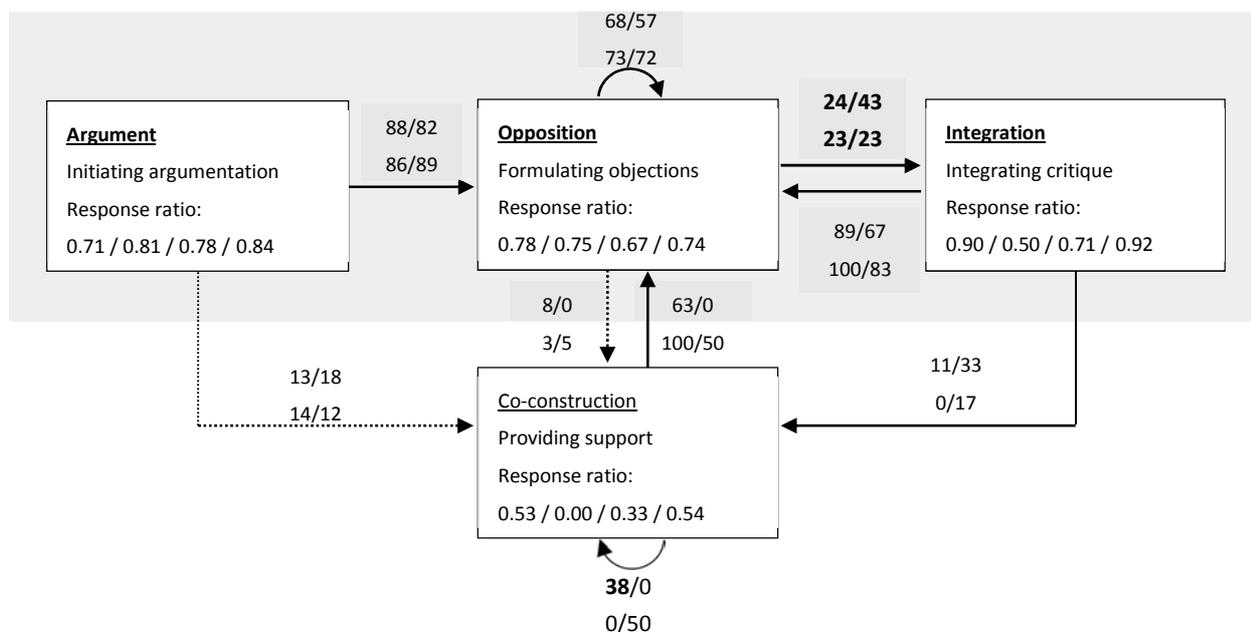


Figure 7: Transitional State Diagram: Sequences of discourse modes

Annotations: The four boxes denote discourse modes. Response ratios for every discourse mode and class are stated in the boxes (class A/B/C/D). The response ratio gives the number of target events divided by the number of given events for each event category. The values on the arrows are transitional probabilities (class A/B/C/D). Values in bold indicate transitional probabilities that were significantly higher than the expected probability (z-score > 1.96, alpha < 0.05). Transitional probabilities and reply rates were computed using the Discussion Analysis Tool (DAT) (Jeong, 2005b).

5.4 Giving life to theory: illustration by transcript excerpts

In this part the three types of argumentations (see section 5.2) and the identified sequential patterns (see section 5.3) will be illustrated by transcript excerpts. To begin with, excerpt 1 shows an example of one-sided argumentations. Students accumulate reasons for and against outlawing the political party NPD without referring to each other's statements. Whereas Sf221 argues that the ban of the NPD would go along with difficulties in observing the NPD (which is under observation of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution), Sf235 refers to public money that could be saved in case of a ban (the NPD as every political party in Germany receives public money) and Sf222 points to the problem that adherents of the NPD could join and thereby support other right-wing extremist parties after a ban. Thus, the students engage in broadening the discussion but do not deepen the arguments. All three arguments remain unquestioned and unconnected. As in a pro-contra table (where single arguments are enumerated), there are no criteria for

evaluating the persuasive power of the given arguments. This is an example of non-transactive argumentation.

Another example of one-sided argumentation is given in excerpt 2. In contrast to excerpt 1, this argumentation is transactive, given that students argue co-constructively. Sf 346 externalizes a pro argument by saying that political parties which aim at discriminating people based on their race, physical appearance, or religion should not be allowed. Sf330, who represents the same side of the discussion, carries this idea on by making a reference to the Nazi regime of Hitler. The second utterance directly refers to the previous statement and elaborates it by adding new information. The line of reasoning expressed by Sf346 is deepened. However, like in excerpt 1, there is no critical evaluation of the argument.

Excerpt 1: One-sided argumentations (non-transactive)

Sw221 (Contra): [...] Ich bin auch gegen ein Verbot, weil wenn die NPD verboten werden würde, dann könnte man das Handeln der NPD nicht mehr so gut überschauen. So, sieht man ja, was die machen und was die planen. [Argument]	Sf221 (contra): [...] I'm against a ban, too, because if the NPD were banned, then one could no longer oversee the actions of the NPD. Now one can see what they are doing and planning. [argument]
Sw235 (Pro): Ja, und außerdem werden dadurch dann auch die Kosten gespart. Also vor allem auch aus den staatlichen Töpfen, weil die NPD dieses Geld ja meist für die menschenverachtenden Plakate ausgibt. [Argument]	Sf235 (pro): Yes, and furthermore one could save costs. Well, that is government money because the NPD spends this money on discriminatory election posters. [argument]
Sw222 (Contra): Also die Anhänger der NPD könnten ja auch zu anderen Parteien gehen und dann bekommt diese Partei dann nur mehr Anhänger. [Argument]	Sf222 (contra): Well, the supporters of the NPD could also switch to other parties and then these parties would just get more supporters. [argument]

[Excerpt from class A, turns 10–12]

Excerpt 2: One-sided argumentation (transactive)

Sw346 (Pro): Ja, aber es geht ja an sich hauptsächlich um die NPD, es geht ja auch um rechtsextreme Parteien. Und man sollte an sich finde ich keine Partei erlauben, in der andere Leute diskriminiert werden aufgrund ihrer Herkunft oder ihres Aussehens oder ihrer Religion. Deswegen sollte man sowas von Anfang an nicht erlauben. {Auf der Contra-Seite wechselt Sm326 für Sm339 in den Innenkreis.} [Argument]	Sf346 (pro): Yes, but it is mainly about the NPD, it is mainly about right-wing extremist parties. I think, generally, one should not allow parties that discriminate against other people because of their origin or appearance or religion. Therefore, one should not allow such things from the beginning. {On the contra side of the fishbowl, Sm326 switches in for Sm339.} [argument]
Sw330 (Pro): Man hat ja gesehen, wohin das führt. Die Vergangenheit. Als Hitler war. [Elaboration]	Sf330 (pro): One has seen where such things lead to. In the past. When there was Hitler. [elaboration]

[Excerpt from class D, turns 115–116]

Excerpt 3 illustrates an iterative pattern of co-construction. At first, the counterargument of Sf325 remains unclear regarding the content. She claims that by banning political parties “it still exists” which may refer to right-wing extremist ideology or to the organization itself (like in underground). In the following sequence of co-construction, the unclear meaning becomes more precise and is expressed more explicitly. This sequence is highly transactive as the students co-construct the argument together.

Excerpt 3: One sided-argumentation with sequential pattern co-construction → co-construction

Sw325 (Contra): Ja, es wurden ja schon Parteien verboten und die existiert ja immer noch. [Gegenargument]	Sf325 (contra): Well, parties have been banned already and it still exists. [counterargument]
Sm339 (Contra): Dann kommt eine Neue nach, ja. [Elaboration]	Sm339 (contra): Another one follows, yes. [elaboration]
Sw325 (Contra): Dann gründen die eine neue Partei und schließen sich dann anderen Parteien an. [Elaboration]	Sf325 (contra): They establish a new party then and follow up with new parties. [elaboration]
Sm339 (Contra): Eben. Es hat keinen Sinn sie zu verbieten. (.) Da- Da- Da kommen immer wieder neue. [Zustimmung]	Sm339 (contra): That's right. There is no sense in banning. New ones will follow again and again. [agreement]

[Excerpt from class D, turns 103–106]

Excerpt 4 illustrates a case of critical argumentation. The second argumentative move refers directly and in a critical way to the content of the argument of Sf106. Sm91 counter argues that the ideology of the NPD party is not a decisive argument because it cannot be realized anyway as the party is unpopular. Thus, the argument of Sf106 is not negated but a new aspect is added that lowers its relevancy. Note that the NPD party has about 7,000 members (not 70,000).

Excerpt 4: Critical argumentation with sequential pattern argument → counterargument

Sw106 (Pro): Also wir könnten jetzt vielleicht zu den Zielen mal hin. Also ich meine, im Moment ist die NPD natürlich eine Minderheit. Aber ich überlege jetzt zum Beispiel nach der Ideologie und eines der Ziele ist eigentlich ein völkischer Staat, also ein Führerprinzip. Das ist die Ideologie von denen, wie man einen Staat führen sollte. Und ich wollte euch mal fragen, was denkt ihr denn darüber, über das Führerprinzip? Also ist das demokratisch oder nicht? Also ich glaube, das ist undemokratisch. [Argument]	Sf106 (pro): Well, we could now talk about their aims. I mean, at the moment the NPD is a minority for sure. But I am thinking for example about the ideology and one of their aims is an ethnically pure state, leadership of one. That is the ideology of theirs for how to run a state. And I wanted to ask you what do you think about the leadership of one principle? Is this democratic or not? I believe that it is undemocratic. [argument]
Sm91 (Contra): Was aber nicht erreicht werden kann von der NPD, weil sie einfach zu klein ist dafür. Eine Partei mit 70.000 Mitgliedern im Gegensatz zu einer Partei wie die CDU, die 470.000 hat. [Gegenargument]	Sm91 (contra): Which cannot be achieved by the NPD because it is too small for such a thing. A party with 70,000 members in contrast to a party like the CDU, which has 470,000. [counterargument]

[Excerpt from class B, turns 88–89]

An example of the iterative disagreement pattern in critical argumentation is given in excerpt 5. Students of the pro-side of the discussion argue that currently the NPD does not have much political influence, given that the party has no seats in the federal parliament and only



two in state parliaments (state parliaments of Saxony and Mecklenburg, Western Pomerania; in August of 2014 the NPD lost its seats in the parliament of Saxony). Sm380 claims that the democracy in Germany would be in danger if the NPD gets elected to the federal parliament. Sf377 disagrees and Sm380 insists. Thus, two moves of dismissal follow consecutively. Further analyses are needed to identify the individual motives associated by disagreements. Possibly they express emotionally charged argumentation and/or represent sub-issues that are considered key by the discussants (as indicated by the intonation in italics). Whereas motives remain unclear, this sequence of disagreements leads to further elaboration and thus was productive and transactive in terms of argument reappraisal.

Excerpt 5: Critical argumentation with sequential pattern disagreement → disagreement

Sm380 (Pro): Ja, aber das Problem ist, jetzt haben die noch nicht so eine starke Macht im Landtag oder im Bundestag. Halt gar nichts, aber [...] wenn Sie reinkommen, würde das sofort die <i>Abschaffung</i> der Demokratie bedeuten. [Gegenargument]	Sm380 (pro): Yes, but the problem is, now they do not have much power in the state parliament nor in the federal parliament. Well, nothing, but [...] if they get in, this would result in the immediate <i>abolition</i> of democracy. [counterargument]
Sw377 (Contra): <i>Nein</i> , das würde <i>nicht</i> die Abschaffung der Demokratie bedeuten. [Widerspruch]	Sf377 (contra): <i>No</i> , that would <i>not</i> result in the immediate abolition of democracy. [disagreement]
Sm380 (Pro): <i>Doch, doch</i> . [Widerspruch]	Sm380 (pro). <i>Of course, of course!</i> [disagreement]
Sw378 (Contra): <i>Nein</i> , das würde <i>nicht</i> die Abschaffung der Demokratie bedeuten. Sie würde eine totale Wahlblockade kriegen. Wer von den anderen würde die denn wählen? Wenn du als Partei im Landtag bist, dann hast du nicht sofort die vollkommene Macht, nur weil du drin bist. [Elaboration]	Sf378 (contra): <i>No</i> , that would <i>not</i> result in the immediate abolition of democracy. They would get a complete election blockade. Which of the others would elect them? If you are in state parliament as a political party, you do not have total power immediately, just because you're in. [elaboration]

[Excerpt from class A, turns 118–121; italics indicate emphasis]

In excerpt 6, an example of responsive argumentation is given. A discussant of the contra side, Sf163, disagrees with the assertion of Sm80, a pro-discussant. Sm80 does not give up his initial argument but he accepts the restriction to secrecy or underground activity. He modifies his argument by integrating this limitation (“secrecy”) in his argumentation. In summary, we have three argumentative moves, including transactive and integrative argumentation.

Excerpt 6: Responsive argumentation with sequential pattern rebuttal → integration

Sm80 (Pro): Ja also, sie werden halt nicht mehr vom Staat unterstützt und sie werden auch nicht mehr so leicht Mitglieder anwerben können, weil sie halt weder Werbung machen können, noch können sie irgendwie sich öffentlich treffen. [Argument]	Sm80 (pro): Yes, well, they are no longer supported by the government and can no longer easily recruit members because they cannot advertise and they cannot meet in public. [argument]
Sw163 (Contra): Sie können ja selber geheime Werbung machen. [Einwand]	Sf163 (contra): They could advertise secretly. [rebuttal]
Sm80 (Pro): Ja, aber das dann halt beispielsweise nur auf geheimen Plattformen (.) Und neue Mitglieder werden diese geheimen Plattformen erst einmal nicht finden. [Integrative Antwort]	Sm80 (pro): Yes, but this, for example, only on secret platforms. (.) And new members cannot access these platforms at first. [integrative reply]

[Excerpt from class B, turns 19–21]

6 Discussion

The purpose of this study was to describe processes of argument reappraisal in controversial classroom discussions with assigned positions. Based on the concept of transactivity and the model of argument reappraisal (Leitão, 2000), a total of 452 argumentative moves in four classroom discussions have been analyzed. What type of discourse emerged from fishbowl discussions with assigned positions?

Regarding the use of single argumentative moves, students engaged by more than half of the moves in opposing claims of their peers, about one-quarter in externalizing new arguments for their respective positions, every tenth move was dedicated to the integration of critique and occasionally students co-constructed claims in conjunction with discussion partners. The prevalence of opposition and the relatively rare occurrence of integrations in this kind of discussion setting (persuasion-based, assigned positions) coincides with empirical results of similar studies (Felton et al., 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 1985, 2009, 2013; Simonneaux, 2001). A strong impact of discussion formats on the type of discourse was also found in a qualitative study in 10th grade civic education classes by Thormann (2012a, 2012b). As Leitão (2000) has pointed out “the main impact of opposition on the speakers’ acquisition of knowledge is to improve explicitness and create a privileged setting for the emergence of justification and explanation in children’s talk (Pontecorvo, 1993)” (p. 341). Moreover, the results found in this study lead to the suggestion that discussions with assigned positions do not lead to the weighting of arguments and conflicting values, which would be relevant for decision-making and reflective judgement (Kock, 2007; Nussbaum & Edwards, 2011). Thus, learning goals like the elaboration of judgements on political issues would not be well suited for this type of discourse, unless triggered additionally by



letting students work on the weighing of arguments after the discussion.

The modified model of argument reappraisal (Leitão, 2000) implies that three discourse modes and accordingly at least three moves per argumentation are required to critically evaluate an argument. Thus, it is problematic that nearly 40 % of the argumentations were of the one-sided type. In these cases, arguments were articulated but students did not critically evaluate them. Moreover, within all classes, there was an enormous variance in the number of moves referring to arguments. Whereas the median number of replies to arguments was only one move, argumentations with up to 20 moves could also be observed. A great disadvantage is that good points can get lost if the other discussants do not refer to and value important statements. This observation corresponds with findings of Thorman (2012a, 2012b) in the context of student-centered discussions without teacher intervention. To deal with this problem, the teacher and the observing students can take notes and refer back to these “lost moments.”

However, this phenomenon leads to the question why students focus extensively on one argument and do not make any reference to another. Three explanations occurred to the author. First, cognitive challenge: argumentative discourse is cognitively challenging because “at the same time that one is processing and evaluating input from the conversational partner, one must be formulating an effective response that meets discourse goals” (Kuhn & Udell, 2007). Felton and Kuhn (2001) found that the use of discourse strategies in adolescents is less strategic than in adults. They “appear more pre-occupied with merely producing argumentative discourse - that is [...] speakers must take turns, must address the topic, and should try to articulate their views adequately” (p. 151). It may be the more secure and easier way to externalize new arguments (maybe thought out internally beforehand) than to reply to arguments of the other discussants. Second, strong arguments: some arguments may appear so plausible and justified that discussants simply have nothing to oppose or to elaborate. In such cases, more time is needed to think about critical points. Third, social and personal causes: opposing classmates in discussions may make some students feel uncomfortable and prevent them from criticizing arguments. In each class, there were different constellations of active discussants in the fishbowl. Therefore, it is possible that students differed in their argumentativeness. For instance, some students may prefer articulating arguments (prepared before-hand) to opposing classmates. Students with a more competitive discussion style (desire to “win” the discussion) may intimidate others by criticizing them.

Regarding the sequential structure of argument reappraisal, five patterns could be identified (section 5.3) and have been illustrated by transcript excerpts (section 5.4). Arguments were addressed significantly more often than expected by counterarguments. However, the sequence argument -> counterargument -> integration

(as indicated in the title of this paper) does not characterize the discussions well. Instead, students reacted with integrative replies when they felt their argumentation met with direct critique (rebuttal) but not when it was criticized indirectly (counterargument). Moreover, it is interesting that both iterative patterns, namely co-construction -> co-construction and disagreement -> disagreement, were observed exclusively in the same two classes. Whereas co-construction implies shared reasoning and argumentation for the same position, sequences of disagreement may be interpreted as bossiness or persistence or as emotionally charged sequences. Thus, it can be assumed that students in these classes perceived the discussion situation more competitively: in co-construction, we reason together to build up “our” position and in disagreements we oppose the utterances of our opponents in a direct and maybe more radical way than in counterarguments or rebuttals.

From a teaching point of view, the typology of argumentations (one-sided, critical, responsive-integrative and responsive-dismissive) may be a useful tool to diagnose and scaffold argument reappraisal in classroom discourse. Generally, it is desirable that students not only externalize and accumulate arguments but also challenge them and respond to critique. Thus, the AOR pattern represents not only an analytic tool but also defines the discourse modes that are required for the critical evaluation of arguments. Teachers as well as students could benefit from analyzing transcripts or video recordings of classroom discussions regarding the use of different discourse modes and the number of moves dedicated to arguments. However, it may not be appropriate to evaluate the quality of argumentation on the adherence to a rigid three-step-model. Argumentative transactivity should be seen as an important and necessary condition for argument reappraisal in classroom discussion but more criteria are needed to evaluate the quality of discussions (e.g., content-based criteria as proposed in Petrik, 2010). To avoid idiosyncrasies due to the specifics of the subject-matter it would be valuable to replicate findings based on other discussion topics. Further studies are needed to explore and compare effects of different types of argumentations on learning outcomes.

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Majella McSharry, Mella Cusack

Teachers' Stories of Engaging Students in Controversial Action Projects on the Island of Ireland

Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) in the Republic of Ireland and Local and Global Citizenship (LGC) in Northern Ireland keenly promote students' active participation in society. However, the purpose of this participation is not necessarily to encourage students to campaign for change in the present but rather that 'students are given opportunities to engage in actions and develop skills that will contribute to their becoming active participatory citizens in later life' (NCCA (2005) CSPE Guidelines for Teachers, p. 59). This often gives rise to a culture of passive citizenship and a tendency to focus on 'action projects' that are safe and self-contained.

This paper focuses on a five action projects carried out by a sample of teachers and students that may be considered 'controversial'. In each case students actively campaign for equality and social justice, on local or global human rights issues and in ways that may be deemed controversial. It examines how the mainstream curriculum and school structures facilitate or impede this type of controversial action and explores the potential opportunities for greater engagement in such action through proposed curriculum reform.

Keywords:

Citizenship education, schools, controversial issues, action projects, curriculum, Ireland

relationships in Northern Ireland and three-way cross-border relationships between Britain, the Republic and Northern Ireland (Smith, 1999).

1 Introduction

The six northern counties with a majority Protestant population form part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, while in the twenty-six counties of the Republic of Ireland 84% of the population define themselves as Roman Catholic (CSO, 2011). From the late 1960s Northern Ireland experienced a period of conflict which is often referred to as 'The Troubles'. Influenced by the American Civil Rights movement Catholics in Northern Ireland began to campaign against housing, employment and electoral injustices. The British government deployed the army in a peace-keeping capacity to support the local Northern Irish police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).¹ Relations between the Catholic population and British Army personnel rapidly disintegrated, and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) began its campaign to unify Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. From 1969 republican and unionist paramilitary activity, together with state violence, contributed to the deaths of over 3,600 people. Since the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement of April 1998 between Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, the six counties region has been experiencing a 'peace process', and a consequent growth in the 'vital middle ground' which fosters the building of cross-community

2 Education Context

The current formal education system in Northern Ireland resonates with the historical context in which it developed. The distinctive feature of the system is segregation which manifests itself on the grounds of religion, gender and ability (Smith, 1999). The 1,044 schools in Northern Ireland can be separated into three main sectors on the basis of religion: (1) 'Controlled' Protestant schools, (2) 'Maintained' Catholic schools, and (3) a relatively small number of 'Integrated' schools attended by roughly equal numbers of Protestant and Catholic students. 87% of Catholic pupils attend Maintained Catholic schools and 79% of Protestant pupils attend Controlled Protestant schools (McCaffery, 2015).

The first integrated school was established in Northern Ireland in 1981 but this sector still only accounts for approximately 6% of school-aged children (Duncan, 2015). Integrated schools are currently oversubscribed but despite demand for places there is substantial resistance to the growth of the integrated sector. Historical context needs to be taken into account when analysing resistance, for instance:

...the Catholic school system represented the only significant social institution of civil society over which the catholic community, through the Church, exercised a degree of control (Gallagher et al, 1993).

However, it is also the case that resistance to integration from one religious community no doubt strengthens general levels of resistance. The impact of this segregated education system is evident in the formation of politicised identities and contributes to the continuation of a culture of conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Religious segregation in schools is also prevalent in the Republic of Ireland, and in recent years has become the subject of much public debate, particularly in relation to the primary sector where the vast majority of schools are under the patronage of the Catholic Church. The post-primary education sector comprises secondary, voca-

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tional, community and comprehensive schools. Secondary schools are privately owned and managed by various religious trust bodies. Vocational schools are state-established and administered by Education and Training Boards (ETBs), while community and comprehensive schools are managed by Boards of Management of differing compositions. Educate Together is a multi-denominational education option that has gained much momentum at primary level, and since 2014 has also moved into the second level sector.

3 Citizenship Education

Both jurisdictions have a compulsory citizenship education curricula for primary and lower secondary pupils and students.

Local and Global Citizenship (Northern Ireland) and Civic, Social and Political Education, or CSPE (Republic) are both conceptually-based Citizenship Education subjects focusing on active learning and the development of skills. CSPE is a common level, mandatory, timetabled programme which is examined as part of the junior cycle. Local and Global Citizenship is examined as part of the Learning for Living and Work core curriculum at the end of Key Stage 4. These subjects are often held up as examples of how schools are equipped to deal with a diverse range of controversial issues (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA, 2005; Gallagher, 2004).

In both Northern Ireland and the Republic the citizenship education curriculum documents refer to the local and global context, and recommend active teaching and learning methodologies and participation by young people as the way to develop sense of citizenship. Additionally, critical thinking and enquiry-based approaches to learning are crucial elements of learning about citizenship education in both jurisdictions (Niens and McIlrath, 2010).

	Northern Ireland	Republic of Ireland
Programme	Local and Global Citizenship	Civic Social and Political Education (CSPE)
Year of introduction	2007 (Key Stage 3) 2009 (Key Stage 4)	1997
Place in curriculum	Part of core curriculum in Learning for Living and Work	Mandatory component of junior cycle curriculum
School year/ Key Stage	Key Stages 3 and 4 (Years 8 – 11)	1 st to 3 rd year (Junior Cycle)
Age group	Key Stage 3: 11 – 14 years Key Stage 4: 15 / 16 years	12 – 15 years
Concepts	Human Rights and Social Responsibilities Diversity and Inclusion Democracy and Active Participation Equality and Social Justice	Rights and Responsibilities Human Dignity Interdependence Democracy Stewardship Development Law
Time	Indeterminate –	One class period per week

allocation	could be cross-curricular or specified time or a combination	or equivalent
Examination	An element of Learning for Living and Work examination at end of Key Stage 4	Written examination (common level) for Junior Certificate at end of 3 rd year
Action Project	Optional	Assessed in 3 rd year - 60% submission of either 'A Report on an Action Project' or 'A Course-Work Assessment Book' - 40% for a written terminal examination at the end of the third year of the course

4 Controversial Issues

Political, social and cultural situatedness shape the categorization of issues as controversial in all contexts. The role of education in addressing these issues is controversial in and of itself. However controversial issues are peppered throughout subject curricula and particularly within values based subjects such as Local and Global Citizenship and CSPE. Informed class discussions are commonly thought to be the most effective way of engaging students in controversial issues (Oulton, Day, Dillon & Grace, 2004). Hand and Levinson (2012) offer two explanations as to why discussion is necessary when teaching about contentious topics. Firstly, they suggest that while instructional approaches are sufficient for teaching about the theoretical aspects of controversial issues, discussion encourages passion, sincerity and empathy regarding individual identity and diversity. Secondly, they contend that it is not only a case of discussion being the most appropriate way of exploring controversial issues but that 'controversial issues afford the most promising opportunities for engaging students in discussion' (ibid. p. 617). Classrooms can act as places where complicated issues are explored in 'extraordinary conversations' (Weis & Fine, 2001) and where students feel wholly safe in doing so.

'If it is the intellectual purpose of school to teach higher order thinking skills such as critical thinking and evaluation, then can the school simultaneously engender ... conformity to society's rules?' (Sadovnik, 2007, p. 5). Engaging with controversial issues leads to a type of questioning and disagreement that enables the development of critical thinking skills. The negotiated resolution of which is key to understanding social roles in democratic society. However, these very skills and roles can challenge the political order that exists within schools and beyond.

The possibility of dissonance results in 'a tendency to avoid controversial issues' for many teachers (Niens, O'Connor & Smith, 2013, p. 11). Exploring controversial issues is a key tenet of citizenship education according to the Beutelsbach Consensus (1976). It stresses how issues that divide public opinion outside of school should also be presented through the lens of diverse and divided opinion within schools. Here the teacher's opinion does not pose a problem as contrary opinions are also

considered. However, teachers often report a lack of confidence in their own ability to teach and facilitate discussion on controversial issues, particularly if the controversial issue is viewed as inappropriate for the curriculum or because teachers are expected to withhold their own political views (Hess & McAvoy, 2015). All societies contain temporally specific 'problematic areas' where 'teachers who dare broach such subjects confront the prospect of isolation, censure, and public recrimination' (King, 2009, p. 221). Teachers fear reprisals from colleagues, school management and the wider community for engaging with controversial issues (Avery, Levy & Simmons, 2013). Therefore teachers' experience, confidence and their evaluation of the consequences have a significant impact on their willingness to engage with controversial issues. While Hand and Levinson (2012) contend that controversial issues raise questions to which neither teachers nor students know the answers, they also make reference to Myhill's assertion that teachers must be 'very confident about the topics' they are discussing (p. 615). A lack of pedagogical confidence amongst teachers and the fear of reprisal from the community are identified as key contributors to the rarity of addressing controversial issues (Hess & McAvoy, 2015). Teachers' decisions about whether or which controversial subjects to engage with in their classrooms are often subject to formidable external constraints (King, 2009). Teachers need to be incredibly sensitive to (in)compatibility between the practices and values espoused at home and at school (ibid). Secure job tenure and a well established teaching record make teachers better equipped to deal with a potential negative backlash. Teachers who do not have this security often experience fear and trepidation about the impact discussing controversial issues might have on job security (Byford, Lennon, & Russell, 2009). Resources, training and institutional support as essential for teachers taking up controversial issues (McCully, 2006). Engaging with controversial issues in schools undoubtedly provides rich and participative learning opportunities. However, it is clear that teachers must continuously negotiate their way through a myriad of micro-relational sensitivities and restrictions in order to bring these opportunities into being.

5 Controversial issues and educational policy

The role of citizenship education and its position to engage young people in dealing with controversial issues may be also jeopardized by the very orientation of educational policy. Current global education policy is dominated by neo-liberalism that promotes strategizing entrepreneurship and possessive individualism as ideal citizenry (Apple, 2009). Ireland's shift from an education system governed by theoretical principles to one governed by market principals was accelerated from 1997 to the present day by a succession of neo-liberal coalition governments tactically fixed on promoting marketization and privatization (Lynch, 2012). This 'neo' orientation poses key concerns for citizenship education. Aldenmyr et al suggest that it encourages a culture of

uniformity that is 'hazardous to democracy itself in that it becomes difficult to contribute to societal change in other directions than those predicated by a commitment to market values and competition' (2012, p. 259). These orientations have a significant impact the type of teaching and learning that comes to be valued in schools. The marketization of schools and the emphasis on performativity infiltrates the management of schools, but most significantly it affects what 'counts as knowledge and pedagogical practice in schools' (Lundahl & Olson, 2013, p. 204). If schools focus on a future orientated transmission of the type of knowledge deemed necessary for economic progress and are judged on this basis, then engaging students with controversial issues could be viewed as an immeasurable inconvenience. In Northern Ireland school success is undoubtedly associated with published league tables, while in the Republic it is frequently identified within the publication of third level transfer rates. School success is measured by what is visibly calculable; an 'auditable commodity' (Ball, 2003, p. 225). Satisfying the requirements of an exam focused education system becomes a key marker of self-worth and empowerment, rather than democratic participation and social emancipation (McSharry, 2008). In this marketised context, citizen 'activeness' is realized through self-making within a field 'marked out by competition and transactional assessment' (Aldenmyr et al., 2012, p. 258). Teacher and student engagement in controversial issues requires meaningful and reflective space that is frequently threatened by the demands of measurability. A culture of performativity, with its increased teacher workload (Lundström & Holm, 2011) leaves little less time for engaging with social controversy. Student' active and democratic engagement is 'cumbersome' and resource intensive by its very nature, causing proponents of lean management to 'balk at the required commitments – particularly as the conjectured positive outcomes are difficult to turn into hard metrics' (Sundström & Fernández, 2013, p. 114).

6 Background and methods

This paper provides an overview of controversial action projects from data collected as part of two independent studies.

1. In 2010 we received funding under the Five Nations Network Small Grants Award Programme to undertake research on controversial action projects. This network provides mobility funding for research on citizenship and values education undertaken in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. This was a qualitative study that examined the experiences of four teachers who had undertaken student' action projects that may be considered 'controversial'. Interviews with teachers were conducted in 2010 and 2011. Prior to the interviews, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire inquiring about teacher qualifications; length of teaching experience, post and tenure; school type and ethos; and the status of citizenship studies. The four contributing teachers'



projects came to our attention through our own involvement in citizenship studies. Three teachers, who we have given the pseudonyms Victoria, Maria and Ursula were located in the Republic of Ireland and one, whom we have called Terry, was located in Northern Ireland.

2. The fifth project we present was researched in 2004 as part of a north/south Education for Reconciliation Project initiative, funded by the European Union Programme for Peace and Reconciliation (PEACE II) and involving citizenship education teachers on both sides of the border. Individual interviews were carried out with the class teacher (whom we call 'Mary') and school principal and focus group interviews were conducted with twenty year nine students in a Northern Ireland school. The reflections of teachers in 2010/2011 bore a strong resemblance to those of Mary in 2004. What is deemed controversial is often temporary and ever-evolving. However, what remains consistent in these reflections and undoubtedly remains relevant today, is the emotional investment of teachers who are committed to tackling social inequalities, even when this is questioned and criticized.

The projects bring to mind the justice sought by the students in *Schiller-Gymnasium* school in Germany in 1995. Their actions of protest and petition prior to and after the felling of an old chestnut tree on the school grounds resulted in the much reported *Chestnut Case*. Sammoray and Welniak (2012) suggest that confronted with the details of this project, teachers usually respond in three ways. The *activists* are energised by the prospect of engaging students in this way; the *carers* fear the legal implication of such actions and the *supporters of the state* condemn the school's civil disobedience. In each of the five instances in this study students actively engaged in projects focused on an equality/social justice issue. This active engagement took the forms of campaigning, lobbying, protesting, interrogating and/or developing classroom materials. Elements of the types of responses reported above to *the Chestnut Case* were found amongst parents, teaching staff and school management when controversial actions were undertaken by young people. The topics addressed within the projects may also be deemed controversial, covering issues such as war, arms, homophobia and sectarianism. In some cases the projects were undertaken as part of CSPE and Local and Global Citizenship curricula, while in others they fell under citizenship and values based components of other subject areas, or were carried out in an extra-curricular fashion. An interview guide approach was used to allow the systematic collection of data, yet to maintain a 'fairly conversational' flow (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p. 413). We analyse the data with cognisance of shifting political and ideological opinions on the topics and actions undertaken in the five projects. By doing so, we draw attention to the contextual and temporal nature of 'controversy'.

7 Summary of findings

7.1 An overview of Anti-War Project

Victoria was a teacher in a large co-educational school in the Dublin area. At the time of the interview she had a permanent teaching post in the school and over 16 years of teaching experience. Over the years she frequently engaged students in discussions and projects that might be considered controversial. The project she honed in in her interview related to a CSPE action project about East-Timor. Victoria invited the founder of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign (ETISC) to the school to speak her CSPE class. In 1999 200,000 East-Timorese had been massacred because they wanted independence from Indonesia. When the UN went into East-Timor they had no mandate to fire and shortly after a democratic vote in favour of independence they withdrew. Victoria felt very upset that the East-Timorese people who voted for independence had been put at risk. She felt the people were pressurized to vote and then the UN pulled out. Upon hearing this news she cancelled all her lesson plans that day. During her language class she displayed a statement declaring - 'we live in each other's shadows' and the class discussed what had happened. From there the woodwork students made placards and she told how 'it just took off'. Word was sent home that there was going to be a demonstration on the US embassy the following Saturday morning. Victoria described how most of the students came to the demonstration, as did their parents. The following Monday the UN went back into East-Timor. She believed the students felt that they had really made a difference. She explained how attending the demonstration was pretty spontaneous and it was their first time to do so, but she described how this led to her and her student actively organizing demonstrations thereafter. She detailed how the students had organized a wonderful demonstration against the use of Shannon to refuel US planes during the Iraq war. The second and third years attended an interdenominational service in Dublin and then went on to a march. They held up placards outside the school at lunchtime saying 'honk if you don't support the war' and received national media coverage for this. As a result of this action, Victoria explained how students received a letter from a young man in America whose brother was in Iraq. He thanked them for their action saying that he was due to be drafted to Iraq the following year. Since then the letter has been read aloud in her CSPE class each year.

7.1.3 Controversial action enablers

Victoria explained how she could not do these types of actions without the formal support of school management. She gave details of how the hidden curriculum and school ethos are very important in hindering or facilitating this type of action. She described how the school principal tries to promote the school as a 'liberal institution'. When she informed the principal about the introduction of the new upper secondary subject *Politics and Society* (to be implemented in schools in the Republic from September 2016), he was disappointed that it is to be an optional rather than a compulsory



subject. Victoria highlighted the huge focus on experiential learning in the school. She explained how in Leaving Certificate Applied Spanish the students visit a tapas bar; in Art they go to the Gallery; they have second year exchanges, summer trips etc. The school covers the insurance and colleagues cover each other's classes, and according to Victoria 'no one ever says no'. She explained that having influence in the school was not a determining factor in engaging with controversial issues. She stated that 'in this school you don't have to have clout – it doesn't matter here because of the ethos and the fact that all staff are regarded equally'.

Victoria pointed out the importance of parental support when dealing with controversial topics, describing parents backing as very important. She indicated that 'certain parents send their kids to this school because of the school's interest in politics and they often say thanks to us for reinforcing their own values'. She felt fortunate that she had often received letters of thanks from parents for involving their children in these types of projects.

7.1.2 Controversial action barriers

It was Victoria's belief that the vast majority of teachers like self-controlled and self-contained projects that can take place in class time. She explained that taking students out on a march represents an entire day out of a seventy hour CSPE programme. She explained that teachers, who have no interest themselves, tend not to do things out of school time. She felt that it was different for her, as she had built up a lot of interest and contacts over the years. However, despite personal interest and stakeholder support, Victoria identified her increased workload and pressures of accountability as barriers to undertaking labour intensive action projects. She described a lack of planning time as a significant obstacle. At the time of the interview she had been acting as a year head for two years. This meant she was 'swamped – caught up in issues like discipline and pastoral care'. Victoria felt that these types of responsibilities take time away from actions. At the time of the East-Timor action project she was not in the year head role.

While Victoria felt that parents of students in the school were largely supportive of engaging in what might be considered controversial discussion and projects, she was also conscious of parents' concerns and worries. She mentioned that during the East-Timor demonstrations on the US embassy some parents were worried that their child's image would be captured by the embassy's CCTV and that this might affect future opportunities to travel to the USA. She stated that 'students don't assume there is a hidden agenda – they have great faith in teachers, but parents worry and they want the balanced view – they question whether the people we are supporting are terrorists and whether the stories we tell about their suffering are actually true'. Victoria described how she would try to reassure parents by sending home a letter with some background on topics, a participation consent form and links to further information.

Victoria told that it was unusual for the principal to raise concerns about tackling controversial issues in the school. However, a clash with parents' values was the issue that caused him to be most cautious. When students became concerned about the rights of workers in a Coca Cola bottling plant in Columbia and started displaying anti-Coke posters around the school, the principal worried that some parents might work in the local bottling plant. More recently a national scheme that benefited 10% of students in the school had been revoked by Government and made available only to students attending designated disadvantaged schools. Through the concept of *Right and Responsibilities* in CSPE Victoria and her students sought advice from senior council to see if they could take constitutional action against the change in Government policy. They organized a petition and marched at the office of the then Minister for Children. The principal was concerned that some parents may have been affiliated to this particular political party.

7.1.3 Impact on teaching and learning

Victoria held that raising and dealing with controversial issues had an overwhelmingly positive impact on teaching and learning and on student/teacher relationships. She felt that this was the case even when lobbying or protesting did not bring about the desired result. For instance, the students' petition to the Minister for Children was ignored and unacknowledged but Victoria felt that the students still got a feel for how they might demonstrate or lobby and they had been prepared for an unsuccessful outcome. She believed they learned that their action might have been more successful if they had targeted a weak electoral seat – 'that is the key and they grasped that political reality'. According to Victoria it is great to give students the experience of agitation regardless of topic. She felt that they experienced what it is like to stand up for something and get a taste of what they can do. She also told how students get a wonderful high from the sense of solidarity. For Victoria it did not matter if the action was a success or failure – 'solidarity is very emotional and this means that they are more likely to do something like this again. I would hope that they would continue to be agitators and to influence others'. In many ways Victoria's hopes were realised because out of the students involved in the East-Timor project alone, two students went on to work for human rights organisations, some volunteered overseas, one was elected to the local council, and many went on to study politics at university.

Victoria believed that engaging with issues that might be deemed controversial solidifies the student/teacher relationship. She described how students pick up on teachers' passion and authenticity and know when something is fake. Dealing with controversial issues helps to cement relationships once the agenda behind the action has integrity, according to Victoria. Most significantly however, she stated that 'students just love being active'.

7.2 Overview of small arms project

Maria had over 20 years teaching experience in a large single-sex girls' school in the Irish midlands. As well as her teaching qualifications, she held a Masters in Development Studies. Over the years she had frequently engaged students in activities related to overseas development, from fundraisers to marches. The most controversial project she and her students participated in related to the brokering of small arms. Their involvement came about at the request of TV documentary producers seeking to expose the inadequacy of Irish legislation on arms brokering. The project was not embedded in any particular curricular subject and was largely carried out by seven participating senior cycle girls in their own time. Maria explained how the students were provided with information on the arms trade and asked to supplement this information with online research. They had to identify small arms traders from all over the world and were provided with a mobile phone to call these traders to inquire about the purchasing of arms. They were also provided with a camcorder to record all research, interaction and phone calls. Maria told that sometimes the students had to make these calls at 6/7am due to time differences. The students were provided with false names, and Maria described how they soon realized that the traders were also using false names. The students stated that they were an Irish company interested in the trader's work, but Maria explained they were never asked about their age or the proposed use of the arms. The students successfully purchased three different types of small arms online. One item successfully imported into Ireland was a stone thrower concealed as a manure spreader. The documentary producers organized for the brokers of the stone thrower to fly to Ireland to demonstrate how to use the equipment. From a safe distance the students watched Maria, the producers and the brokers discuss the equipment. Finally the students were revealed as the true purchasers of the item and confronted the brokers. Maria described how the students became quite irate with the brokers for selling such a dangerous item. At which point the brokers left. Maria stated that during the course of the project students approached politicians to tell them about the dangers of brokering, but the politicians failed to respond.

7.2.1 Controversial action enablers

Maria felt that her long history of involvement with development issues was reassuring for students and their parents. The parents of the seven students who participated in the project were incredibly supportive and attended all the relevant meetings. Some of the participating students had obtained second place in their *Young Social Innovators* project the previous year and therefore had previous experience of action aimed at social change. Maria also had a designated room in the school that was open to the students to come and meet before and after school and during lunch-break.

7.2.2 Controversial action barriers

Maria encountered considerable barriers when seeking to engage students in this project. She explained that when the principal heard the project was on the Arms Trade, she was afraid that the identity of the school would be disclosed. Maria sought support from colleagues at a staff meeting. However, she felt that in general there was massive fear among teachers. They were afraid that involvement in the project would impact on students' ability to get visas to the US in the future. They were also worried about associations with the IRA and with child welfare issues. Maria felt she had to defend the project. School management and staff were also concerned about the amount of time students might miss from their 'core' subjects as a result of their involvement in the project. Parental concern was also crucial and Maria told that out of the 60 girls originally approached, many parents refused to allow their daughter to participate due to concerns over access to future US visas.

7.2.3 Impact on teaching and learning

According to Maria all of the students who opted to participate in the project were 'academically inclined'. However, she felt their participation opened up opportunities and further developed their skills. Following the project they were invited to attend conferences and public events. They gave many presentations to a variety of groups. Maria suggested that in spite of initial fears about the amount of time students would miss from school, participation gave them skills they would never have developed as a result of curriculum-based learning. In addition, she described all students as having done very well in their terminal school examination and all went on to third level education. It impacted on career choice with one girl opting for a course in Communications following her work on the project. Overall, Maria felt that such projects facilitate students having a much closer relationship with her as their teacher.

7.3 Overview of homophobic bullying project

This project was carried out in a large coeducational fee-paying school in Dublin. The school is known for success in sport and academic achievement. When Ursula was interviewed about this project she had six to ten years teaching experience, but had only been in this particular school for three years. Ursula taught CSPE and had a Master degree in Film Studies. This project emerged from discussions about stereotypes, bullying and equality within Social, Personal and Health Education (SPHE) class in the first year of upper second level. The students discussed the prevalence and impact of homophobic bullying and participated in 'role reversal' as an active method to explore the topic in class. Ursula described how the students thought this method was an interesting activity for highlighting stereotypes so she proposed making a satirical film based on the activity. They brainstormed and wrote the dialogue which saw students reverse accepted role and inhabit a world where everyone is gay. The narrative focused on the difficulties heterosexual



people experience when they reveal they are straight and the rejection, awkwardness and dis-comfort that can subsequently infiltrate their social circles. Ursula filmed the role-play in school and edited the footage herself. In her view 'it went pretty much unnoticed by other staff members at the time'.

7.3.1 Controversial action enablers

Ursula explained how she felt really supported by colleagues teaching SPHE once they became aware of the project. She identified energy, enthusiasm and time as key factors in enabling such projects, rather than the extent of teacher experience. She suggested that such projects are 'more likely to happen in the early stages' of teachers' careers when they have more energy and enthusiasm. For Ursula 'the longer you are in teaching the more responsibility you get and the less time you have'. She also suggested that the resources and time available to school management effect the implementation of such projects. At the time of the interview the school had just expanded its middle management team, which Ursula hoped might free up time from dealing with disciplinary issues to provide more support for projects such as this.

Ursula also highlighted the significance of support from parents, stating that students in the school usually proceeded to third level education and normally came from homes where parents were educated and liberal. One parent contacted her to say how positive the experience of the project had been for their child.

The twenty-three students who participated in the project had been in the same class group since first year, and Ursula felt this positively impacted on their openness and trust when exploring the topic.

7.3.2 Controversial action barriers

Ursula described the film as something that unfolded quite organically within the safe confines of her class. It was her opinion that the project only became controversial when the class attempted to highlight the topic in the school more widely. The class had anti-homophobic bullying posters they wished to display around the school but management refused. Instead Ursula displayed them in her own classroom.

Although Ursula previously described parents as 'educated and liberal', one parent did contact the school to say they were concerned about some of the issues being 'pushed' in SPHE. She stated there is a cohort of very religious parents in the school. She described these parents as a minority but a 'loud minority ... that can make management cautious at times'.

Ursula said that occasionally in the intervening period since making the film students ask if they can do a similar project but the modularization of SPHE in the school has meant there would be insufficient time. She also described herself as 'very busy' with other events in the school.

7.3.3 Impact on teaching and learning

Ursula indicated that she had a good relationship with participating students prior to the film, but she felt that exploring controversial topics inevitably leads to a deepening of the student/teacher relationship. She believed that students really enjoyed the experience and engaged with the issue. They realized that 'gay' name-calling was negative language and according to Ursula they became campaigners against this type of language. She explained that the project allowed them to talk openly about negative language and to then try to counteract it. As a result of the film, 'gay' name calling which had been prevalent in the school began to fade away. Since making the film, the DVD has been used as a SPHE resource within the school. Its creation received national news-paper coverage, being viewed as a unique attempt to tackle homophobic bullying.

7.4 Overview of voices from history project

Terry taught in a large co-educational comprehensive school in county Derry. He had eleven to fifteen years teaching experience at the time of the interview. Terry actively engaged with students on a wide range of action projects. However, in his interview he focused mainly on a project he had undertaken with students in one of his Local and Global Citizenship classes. Terry told how students had to consider the big events and characters that have had a significant impact on Northern Ireland's political history and to research related individuals. They then undertook to ring potential candidates, set up and carry out the interview with these people. Students videoed the interviews, and then evaluated and transcribed them. Terry described how this project allowed students to truly engage with political figures who were important for the processes of democracy and peace in Northern Ireland. They interviewed civil rights activists and people involved in voluntary organisations from the spectrum of perspectives on the Northern Ireland conflict and peace process. These interviews now form part of an interesting online collection of interviews on the Northern Ireland story. Terry explained that it was quite significant for fourteen year olds to be given responsibility for all the tasks involved in the project.

7.4.1 Controversial action enablers

Terry identified 'enthusiasm' as a key factor in enabling such action projects. He felt the school's commitment to charity and equality permeated all levels of school life. He described how senior management really supported and promoted involving students in a range of projects that enhance their curriculum. He told how management facilitated staff training and planning for undertaking such projects. He also outlined the importance of staff support in the school whereby colleagues share resources and ideas.

7.4.2 Controversial action barriers

Although Terry described staff as generally supportive of the project, he stated that the school is a controlled protestant school and he felt this gave rise to certain



sensitivities amongst a cohort of the staff. These colleagues did not think it was appropriate to interview one particular civil rights activist, and Terry attributed their objections to 'historic Unionist distrust' of Catholic civil rights campaigners. Management support, notwithstanding, Terry was still acutely aware of the need for risk assessment and insurance considerations when engaging students in projects of a controversial nature. Terry described such projects as extremely time consuming. Planning the learning intentions and out-comes and trying to establish funding are very labour intensive, according to Terry.

7.4.3 Impact on teaching and learning

Terry believed that projects focused on addressing controversial issues enhance students' self-esteem. He suggested students were empowered by leading the project and felt they were 'contributing to something that is much bigger than school'. Terry felt that projects such as this take teachers away from dependence on 'classic teaching methodologies' and towards 'active strategies...where relationships are vastly improved'. He was of the opinion that these projects contribute to a more positive atmosphere in the school and better relationships throughout the student body. According to Terry, they contribute to the betterment of the community through building and enhancing community relationships.

7.5 Overview of 'The Others' project

Mary taught in a medium sized all-female junior high school in county Armagh in Northern Ireland. She had over sixteen years teaching experience at the time of the interview. The school is a Catholic maintained school, but is unusual in the Northern Irish educational context insofar as it has always catered for a range of academic abilities from age eleven to sixteen. It is also relevant to note that County Armagh was the site of very contentious Orange parades through Catholic areas in the mid-to-late 1990's. The peace process lessened the level of incidents in the county, but according to Mary paramilitary groups were still active in parts of the town and 'occasionally suspicious devices are found'. At the time of the interview it was remarked that certain political developments still led to a rise in emotions, and it only needed 'one person, or one leader to say something and the whole thing could flare up again'. School management were aware that students 'know they would be attacked at the far end of the town if they went there in school uniform' and in the past some have been attacked while waiting for buses. Some students will not shop in Protestant owned premises and none would go there in school uniform. During focus group interviews with students several mentioned the word 'riot' as something that they themselves had witnessed. It was within this context that Mary worked with colleagues and students to develop an animated resource dealing with sectarianism, with a very definite plan that the end product could be used as a classroom resource for Local and Global Citizenship teachers.

Mary reported that she was motivated by her disconcertion with the fact that her students never talked about the division in their town or mentioned that it made them uncomfortable. She wanted to raise their awareness of the divisions around them and to question why these divisions existed. The process of developing the animation facilitated non-threatening conversations about why young people never crossed invisible lines in their own town.

The story of the animation is based on an adventurous day in the life of an alien family. *The Others* opens with 'Once upon a time' and a scene showing the alien family on their own planet. While out for a Sunday afternoon drive in space the family develop problems with their vessel and eventually land in a town in county Armagh. The father mends the craft while the alien children meet and explore the town with local Catholic children. The aliens cannot understand the lack of interaction between the Catholic and Protestant communities. The local young people can only answer that differences are based on allegiances and symbolised by different colours and flags. They eventually admit that Protestants are not all that different since they eat the same foods and listen to the same music.

7.5.1 Controversial action enablers

The making of the animation involved a cross-curricular approach. The script writing and dialogue recording was organised in conjunction with the English Department, the Music Department helped out with composition and the Drama Department was also involved. As student enthusiasm for the project grew other staff members also became involved. Backed by senior management, staff members also facilitated the release of students for the various activities associated with the production of the film. As the Local and Global Citizenship Coordinator in the school Mary kept colleagues updated about the progress of the animation.

Mary did not feel the need to seek parental permission since, unlike previous work she had undertaken with students where she used role-play about a local conflict issue, the process of creating an animation was less direct in its approach. She indicated that parents were aware that their children were involved in creating the animation but none objected. Mary thought perhaps this was because the creative aspect may have been more visible to parents than the actual controversial content being addressed.

7.5.2 Controversial action barriers

Mary did not mention any specific barrier to the project, except to say that part of the animation had to be re-recorded because of the use of the term 'Oh my God!' This revision was undertaken because of a perception that this dialogue could prevent the use of the film in Protestant ethos schools, as it might cause offence.

7.5.3 Impact on teaching and learning

The production of the animation was organised in such a way as to increase contact between students who are



separated on a daily basis because of streaming on ability levels. Mary mentioned the impact that the project had on the self-esteem of her students, commenting on her perception that students in the Republic seemed 'much more freer and more open and they don't care because they can speak out and say whatever they want to and no one can say anything back to them'.

The girls composed much of the music themselves, and played 'The Sash' and 'A Nation Once Again' to portray the Protestant and Catholic communities respectively. 'The Sash' is a ballad celebrating the Battle of the Boyne (1690) which is popular among the Unionist community and is often sung by the Orange Order when marching. The student who played this particular piece of music admitted to feeling 'a bit weird' but said that she didn't mind playing it because it was for a particular purpose. Those on the graphics sub-groups ensured that the backdrops for the scenes reflected the reality of the town, including the portrayal of the different colours favoured by the two communities.

The students thought that the film did manage to portray their perspective and believed this was a significant part of taking part. They felt that it taught them that 'people at the other end of the town who would be a different religion from us ... were not that different at all'. One student felt that the message of the film was 'to say that Protestants and Catholics are the same except for one difference ... they believe in different things'. Another pointed out that all the aliens in the film were different but they managed to get along, and felt that people should learn from this example. They felt that their attitudes had changed because of involvement in the project.

We realised the differences in [the town]...with the flags and stuff. We knew like, but we didn't really take an interest. (Student focus group 1)

You just look at everything in a different way. You don't really think 'Oh, I want to be best friends with them', but you know, you do...I mean, if you were heading up the town now you don't really think anything. (Student focus group 3)

As a teacher Mary reported the creation of an animation to be a less threatening methodology of dealing with a controversial issue, even despite the obvious logistical demands involved. She told that though the students seemed at times to be totally engrossed in the creative process they fully comprehended the message and appreciated both the affective and effective learning involved in the process.

7.5.4 Discussion (in the context of reform)

Teacher Capacity

The projects presented in this study highlight teacher confidence as fundamental for engaging with controversial issues. The literature suggests that teachers often attribute discomfort at the idea of raising or addressing controversial issues to a range of factors, including lack

of knowledge, experience and skills; issues of confidentiality and accountability; uncertainty about their own opinions, especially when aware of divergent and deeply held opinions amongst students; fear of causing offence in situations where issues personally affect students; and fear of losing control of their classroom when dealing with these issues (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Avery, Levy & Simmons, 2013; King, 2009). For many teachers in Northern Ireland the historical context may cause particular discomfort around teaching controversial issues. During the 'Troubles' schools often prided themselves on being 'oases of peace' where students could be isolated from the conflict outside school grounds (Smith, 1999). McEvoy (2007) suggests that while some still believe that dealing with controversial issues around past conflict should be avoided in schools, there is a fear that ignoring these issues will cause them to fester and carry into the future. Hence teachers need to be sufficiently confident to address even uncomfortable topics.

The findings from this study indicate that teacher confidence in engaging with controversial issues may be connected to length of teaching experience, with all participants having spent at least six years teaching. The teachers also indicated they had undertaken training through masters programmes or in-service training to boost their knowledge and skills. McCully (2006) contends that successful teaching of controversial issues places particular demands on the role of the teacher and he highlights the importance of adequate resourcing and training in preparation for and in response to these demands. The Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010) clearly recognises that ongoing training and development for education professionals in the principles and practices of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education are a vital part of the delivery and sustainability of effective education in this area and should be adequately planned and resourced. Gebauer's report on teacher training within the Pestalozzi Programme (CoE) discussed in this current issue, highlights the need for Universities to embed a holistic approach to citizenship and democratic education from an influential stage in teachers' professional careers.

The Department of Education Northern Ireland (DENI) and the Department of Education and Skills (in the Republic) are responsible for provision of support for practicing teachers. However, in recent years these support initiatives have been increasingly hampered by limited timeframes, resources, capacity to cope with the numbers of teachers requiring professional development, and the need for in-service to concentrate on formally required elements, such as assessment. As a consequence, citizenship education suffers from marginalisation and low status, with teachers either ignoring or a minimalist approach to topics that may be sensitive or challenging. European-wide research into the operation of citizenship education in schools would indicate that these challenges are not unique to the island of

Ireland but in post-conflict societies they are in more urgent need of redress (Eurydice, 2005).

Teacher capacity has also been affected by increased workload and accountability (Lundström & Holm, 2011) at the same time as salary reductions. The teachers who participated in this study outlined the labour intensive nature of the projects they undertook. They also made reference to how the workloads of more recently acquired administrative and pastoral roles, would significantly impact on their capacity to undertake similar projects in the future.

Curriculum Capacity

In the Republic of Ireland, a written account of each student's CSPE Action Project is put forward for formal certification by the State Examinations Commission. This has ushered many teachers towards uncomplicated, laconic projects that fulfil the assessment requirements without being overly burdensome. This evidences the impact of calculable metrics on what is deemed to be valuable teaching and learning (Ball 2003; Aldenmyr et al, 2012; Sundström & Fernández, 2013; Lundahl & Olson, 2013). Participants referred to colleagues' preference for such 'self-contained' projects and their concerns about undertaking the types of actions depicted in the study. Where projects on more challenging issues do take place, it is often in non-certified subjects or through extra-curricular initiatives, as with three of the five projects in this study. However, proposed curricular reform may have the potential to change this current orientation.

In Northern Ireland the key stage 3 & 4 curriculum programmes underwent a significant review in the lead up to the implementation of the revised curriculum from 2007 so there are no public plans for a further review by CCEA at this point in time. However despite ongoing industrial unrest, the Department of Education and Skills in the Republic have published a new framework for junior cycle (DES, 2015). The framework outlines that schools are required to provide students with the opportunity to achieve in relation to 24 statements of learning. Some of these are closely linked with citizenship education (e.g. Statement of Learning No 7 – *The student values what it means to be an active citizen, with rights and responsibilities in local and wider contexts*). Once the full revised junior cycle programme has been implemented schools will also be required to do up to 400 hours of Wellbeing with junior cycle students. Wellbeing in junior cycle is defined as being 'about young people feeling confident, happy, healthy and connected' (DES, 2015, p. 22). As yet it is unknown whether the citizenship education aspect of Wellbeing will involve teaching a new 100-hour Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) short course developed by the NCCA; a continuation of the current 70 hour CSPE programme; or a meeting of Wellbeing requirements in a cross-curriculum manner through existing subjects and other areas of learning. What does seem certain however, is that student action will be assessed by schools rather than the State Examinations Commission. In the absence of the looming judgement of state certification, teachers

may be encouraged to engage with a broader range of actions and issues within citizenship education.

A further imminent expansion of curriculum opportunities to raise or address controversial issues comes in the shape of a new optional citizenship education subject for upper secondary level. The subject entitled *Politics and Society* aims to develop the student's ability to be a reflective and active citizen, in a way that is informed by the insights and skills of social and political science. From September 2016 the subject will be implemented with a small group of 41 self-selecting schools, with the potential for a wider roll out from 2018 depending on interest and capacity levels. The *Politics and Society* specification provides significant scope for investigation of contemporary and controversial issues related to topics such as power and decision making in schools and beyond, active citizenship, human rights in Ireland and the wider world, globalization, identity and sustainable development. As an answer to an argument by Niens and McIlrath (2010) about the importance of incorporating the Northern Ireland conflict and peace process into citizenship education North and South the *Politics and Society* learning outcomes include specific reference to Northern Ireland in relation to governmental processes, state bodies established to push for human rights, and most interestingly asks students to engage with research evidence about the relationship between the education system in Northern Ireland and the identities of young people living there (NCCA, 2015).

The teachers' accounts in this study draw attention to the self-perpetuating connection between the normalization of controversial issues in schools and the their categorization as 'controversial'. In the schools where student engagement with contentious issues and actions was encouraged and supported, this engagement was less likely to be identified as controversial. Subjects such as *Politics and Society* may help to normalize student engagement with sensitive issues resulting in less apprehension amongst school management, staff and parents. It may result in these stakeholders being less fearful about the ways taking action on social justice issues might impact negatively on students' future opportunities (eg visas) and more hopeful about how engagement with 'emotionally charged conflicts' (Shappard et al, 2011, p. 71) is necessary preparation for democratic life.

8 Conclusion

The introduction of Local and Global Citizenship in Northern Ireland in 2007 represented an attempt to engender amongst young people a sense of citizenship based on common rights and responsibilities, rather than one located in a sense of national identity (Kerr et al, 2008). As a curriculum area it is very much a child of the peace process. A recent publication by CCEA aimed at supporting schools with controversial issues identified the potential for emotional responses from some students when discussing issues associated with the past in Northern Ireland, for example, parades, emblems, flags and commemoration, in fact anything to do with religion,



identity and culture. In this publication Local and Global Citizenship is singled out as a possible curriculum area where students could investigate the causes and effects of division on cultural identity in Northern Ireland society (CCEA, 2015). The two Northern Ireland case studies outlined by Terry and Mary both grappled with local issues of sectarianism and community conflict and division, and were both situated, at least in part, in the Local and Global Citizenship curriculum space. Their experiences demonstrate that despite the fact that their students are growing up in times of peace, the controversy or the emotional element of topics associated with the conflict in Northern Ireland remains.

Whereas the controversial aspect of the two Northern Irish cases studies lay in the fact that they were addressing local conflict issues, in contrast the controversial element of the case studies facilitated by Victoria and Maria in the Republic of Ireland, although also dealing with issues relating to conflict and peace – the anti-war project and the small arms project respectively – were situated in the action processes employed and the potentially negative consequences of these actions. In these projects the controversial element was related to teacher and parental concern about the safety and security of the students, and the possible impact involvement might have on their future life choices. The conflict focus in terms of topic was at a remove to the reality of all concerned and was not perceived as a controversial issue to deal with in the context of teaching and learning.

On May 23rd 2015 the Republic of Ireland made global headlines when it became the first country in the world to legalise same-sex marriage by popular vote. At least in legal terms, sexuality achieved equality. In 2007 when Ursula and her students set about making a class film to draw attention to the inequalities faced by LGBT students, this legislation was but a wishful dream. In addition to creating a class film, the students' sought to highlight homophobic bullying more widely by displaying posters around the school. This was regarded as 'controversial', with objections raised by school management and some concerned parents. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the students' class film saw it receiving national media coverage. Less than a decade on, in January 2015 a Dublin Catholic boys' school made national news when students protested over school management's decision to cancel a planned workshop on homophobic bullying. The boys set up a Facebook page expressing their support for LGBT students and asking all students to protest by wearing a rainbow flag over their school crest the following day. On the surface it may appear as though little had changed in the intervening period, with actions to address the rights of LGBT students in schools continuing to be newsworthy. However, there was a significant shift in the 'controversial' aspects of these stories. In Ursula's story, engaging with the issue of homophobia was controversial, while the controversial aspect of the more recent story was the decision to disengage with homophobia.

All of these stories highlight the potentially local dimension and transitory nature of controversy which can arise depending on the topics addressed or from the processes and actions in which students participate. They also highlight the socio-cultural distance that can be travelled when groups of people are committed to challenging inequalities through discussion and action. Each of the teachers in this study described their investment in the cultivation of classroom discussion. They created safe spaces where students could contribute openly to topics that were often highly charged and sensitive. They created the types of classrooms where 'extraordinary conversations' could take place (Weis and Fine, 2001), and which ultimately inspired the types of remarkable actions that can cumulatively encourage social, political and legislative change.

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Endnote

ⁱ The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was reconstituted as the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) in November 2001.



Pia Mikander

Globalization as Continuing Colonialism: Critical Global Citizenship Education in an Unequal World

In an unequal world, education about global inequality can be seen as a controversial but necessary topic for social science to deal with. Even though the world no longer consists of colonies and colonial powers, many aspects of the global economy follow the same patterns as during colonial times, with widening gaps between the world's richest and the world's poorest. An analysis of Finnish textbook texts includes practical examples of how globalization is portrayed within basic education. It reveals that the textbooks vary in their interpretations of the relationship between colonialism and globalization. The people of the North are rarely portrayed as responsible for the poverty in the South. Globalization is not described as a politically implicated phenomenon. The article also presents the critical global citizenship education initiative as an approach to the topic. It suggests that students can learn to challenge common assumptions that conceal the historical and structural roots of power relations. Teaching about privilege can be seen as another supplementary method to help students understand their position in the world.

Keywords:

Social science, global inequality, social studies, Finland, history, geography, critical global citizenship education, critical literacy, textbook research

1 Introduction

When discussed within education, the concepts of globalization and the global economy are often seen as something fatalistic that simply takes place before our eyes. There is a need to rethink this and recognize globalization as "historically constituted, politically implicated and culturally calibrated" (Popkewitz & Rizvi, 2009, p.1). Even though the world no longer consists of colonies and colonial powers, there are structures that affect people in the same way. For example, the International Monetary Fund, which has become a global center of power (Harvey, 2006), can be seen to impose global coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2008). The IMF is under the control of the US and Europe, with the US having veto rights. Two European nations have more voting power in the IMF than all the African nations combined (Monbiot, 2012). The gap between the world's rich (often, but not always situated in the West) and the world's poor (mostly situated outside the West) seems to be bigger today than it was during colonial times, even though poorer countries have caught up with richer ones (Lindert & Williamson, 2003; Beddoes, 2012; BBC, 2015; World income equality, n.d.). As of today, half of the world's wealth is in the hands of the richest one percent. Sixty-two people own as much wealth as half of the world's population. This has been called a major risk to human progress, in both rich and poor countries (Oxfam, 2016). Apart from economics, the rule of the West is also seen in the proliferation of informal imperial networks of legal, cultural, media, security and military relations of power (Tully, 2005). Placing colonialism in the past, or ignoring it, makes us think that it does not affect the construction of the present situation (Andreotti, 2007).

However, a range of international issues, from the division of labor and manufacturing of clothes to international weapons trade, migration, refugee crises and tourism, can be understood as rooted in the past, in colonial settings. Still, discussing the roots of global inequality is not on the top of the agenda for education. In the words of Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014), we are living in a time when even the most repulsive social injustices do not bring about enough political will to effectively fight the injustices.

Teaching about global issues such as global inequality is in itself a controversial matter, and should be recognized as such (Peterson & Warwick, 2015). The disjunction between learning to recognize and oppose injustices and learning how to compete in the global economy can be seen as radical (Richardson & Abbot, 2009). Fathoming global inequality and its consequences involves a crisis in learning which creates a space for epistemic and ontological disorientation. The challenge of the educator is to pedagogically provoke and sustain this moment (ibid). This pedagogic intervention could perhaps be seen as opposed to the first core principle of the Beutelsbach Consensus ("Prohibition against overwhelming the pupil") (Baden-Württemberg State Centre for Civic Education, 2015). The controversial and potentially shocking nature of teaching about global injustice is apparent. That does not imply, however, that it should be avoided, since students might not understand how deeply questions of global inequality are embedded in their everyday lives if the topic is not presented in a way that truly affects them. In the students' everyday lives, they are not asked to question the origins of their clothes or other consumption items, and questions of global inequality are not debated in the media on a regular basis. It is possible to live a life without encountering these questions, but in school they can be seen as controversial issues that form a part of democratic education (Hess & Avery, 2008). Still, there is evidence that teachers, especially those with less experience, are afraid to tackle such controversial issues. They might be worried about their own lack of knowledge on the subject, about the structural constraint in schools, or about what parents or the community might think about the controversial discussion (Hess & Avery, 2008; Torney-Purta

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et al., 2001; Humes, 2012). In Finland, Löfström has called for the introduction of moral and political issues in the curriculum in order to encourage teachers and textbook authors to bring up controversial issues (2013).

Analyzing Finnish school textbooks, this article discusses education about global injustice as a controversial issue in social science teaching. The article presents the global citizenship education initiative, particularly the critical version of it, as an approach to it. The textbook analysis includes practical examples of how textbooks refer to the relations between “us” and “them” in the process of decolonialization and within today’s global economy. The aim of the article is to explore the idea of globalization as the continuation of colonialism within the context of Finnish basic education. What world views are portrayed in the textbooks and how can they be challenged within critical global citizenship education?

2 Perspectives on globalization and colonial legacy in Finnish education

Finland is currently about to get a new curriculum for basic education (Finnish National Board of Education, FNBE, 2014), which will be implemented in schools from August 2016. The current curriculum (FNBE, 2004) lists human rights, equality and democracy as some of the underlying values of basic education. To a large extent, the core values of the coming curriculum continue on the same basis. The new curriculum stresses, for example, that education should support students in their search for peace and justice. Basic education should be seen as giving a basis for global citizenship, respecting human rights and calling for positive change. Before the creating of the coming curriculum, the Finnish National Board of Education implemented a global education development project together with schools and other participants. In an official policy document reporting on the project, the postcolonial interpretation of globalization, which is based on criticism of modernity, is emphasized as of particular interest for the project (Jääskeläinen, 2011).

Earlier research shows that Finnish social studies textbooks have presented questions of the economy from the perspective of economic growth and international economic competition, while geography textbooks have presented global issues from the viewpoint of sustainable development, more accurately echoing the core values of the curriculum (Ahonen, 2000). There have been academic concerns that education in social studies in Finland has had a weak position in schools (Suutarinen, 2000b), and that its division between the economy and politics has depoliticized the economy, featuring citizens as competitive individuals in a network of mutual relations of exchange (Löfström & van den Berg, 2013).

Even if Finland has not been considered a colonial power, it can be seen to share an epistemic construction of Western supremacy with the rest of Europe. This construction has been part of education, culture and politics over hundreds of years and can be called colonial complicity, referring to participation in colonialism as a crime, through shared hegemonic discourses (Vuorela, 2009). Something that can be seen as typical for the

Nordic countries (Loftsdóttir & Jensen, 2012), including Finland (Rastas, 2012), is the reluctance of society to grasp the extent of this legacy. The construction of Western supremacy, prevalent in society at large during the 20th century, was introduced and confirmed in school textbooks, although statements of blatant racism began to fade from the 1960s onwards (Marsden, 2001; Graves, 1996). In Finland, a geography textbook in 1968 was the first one to dismiss the theory of human races (Paasi, 1998). Yet even without overtly offensive statements, prejudices and stereotypes have prevailed in school textbooks. As an example from Sweden, Kamali (2005) shows how Swedish textbooks tend to take on a perspective of “us” Westerners and portray other peoples selectively as the opposites of progressive, civilized Europeans. In descriptions of what the concept of European means, the focus is on positive elements such as the Renaissance, revolutions and democracy, and not on wars, colonialism, slavery or genocide. Europe is portrayed as the most important continent while the rest of the world is introduced only in relation to Western Europe (Nordgren, 2006). In Finland, even an optional upper secondary course in history, specifically specializing in cultures outside Europe, is offered textbooks that focus mainly on the contacts between these cultures and Europe (Löfström, 2014).

Studying globalization calls for less Eurocentric teaching (Lösch, 2011). In Finland, Jokisalo (2009) emphasizes the need to forego Eurocentrism in history teaching. He suggests adding new perspectives to and critically studying the dominant understandings of history. As in Holocaust teaching, which has been fairly limited in Finnish education, but which could potentially provide space for wider narratives about human atrocities (see Gullberg, 2011; Dervin, 2015), the teaching of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, for instance, could be used as an educational moment for critical reflection. However, as Arja Virta’s (2008, p.117) material shows, the role of the slave trade in history might be seen (as one of her student teachers said when reflecting on his/her own previous teaching) as simply “one small vice alongside progress and the common good; almost as mandatory business for the benefit of the greater good.” A more critical approach to the role of the West in colonial practices and their effects on today’s global economy could contest the Eurocentric view. This would be important also in light of concerns voiced by researchers that attitudes reflected in textbooks can lead to negative attitudes towards minority groups and even racism (Pudas, 2013; Suutarinen, 2000a).

3 Textbook descriptions of the legacy of colonialism and its impact on today’s economy

This analysis is part of a research project based on a total of 76 Finnish textbooks in geography, history and social studies for grades 5 to 9 (11- to 16-year-olds). The research covers all the textbooks published in these subjects in Finnish and Swedish by the six major publishing companies in Finland between 2005 and 2010.

Textbooks reveal what narrative a society wishes to convey to the next generation, which means that an analysis of textbooks can be used to capture the social and political parameters of society (Schissler & Soysal, 2005). The aim of schoolbooks is to synthesize and represent information into pieces of information that are generally regarded as useful and objective (Loftsdóttir, 2010). Discussing objectivity in the context of social science teaching is particularly problematic, however, since there can be different understandings of what is seen as objective. There is a need to see textbooks as part of society (Apple, 2004; Crawford, 2003). They are in society, come from society, but also influence society by creating a version of what can be seen as objective knowledge. In Laclau's and Mouffe's (1985/2001) version of discourse analysis, the world should not be seen as a reality existing out there, needing to be uncovered in order to be understood (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Instead, they see everyone as constantly creating an understanding of what is real and true through talk, text and actions. They consider this creating objectivity.

Laclau and Mouffe include the concept of nodal points in their version of discourse analysis. Nodal points can be seen as privileged signs around which other signs are ordered (Winther, Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In the context of an educational policy debate, global citizenship education can actually be seen as an example of a nodal point itself since different discourses attempt to fill it with meaning (Mannion, Biesta, Priestley & Ross, 2011). In the process of analyzing the textbooks for this study, certain concepts or themes emerged as nodal points since they could be seen as more actively taking part in the "fixing of meaning" (Laclau & Mouffe 2001, p. 113). These include concepts such as war (Mikander, 2012), migration and population questions (Mikander & Holm, 2014), "Western values" (Mikander, 2015b) and colonialist "discoveries" (Mikander, 2015a).

This article analyzes the articulations that relate to globalization and decolonization. This means that textbooks that included descriptions of decolonial struggles and current economic relations between Western countries and others were further analyzed. These topics were brought up in history, geography and social studies textbooks. The passages that focused on the topics in question were re-examined and analyzed. This article includes quotes from ten textbooks. These ten have been chosen because they illustrate different ways of approaching the controversial topics that are in focus. Two are history textbooks, three are geography textbooks and five are textbooks in social studies. The reason for including history, geography and social studies textbooks is that they approach the topic of global inequality from different angles, even if the main idea is not to make any comparisons between the perspectives of the subjects in general. History textbooks construct an understanding of the relations between the former colonies and the former colonial powers around the time of the liberation. Geography textbooks discuss the role of colonialism in the economic reality of different countries today, especially in relation to Africa. In their

descriptions of the current global economy, most grade 9 social studies textbooks also make references to colonial times. Thus, there is a need for an analysis of how the links between colonialism and today's global economy are presented in all these textbooks, since no single school subject can be seen to have a monopoly on this question. This is the focus of the following analysis.

4 Decolonization and global power relations in history textbooks

In history textbooks, the descriptions of what happened when the former colonies became independent countries vary. Some, such as the following, are critical towards the role of the colonial powers:

The colonial rule finally came to an end after the UN general assembly demanded freedom for the people of the colonies in 1960. The old reasoning about the right of the Western countries to rule and civilize the rest of the world lost its significance. During the "year of Africa", 1960, no less than 20 African states became independent. The independence spread like a wave during the 1960s. The independence process did not take place without problems. The old colonial powers meddled with the affairs of their former colonies in order to maintain their economic privileges... The colonies were suppressed to serve the economic needs of the colonial power. Often, the colony produced only a few raw materials for the industrial use of the colonial power. Several African countries still produce only raw materials or agricultural products, because there has been very little industrialization of the continent. After independence, the riches of the continent have no longer benefitted the colonial powers, but instead, the big companies of the West (Aikalainen 8, pp. 166-167).¹

The role of colonialism in today's global economy and the responsibility of the former colonial powers are spelled out, particularly in the last sentence. Big companies are said to have taken the role of the former colonial powers. This can be interpreted as a description of globalization as continuing colonialism. The reader is encouraged to empathize with the people of the colonies during the decolonization process. However, the following quote from another grade 8 history textbook offers a different perspective concerning the independence of former African colonies. The text clearly takes the side of the colonial powers:

The liberation process of black Africa started in Ghana, which became independent in 1957. This inspired the other states, and suddenly, they all wanted independence... When the superpowers realized how strong the African independence movements were, they tried to meet the demands of their colonies with various political reforms. France created consultative bodies in its colonies and let the colonies send representatives to the French national assembly. Great Britain reformed the constitutions of its colonies and made contacts with



the leading circles in the colonies. But both France and Great Britain were surprised by the fast pace at which the colonies liberated themselves. Without education and without preparation, they threw themselves into independence, and the consequences were destructive for the new countries. The only exception was Ghana, where the blacks had governed before independence (Horisont, p. 322-323).

According to the text, the responsibility for destruction in the post-independence colonies should be placed in the hands of the people of the former colonies for demanding independence too hastily. It states that France and Great Britain tried to accommodate the needs of the people of the colonies, but that this was not enough. The text includes descriptions of the colonized peoples which can be interpreted as patronizing, such as the suggestion that "suddenly they all wanted independence." The readers are not encouraged to understand their situation. The reasoning of this textbook quote brings to mind Sepúlveda's [16th century] argument that Europe's belief in its own superior culture leads to the idea that the victims of colonization are themselves responsible for their victimization (Dussel & Mendieta, 1996). The page also includes a drawing in the form of a cartoon. It is titled "The former and the new lords" and shows two pictures. One is a "before" picture, in which naked black Africans wearing something only around their waists are offering a basket of fruit to a white man in a shirt, shorts and a hat. He is sitting in an armchair, smoking and drinking a glass [of gin?]. In the second, "after" picture, the setting is the same, but white men in suits are offering bags of money to a black man sitting in a leopard-clad armchair. He is dressed in traditional African clothing, and smoking and drinking. The point of the drawing seems to be to illustrate how the balance of power has turned after the independence movements. Instead of the colonized people offering goods to the colonial lord, European politicians or businessmen are now offering goods to the native African leader. To suggest that the "tables turned", so that European businessmen or political leaders would have been in the same position as the colonized peoples after independence, can be seen to suggest that the power relations in the postcolonial world are opposite of those at play during colonial times. This shows a lack of analysis of postcolonial power structures.

5 Geography textbooks and reasons for poverty

In the geography textbooks, descriptions of global inequality are particularly interesting in the case of Africa. The continent is often described mainly as poor; however, this is rarely shown to be related to colonialism. One geography textbook (Jäljillä 6, pp. 90-91) lists general reasons for poverty in Africa, such as a lack of pure natural resources, unequally distributed natural resources, consequences of war, and natural disasters. In a separate passage, it mentions that one background factor for the poverty of some countries may be their colonial history. It then explains that during those times,

European states took over the natural resources of the country, inhibiting its own production from developing. By limiting the actions of the European states to a particular colonial period, and by focusing on only natural resources, current unjust global policies that maintain these structures are left obscure. Another geography textbook, however, includes a passage titled "Colonialism left eternal scars on Africa." It describes in detail how the "white conquerors" built plantations and an infrastructure that only benefitted their own interests, and how the borders that were drawn led to wars and consequently to refugees (Koulun biologia ja maantieto 5, 2006, p. 73). The chapter ties the colonial past to the subsequent wars and refugee situations.

The following textbook quote describes the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo:

The Democratic Republic of Congo has more natural riches than many other countries in Africa. The copper mines are perhaps the richest in the world and copper is exported, even though the export of diamonds is more important still. ... Despite the rich mines, Congo is still a poor country with big debts to other countries. This is because so much money is used for wars and fighting within the country (Biologi och geografi för år 6, p. 96).

In the analysis of the textbook quotes such as the one above, it is necessary to look not only at what is being made explicit, but also at what is being excluded. A text which discusses the Democratic Republic of Congo without any reference to its history, such as its exploitation by Belgium's King Leopold (which took place in fairly recent history), fails at describing the situation. In the passage above, wars and fighting are suggested as the reasons for money being wasted. However, the text does not encourage the students to ask critical questions about the underlying factors of the wars or the debts.

6 Social studies textbooks explaining global inequality

In Finland, social studies is studied in grade 9, the last year of basic education. The social studies textbooks provide one more angle on the relation between colonialism and globalization in their descriptions of today's global economy. Some social studies textbooks refer to colonialism as at least part of the reason for the West's current wealth:

Europe is a continent with a small population but great wealth. In part, its prosperity grew as a result of centuries of suppressing other peoples, for example, in Africa and Asia (Kaleidoskooppi 9, p. 11).

Even though the colonies later achieved their independence, the structure of trade is still the same, with the consequence that poor countries become even poorer and the rich get richer. The gap between them keeps growing. Additionally, the developing countries are badly indebted to the rich countries (Aikalainen 9, p. 117).

The second quote is exceptionally clear in spelling out the link between colonialism and globalization. It says

that “the structure” is the same. One textbook (Yhteiskunta NYT 9, p. 155) that discusses the same phenomena even suggests that this phenomenon is called *neocolonialism*. On the other hand, the textbooks do not portray the current globalization as politically implicated. It can be seen as typical for social studies textbooks to portray globalization as more of a force of nature than as the result of a political process. In one social studies textbook, globalization is described as providing plenty of opportunities for the development and welfare of the whole world. The textbook, however, mentions a problem connected with globalization, which is that: “international human rights agreements are binding only to states, not to multinational companies, which are the central actors of globalization” (Yhteiskunnan tuulet 9, p. 239). A statement like this, however accurate, might deflate the reader, since it obscures the possibility for change through a political process. Several textbooks ask the students to reflect on globalization, but mostly simply in terms of in what ways the phenomenon is “good” or “bad”, for Finland and for other countries. Asking students to reflect upon the benefits and drawbacks of phenomena such as globalization is not necessarily a bad thing, however, it could be argued that the reflections could go deeper and be more critical. One social studies textbook (Ungdom och samhälle, p. 167), refers to 380 people owning as much as half the world’s population and asks the students how this situation has emerged and whether this is good or bad. The same book includes the following rhetorical question that is not answered or open up further in the book:

Big multinational companies produce goods cheaply in countries where labor does not cost that much per hour. It is not uncommon to have offers in our shops where three shirts are sold for a total of less than 10 euros. One can wonder what the textile worker in Malaysia finds in his/her wallet after an hour of work (Ungdom och samhälle, p. 156-157)?

In the discussion about global labor arbitrage, the social studies textbooks tend to portray the phenomenon in a depoliticized light. The following statement can be seen as an example of this:

The production is transferred to so-called cheap countries, since the taxation, the environmental legislation and the laws determining workers’ rights there are so primitive that the company can ignore them (Aikalainen 9, p. 116).

The descriptions of global inequalities might leave the students with questions concerning what can be done to improve the situation. The most common answer to this, in the textbooks, is through consumer choices. The responsibility of students for making a better world is thus not only individualized, but also linked to economical choices, rather than for instance political engagement.

In their descriptions about the trade relations between poorer and richer countries, the role of the “West” or the

“industrialized countries” is portrayed slightly differently in different social studies textbooks. The following textbook quote describes Africa as a victim of global trade:

Global trade is dictated mainly by the industrialized countries. Most African countries are still producers of one raw material, and their share of the world trade is very small. The numerous wars and ethnic conflicts have kept investors away from Africa (Kaleidoskooppi 9, p. 206).

Here, the “industrialized countries” are described as the ones dictating global trade. The political side of globalization is specified more in this quote than in the previous one. However, in addition to perhaps being somewhat outdated, since many of the fastest growing economies today are in Africa (Holodny, 2015), texts such as the one above could benefit from a more critical analysis that further elaborate on the interrelated nature of trade, raw materials, wars and investors. The wars and conflicts in Africa are described as reasons for investors staying away from Africa, but there is no discussion about the role of investors in the often dubious extraction of rare materials or the effects this has on the instability of the region. Instead, the image portrayed is that well-intentioned investors would like to come in and help if the African ethnic groups only stopped fighting. In other textbooks, the role of richer countries is described as more dubious:

In order to reduce the gap in the standard of living, the structure of the world trade should be altered so that the developing countries would receive a decent price for their products. Then they would be able to develop their economies and raise their standard of living. This is something that the rich industrialized countries are not willing to do (Yhteiskunta NYT 9, p. 156).

A simplified version of the same message is included in another textbook (Ungdom och samhälle, p. 165), stating that the Western world “became rich through free trade, now that we are rich we do not allow the poor countries to sell freely.” These statements are more explicit about the role of political decision-making in the development of globalization and global inequalities. They criticize the inequality of the current global economy, however, they do not encourage the students to challenge the principles or global power relations.

7 Critical global citizenship education from a privileged position

In the education about globalization and global inequality, there is room for new approaches to teaching. The Global Citizenship Education initiative calls on teachers to help their students “develop the knowledge, skills and values needed for securing a just and sustainable world in which all may fulfill their potential” (Oxfam, 2006). Children and young people are encouraged to “develop empathy and an active concern” for other people on the planet. This requires knowledge and



understanding of concepts such as social justice, equity, globalization, interdependence, peace and conflict. It also requires skills such as critical thinking and the ability to challenge injustice, as well as values and attitudes such as a commitment to social justice and the belief that people can make a difference (Oxfam, 2006). During the last decade, the educational literature on Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has grown exponentially (Andreotti & Pashby, 2013). One strand of GCE is called critical global citizenship. Its advocates suggest that conventional pedagogical GCE initiatives are too often produced in particular Northern or Western contexts, and tend to turn a blind eye to historical power inequalities that are embedded in today's global issues and relations (de Oliveira & de Souza, 2012; Andreotti & Pashby, 2013). They state that material relationships are often presented as if they were not historical or structural, but the result of fortune (Andreotti, Jefferess, Pashby, Rowe, Tarc & Taylor, 2010). The fact that students in Finnish schools are often told that being born in Finland is like "winning the lottery" could serve as an example of such lack of analysis.

Instead of telling students how "lucky" they should feel, as in the example of Finnish students "having won the lottery", de Oliveira & Pashby (2013) urge educators to focus on questions such as "What creates poverty? [What creates wealth?] How do different lives have different value? How are these two things connected? What are the relationships between social groups that are over-exploited and social groups that are over-exploiting? How are these relationships maintained? How do people justify inequalities? What are the roles of schooling in the reproduction and contestation of inequalities in society? What possibilities and problems are created by different stories about what is real and ideal in society?" (p. 423-424). In the search for answers to questions such as these, students can learn to relate their material reality, such as the food they eat and the clothes they wear, to a historical, structural and material analysis.

As an example, the previously mentioned geography textbook about the Democratic Republic of Congo (p. 9), which was portrayed as remaining a poor country despite of its rich mines, because of so much money wasted on wars and fighting, could be approached through questions such as: How is it possible for a country with rich mines to have such a big population of poor people? What is the origin of the large debts? What lies behind the wars? What is the role of the current global weapons trade? Who benefits and how? Asking questions such as these can be used in order to promote critical literacy, a method that can be used within critical global citizenship. Critical literacy can be seen to provide space for students to reflect on their own context and assumptions. It starts from the assumption that all knowledge is constructed in particular contexts and cultures. With this in mind, learners can begin to learn from other cultures and contexts, or to think *otherwise* (Andreotti, 2006). The focus in critical literacy should be on challenging knowledge that has reached hegemonic status and

questioning power relations, discourses and identities (Shor, 1999; Peterson & Warwick, 2015).

Teaching about global inequality brings challenges to educators in the West. When even educational materials with good intentions run the risk of maintaining the idea of the self as normal, superior or altruistic (Ideland & Malmberg, 2014; Layne & Alemanji, 2015), teachers are left with a demanding task. One more way to approach the topic of global injustice is through the concept of privilege (Case, 2013). Privilege can be seen as the upside of oppression. Studying privilege, or systemic unearned advantage, can change the analysis of social systems altogether (McIntosh, 2013). If students were taught to question the dominant explanation of meritocracy, which suggests that a country like Finland has advantages only because it has "earned" its position, they could also start questioning the idea of the global economy as a race (Wise & Case, 2013). Teaching about privilege means refraining from personal guilt and shame, but also from consolation. The privileged position could be seen as having a bank account to withdraw from. "Just as a hammer can be used to build a home or commit a violent assault, privilege can be used for constructive or destructive purposes" (Wise & Case, 2013, p. 30). Teaching about privilege is a way to empower, not deflate, students from privileged positions in a global setting. Together with the methods of critical literacy, teaching about privilege can be a way to effectively help learners understand the world and their position in it.

8 Concluding remarks

Hess & Avery (2008) see a problem with the typical definition of teaching something controversial as simply ensuring that students understand a range of views and the arguments for them. This is seen to presuppose that there is an agreement about whether the different views are normatively consistent with the larger purposes of education. Their example is racism; as a question, it is settled: its wrongfulness is considered undeniable, but what governments should do about it is up for discussion. Finding the line between controversial and settled is the key question. What kind of topics should be up for discussion? Teachers should be explicit about what criteria determine controversial and settled issues, even though these might be different over time. The statement by Oulton, Dillon & Grace (2004) on how teachers should relate to controversial issues is worth quoting at length:

While supporting the need to avoid indoctrination, our concern is that the requirement to maintain balance is unhelpful as perfect balance is probably impossible to achieve. Teachers have to make subjective views about what information to present... Even if the teacher thinks they have presented matters as fairly as possible, others with a different worldview may still judge the presentation as biased. An alternative ... is to be open about the fact that balance can never be fully achieved but counter this by developing in students a critical awareness of bias and make this one of the central learning objectives of the work (p. 416-417).

Developing a critical awareness of bias can be seen to go well with the critical global citizenship education, critical literacy and the study of privilege.

The aim of this article has been to discuss the education of questions concerning global injustice and the roots of this within Finnish education. The critical global citizenship education initiative and the critical literacy method, as well as teaching about privilege, have been suggested as available approaches to the concept of global inequality. The analysis of textbooks shows that the topic of global injustice is touched upon in textbooks in history, geography and social studies. Different textbooks within the same subject might take different perspectives even though they follow the same curriculum. This was the case in history textbook descriptions of liberation movements in the former colonies, or in geography textbook descriptions of the colonial legacy and its consequences for the economy of African countries today. Among social studies textbooks, there is a tendency to portray globalization more as a “natural force” than as something politically constituted. The suggested educational approaches - critical global citizenship, critical literacy and the deconstructing of privilege – would challenge Eurocentric world views and bring opportunities for more analytical learning. By these approaches, students could learn to question their own role and the role of their own society, including the contents of their education, in the reproduction of inequalities. The controversial nature of education about global inequality and the role of the West are clarified in this article. There is a need to tackle the questions, even if they might make students uneasy. The idea is not to deflate students or to bring about guilt; instead, the aim is to point at the politically constructed and contingent nature of the forces of globalization. By learning to ask critical questions, students can begin to challenge the ruling assumptions of global inequality as something necessarily static. Teaching about global inequality from a critical point of view can be challenging for educators, especially when the educational material, such as some of the textbooks quoted in this article, itself discourages critical thinking.

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Endnote

ⁱ All quotes were translated by the author and language checked by a professional translator.



Turkish Social Studies Teachers' Thoughts About The Teaching of Controversial Issues

In today's world, one of the primary goals of education is to raise individuals as citizens equipped with the skills of communication, high-level thinking, problem solving and questioning as well as with a global viewpoint. Introducing controversial issues into the classroom environment may be among the steps to be taken to achieve these goals. In this context, this study has the primary goal of revealing Social Studies teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues in the classroom environment. This study adopted mixed methods. The study participants consisted of Social Studies teachers working in Bursa, which is a large-scale province of Turkey, in the 2014-2015 school year. According to the study findings, while terror was the most controversial issue, faith in creation was the least controversial issue. In addition, teachers mainly preferred to introduce issues related to the Social Studies curriculum and that were appropriate for the students' preparedness. However, another result is that controversial issues contributed to students' acquisition of personal critical skills such as high-level thinking and communication. It was also observed that the teaching of controversial issues was related to the Social Studies lesson and was important for the achievement of the goals of the lesson.

Keywords:

Social studies, social studies teachers, controversial issue, Turkey

1 Introduction

1.1 Controversial Issues

In the current era, every society requires that individuals are raised with advanced communication skills and can think, question and produce. The teaching of controversial issues is important for individuals' development of these skills. But, what is a controversial issue? Which issues are controversial? Controversial issues are defined in various ways in the literature (Seçgin, 2009); however, this article considers two definitions. While Stradling (1984) defined controversial issues as "issues causing the society to distinctly dissent, divide and the groups in society to either make contradictory explanations or develop different solutions based on different values", Harwood and Hahn (1999) defined them as "reflective conversations between students or students and teachers about a conflicting subject". As is evident, there is no commonly accepted definition of controversial issues. It is difficult to give a clear answer to the question of which issues are controversial. Considering the fact that controversial issues originated from differences in religious beliefs, moral values and cultural features (OXFAM, 2006) at the local, national and international levels

(Oulton, Dillon, & Grace, 2004), the controversion of some issues, by nature, may differ across societies and even within an society.

As controversial issues present a factual condition (the fact that controversial issues are introduced into the classroom environment) and serve an educational purpose, they have also been examined in pedagogical studies (Yazıcı & Seçgin, 2010). Starting from the first years of education, children face such issues in different ways and levels in the family environment, in their circle of friends and on the street. Although the classroom environment is separated with physical boundaries, students introduce controversial issues into the classroom environment because they are a part of real life. Such issues could be introduced into the classroom environment by teachers or students either in a planned or an unplanned manner (King, 2009). Moreover, controversions are hidden even in the most positive classroom environments and may be revealed in various ways when least expected. Therefore, it is helpful to discuss the useful aspects of controversial issues, such as the fact that they contribute to a participative classroom culture and make learning enjoyable, rather than focusing on negativities that may be caused by controversial issues (Miller & Flores, 2011). For all these reasons, excluding controversial issues from the classroom environment does not seem to be possible or meaningful. Therefore, it is necessary for educational investigations to examine controversial issues from the perspectives of students, parents, teachers and school management.

It is thought that the teaching of controversial issues will help individuals develop important skills, such as critical thinking, problem solving, questioning, showing respect for differences and structuring knowledge, by associating such issues with real life in appropriate learning environments and having a participative sense of controversion. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that freedom of thought and expression are very important for the development of a culture of questioning (Dewey, 1927). In this respect, the following factors are required to have a more efficient controversion: teachers' guidance, students' participation and an appropriate classroom climate (Henning, 2005). Primarily the

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teacher and then the school management, parents, other teachers and researchers have major tasks in creating this appropriate environment.

Social Studies exist for the purpose of facilitating students' basic skills such as participation in democratic processes, encouragement, logical decision making and reasoning to keep democratic principles alive and constant openness to learning to enable them to profoundly understand their social world (Mary, 1996). In addition, controversial issues will help Social Studies promote students' development of knowledge and skills. Moreover, as controversies enable students to obtain the skills targeted by the Social Studies lesson, they are vital to this lesson (Hess, 2004). In this context, Social Studies teachers are recommended to introduce controversial issues into the classroom environment and approach these issues in a free classroom environment. Moreover, education should enable individuals to acquire the skills of consistently and rationally thinking about social issues, gathering and organizing the necessary cases, evaluating knowledge and the source of knowledge, discerning the case view and making conscious decisions (NCSS, 2007). In this context, it could be asserted that individuals who obtain the appropriate skills and knowledge in educational stages such as questioning, problem solving, high-level thinking, showing respect for differences and citizenship literacy could become attuned to the democratic culture more easily. The teaching of controversial issues is important for the development of such knowledge and skills.

In this study, controversial issues were investigated from Social Studies teachers' perspectives. According to this goal, the study's research question was as follows: "What are Turkish Social Studies teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues?" This question was approached from various perspectives under the following two sub-problems: a) Social Studies teachers' thoughts about the nature of controversial issues and b) Social Studies teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues.

1.2 Turkey and controversial Issues

Located in an area where Asia, Europe and Africa converge, the Turkish Republic is adjacent to Georgia, Armenia, Nakhchivan and Iran in the east; Bulgaria and Greece in the west; and Syria and Iraq in the south. Turkey acts as a bridge between the Eastern and Western civilizations and their religions due to its geopolitical and strategic position. Half of the country's population, totalling 73 million people, is young. Turkey has undergone a multidimensional process of democratic change and transformation demonstrating both continuity and breaking points from World War I until today. The country has displayed very rapid scientific, technological, social and cultural change within the last 15-20 years. Having four basic cultural identities, i.e., Turkish culture, Islamic culture, settled Anatolian culture and Western culture (Turan, 1990, p. 42), Turkey is a very colourful country with a rich cultural structure. This

cultural variety and rapid change have resulted in a number of problems and controversions.

As studies have presented (Avaroğulları, 2014; Yılmaz, 2012), although Social Studies teachers in Turkey have positive attitudes towards the teaching of controversial issues in general, they have great difficulty in teaching the issues due to reasons such as exam-oriented education, busy program, students' level of preparedness and the reactions of student's parents. Moreover, given that teachers do not receive education regarding the teaching of these issues, it could be suggested that these issues are not efficiently and systematically approached in the classroom environment; rather, superficial discussions are generated via the question and answer method.

The number of studies on the teaching of controversial issues in Turkey has largely increased in recent years. These studies have generally been conducted with pre-service teachers and Social Studies teachers (Avaroğulları, 2014; Ersoy, 2010; Ersoy, 2013; Seçgin, 2009; Yılmaz, 2012). In addition, Kuş (2015) performed a comparative study examining Science and Social Studies teachers' thoughts about controversial issues.

2 Related studies

Examining the literature regarding the teaching of controversial issues in Social Studies or other Social Sciences lessons, it is emphasized that controversial issues are of vital importance for Social Studies lessons because they enable students to obtain the acquisitions of the lessons (Hess, 2004; Soley, 1996). Thus, it is recommended to include controversial issues into curricula in accordance with the students' development and to teach students via scientific teaching methods (Kaya, 2012; Snyder, 1951; Yazıcı & Seçgin 2010). Controversial issues are also considered an important component of citizenship education (Ersoy, 2013; Camicia, 2008; Harwood & Hahn, 1990; King, 2009; Misco, 2014; NCSS, 2003 translated by S. Yazıcı). Similarly, it is emphasized that involving such issues in Social Studies lessons will increase students' citizenship competence. Such issues must be introduced into the classroom environment to raise individuals as effective citizens equipped with the skills of the 21st century (Mhlauli, 2011; Rambosk, 2011). Moreover, the teaching of controversial issues is observed to facilitate students' acquisition of the skills of obtaining, evaluating and questioning knowledge; establishing positive communication; developing empathy; and thinking critically (Cannard, 2005; Dube, 2009; Stradling, 1984; Wolk, 2003;).

Relevant studies will only be possible by introducing controversial issues into the classroom environment within the scope of certain principles. These principles include students' level of preparedness, topics of interest, topics' social importance and the expediency of the issue (Gross, 1964; Stradling, 1984), the formation of an appropriate classroom climate (Hahn & Tocci, 1990; Hand & Levinson, 2012; Henning, 2005) and selecting an



appropriate teaching method (Ezzedeen, 2008; Long & Long, 1974; Mary, 1996;). Moreover, by their nature, controversial issues pave the way for different viewpoints. Thus, they will become functional only when teachers and students comprehend these issues via appropriate educational methods (Oulton et al. 2004). Positive controversions environments formed via this understanding are important in terms of developing students' values such as solving disputes by talking and showing respect for differences, which are required for the formation of a culture of tolerance (Avery, 2002; Dube, 2009; Hess, 2002; Soley, 1996).

The difficulties encountered during the teaching of controversial issues signify that teachers experience difficulty in introducing some issues into the classroom environment due to social structure, cultural features and religious beliefs. The teachers considered controversial issues to be complex and time consuming, and these beliefs were associated with their lower levels of self-efficacy (Clarke, 2005; Mhlauli, 2011; Oulton et al., 2004).

3 Method

3.1 Study model

In this study, the researchers preferred the explanatory pattern, which is among the mixed method research patterns, and they collected the data via questionnaires and interviews. The findings being acquired via both methods were used in different weights according to the study objectives. In the study, the qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed separately; but the findings were interpreted together. Despite everything, the lack of an intraclass observation could be accepted as the limitation of this study.

3.2 Participants

Quantitative Dimension

The target population of the study consisted of 768 Social Studies teachers working in public schools of Bursa, which is among the large-scale provinces of Turkey, in the school year of 2014-2015. The sample was selected via the "convenience sampling" technic, which is among the intentional sampling methods. Even though the questionnaire was conveyed to 300 people who were selected via this method, only 150 people accepted to fill in the questionnaire. As 33 questionnaires had not been thoroughly filled, they were not included in the study. Thus, the study included the remaining 107 questionnaires.

Qualitative Dimension

In the qualitative stage of the study, 10 Social Studies teachers were interviewed (6 male and 4 female). The participants were informed about the framework and the

objective of the study before starting the study and they participated in the study based on voluntariness. Each participant was given a code name in an attempt to protect their identities, which was required by ethical principles. Majority of participants had had a teaching experience of 4 years and above. Table 1 shows little demographic information about the participants.

3.2 Data collection process

A questionnaire and an interview form were used as data collection tools. Following are the relevant explanations.

Table 1 Demographic Features of Participants

Code Name	Gender	Branch (Undergraduate)	Year of Professional Seniority
Merve	Female	History	23
Işıl	Female	History	14
Tuğçe	Female	Social Studies	2
Bilge	Female	History	16
Ömer	Male	History	16
Enes	Male	Social Studies	8
Barış	Male	Social Studies	6
Sezgin	Male	Social Studies	8
Kadir	Male	Psychology	21
Eren	Male	Social Studies	9

In the quantitative dimension of the study, the questionnaire that was developed by Yazıcı and Seçgin (2009) for the purpose of "Examining the perceptions, attitudes and views of preservice teachers regarding the teaching of controversial issues" (Attachment 1) was adapted into Social Studies teachers according to the views of developer researchers and experts. The questionnaire consists of totally 215 items that involve (1) demographic features (gender, professional seniority, graduation branch, whether or not she/he has information about the controversial issue) (2) controversions degree of issues, (3) types of issues to be discussed in the classroom environment, (4) role of controversial issues in the program and in intraclass applications, (5) educational methods and technics being used by teachers in controversial issues, (6) obstacles in teaching the controversial issues. The third part comprises of three point Likert items, whereas the other parts (2, 4, 6,) comprise of 5 point Likert items. The questionnaire was tested in terms of validity and reliability by the developers and it was observed to have an internal and external validity (Seçgin, 2009, p. 41-48).

In the qualitative dimension of the study, on the other hand, a semi-structured interview form that was developed by the researcher was used (Attachment 2). After finishing the formation of the interview form, the form was applied to two teachers in an attempt to determine whether or not it was sufficient in reaching the study data. Following the pilot application, the interview form

was finalized according to the expert opinions and the interview form was applied to 10 teachers.

In order to prove the validity of the study triangulation (diversification), member check, peer evaluation and external supervisor strategies were followed. The analysis results that were obtained in the study were sent to all the participants for the purpose of controlling the members. The analysis was completed after receiving the confirmation of participants. Regarding the peer evaluation, the study data were sustained by two independent researchers until a synchronization was obtained. In order to provide the reliability of the study, it was important to recheck the analyzed data in different times, constantly compare the data so as not to have a deviation in identifying the codes in the coding process and have a crosswise control of the data by another researcher (Gibbs, 2007). According to these suggestions, the data were rechecked and constantly compared for providing the reliability of the qualitative data. In addition to this, another researcher performed the crosswise control of the analyzed data.

3.3 Data analysis

The statistical analyses of the questionnaire data were performed by calculating the (f)frequency, (%) percentage, standard deviation (ss) and arithmetic mean (\bar{X}), which are among the descriptive

statistics methods, via the SPSS software. The data that were obtained as a result of the interview, on the other hand, were profoundly examined via the content analysis method and inter-preted with the questionnaire re-sults.

4 Findings

4.1 What are Social Studies teachers' thoughts about the nature of controversial issues?

The first sub-problem of the study is related to teachers' thoughts about the nature of controversial issues. To address this sub-problem, the teachers were asked the following questions in the qualitative portion of the study: "What does the concept of controversion mean to you? What is a controversial issue? What are the features of controversial issues?". In the quantitative portion of the study, the relevant part of the questionnaire was applied to reveal teachers' thoughts about the controversion levels of various issues, and the acquired findings are discussed under three titles below.

How Do Teachers Define the Concept of Controversion?

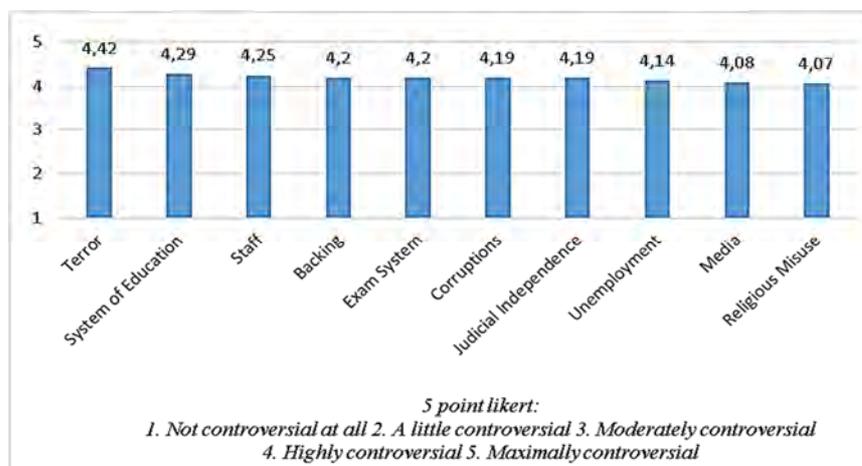
Teachers Merve, Ömer, Barış, Tuğçe and Bilge gave similar answers to the question regarding what the concept of controversion meant to them. For instance, Teacher Merve defined the concept of controversion as follows: "The sharing of different views and transfer of views among individuals in a civilized way". Based on the other

teachers' similar statements about the concept of controversion, the concept of controversion could be defined as follows: "individuals' mutual expression regarding different views about an issue".

What Are Teachers' Thoughts about Controversial Issues?

Nearly half of the participants defined controversial issues in a similar way. Teachers Enes, Tuğçe and Barış defined controversial issues as "issues with multiple opinions and multiple results". Bringing a new perspective to the subject, Teacher Eren defined controversial issues as follows: "if there is a problem about an issue, then it is a controversial issue". This teacher emphasized the relationship between controversial issues and problematic issues. Considering these definitions, it is possible to commonly define controversial issues as "issues without a certain truth or result in accordance with different viewpoints". According to teachers' thoughts about this subject, the features of controversial issues could be categorized as follows: a) eliciting different viewpoints, b) having no certain truth or answer, c) having multiple results, d) requiring an explanation, e) differing from person to person, and f) causing trouble

Figure 1 First ten issues with the highest controversial level



What Are Teachers' Thoughts about the Controversion Levels of Various Issues?

Based on the analysis of teachers' answers to the relevant part of the questionnaire, Figure 1 shows the ten issues that are considered to be the most controversial and the ten issues that are considered to be the least controversial.

According to the results presented in Figure 1, teachers considered "Terror" ($\bar{X}=4,42$) to be the most controversial issue. The teachers who were interviewed also considered terror to be the most controversial issue. Teacher Enes expressed his opinions about this subject as follows: "The Turkish-Kurdish question has been brought to the forefront. The issue should be discussed for both sides to understand and know one another, and different opinions should be expressed easily". This statement

underlines the fact that terror is a controversial issue that should be discussed from various perspectives.

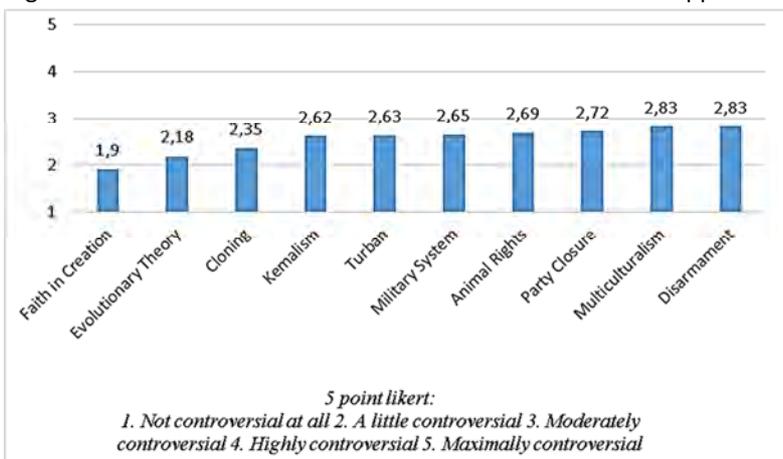
The second most controversial issue according to the teachers was "System of Education" ($\bar{X}=4,29$).

The third most controversial issue reported by the teachers was "Staff" ($\bar{X}=4,25$), which represents "setting up one's own cadre in public offices".

According to the teachers, the fourth most controversial issue was "Back-ing" ($\bar{X}=4,20$), which could be defined as "favouring some-one".

The fifth most controversial issue reported by the teachers was "Exam Systems" ($\bar{X}=4,20$). Regarding this subject, Teacher Bilge expressed the following thoughts: "8th graders will have the TEOG (Transition from Primary to Secondary Education) exam. We fail to teach the lesson with pleasure especially due to the exam anxiety of 8th graders". This statement also reflects the thoughts of other teachers.

Figure 2 Issues with the lowest controversy level



According to the results shown in Figure 2, "Faith in Creation" ($\bar{X}=1,90$) and "Evolutionary Theory" ($\bar{X}=2,18$), which have a resemblance, were the least controversial issues. Another issue that was considered least controversial by the teachers was "Cloning" ($\bar{X}=2,35$). Teachers considered the issues of "Kemalism" ($\bar{X}=2,62$), "Religious Headscarf" ($\bar{X}=2,63$) and "Military System" ($\bar{X}=2,65$) as least controversial issues.

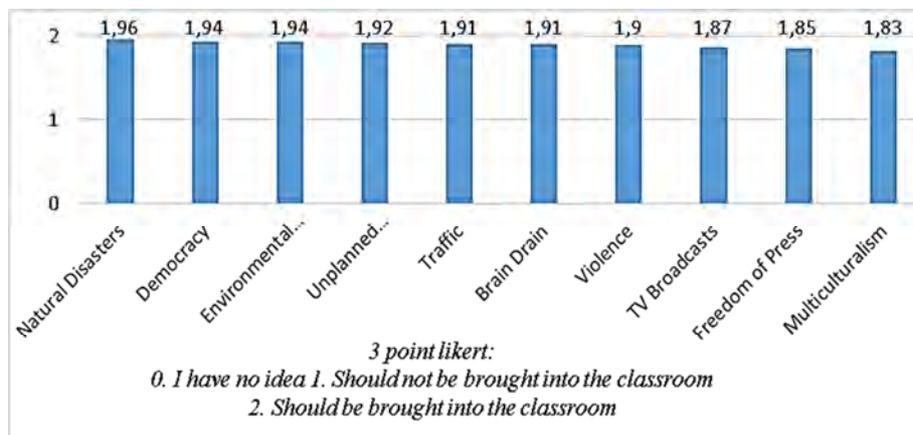
4.2 What are social studies teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues?

To answer this question, the following questions were asked: What are the controversial issues to be introduced into the classroom environment for educational purposes? What approaches do teachers follow in the teaching process of controversial issues? What are the difficulties being experienced in the teaching of controversial issues? Why should controversial issues be

taught? What are the skills that these issues promote in students? The answers to these questions were analysed, and the findings are discussed under four titles below.

What are the controversial issues that teachers prefer to introduce into the classroom environment for educational purposes?

Figure 3 Issues with the highest level of being approached in the classroom environment



In this section, Social Studies teachers' views about approaching controversial issues in the classroom environment for educational purposes are explained using both qualitative and quantitative data. Based on the data obtained from the questionnaire, Figure 3 shows the top ten issues introduced into the classroom environment, and Figure 4 shows the bottom ten issues.

According to the results shown in Figure 3, "Natural Disasters" ($\bar{X}=1,96$) was the issue that was most often introduced by teachers in the classroom environment.

The second most common issue introduced into the classroom environment by teachers was "Democracy" ($\bar{X}=1,94$). Teacher Ömer's thoughts about this subject

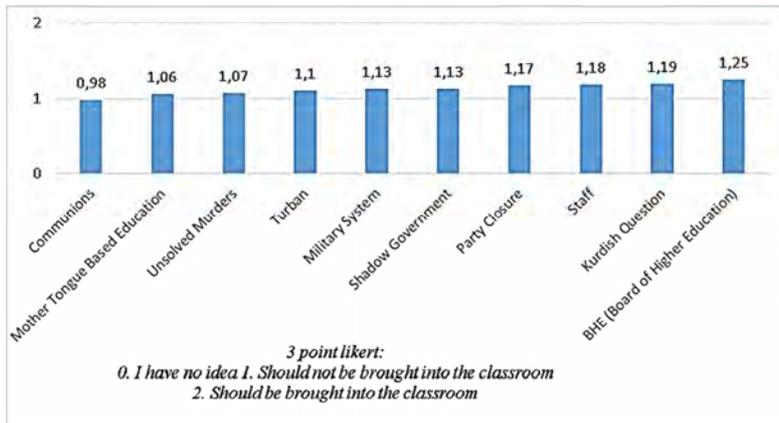
fairly explain the thoughts of the other teachers: "Students are required to acquire the behaviours of accurately using the right to vote and stand for election, understanding the election system and voting consciously, which are among the basic elements of democracy. This should be provided in the classroom environment."

The third most common issue introduced into the classroom environment by teachers was "Environmental Pollution" ($\bar{X}=1,94$). Nearly half of the interviewed teachers emphasized the need to introduce the issue of environmental pollution into the classroom environment. Regarding this subject, Teachers Merve, Sezgin and Bilge emphasized the importance of introducing the issue of environmental pollution and precautions against environmental pollution into the classroom environment.

The fourth most preferred issue was "Unplanned Urbanization" ($\bar{X}=1,92$).

The fifth most common issue introduced into the classroom environment by teachers was "Traffic" ($\bar{X}=1,91$).

Figure 4 Issues that were least often approached in the classroom environment



According to the results presented in Figure 4, "Communion" ($\bar{X}=0,98$) was the issue that was least introduced into the classroom environment by teachers. An important portion of the interviewed teachers objected to introducing some religious issues such as communion into the classroom environment. Regarding this subject, the teachers expressed the following thoughts: "As religious issues are outside the curriculum, they could be discussed in the Religious Culture and Ethics lesson. Freedom of religion and conscience, on the other hand, could be approached in the classroom" (Teacher Eren) and "...some religious issues like communion do not seem to be convenient for controversy due to the conditions of our country and the limitations of program" (Teacher Sezgin).

"Mother Tongue-Based Education" ($\bar{X}=1,06$) was the second least common issue introduced into the classroom environment. Opposed to approaching ethnic

issues in the classroom environment, Teachers Merve and Ömer similarly stated the following: "Some issues might be very sensitive. For instance; as the issues of ethnicity and mother tongue-based education are sensitive issues, they should be kept out of the classroom environment". Their statements emphasized the need to exclude issues concerning ethnicity from the classroom environment because they could cause a separation in the classroom due to their structure.

"Religious Headscarf" ($\bar{X}=1,10$) was the fourth least common issue introduced into the classroom environment.

"Unsolved murders" ($\bar{X}=1,07$) was the third least common issue introduced into the classroom environment by teachers. The teachers who were interviewed generally thought that "certain political issues should be taught according to the development of

children". For instance, Teacher Ömer expressed his ideas as follows: "Political issues could also be introduced for students to acquire the behaviours of understanding the election system and voting consciously". This statement signified the possibility of introducing political issues into the classroom environment. Teacher Kadir, by contrast, expressed his ideas as follows: "...The dimensions of controversy should be well adjusted while bringing the political issues into the classroom environment." This response drew attention to the possible negative conditions.

What are teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues?

In this section, the findings regarding teachers' thoughts about the teaching of controversial issues using qualitative data are presented. Figure 5 shows the findings of the questionnaire.

Figure 5 Teaching methods and techniques that teachers use to address controversial issues

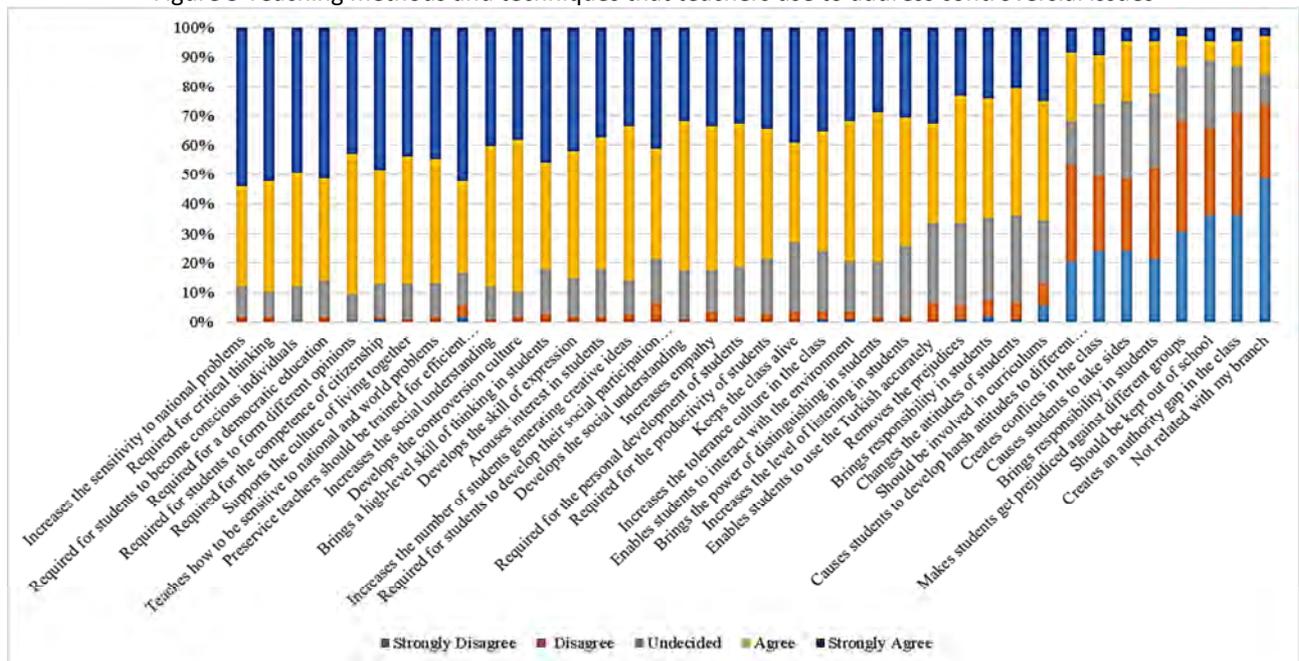


Figure 5 shows that 54,2% of teachers strongly believed that approaching controversial issues would increase students' sensitivity to national problems. A very large portion of the teachers who were interviewed reported thoughts that coincided with these results. Regarding this subject, Teacher Eren expressed his opinions as follows: "Children will be informed about national problems and make a contribution to the solution of problems by producing ideas about how to solve them." Teacher Merve similarly stated the following: "They will realize the national problems and help in solving them." These statements emphasized the fact that approaching controversial issues could increase students' sensitivity to national problems. Approaching the subject using a tangible example, Teacher Enes stated the following:

It has a great effect on the process of providing national peace. For instance, our country has prioritized the Turkish-Kurdish question. It is necessary to address controversial issues and easily express the different opinions for both sides to understand and know one another.

This response emphasized that the teaching of controversial issues could make important contributions to national peace.

Of the teachers, 52,3% strongly believed that the teaching of controversial issues is necessary for students' development of critical thinking. An important portion of the teachers who were interviewed also discussed the positive effects of controversial issues on critical thinking. Regarding this subject, Teachers Işıl and Bilge both stated the following: "Approaching the controversial issues will broaden the horizon of students and develop their critical thinking skills."

Of the teachers, 49,5% strongly believed that the teaching of controversial issues would contribute to raising students as conscious individuals. The interviewed teachers had similar thoughts. Regarding this subject, Teacher Merve stated the following: "We should raise individuals as conscious individuals in terms of both traditions and beliefs rather than with stereotyped values. I observe that such controversial issues increase the level of consciousness." This statement highlighted a significant aspect of the subject. However, Teacher Tuğçe provided another interesting thought about this subject: "...it will enable us to raise socially conscious individuals who could wriggle out of the herd mentality and develop the skill of questioning."

As 51,4% of teachers considered controversial issues as necessary for democratic education and the sufficiency of citizenship, they gave the answer "Strongly agree" to the corresponding survey item. A similar view was evident among the teachers who were interviewed. For instance, Teacher Tuğçe stated the following: "It could develop individuals' democratic citizenship consciousness." Furthermore, Teacher Kadir stated that "It could be useful in terms of citizenship and democratic rights", revealing the importance of controversial issues for a

settled sense of democratic education and acquiring the sufficiency of citizenship.

Regarding the teaching of controversial issues, 43% of the participants gave the answer "Strongly agree" to the item "It is required for students to form different opinions", 42,1% to "It will develop the skill of expression" and 38,3% to "It will develop the controversy culture". Nearly all the teachers who were interviewed stated that the teaching of controversial issues would increase students' skills such as media literacy and communication skills. Regarding this subject, Teacher Eren stated the following: "It will enable children to develop their communicational skills and increase the culture level of society comprising individuals with advanced communicational skills. Besides, the students will learn the controversy culture." Furthermore, Teacher Merve stated the following: "It will contribute to the development of communication skills". Another interesting comment on this subject was made by Teacher Sezgin, as follows: "I think that it will be useful in opening the students to communication. We aim to open our children to communication and even have a private lesson concerning the formation of a society open to communication."

Regarding the teaching of controversial issues, 45,8% of participants gave the answer "Strongly agree" to the item "It will develop students' high-level thinking skill". The teachers who were interviewed had similar thoughts. Regarding this subject, the interviewed teachers mainly thought that controversial issues would make a contribution to raising individuals who could freely think and express their thoughts and question, reason and find solutions to problems.

Regarding the teaching of controversial issues, 44% of participants gave the answer "Strongly agree" to the item "It will teach students how to be sensitive to national and world problems". A number of teachers stated that the teaching of controversial issues would contribute to the solution of both national and international problems via the resulting global viewpoint of students. Regarding this subject, Teacher Işıl stated the following:

"We will understand each other better. We can see that people from different countries consider the common problems of the world (hunger, wars) and try to generate solutions. It could remove the hatred of years. For instance, the Armenian question..."

This response emphasized that controversies would make a contribution to the solution to the common problems of the world and world peace. Similarly, Teacher Barış stated the following: "I believe that it will be useful in promoting international peace because as long as the ideas are shared, there will be no more hostilities due to the culture of mutual respect." This statement emphasized the importance of controversial issues in promoting international peace.

The participants gave the answer "disagree" or "strongly disagree" to the items "It does not concern my branch" (73,8%), "It will create an authority gap in the classroom" (71%), "It will make the students prejudiced towards different groups" (68,2%), "It should be kept out

of school" (65,4%), "It will cause the students to develop a stricter attitude towards different groups" (53,3%), "It will create a conflict in the classroom" (49,5%) and "It will make the students take sides" (48,6%).

What approaches do teachers employ in the teaching of controversial issues?

This section presents the approaches that Social Studies teachers employ in the teaching of controversial issues using both qualitative and quantitative data.

As shown in Figure 6, 62,6% of teachers gave the answer "Always" to the item "I provide a democratic environment". An important portion of the interviewed teachers also emphasized the importance of preparing a democratic environment for the teaching of controversial issues. Summarizing the thoughts of other teachers, Teacher Enes expressed his thoughts as follows:

I try to form a democratic environment in the classroom to encourage my students to participate in controversial issues. Children should easily express their

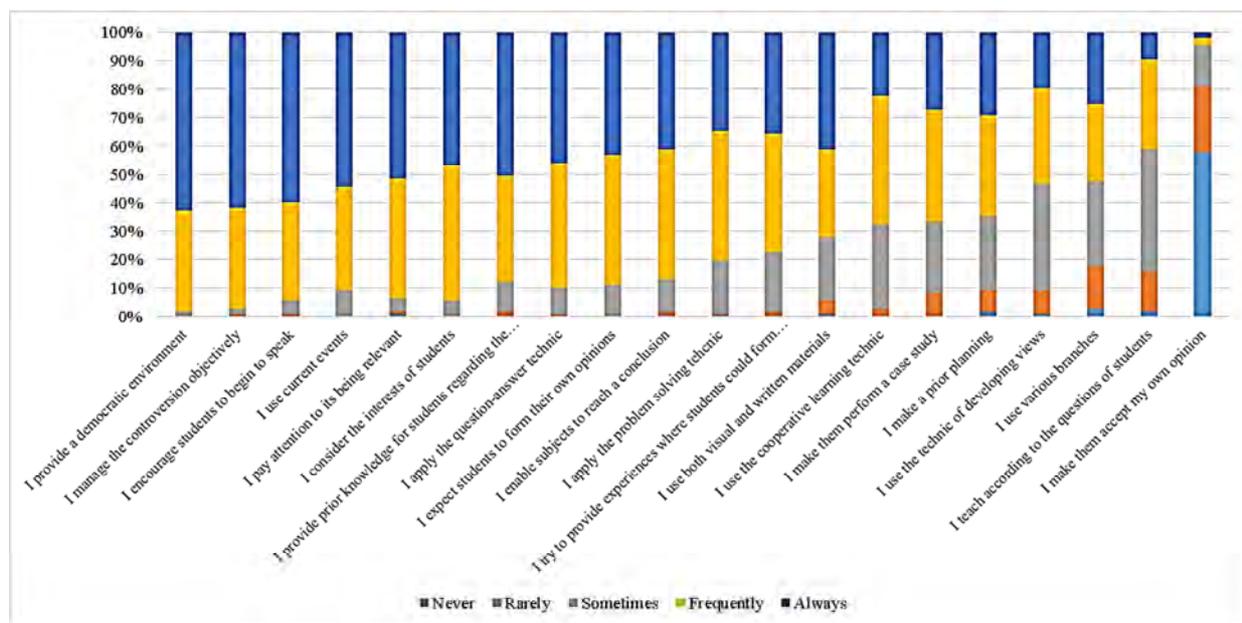
opinions and know that they have the right to democratically express their different emotions and thoughts about an issue.

Of the teachers, 61,7% gave the answer "Always" to the item "I manage controversion in an objective way". Regarding this subject, Teachers Enes and Kadir stated that they preferred to remain as objective as possible during controversion and manage controversion.

Of the teachers, 59,8% gave the answer "Always" to the item "I encourage students to begin to speak". Regarding this subject, Teacher Sezgin remarkably stated the following:

Should teachers appreciate and encourage the students? They should appreciate their way of expressing their thoughts and their courage in beginning to speak rather than what they say. They should encourage the students to speak with the help of statements like 'You are very good at expressing your thoughts, well done'.

Figure 6 Approaches that teachers follow in the teaching of controversial issues



Supporting the thoughts of Teacher Sezgin, Teacher Bilge stated the following: "I elicit children's opinions regarding the subject. I try to recognize everyone to enable them to participate in the lesson".

More than half of the teachers (54,2%) gave the answer "Always" to the item "I use current events". The majority of the teachers who were interviewed stated that they used current events and that their students mainly introduced current events into the classroom environment. Regarding this subject, Teacher Merve stated the following: "The issues must be current. We cannot create a controversial issue from issues revealed via historical documents". This response emphasized the importance of current issues in forming a controversion environment.

Of the teachers, 51,4% gave the answer "Always" to the item "I pay attention to relate these issues with the issue being taught".

Nearly half of the teachers (45,8%) gave the answer "Always" to the item "I apply the question-answer technique". The question-answer technique could have been preferred mainly because it reveals the issue from all aspects, guides the students when the controversion gets blocked and provides feedback. Regarding the purpose of using the question-answer technique, Teacher Eren stated the following: "I get the opinions of children through questions and answers. I want them to create their own thoughts and to speak them out". Furthermore, Teacher Kadir stated the following: "We should bring the question-answer technique to the forefront. Children should be able to ask questions without limitations".



Nearly all of the teachers gave the answer “Never” or “Rarely” to the item “I make them accept my opinion”, which contains a negative judgement. The fact that teachers did not make others accept their opinions could signify that their sense of education complied with democratic principles.

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According to the findings shown in Figure 7, 51,4% of teachers stated that they “Always” considered exam-based education an obstacle to approaching controversial issues in the classroom environment. A large portion of the interviewed teachers had similar thoughts. For instance, Teacher Bilge expressed his thoughts about this subject as follows: “We fail to teach the lesson with pleasure especially due to the exam anxiety of 8th graders”. Furthermore, Teacher Barış stated the following: “Exams (TEOG) also pose an obstacle; controversial issues are considered unnecessary as we have an exam-based system of education”.

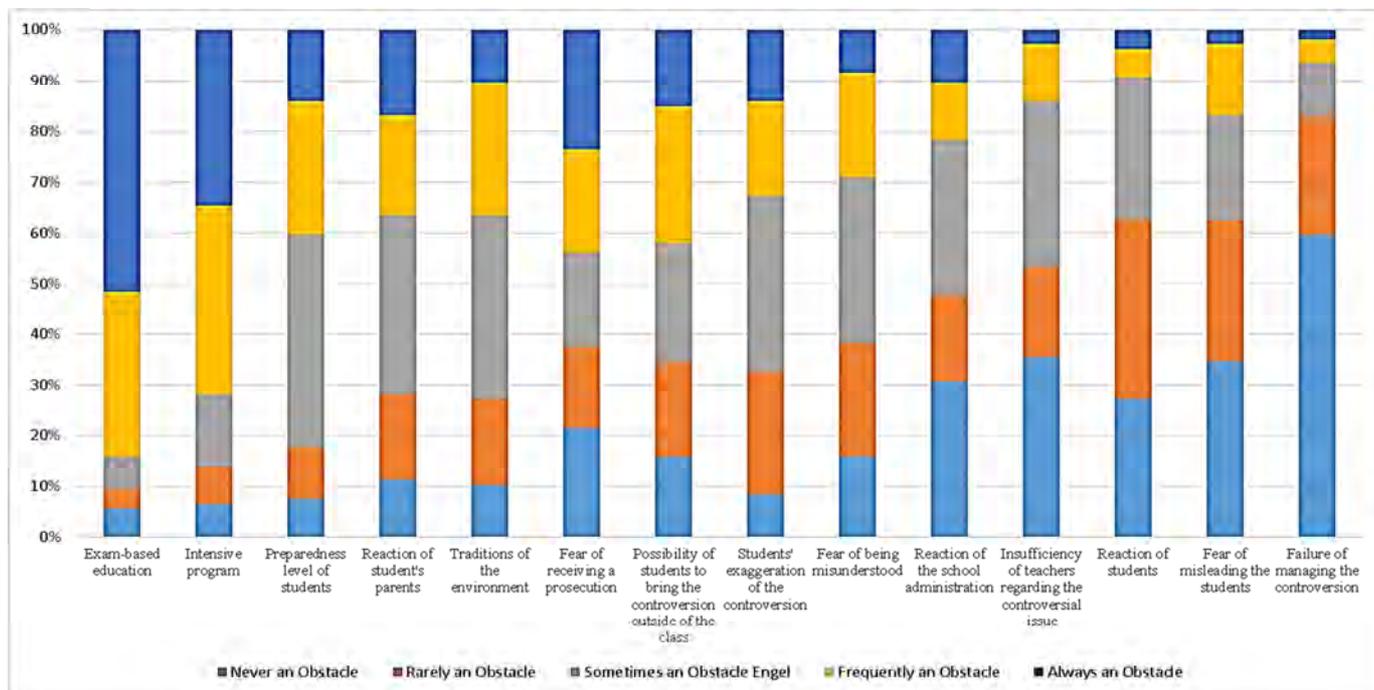
Of the teachers, 37,4% believed that the intensity of the curriculum generally posed an obstacle to approaching controversial issues in the classroom environment. Nearly all of the interviewed teachers had similar thoughts. Regarding this subject, Teacher Işıl stated the following: “In order to have a controversion, a less intense and a more flexible curriculum is required”. Furthermore, Teacher Kadir stated the following: “As the curriculum is intense, teachers feel a pressure to catch up with subjects”. This statement emphasized the fact that the intensity of the curriculum posed an obstacle to the teaching of controversial issues.

Of the teachers, 42,1% “occasionally” considered students’ level of preparedness to be an obstacle. Regarding this subject, Teacher Eren stated the following: “I believe that we could discuss about anything, of course, according to the level of students”. This response emphasized the need to approach the issues according to students’ level of preparedness.

Of the teachers, 35,5% “occasionally” considered the reactions of parents to be an obstacle. A large portion of the teachers who were interviewed stated that they avoided the reactions of parents. Regarding this subject, Teacher Merve stated the following: “Children may misperceive what you say and take home a very different statement from yours. We generally feel anxious about the reactions of families”. Furthermore, Teacher Enes stated the following: “We generally remain within the limits of the curriculum so as not to have any problems. Children directly talk about it with their families, and the families may talk to the administration”. These

statements emphasized that families' reactions could pose as an obstacle to the teaching of controversial issues.

Figure 7 Difficulties Experienced in the Teaching of Controversial Issues



Of the teachers, 36,4% occasionally considered the customs of the region to be an obstacle. Regarding this subject, Teacher Kadir stated the following: "My school is a closed environment with cultural or regional differences and mainly immigrant families. It is very difficult to open up a child who is raised in a closed family and draw her/him into the process". This statement fairly explained why customs were considered an obstacle.

Of the teachers, 23,4% "Always" considered the fear of prosecution to be an obstacle. The interviewed teachers also expressed this concern. Regarding this subject, Teachers Enes and Bilge displayed a similar attitude and stated that the fear of prosecution posed as an obstacle to approaching controversial issues.

5 Discussion and suggestions

This section will discuss the findings of the study from various perspectives and present recommendations in light of this discussion.

5.1 Discussion

According to the results of the study, while teachers considered "terror, system of education, staff, backing and exam system" to be the most controversial issues, they considered "faith in creation, Evolutionary Theory and cloning" to be the least controversial issues. Similarly, in the study that Seçgin (2009) conducted with preservice teachers, "terror" was the most controversial issue and "faith in creation" was the least controversial issue. In a study performed with preservice teachers in the state of Florida, Rambosk (2011) observed that faith in creation was among the most controversial issues, contradicting the current study's findings. Considering

the fact that controversial issues originated from differences in religious beliefs, moral values and cultural features at the local, national and international levels (OXFAM, 2006) (Oulton et al., 2004), it is possible to associate these differences with religious differences. Thus, the controversy of some issues, by nature, may differ across societies and even within a society. However, it is possible to assert that some issues such as "environmental pollution" and "terror" are considered controversial worldwide. In his study, Sharp (2006) suggested that the issue of terror was examined in 38 articles in journals focusing on Social Education, Social Studies, and primary and secondary education and in 60 articles in the Journal Times between 2000 and 2003. These results show a parallelism with study findings because terror is among the most controversial issues. In this context, it is possible to assert that terror is among the continual common problems of our country and the world and, thus, is among the most controversial issues. However, another interesting point is that teachers in the current study considered issues such as "system of education, staff, backing and exam system" to be the most controversial issues and issues such as "Evolutionary Theory and cloning" to be the least controversial issues, coinciding with the results of the study conducted by Seçgin in 2009. By contrast, issues such as "unemployment, Turkey-EU relations and economic crisis" were considered among the most controversial issues in the study of Seçgin (2009) but were considered less controversial by the teachers in our study. This contradiction could be associated with the decrease in unemployment rates and the progress in Turkey-EU relations resulting from the economic development in

our country. As a consequence, it could be asserted that these issues are considered controversial likely because they are discussed in the national and the world agendas via media outlets and social media tools.

According to the study's findings, teachers prefer to introduce social subjects that are related to the Social Studies curriculum and are appropriate for the preparedness level of students such as "natural disasters, democracy, environmental pollution, unplanned urbanization, and multiculturalism". Furthermore, they avoid introducing subjects that are not as related to the Social Studies curriculum and not appropriate for the students' developmental level such as "communion, mother tongue-based education, unsolved murders, secret government, and party closure". Rambosk's (2011) study, which was conducted in Florida, determined that preservice teachers preferred introducing social issues that were appropriate for the students' developmental level into the classroom environment such as "illegal migration, genetic studies and juvenile crimes" and avoided approaching issues such as "abortion, faith in creation and euthanasia". It is possible to assert that these results show a parallelism with the current study's findings in terms of the criterion used to select issues. In another relevant study, while issues such as "human rights, system of education, environmental pollution, democracy and global warming" were the most popular issues introduced into the classroom environment, issues such as "fanaticism, communion, military system, unsolved murders and secret government" were the least popular issues (Seçgin, 2009). Although the findings of this study show great parallelism with the results of our study, a remarkable point is that 60,7% of participants in our study wanted to introduce fanaticism, which was the least popular issue introduced into the classroom environment by participants of Seçgin's study. This result could be due to the increase in the phenomenon of fanaticism in a number of fields (such as sports, politics, ethnicity) in Turkey in recent years. As a consequence, the issues introduced into the classroom environment are social issues (violence, multiculturalism, migration) mainly related to the Social Studies curriculum (democracy, freedom of press, brain drain, natural disasters, unplanned urbanization and environmental pollution). In this context, it is possible to assert that teachers select the issues to be introduced into the classroom environment for educational purposes based on certain principles such as appropriateness for students' level of preparedness, social importance (Gross, 1964) and appropriateness for the acquisitions of the Social Studies lesson (Hess, 2004). Because issues that are selected according to certain principles and introduced into the classroom environment will enable students to actively participate in the process, they will be useful in reaching the targeted acquisitions.

Another remarkable finding of the study is that while the most controversial issues such as "terror, system of education, staff, backing, exam system, corruption, judicial independence, unemployment and religious abuse" had a lower level of controversion, issues such as "faith

in creation, Evolutionary Theory, cloning, Kemalism, religious headscarf and military system" were not preferred to be introduced into the classroom environment by participants. In this respect, it could be asserted that there is no direct relationship between the controversion level of issues and the desire to introduce the issues into the classroom environment. Similar results were obtained in studies performed with preservice teachers (Rambosk, 2011; Seçgin, 2009), and no direct relationship was observed between the controversion level of issues and the desire to introduce the issues into the classroom environment.

Another result of the study is that students mainly introduce current issues that are discussed in media outlets (Syrian civil war, ISIS terror), political controversions (Gezi Park events) and problems that occur in their immediate surroundings (problems in the family or neighbourhood) into the classroom environment. This result could be explained by the effect of the conflict of different interests and values, political sensitivity, stimulation of wild feelings and current approach to events that reveal controversial issues (Berg, Graeffe & Holden, 2003) to students. In this respect, students come to the classroom environment affected by various sources such as their circle of friends, family environment and media outlets. Moreover, because students bring various experiences and preferences into the school environment, they may start arguments about many events or issues that are encountered in the school environment (King, 2009). Consequently, as children encounter controversial issues via the media and developing communicational technologies at nearly every age (OXFAM, 2006), it is inevitable that these issues will be introduced into the classroom environment. Thus, approaching these issues in a libertarian classroom climate via appropriate methods instead of attempting to avoid such issues in class will increase students' comprehension and the efficiency of the Social Studies lesson (Long & Long, 1974).

Another result of the study is that controversial issues enable students to not only acquire skills that are critical for their personal development such as high-level thinking and communication but also hear different opinions and become equipped individuals. Moreover, such issues are observed to be very important also in terms of acquiring citizenship competence, sensitivity to national and world problems, the culture of living together, which are necessary for the people of our country and the world to live in peace. In their study that was conducted in 2004, Oulton et al. concluded that the teaching of controversial issues remarkably enabled students to not only acquire the skills of obtaining information and thinking analytically but also develop positive attitudes and behaviours. In his study, Seçgin (2009) concluded that according to preservice teachers, controversial issues contributed to students' attainment of important acquisitions such as "critical thinking, skill of expression, skill of high-level thinking, obtaining a democratic consciousness and having an increased sensitivity to national and world problems". These results

show a parallelism with the study results. In another relevant study, the teaching of controversial issues was considered useful in terms of raising students who are efficient citizens, learn the content data, acquire the thinking skills required to participate in social decisions, take an active role in the processes of forming a social conformity and manage differences via negotiations (Soley, 1996). Moreover, controversial issues must be taught systematically on an educational basis to raise students as global citizens of the future (Reitano, Kivunja & Porter, 2009). In this respect, the teaching of controversial issues is important for promoting citizenship and democracy education, developing students' personal skills and raising individuals with a global perspective and a sensitivity to national and world problems. As a consequence, introducing controversial issues into the classroom environment systematically is generally considered effective in terms of students' affective and behavioural acquisitions.

According to the study results, teachers associated the teaching of controversial issues with the Social Studies lesson and emphasized the importance of approaching these issues within the scope of the goals of the lesson. Relevant studies have supported this finding and emphasized the need to introduce controversial issues into the classroom environment (e.g., Avaroğulları, 2015; Rambosk, 2011; Hess, 2004). In light of these results, it is necessary to include controversial issues in the Social Studies curriculum and to train preservice Social Studies teachers to teach these issues.

According to another result of the study, while approaching a controversial issue, teachers prefer various methods/techniques and approaches such as providing a democratic environment, managing the controversy objectively, encouraging the students to begin to speak, using current issues, associating controversial issues with the subject being taught and using the question-answer technique. Approaching controversial issues with a questioning and democratic method will lead to the formation of a democratic citizenship culture (Misco, 2014). In this context, it is important for teachers to introduce the controversies in a democratic environment to enable students to experience the characteristics of the democratic life. One remarkable finding is that nearly all of the teachers that participated in the study (97%) preferred to manage the controversy objectively. Although some studies in the literature support the current study's results, other studies present a contradictory view. While Asimeng and Boahene (2007), Lockwood (1995) and McBee (1996) stated that teachers were not supposed to express their personal opinions in the process of controversy, Malikow (2006) stated that teachers were required to approach controversial issues from a unique and integrated perspective and to confidently express their opinions in the classroom environment. In this respect, it could be asserted that an intraclass controversy that is not performed in a democratic classroom environment via methods and techniques that are appropriate for the structure of the

issue will remain incapable of achieving the expected result.

Another important result of the study is that teachers thought that the most important obstacles to approaching controversial issues in the classroom environment were the exam-based education, intensive curriculum, students' level of preparedness, reactions of students' parents and traditions of the environment. In his study that was conducted in 2009, Seçgin reached results supporting the results of our study. Specifically, the participants considered exam-based education to be the most important obstacle to approaching controversial issues and thought that both the traditions of the environment and the reactions of students' parents could also pose as obstacles. This result could be explained by the fact that controversial issues are, by nature, time consuming (Clarke, 2005; Soley, 1996; Werner, 1998). In this context, it is very important to free education from the exam-based structure and decrease the intensity of the curriculum to introduce controversial issues into the classroom environment. Students' level of preparedness was also considered among the obstacles to approaching controversial issues. Because controversial issues are "sensitive" issues, they may elicit emotional reactions from students (Philpott, Clabough, McConkey & Turner, 2011) and cause students to display a reluctance to actively participate in the process of controversy. In this respect, it is very important to know the developmental features of children of specific ages and to consider their prelearning while selecting the issues (Asimeng & Boahene, 2007). However, another remarkable result is that teachers also considered the reactions of parents to be an obstacle. Teachers who participated in the study stated that they avoided encountering the reactions of parents due to a possible misunderstanding. The study that was conducted by Soley in 1996 suggested that the risk of harmful accusations by family was among the difficulties that teachers experienced in the teaching of controversial issues. Werner (1998) associated the disharmony between the ideal thing and the teaching of controversial issues with teachers' anxiety regarding families' reactions. In this respect, it is considered important to provide a multiple communication between school, families and teachers for teachers to bring the controversial issues into the classroom environment and approach them from all aspects. Another remarkable result is that teachers considered the traditions of the environment to be an obstacle to discussing controversial issues. Reaching findings in parallel with the current study's results, Mhlauli (2011) determined that teachers considered the teaching of controversial issues useful but experienced difficulty in introducing some issues into the classroom environment due to the social structure, cultural features and religious beliefs. In this context, teachers are required to consider the traditions of their environment while selecting controversial issues.

The current study found that the teaching of controversial issues contributed to students' development of some skills such as obtaining information, media literacy



and communication, thinking and problem solving, interpersonal and self-control skills, global view-point and citizenship literacy. In this context, controversial issues must be taught systematically on an educational basis to raise students as global citizens of the future (Reitano et al., 2009). Accordingly, we included two goals (goals 14 and 17), which clearly aim at the teaching of controversial issues, into the general objectives of the Social Studies curriculum of our country and revealed the determination to raise individuals with acquisitions such as critical thinking, a unique view and sensitivity to national and world problems, which were among the goals of the lesson. In this context, it is possible to claim that controversial issues will enable our students to become efficient citizens of the future who will be able to work in harmony with others, have an internalized sense of social equality and democratic participation, and solve problems in the social and global contexts (Cogan & Derricott, 2014).

In the light of these statements, we can assert that controversial issues must be taught in curricula to raise our students as individuals equipped with the skills of our era and who are aware of their democratic rights and could generate solutions to national and inter-national problems from a global point of view.

5.2 Suggestions

According to the findings, results and experiences acquired from this study, the following suggestions could be made.

1) According to the study results, teachers associated the teaching of controversial issues with the general objectives of the Social Studies lesson and education and they emphasized the importance of approaching them within the scope of the lesson in terms of the lesson goals. In this context, it is suggested to consider the importance of controversial issues in terms of the general objectives of education and the general objectives of the Social Studies lesson and involve such issues in the Social Studies Curriculum in accordance with the developmental features of grades at a higher level.

2) In our study, the teachers considered the exam-based education, intensive curriculum, preparedness level of students and reactions of students' the most important obstacles in approaching the controversial issues in the classroom environment. In this respect, it is suggested to conduct studies approaching the teaching of controversial issues also in terms of school managers, parents and students so as to decrease the obstacles in teaching the controversial issues.

3) During this study, we realized the necessity of revealing the application dimension of controversial issues more clearly via observations. From this point of view, it is suggested to conduct studies that would reveal the educational dimension of issues from various perspectives.

It is suggested to prepare a textbook approaching every dimension of controversial issues so as to ground the issues on a systematic foundation.

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Attachment 1: Samples from the questionnaire parts

PART 1: Demographic features

1) Your Gender: ()Female ()Male

2) Your Professional Seniority(Year): () 1-5 () 6-10 ()11-15 ()16 and above

PART 2: Controversion degree of issues

The following table shows the controversial issues in alphabetical order. Please circle the choice that best reflects your opinion for determining their controversion degree.

(5) The Most Controversial, (4) Highly Controversial, (3) Moderately Controversial, (2) A Little Controversial, (1) Not Controversial at All

1. Education in the Mother Tongue	5	4	3	2	1
2. Military System	5	4	3	2	1
28. Animal Rights	5	4	3	2	1
52. Violence	5	4	3	2	1

PART 3: Types of issues to be discussed in the classroom environment

You may think about bringing or not bringing some controversial issues into the classroom. Please circle (2) if you think the following controversial issues should be brought into the classroom, (1) if you think they should not be brought and (0) if you have no idea.

(2) Should Be Brought, (1) Should Not Be Brought, (0) I Have No Idea

4. Freedom of Press	2	1	0
55. Disarmament	2	1	0
67. Faith in Genesis	2	1	0

PART 4: Role of controversial issues in the program and in intraclass applications

The following items inquire your thoughts about approaching the controversial issues in the classroom. Please circle the choice that best reflects your opinion.

(5) Strongly Agree, (4) Agree, (3) Neutral, (2) Disagree, (1) Strongly Disagree

Approaching or teaching the controversial issues in the classroom...

1. They should be involved in curricula.	5	4	3	2	1
2. They are not related with my branch.	5	4	3	2	1
28. They teach us how to be sensitive toward national and world problems.	5	4	3	2	1
29. They increase the listening level of students.	5	4	3	2	1

PART 5: Educational methods and technics being used by teachers in controversial issues

The following items inquire your thoughts about the teaching methods and technics of controversial issues. Please circle the choice that best reflects your opinion.

(5) Always, (4) Frequently, (3) Sometimes, (2) Rarely, (1) Never

In order to bring controversial issues into the classroom...

7. I use the cooperative learning technic.	5	4	3	2	1
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18. I apply the problem solving technic. 5 4 3 2 1
20. I expect students to form their own thoughts. 5 4 3 2 1

PART 6: Obstacles in teaching the controversial issues

What are the obstacles in efficiently teaching the controversial issues? Please circle the choice that best reflects your opinion about the obstacles you abstain from or encounter with while bringing the controversial issues into the classroom.

(5) Always an Obstacle (4) Frequently an Obstacle, (3) Sometimes an Obstacle, (2) Rarely an Obstacle, (1) Never an Obstacle

1. Reaction of school administration. 5 4 3 2 1
11. Manners and customs of the hometown. 5 4 3 2 1

Attachment 2: Sample questions from the interview form

2. What is a controversial issue in your opinion? What are the features that separate a controversial issue from other issues?
4. Which controversial issues should be brought into the classroom environment for education and why?
6. What kind of a lesson process do you follow in teaching the controversial issues?
14. Why should the controversial issues be taught? What could be their acquisitions for children?



Human Rights Education in Israel: Four Types of Good Citizenship

This article examines the involvement of civil society organizations in human rights education (HRE) in Israel. Focussing on the educational programs of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), as a qualitative instrumental case study, this article examines the conceptions of good citizenship embedded in these programs. Specifically, the article analyzes the educational programs' goals, content, targeted populations, and practices. The analysis revealed that ACRI's HRE model reflect four ideal types of citizens: citizen of a democratic liberal state, citizen of a participatory polity, citizen of an ethical profession, and citizen of an empowered community. These constitute a multilayered human rights discourse that enables ACRI to engage differentially with various sectors and populations, while still remaining faithful to the ethno-national parameters of a Jewish and democratic state political framework.

Keywords:

Human rights education, good citizenship, civil society, Israel, Palestinian minority

1 Introduction

Despite the growing international interest in citizenship education (e.g., Banks, 2007; Hahn, 2010; Arthur, Davison, & Stow, 2014), much of this literature has been concerned primarily with school curricula and pedagogies. However, this literature is still wanting with regard to the involvement of civil society organizations in citizenship and human rights education (HRE), especially in deeply divided and conflict-ridden states. Focusing on Israel, this article addresses this lacunae by examining the involvement of one human rights organization: the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI). Founded in 1972, it is considered Israel's oldest and largest human rights organization. For the most part, the paper is concerned with mapping and analyzing the conceptions of "good citizenship" embedded in ACRI's human rights education programs, and how these reflect some of the major socio-political controversies in Israel.

2 Theoretical framework

The literature is rife with examples of how education systems are altered, due to political pressures and in service of dominant groups. In the field of the history education, for example, the literature is abundant with case studies that reflect "conflicting expectations among politicians, the general public, history teachers or educators and historians, about what the purposes of history education are" (Guyver, 2013, p. 3). Citizenship education is another good example of how school subjects are subjected to political debates, in which each camp seeks to impose a certain ideology or direction

(Hughes, Print, & Sears, 2010). These debates seem more intense especially in divided societies (Gallagher, 2004). In such societies, controversies are ubiquitous. In this article, controversies are perceived as issues on which society is clearly divided and significant groups within society advocate conflicting solutions and provide rival explanations to their sociopolitical reality based on competing visions and alternative founding values (Dearden, 1981; Stradling, 1985; Hess, 2004). Among other things, these controversies concern how to define and educate towards 'good citizenship'.

Although there is no consensus on what good citizenship is, there is a growing agreement about the need to focus citizenship education on developing an "autonomous" citizen who is not only and essentially law-abiding and public-spirited, but also questioning and critical (Galston, 2001). Put differently, citizenship education should cultivate a maximal citizen, not a minimal one (McLaughlin, 1992). In the same vein, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argued that citizenship education is not only about educating well mannered, responsible, and law-abiding citizens who are politically active and engaged in their communities as individuals; it is also about cultivating critical citizens who are cooperative, motivated, and committed to social change and justice. Banks (2008) referred to this "critical-democratic citizen" (Veugelers, 2007) as a "transformative citizen": A citizen who can "take action to promote social justice even when their actions violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws, conventions, or structures" (p. 136).

In these various maximal approaches, citizenship is challenged to be more critical, more inclusive, and more supportive of human rights (Tibbitts, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2005). While there might indeed be an inherent tension between citizenship education and HRE - given that human rights are universal and inalienable, whereas citizenship rights are perceived as context-dependent rights and derived from the specific nation-state polity in which they are situated - there is a growing consensus on the entwined relations between both types of education (Kiwani, 2005; 2008; 2012). That said, HRE has become rising on the agenda of citizenship education (Leung & Yuen, 2009); and it is commonly seen as "both a political and pedagogical strategy to facilitate democratization and active citizenship" (Bajaj, 2011, p. 484).

At best, when seen as a transformative type of education (Tibbitts, 2002; Bajaj, 2011), HRE is "a form of

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citizenship education [for] contexts of social, economic and cultural inequalities wherein constitutionally and internationally designated rights have yet to be realized across society" (Tsolakis, 2013, p. 39). In such contexts, Tsolakis (2013, p. 39) argued, "education should raise awareness about rights and enable students to use this awareness for societal transformation." In order to achieve transformative HRE, it is not enough to teach and learn *about* human rights debates, instruments and actors; rather, what is needed is teaching and learning *for or to* human rights, emphasizing not only values of responsibility and solidarity, but also practices of empowerment that might enable citizens to protest and struggle against HR violations and seek social justice (Lohrenscheit, 2002).

With this transformative agenda, HRE has become a greater part of the work of civil society organizations (Ramirez, Suárez, & Meyer, 2007; Bajaj, 2011; Spring, 2014). In this regard, the work of these organizations is part and parcel of "the ecology of civic learning" (Longo, 2007), which encompasses a wide range of places and activities, including not only schools but also, for example, libraries, community organizations, after school programs, and festivals. In this ecology, "NGOs [Non Governmental Organizations] have long been active in human rights education and utilize human rights discourse as a strategy to frame the demands of diverse social movements—a more bottom-up approach to HRE" (Bajaj, 2011, p. 484).

Against this backdrop of increased involvement of civil society organizations in HRE, one should bear in mind that the literature is persistent in indicating that "many students are unlikely to be exposed to in-depth discussions about public issues..., and low-socioeconomic status, immigrant, and urban students are particularly unlikely to experience such discussions...Furthermore, some research suggests what teachers identify as "discussions" are more characteristic of recitation..." (Avery, Levy, & Simmons, 2013, p. 106-7). Commenting on the growing literature on the benefits from the inclusion of controversial issues in social studies curricula, Zembylas and Kambani (2012) observed that this literature also "highlights the tremendous challenges - intellectual and emotional - that teachers face when they handle controversial issues in the classroom", especially "in divided societies, that is, societies characterized by violent conflict, contention, and instability" (p. 108).

3 The research context

3.1 Israel as a conflict-ridden state

Yiftachel (2006) conceptualized the political regime in Israel as an ethnocracy rather than a democracy, which implies that the boundaries of its citizenry are determined by belonging to the Jewish group rather than adhering to universal criteria of civic membership. According to Shafir and Peled (2002), Israeli citizenship is differential, hierarchical, and in service of the political interests of the Jewish majority. This majority is constituted as a gated ethno-national polity, which excludes Arab citizens, who are treated as an aggregate of

individuals entitled to selective individual liberal rights, but deprived of group based rights (Shafir & Peled, 2002).

These citizens are Palestinian by nationality and Israeli by citizenship. In fact, They are an example of what Kymlicka (1995) classified as national minorities whose minority status was acquired involuntarily and often unwillingly. Following the 1948 war and its aftermaths, Palestinians who remained within the boundaries of the newly created State of Israel were granted Israeli citizenship and became a minority. Mari (1978, p. 18) describes the impact of the 1948 war on this minority as leaving it "emotionally wounded, socially rural, politically lost, economically poverty-stricken and nationally hurt." Against this fragile and traumatized community, the state of Israel has been utilizing various strategies of surveillance and control (Lustick, 1980), including direct interference of the Israel Security Agency (Shabak in Hebrew) in Arab education (Golan-Agnon, 2004). This minority constitutes about 20.7% (approximately 1.730 million people) of the total population of Israel in 2015 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

Commenting on the Israeli political regime, Gordon (2012) argued that this regime inhibits HRE values of tolerance, respect, well-being, and protection of rights; and it also prioritizes ethnic belonging to the Jewish ethnos over the demos of Israeli citizens. He further contended that the segregation between Jews and Palestinians in the school system and the centrality of a hyper-ethno-nationalist ideology in the Israeli educational system were eroding the foundations of HRE.

In recent years, several examples have reflected this hyper-ethno-nationalist ideology in education (Agbaria, Mustafa, & Jabareen, 2015). In this regard, Azoulay and Ophir (2013, p. 229-230) observed:

The Israeli educational system denies young citizens elementary historical and geopolitical knowledge, nurtures forgetting and ignorance, and disseminates falsehoods ... The narrative of the founding of the State of Israel does not, for example, include the Nakba – the expulsion of the Palestinians, which rendered them refugees ... the Green Line has been erased from maps and from Israelis' consciousness... The common denominator of all these forms of denying knowledge and nurturing ignorance is the effort to separate the citizenry (the civil nation) from the ethnic nation, drawing the nationality image along the precepts of the Zionist narrative.

It should be noted that the education system in Israel is divided into separate education sectors. Jewish and Arab schoolchildren, as well as secular and religious Jews, attend different schools. Indeed, it is safe to argue that the Israeli educational system is, to a large extent, segregated along the lines of nationality, religion, and degree of religiosity (Svirsky & Dagan-Bozaglo, 2009). In this context of segregation, the state of Israel uses Arab education to control the Palestinian minority, to increase its political disempowerment, and to elicit cooptation

from its leadership (Al-Haj, 1995). To this end, Israel operates Arab education under conditions of unequal allocation of state resources, lack of recognition of the Palestinian minority's historical narrative and cultural needs, and marginalization of the influence of Arab leadership on education policy (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010).

The centralized system through which Arab education is controlled make it very difficult for Arab teachers to discuss controversial issues in their classrooms (Abu-Asbe, 2007). Michaeli (2014) argued that, since the 1980s, the Ministry of Education has increasingly been privatizing political education through civil society and business organizations. Consequently, these organizations have penetrated not only the Jewish education system, but also the Arab one. Most importantly, the involvement of these organizations created more space to discussing controversial issues in the Jewish and Arab education systems, though to a lesser extent in the Arab system (Chorev, 2008; Agbaria & Mahajnah, 2009).

To date, hundreds of NGOs have become involved in promoting citizenship education programs at the school level (Barak & Ofarim, 2009; Gordon, 2012). According to Barak and Ofarim (2009), 86% of the NGOs have developed their own learning materials for citizenship education. Moreover, 24% of the NGOs involved focus on democracy and HRE, 19% focus on Jewish-Arab relations, 13% on active citizenship, and 3% on tolerance. This deep involvement of civil society organizations in citizenship education and HRE reflects not only an attempt to ideologize this field in the service of certain political agendas, but also an effort to privatize the education system in Israel (Stein, 2010). However, despite this involvement, the scholarship on citizenship education to date has centered almost exclusively on the school setting. A good example of this focus is Avnon's (2013) recent edited volume on citizenship education, which was entirely devoted to citizenship education that is supervised by the state and delivered on its behalf in the school system.

Noticeably, HRE is an integral module of the curriculum for citizenship education in Israel. Specifically, the main textbook in citizenship education - *To Be a Citizen in Israel: A Jewish and Democratic State* (Ministry of Education, 2000) - includes a chapter on human rights. However, Pinson (2007) argued that this textbook reflects ethnocentric approach and serves as a conduit of the Zionist narrative, while marginalizing the ideal of Israel as a state of all its citizens. More recently, the Ministry of Education has commissioned a new version of this textbook to place more emphasis on the Jewish characteristics of the State. Pinson (2014) closely examined some of the rewritten chapters of the textbook's draft, concluding that the revisions reflect an adherence to a strong ethno-national political approach that prioritizes the Jewish characteristics of the State.

3.2 Methodological remarks

This is a qualitative instrumental case study (Stake, 2013) of one civil society organization: ACRI. An instrumental

case study is defined as a case study that is selected in the hope that it will be instrumental for the understanding of a larger phenomenon (Yin, 1989). In this particular study, we used ACRI as an instrumental case study to examine the varying ways in which civil society organizations are involved in citizenship and human rights education, and to identify the diverse ideals of 'good citizenship' that these organizations promote.

We decided to focus on the Human Rights Education Department in ACRI, which is directly responsible for all educational programs. Yet, we were not interested in this department in the ethnographic sense of it; rather we were interested in it because it represented a vivid example of sustainable and significant involvement in HRE, while running large projects in parallel and employing considerable number of professional staff in various capacities. This department was founded in the late 1980s, and succeeded over the years to initiate wide scale projects, including some in cooperation with the Ministry of Education. The official goals of department are to link theory and practice with regard to human rights, to encourage civic involvement and social activism, to produce educational programs that are relevant to the professional needs of the participants, to raise their awareness of human rights, and to improve their strategies for addressing violations that might occur in their workplace (ACRI, 2010).

This study draws on twelve semi-structured interviews that were conducted in late 2012 with various stakeholders. These included the departments' director and its four coordinators, two freelance facilitators who work regularly with the department, three senior staff employees from ACRI who work closely with the department, one member of the ACRI's board of directors, and a former senior employee of ACRI who is familiar with the departments' development and current work. The field work included also eight natural observations on different educational activities (e.g. workshops, staff meetings, lectures, and exhibitions). To preserve anonymity, we will not provide a profile of the interviewed participants because we are dealing with one organization, one department, and the participants are well known professionals in their cycles. A combination of purposive and snowball sampling was adopted to select the participants. All of the interviews were conducted in Hebrew, which all of the interviewees fluently speak and to a large extent define as their professional "first" language. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

The interview protocol was organized around the following themes: The participant's background, the department's history and current capacities, the goals and the civic ideals promoted by the department, its strategies for social change, its targeted populations and sites, the educational content and pedagogues used in the programs, and the challenges and difficulties in working with various populations. As for analyzing the data, although this process was not completely committed to all stages and strategies of the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), it did employ



key features of this approach, especially in the coding and categorization processes.

The analysis was accomplished in three stages. First, the interviews transcripts were read holistically. Second, we analyzed the data thematically and inductively. Six main themes emerged at this stage, each with its own subcategories: (a) Descriptions of the organizational development of the department (e.g. chronicle trajectory, purposes of organizational changes, changes in staff composition); (b) Goals of the department (e.g. to pose a mirror in front of society, to raise awareness to human rights, to empower individuals and communities, to encourage activism, to change professional identities, to improve the service provided to citizens); (c) The specific educational content that the department choose to focus on (e.g. types of social rights, types of political rights, types of democracy, types of good citizenship, types of conventions and declarations of international law); (d) Targeted populations and sites of operation (e.g. pupils,

teachers, journalists, social workers, security forces); (e) Methods and practices (e.g. workshops, study tours, lectures, media campaigns, reaching out); (f) Challenges (e.g. challenges within ACRI, challenges vis-a-vis the Arab society, challenges vis-à-vis the Jewish sector, challenges vis-à-vis the education system).

In the third stage, the data was analyzed discursively (Gee, Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992), meaning that we took a multi-layered approach to looking at the various themes mentioned above. For the purposes of this paper, we are mainly concerned with the theme of 'good citizenship', and how it was rendered and conceptualized. The analysis of this theme was informed by relevant literature, especially the works of Banks (2008), Johnson and Morris (2010), McLaughlin (1992), Veugelers (2007), and Westheimer and Kahne (2004) on the concept of the ideal citizen.

Table 1: Ideal types of citizens

	Citizen of a liberal democratic state	Citizen of a participatory polity	Citizen of an ethical profession	Citizen of an empowered community
Goals: To cultivate ...	Responsible citizens who are aware and protective of their own universal individual rights in a liberal democracy.	Activist citizens who are aware not only of their own individual rights, but also of others, take responsibility, and are proactive in protecting these rights.	Citizens with professional ethics sensitive to human rights, and who are aware and protective of individual human rights in their professional practice.	Citizens who as part of their communities seek to increase the awareness and protection of their individual and collective rights, and aim at empowering their communities vis-à-vis the state.
Content: Emphasis on ...	Individual civil rights, especially legal rights that provide protection from discrimination and assist in achieving mobility.	Individual civil rights, especially political rights that insure active participation in politics and the public sphere, such as freedom of speech, of political association, and of the press.	Individual civil and socioeconomic rights, especially those that intersect with professional ethics, such as the right to privacy, to human dignity, and to equal access to social services.	Human rights that have communal implications and concern the collective identity of the community, especially group based rights of self-government and recognition in education.
Targeted population	Society as a whole; no specific groups are targeted.	Emerging leadership that is capable of enhancing human rights awareness and protection through the political and legal systems, with special focus on educators, youth, and students identified as potential leaders and active agents of social change.	Professionals in institutional settings (e.g., police and corrections officers), the education system (e.g., teachers), the welfare system (e.g., social workers), and the legal system (lawyers): Members of professions that entail high risk of individual human rights violations, particularly in the Jewish society.	Leading groups in specific ethnic and cultural communities, particularly activists in community development and civil society organizations.
Practices	Campaigns to raise general public awareness of human rights by producing and disseminating materials on human rights culture and international legal instruments and convictions, with special attention to exposing the public to individual rights that are protected by national and international laws.	Educating the general public how to prevent human rights violations by means of the political and legal systems, especially through workshops, study days, disseminating knowledge on the legal work of ACRI, and exposing violations of national and international human rights laws	Training courses and workshops designed to increase awareness of the risk of human rights violations in certain professions, focusing on developing empathy for and awareness of human rights culture, and highlighting human rights dilemmas that professionals encounter in their institutions and daily work	Community development and empowerment practices aimed at raising awareness of diversity among the general public, and working with communities and citizen groups on coping with victimization and resisting racism and prejudice against them. A special attention is given to empowering the Palestinian minority in Israel vis-à-vis the Jewish majority as well as internal sociopolitical structures.



4 Conceptions of the good citizen

This part provides an analysis of the activities of the Human Rights Education Department in ACRI, focusing on presenting four major ideal types of citizen. Each one of these represents “the type of citizen they might be aiming for through their teaching projects and programs” (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 84). In introducing the different types, we applied the basic principle of inductive analysis, that is ‘to let the data talk’ (Janesick, 2003). Below, Table 1 presents a summary of the four types and related aspects.

4.1 Citizen of a democratic liberal state

ACRI attempts to cultivate liberal democratic citizens who are aware and protective of their individual rights. Emphasizing that human rights are universal, egalitarian, inalienable, and applicable to all human beings, regardless of personal status or identity, ACRI promotes human rights as neutral and apolitical norms that are universally shared by all liberal democracies. These human rights are conceived as basic individual civil liberties that a government may not restrict, because they are legally protected under international law. Advanced as universal liberties that all liberal democracies are required to respect and protect (e.g., freedom of conscience, of religion, of assembly, and of speech), ACRI links these rights to the foundations and principles of the democratic liberal regime. Specifically, ACRI associates the protection of these human rights with endorsing equality and social justice for all citizens. ‘Galia’ explained that importance of HRE expressed in the following words (the names cited are all fictional, and Hebrew and Arab names are arbitrary and do not indicate that nationality, religion, or gender of the participants):

Human rights are based on setting values that are very important to the existence of humanity, to talk about them, see them, study them, to be educated in their light; this is part of what ensures continuity. Respecting human rights ensures that democracy will be sustainable and that equality is granted. In our context, ACRI’s role is to ensure that the rights of Arabs are equal to the rights of Jews in the state of Israel. ACRI goes to courts to defend human rights, because it believes in equality, and it believes that the legal system can defend all Israeli citizens. This is how democracy works. That is why we emphasize legal education. Laws, regulations, international law are all important to know.

Noticeably, this discourse of good citizenship reflects a strong belief in the fairness of the international and domestic legal systems. In this regard, the Israeli legal system is perceived as an equalizing system that can firmly protect human rights and defend the very foundations of democracy. Accordingly, legal rights (e.g., to equal treatment, to a fair trial and due process, and to seek redress or a legal remedy) receive considerable attention in ACRI’s workshops. In these workshops, the

participants are encouraged to acquire in-depth knowledge of the Israeli legal system, how to use this system to protect human rights.

In this discourse, the discussion of human rights is often situated in the context of a possible discrimination on grounds of race, gender, national origin, color, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, or disability. In this universal discourse, all citizens in Israel are seen as potentially vulnerable to human rights violations. Therefore, ACRI equally reaches out to all citizens of Israel with the same messages, encouraging them to be more aware and protective to their own individual rights, but not necessarily those of other individuals or groups. Placing more emphasis on both the universal and individual aspects of the human rights, this discourse does not provide enough space to deliberate on issues of privilege in Israeli society. In this regard, ‘Said’ observed that adopting an educational approach that centers on the universality and individuality of human rights provokes less resistance and appeals to more audiences:

When it comes to human rights, we are all, Arabs and Jews, men and women, might be victims. Our individual rights might be not respected by the state, therefore, we address society in Israel as a whole, with similar messages: first be aware of your own rights ... Good citizens are citizens with developed awareness ... We emphasize the individual rights that concern everyone, regardless of who he or she is. Therefore, we started with rights, but not entitlements and privileges, because this will shut the discussion. Discussing the superiority of Jews, men, or even Ashkinazi jews will make the participants either more defensive or more offensive. We want to talk first about the citizen as a citizen, as an individual, and what happens with him when he encounters the the state’s systems and services. This makes human rights relevant to all citizens.

Worth noting, this conception of good citizenship is often coupled with strong emphasis on cooperation with the state’s governmental authorities, which are perceived as potentially capable of both violating and protecting all citizens and all rights. These authorities, ‘Fathy’ is convinced, are both sources of human rights violations and potential remedies. Commenting on the role of HRE in the educational system, he said:

We work through the education system. This system is highly committed to militarism and Zionist values, but we still need to work in cooperation with it, if we want to reach as many as possible, be influential, and provoke less resistance. We can not educate and protect every-one, but governmental organizations can do that. They can violate human rights and they can be protective of these. The question is how to encourage them be more respectful of human rights.

For ACRI, this cooperation with governmental bodies is intended to mainstream both the discourse of human rights and ACR itself. ‘Dan’ explained that because ACRI is



often identified in the public as advancing leftist agendas, working with governmental organizations is seen as a good strategy to appear as apolitical, neutral and professional organization:

ACRI wants to work with the establishment and not against it, because we will gain legitimacy not only for ACRI, but also for its cause. It is not easy to work with security forces. These are populations that are hard to change. But, we must work with them because if we do not, others will do that, and they might be less democratic, and less sensitive to human rights ... We can not meet them only in courts and litigations, and only when there are problems. These are huge mainstream organizations, with many Israelis serving in and interacting with them ... Undoubtedly, we are considered as part of the left in Israel. Sadly, if you struggle for equality and human rights you are considered as leftist. For many segments in the Jewish society, human rights are indeed threatening their identity as right wing voters and even as Jews. Unfortunately, human rights instigate antagonism and sometimes hostility. Therefore, working in education enables us to suggest and share with the Israeli society zones of cooperation not only zones of conflict, as always happen when ACRI leads campaigns against governmental policies. Education help us to promote human rights from a neutral place that has no affiliation to a specific political camp.

4.2 Citizen of a participatory polity

The ideal of a citizen of a participatory polity aspires to cultivate citizens who are capable of engaging effectively in politics. This citizen links between human rights and activism, and is more engaged in protecting human rights than the first type. 'Ahmand' commented on the centrality of activism in what follows:

Good citizenship is based on the perceptions of substantive democracy... [A good citizen] is unwilling to remain silent on human rights violations, and seeks to prevent violations, not only one's own rights but also those of others.

With this ideal of the involved citizen, ACRI is less interested in influencing society as a whole, and is more geared to cultivating individuals as self-motivated agents of social change. Specifically, ACRI targets specific settings - especially schools, youth organizations, community centers, universities - to train interested individuals and potential activists to be active participants in defending human rights, especially in the political realm. To do so, ACRI provides educational content that is less concerned with the general framework of human rights, as the case in the previous type of citizen. Here the emphasis is placed on the socio-economic rights (e.g., education, health, house, employment) that might be violated by governmental agencies. This content pertains primarily to issues of equal access to social services. For Avner, a good citizen is an active and critical citizen:

Through our education programs, ... I want to create a dialogue that moves citizens from passive knowledge about human rights to activism. I want to see teachers as activists, who challenge their pupils, convey a strong human rights discourse, and ask critical questions.

ACRI encourages activism with much caution. In many interviews, activism was described as capable of changing society, and activists were referred to as the ultimate 'good citizens'. However, it was emphasized that activism should always start with small and gradual changes. Good citizens are activists who have a strong reflective awareness. In this regard, awareness is sometimes perceived as a substitute of activism, or at least as a form of it. 'Nasrean' put this theory of change in the following words:

We prepare the teachers for activism by raising awareness to social justice, by changing their professional discourse. The activism we encourage is not reflected necessarily in going out to the streets. It is more about asking questions and being more critical. We advocate changes that are small. The goal is to make people believe change is possible ... The state's discrimination is given and known. If we want to change that, each teacher, social worker, teenager should change himself for the better. The first and most important step is to create a new awareness, as we all could potentially be violators of rights, discriminators, and even racists. For example, one group studied in depth slavery in Islam, and that helped the group reflect on racist attitudes toward blacks in Arab society. For me, this is a major change, more important than going out in a demonstration, or signing a petition.

4.3 Citizen of an ethical profession

HRE may also be aimed at cultivating citizens as ethical professionals. Here, good citizenship is perceived as good professionalism that reflects high awareness of the risks of human rights violations. Shlomit states:

I don't think we have a concept of the good citizen; the concept I know is that of a good professional, who cares for human rights and takes responsibility to prevent violations.

In this discourse, the focus is on training professionals to show more respect and sensitivity to human rights. Be it in the police forces, the correctional services, welfare departments, or schools, the goal is to improve the practice of the targeted professionals in these services in a way that makes them more aware and protective of human rights when they provide services to citizens. For example, 'Avner' stressed the ability of police officers to understand human rights from the perspective of the citizens after training them to perceive good service as good citizenship, and to approach citizens as their clients:

The first step in the workshops is to remind them of their feelings as people, as citizens - not police officers -



in the context of human rights ... basically to make them understand the feelings and perspective of the citizens, to which they become oblivious in the course of their police work ... the second step is to discuss their actual work as police officers ... the purpose of their job, how they restrain potential violations of rights... themes of balancing and proportionality ... The Border Guard Forces are widely considered as violent and as the spearhead in implementing Israel brutal policies against the Palestinians. They are often responsible for dispersing demonstrations. Now, either we stand on the side and only blame this population, or we do something about their job and the services they provide to the citizens in Israel. If security offices are trained to understand that they should be both good professionals and good citizens, their service and contact with the citizens will improve dramatically. There would be less violations, less resistance by the citizens, and more cooperation and order.

ACRI developed special training workshops for various groups of professionals: teachers, journalist, social workers, police forces, etc. These workshops include simulations of human rights dilemmas and violations that are distinctive to the organizational context of each group of these professionals, and is derived from their daily practices and routines. The overarching goal of these workshops is to change the participants' professional approach and language into one that is more sensitive to human rights. 'Narsean' described a work-shop with social workers in what follows:

My role as a social worker is to recognize that a person's rights have been violated. A person who has rights has power. The workshop changes how they look at their clients - not as unfortunate people, not as a collection of all their troubles, but as a collection of all their rights. This is totally a different perspective on their clients. In short, we want them to change perspective and orientation. We encourage them to think as empowered social workers and as empowered citizens who do not treat their clients as victims, and as only suffering and being subjected and subordinated, but also as clients who are entitled to rights. Never to work with language of needs, weaknesses, and distress, but to replace this language with one of rights and strengths... The purpose is to link the language of citizenry to professional practice.

Here, good citizenship is understood as good service that would eventually elicit compliance and cooperation from the citizens. Especially in the security sector, ACRI's training programs for professionals seem to promote a type of political clientelism approach that increases the acceptance and legitimacy of both ACRI and the security forces in the general public. In this regard, the security forces are approached by ACRI as neutral and professional actors, who are expected to act in accordance with the norms of human rights. 'Dan' critically explained

the rationale of working with specific groups of professionals:

ACRI sees teachers, social workers, and security forces as trained insiders who in the worse scenario case will be ethical professionals, and in the best case scenario will transform the organizations and services. ...the more trained professionals we have, the better these organizations will be. If we will train more and more people in governmental organizations, this will change these organizations, and make them more sensitive to human rights. These professionals know better than anyone else how to introduce changes in their work. Regrettably, the programs do not provide the professionals with strategies how to transform their institutions into more human right respecting and protecting environments, how to handle specific violations by colleagues, and how to reform long-standing policies and practices of discrimination in their organizations. We do not train them how to do that. We leave it to their sense of responsibility and leadership.

4.4 Citizen of an empowered community

Said commented on the cultural differences between the Jewish and the Arab communities served by the HRE programs of ACRI:

There are different needs and different degrees of willingness to accept materials. I also think that at present the two societies are at entirely different starting points. In my view, the first thing Arab society needs is various kinds of empowerment. Jewish society does not need empowerment, but the opposite... everyone needs empowerment as a value, but from a national perspective... more humility is needed ... Officially, we want to work the same with everyone. However, we work differently in both societies... The needs of the Arab society are different and these are most state centered: discrimination, racism and inequality. In the Jewish sector, the agenda is broader, we discuss not only inequality and racism, but also issues, for example, that pertain to Russian and Ethiopian immigrants and youth, and issues of housing, health, single mothers, and unemployment. We try to open up the discourse in the Arab society, but we rarely discuss issues that pertain, for example, to relationships between religious groups in the Arab society, We rarely discuss violations of the Arab local municipalities. Our programs provides Arab youth and professionals with a mirror to reflect on their society, but we need to do that more often.

In this discourse, the emphasis is on empowering citizens as communities of specific cultural groups, especially in the Palestinian and, to a lesser extent, the Ethiopian community. Here, the emphasis is more on their affiliation with these ethnic-cultural groups, and less on their affiliation with the state as a whole, or with a specific profession. Citizens of this type are aware and protective not only of individual rights, but also of group based rights. The goal of this kind of HRE is to develop a



society that recognizes the cultural needs of the different groups within it. Accordingly, the content of such HRE programs focuses on collective rights, issues concerning discrimination and racism against disempowered groups, and the impoverished living conditions of the Palestinian minority. 'Ahmad' commented on the importance of discussing ACRI human rights violations in the context of disempowered groups:

Of course there is discrimination against the Arab population... Now let's look within the Arab population - Is everything about Arab society okay? What about women? What about blacks within Arab society? ...Same with Ethiopians, with people living in the periphery. These groups' rights are violated, but also there are violations within them, violations based on traditions and costumes ... I wish we could discuss these internal issues more, but right now we are more focused on the state's violations, which are by far more important to the quality of life in the Arab localities.

In this regard, ACRI programs equips leading groups within these communities with community development tools and strategies. The programs train these groups to be able of mobilizing collective action vis-a-vis the state's institutional discrimination, and vis-à-vis the communities internal practices of marginalization. The focus is on training community leaders and activists (e.g., youth leaders, students activists, civil society organizations' employees) to be more strategic and more systematic in defending human rights, and in minimizing manifestations of prejudice. ACRI believes that empowered groups will claim responsibility and act collectively to end discrimination. 'Fathy' critically highlighted the particularities of cultivating citizens of an empowered community in the context of the Palestinian minority in Israel:

In our work with the Palestinian minority, we advance a discourse of human rights that emphasizes that community is not only the site in which human rights should be protected, but also the political actor that should be empowered to ensure individual and collective rights. This discourse of collective empowerment is advanced in parallel to the universal one. However, we discuss issues of collective rights, issues that pertain to the recognition of Palestinian minority and identity only in activities with Palestinian participants. We rarely discuss these issues while working, for example, with Jewish professionals, though we discuss violations of individual rights of the Arab citizens with them, but not issues of collective rights.

5 Concluding thoughts

In line with Galston (2001), who reminded us that "civic education is relative to regime type" (p. 217), it seems reasonable to argue that different sociopolitical contexts produce different citizenship and human rights education forms and emphases. For example, in undemocratic countries, HRE programs tend to focus on empowerment and resistance, and in developing countries they are ofte-

n associated with issues of sustainable development and women's rights. In post-totalitarian countries, HRE has highlighted the protection of individual and minority rights, and in established democracies, such programs often emphasize issues of discrimination and promote reforms to enhance the protection of minority, migrant, and refugee rights (Tibbitts, 2002). Gordon (2012) concluded that: "the social space in which HRE takes place helps determine its content" (p. 389).

Therefore, we argue that the characteristics of the Israeli context, and especially its strong ethno-national politics and differential citizenship regime, have shaped HRE orientations in Israel. Like many human rights organizations that have made education a high priority in their attempts to raise the general public awareness of human rights (Mihr & Schmitz, 2007), ACRI has invested in education in an effort to foster a culture of human rights. However, although ACRI's experience in promoting HRE resembles the global experience of many international organizations (e.g., UNICEF, UNESCO, HREA) in developing HRE programs and materials (Tomasevski, 2004), the work of ACRI represents a unique case study of HRE in a deeply divided and conflict ridden context. According to Bajaj (2011), in these conflict ridden contexts, HRE tends to be associated with the consolidation of the rule of law and efforts to establish the legitimacy and acceptance of the state's authorities.

Commenting on HRE in Israel, Gordon (2012) referred to Yiftachel's (2006) conceptualization of Israel as an ethnocracy rather than a democracy to explain that the excluding ethnocratic nature of the Israeli regime hinders individual and institutional internalization of the basic values of HRE. According to Gordon the universal principles of HRE conflict with the particularistic hyper-ethno-nationalist ideology of Israel that seeks to cultivate the Jewish character of the students at the expense of constructing a democratic and civic identity.

ACRI's model of HRE combines elements that foster knowledge about universal human rights standards and instruments, with elements that target specific professional groups using training programs to sensitize them to human rights within their professional settings. On the one hand, this model legitimizes the human rights discourse in the Israeli general public, strives to prevent human rights violations in governmental bodies, enhances the capabilities of various groups of professionals to assume responsibility for monitoring and protecting human rights, and empowers vulnerable populations to be more involved and active in defending their rights. On the other hand, this model reflects a strong belief in the legal system, while overlooking its role in maintaining longstanding inequalities and practices of discrimination. This model also legitimizes some of the most oppressive authoritative organizations, especially when it comes to the security and military forces. Furthermore, it focuses on individual rights and liberties, leaving little room to discuss issues of ethnic privileges, collective rights, and the deferential nature of the Israeli citizenship regime.

In doing so, the ACRI's HRE model closely resembles what Bajaj (2011) calls HRE for coexistence. This model focuses on the "the interpersonal and intergroup aspects of rights and is usually a strategy utilized where conflict emerges not from absolute deprivation, but from ethnic or civil strife" (p. 490).

Admittedly, the types of "good citizens" that we identified in ACRI's HRE programs correspond well with the literature. Specifically, they intersect with the types identified by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) in many points of convergence and divergence. For example, cultivating a citizen in a liberal democracy is similar to their notion of the "personally responsible citizen," which emphasizes awareness of and compliance with the norms of human rights. The citizens of a participatory political system and of an empowered community resemble Westheimer's and Kahne's "participatory" and "justice-oriented" citizen types in their critical approach that advocates reaching out, political participation, and civic activism.

However, ACRI's types differ in their focus on human rights as definitive of citizenship, as well as their emphasis on cultural and ethnic affiliations as definitive of community. In the model that we have presented, citizens of an empowered community focus their attention not only on individual human rights, but also on group rights, which are seen as essential to empower their community, face the state's discrimination, and to address inner-groups prejudices. Additionally, community is seen as both a site, in which citizens operate to protect their rights, and as a political actor, who should be empowered to achieve greater level of equality, recognition, and social justice. It is worth to note that Westheimer's and Kahne's (2004) model did not relate at all to good citizenship as good professionalism.

Nonetheless, the emphasis on the professional domain is evident in the HRE literature. For example, Tibbitts (2002) recognized the importance of training professionals to become committed leaders in HRE. In this regard, the ideal type of a 'citizen of an ethical profession' reflects the increasing efforts to establish a more genuine relevance of the HRE programs to the lives of their participants (Tibbitts, 2002). For example, in their discussion of HRE workshops in teacher education, Nazzari, McAdams, and Roy (2005) emphasized that educators should engage with human rights in settings that encourage cooperative learning, dialogue, reflection on practice, and praxis.

All in all, the types of the 'good citizen' identified here reflect two interrelated continuums. The first ranges between passive and active notions of HRE, and the second between liberal and republican notions of citizenship. The first pertains to the extent of involvement the individual citizen is required to demonstrate in the public sphere and politics, ranging from mere awareness and minimal involvement (especially when it comes to protecting ones' individual rights), to active participation in politics and engagement with the public sphere (especially when it comes to protecting others' human rights). The second refers to the goals of HRE and its

scope, ranging from the individual as a bearer of rights, through the local community as the site where rights are exercised and as a political actor, to the state as responsible and accountable for individual and group rights.

Undoubtedly, ACRI's HRE model places a strong emphasis on realizing a thick conception of citizenship in Israel. It encourages more engagement with politics, professional ethics, cultural communities, and the discrimination of the marginalized Palestinian community in Israel. This growing focus on engagement signifies a shift from the narrow liberal conception of the citizen - as a bearer of rights that the state guarantees and as a rational and autonomous individual who is aware and protective of his or her individual rights - to a civic republican conception of the citizen - who is more involved, responsible, and grounded in a specific communal life. In ACRI's model of HRE, citizenship signifies not only a legal status that entails certain rights and duties, but it also refers to modes of political participation, and forms of ethnic, cultural, and professional belonging (Heater, 2004). All in all, good citizenship is largely perceived here as thick and active citizenship (Pykett, Seward, & Schaefer, 2010).

With the ideal types of citizens, ACRI employs a multi-layered human rights discourse that enables it to engage differentially with the various divisions in Israel, especially the national rift. Although this multilayered human rights discourse enables ACRI to gain legitimacy in the Jewish and Palestinian societies in Israel, it seems that ACRI's ability to induce change in the understanding and protection of human rights in both societies is rather limited.

On the one hand, ACRI's efforts in the Palestinian society are indeed brave and critical, as it strives to empower Palestinian society to defend the individual and, to a lesser extent, collective rights of its members. However, ACRI focuses on promoting HRE activities that are predominately state-centered, that is, related to raising awareness and protecting human rights that the state might jeopardize due to its Jewish ethnocentricity. This leaves little room to address human rights subversions and violations within Palestinian society itself. In this respect, this state-centered approach, which largely overlooks internal debates on human rights, is in fact disempowering.

On the other hand, ACRI's attempt to be consensual, to gain legitimacy, and to reach out to the Israeli general public is reflected in its efforts to present HRE as apolitical and as compatible with the strategic interests of the Israeli establishment (the ministry of education, police force, and the alike) in good service to all citizens. ACRI presents its HRE programs to the Israeli establishment in a legalized and neutral language, emphasizing the relevance of universal human rights to good service to their clients and beneficiaries. HRE is presented as professional endeavor that would train professionals to be more sensitive to the requirements of Israeli and, to a lesser extent, international law.

In this regard, Golan and Orr (2012) argued that the increasing use of legal language in the international human rights discourse of NGOs' struggles in Israel reflects not only a priority of legal aspects over the political of these struggles, but also a persistent attempt to gain acceptance and legitimization in Israeli society and establishment. However, seemingly, this attempt is doomed to be ineffective in Israel, as the members of many sectors still perceive the work of human rights organizations as embracing a leftist political agenda that threatens the particular values and collective identity of the Jewish Israeli society (Mizrachi, 2011). Therefore, as Golan and Orr (2012, p. 809) put it, "Israelis, generally speaking, do not differentiate between human rights activities and political activities."

That said, it seems that ACRI, similar to many other human rights organizations, has become increasingly reserved in its expression of political positions. As the information presented in its programs on Palestinian citizens and society in Israel has focused almost entirely on contemporary human rights violations, ACRI's HRE model seems less concerned with the silenced historical narrative of the Palestinian group and the reexamination of the history of violence against it. It emphasizes minority rights and pluralism as part of the larger human rights framework, but lacks transformative elements that are geared towards empowering individuals and communities to put in a historical context the "analysis of how human rights norms and standards are often selectively respected based on communities' varied access to resources, representation, and influence" (Bajaj, 2011, p. 493).

In general, ACRI's programs do encourage their participants to engage within the boundaries of Israeli citizenship. However, in its efforts to gain legitimization and acceptance, it seems that ACRI has remained faithful to the ethno-national parameters of a Jewish and democratic state. According to our review of its activities, ACRI does not challenge this framework. In particular, its efforts to raise awareness of the cultural and group-based rights of the Palestinians are for the most part confined to educational settings within the Palestinian minority. The programs within the Jewish educational settings do not address the effects of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the condition of human rights of the Palestinian minority, but focus only on the individual human rights of Palestinians in Israel. Avoiding a critical engagement with the definition of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state seems to mold ACRI's model of HRE as apolitical and ahistorical.

On the whole, it seems that a more transformative approach to HRE is required in both the Palestinian minority (i.e., putting more effort into confronting internal barriers to human rights culture) and the Jewish majority (i.e., investing more in transforming institutional cultures, focusing more on group-based rights, and emphasizing the relevance of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to the current condition of human rights in Israel). Easy to say, hard to do; but remarkably rewarding for the Jewish and the Palestinian societies, both alike.

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Report on the Present Trainer Training Course of the Pestalozzi Programme (Council of Europe) “Evaluation of Transversal Attitudes, Skills and Knowledge” (Module A)

Keywords:

Human rights education, learning democracy, council of Europe, teacher training

1 Introduction

In July 2015 the Pestalozzi Programme of the Council of Europe launched a 15-month trainer training course on the “Evaluation of transversal attitudes, skills and knowledge”. The tradition of offering trainer training courses that relate to the Council of Europe’s core values of human rights, democracy and rule of law has been well established since 2007, including topics such as Education for Democratic Citizenship, Intercultural Education, Image of the Other in History Teaching or Collaborative Learning. Nonetheless, this course is special. Special in the sense, that the new focus was to move away from a *vertical*, issue-related approach to a *horizontal* approach: “What do teachers need to know in order to develop a form of education that supports peace and democracy? What do they need to be able to do? And how do they need to be able to be?” (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2011, p. 41)

Consequently, this in-service trainer training synthesizes the many years of experiences of the Pestalozzi Programme’s activities in preparing teachers and teacher education in how to teach and learn for a sustainable democratic society. It does so by systematically carving out those *transversal attitudes, skills and knowledge* (TASKs) that have proven to be needed in educational settings to help establish and preserve sustainable democracies. Thus, an innovative set of learnable, developable democratic competences is offered to be tested and tried out in educational practice, also with regard to the difficult question of their possible assessment or evaluation (compare Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015a, p. 18).

Key to this course is the question of how democratic values, democratic attitudes and democratic beliefs interact and what that means for the planning and implementation of educational activities: “If values affect our attitudes and behaviour, we will need to dwell on the question of “how the educator can move from values to developing attitudes and behaviours that these values sustain”. What are the observable attitudes and behaviours that translate values and principles into better communication and understanding between individuals and into active citizenship to organise a better, more just world?” (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2011a, p. 40)

The timing of this trainer training course – not to forget

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the corresponding publication “TASKs for democracy. 60 activities to learn and assess transversal attitudes, skills and knowledge”, to be found on the CoE-website - seems to be more than timely with regard to “the fragility of democracy and participation in democratic processes and institutions in many European countries.” (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015, p. 17)

2 The TASKs in detail

The democratic competences are divided into five dimensions:

- diversity and empathy: refers to intercultural competences and mutual understanding,
- co-operation and participation: refers to the individual and group efforts necessary for working together,
- human rights and equity: refers to aspects of social justice, anti-discrimination and equal rights,
- knowledge construction and epistemology: refers to the way we think about knowledge,
- self and interaction: refers to awareness of self in relation to the other (individual or group). (Mompoin-Gaillard 2015b, p. 33)

The 60 activities included in the handbook are systematically combined with the TASKs – which under-lines the very special quality of this project – and can thus be used in class or elsewhere to

- challenge attitudes and behaviour [...] that are contrary to human rights,
- intervene and express opposition when there is an expression of prejudice or discrimination against individuals or groups,
- challenge stereotypes and prejudice,
- encourage positive attitudes towards contributions to society made by individuals who wish to participate in democratic endeavours, and
- mediate in conflict situations. (see Mompoin-Gaillard 2015a, p. 17-18)

3 About the trainer training course

The following TASKs (components of democratic competences) have been chosen from the handbook by the author to plan, implement and evaluate a new Training Unit on “The refugee crisis in Europe – putting solidarity to the test”:

Attitudes: *Readiness to adopt the values of human rights and democratic citizenship as the foundation of living and acting* (A_HR_2; see handbook p. 34, and p. 327)

Skills: *Ability to draw on other's diverse expertise and experience for the benefit of the group's work* (S_COOP_2; p. 36, p. 327)

Knowledge: *Understanding of the way in which meanings of concepts are influenced by contexts and power relations.* (K_EPIST_2; p. 39; p. 328)

This planning process is completed in teams and thus in itself reflects the philosophy of the trainer training course, which "includes two face-to-face meetings (module A and module B) and online collaboration before, between and after the meetings, making this a blended learning approach." (Lazar/Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015, p. 11) A well-organised co-operation between course members and facilitators lies at the heart of the entire course for several reasons:

Firstly: The training activities help to create networks of educational professionals (Community of Practice) across the continent, stimulate interaction and create new knowledge. This work is supported by a virtual platform. (see Huber, 2011)

Secondly: „Co-operative learning is one such specific approach to learning and teaching that has demonstrated an ability to promote the development of democratic and intercultural competences regardless of the subject matter.“ (Lazar, 2015, p. 16)

Thirdly: „Educators adopting [a co-operative learning] approach claim that it not only helps students to better master the academic content of the class but also attenuates hostile and intolerant attitudes in the classroom. Because each student is dependent on the others to complete an activity, the method encourages a re-assessment of classmates, boosting unpopular students' ability to improve their reputation and helping popular students to become more accepting of others.“ (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015, p. 21)

These insights shape the philosophy of the Pestalozzi Programme's Community of Practice that "views the prevention of discrimination and violence not as a thematic issue but as a process, as a series of concrete actions that supports better organisation of teaching and learning, and which helps teachers to reflect on and prevent violent, discriminatory and anti-democratic structure.“ (Arato, 2015, p. 22)

Josef Huber, Head of the Pestalozzi Programme, sums up this approach as follows:

Methodology is not neutral. The way we train and teach needs to reflect and model the principles we train and teach for. In other words: the medium is (also) the message. Participative, democratic skills and behaviour cannot be taught in the same way that mere knowledge can be transmitted. [The training process] aims to mobilise the trainees' knowledge, skills and attitudes in order to further develop them through a collaborative process of challenge, experience and reflection. [...] Such a process needs time. The learning outcome of a training process that covers a certain period of time, with phases of face-to-face meetings

and phases of individual work coupled with mentoring and peer support largely exceeds one-off training activities that do not build on organised and structured follow-up. (Huber, 2011, p. 141; for a deeper understanding of this approach see Wahl, 2013, p. 291)

4 Selected observations from the perspective of social science education

Experiencing this trainer training course as a politics teacher, teacher trainer and lecturer, who has been educated and trained mainly in German contexts, three inter-related aspects seem to be particularly worth looking at (a-c).

a) The *60 activities* have the potential to show the way to truly learn about democracy

Pascale Mompoin-Gaillard using the example of a well-documented activity called "the neighbourhood yard" (see handbook, p. 44-46) points to the potentially powerful learning effects of combining action-orientation with professional de-briefing: "The aim of the activity is to raise learners' awareness of the psychosocial dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, co-operation/ competition and discrimination/prejudice. It may be exploited to develop learners' reflection on their own attitudes, beliefs and values, and to help them gain new skills and develop their knowledge of important concepts related to intercultural competence such as identity, discrimination, otherness, empathy, diversity, co-operation and interdependence." (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015c, p. 44)

For Mompoin-Gaillard, the "gold" lies in the debriefing as it helps learners to raise awareness of their personal feelings about and attitudes towards specific issues as well as observe and infer the impact their actions can have on the group (see Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015c, p. 43-44). Besides these personal insights, social and political implications in the real world can also be included when reflecting on the experienced course of the activities, as will be shown in the following.

b) The *TASKs* and truly *political* learning can complement each other in a coherent Training Unit

Josef Huber stresses the integrative function of the *TASKs*:

The importance of these so-called soft skills has long been underestimated [...]. Today we start to realise that only through the convergence of competences, specialist and subject-specific competences on the one hand and transversal, "soft" knowledge, skills and attitudes on the other, will it be possible to reach the nature and level of learning outcomes which are essential to make our societies politically, socially, economically and environmentally sustainable and democratic in the Europe of today, and above all, tomorrow. (Huber 2011b, p. 146)

Accordingly, seen from the point of view of Social Science Education, the TASKs can possibly fulfill an important function by integrating several layers of democracy. If you define democracy as a complex interaction on different levels (Himmelmann, 2002, p. 33), democracy can be seen as a way of life and/or a form of society and/or a form of government. Thus, if you want to become more competent as a democratic citizen, this has consequences on three interrelated levels: On an individual level this means developing with regard to yourself and interaction, diversity and empathy; on a social level one might improve in cooperation and participation as well as solidarity; on a political level one mainly learns about human rights and equity, about political conflicts and power structures or real decision-making processes.

These levels can then be deliberately integrated in Trainings Units that consider respective TASKs as mentioned above. With its focus on concepts (e.g. solidarity or power), K_EPIST_ 2 seems particularly helpful to include a political dimension in the Training Unit. In this context, the CLEAR approach (Concept Learning for Empowerment through Analysis and Reflection) could support this multi-dimensional approach to democratic and political learning: "CLEAR provides a concept-learning methodology that fosters learning processes of (self)-reflexivity, multi-perspectivity and information literacy for concepts central for political debate and societal change. Key concepts such as democracy and human rights are always contested. They are, in other words, sites of social, political and cultural disagreement and even conflict." (www.clear-project.net)

This approach does not contradict the fundamental belief of the Pestalozzi Programme, "that all traditional school and college subjects can incorporate cross-curricular [democratic] approaches, be it language/literature, mathematics, science, history, geography, art, drama, modern languages, physical education, music, or information and communication technology [...]" (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015, p. 18), it rather complements these fields.

Sybille Reinhardt, a renowned German academic, however observes: "The frequent demands for civic education as a teaching principle are motivated by a variety of interests (including hidden ones). Calling for the inclusion of civic education in all, or at least many, subjects can stem from a negative attitude toward the subject itself: if civic education is part of every subject, then this makes civics class as such superfluous. In my experience, such an attitude indicates scepticism toward the political sphere and a reluctance toward learning conflict competency, as well as, more generally, a lack of familiarity with the logic of political, economic, and legal behaviour. While those exhibiting this stance recognize social behaviour (such as in a family context), they are not able to abstract from or politicize it." (Reinhardt, 2015, p. 61)

This said, the relation between democracy and politics seems to be worth looking at in international / comparative education. It seems as if *democracy* is associated

positively whereas *politics* has a negative connotation. This raises the question of how to think and arrange content between TASKs and subjects like politics, government or social sciences in an international educational setting.

- c) The evaluation and assessment of soft skills and/or attitudes is central to the success of TASKs in formal educational practice, but is difficult to implement.ⁱ

Two aspects need to be considered when, for example, dealing with TASK A_HR_2 (Readiness to adopt the values of human rights and democratic citizenship as the foundation of living and acting).

Firstly, "if learning is not subjected to testing, then it will not be recognised. In this way, as a tacit principle, what is assessed not only limits the scope of what teachers teach, but also limits how much effort students will put in their learning and work [...]. (Mompoin-Gaillard 2015: 21)

Secondly, "[the] assessment of results pertaining to values and attitudes [...] poses many ethical and procedural difficulties." (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2015a, p. 21)

It will be interesting and necessary for practitioners and researchers to find out more about practical ways to keep the open, playful character of activities like "the neighbourhood yard" while avoiding lip services or encroaching educational settings.

5 Attitudes and values count

As mentioned above, the way the trainer training course is realized methodologically, it recognizes the fundamental importance of making values and attitudes with regard to democracy accessible and workable in educational settings: "To raise awareness of and sensitivity to the issues of human rights, democracy and rule of law, one must call on citizens' [and students'/ trainees'/ teachers'] frames of values to tap into their affective register. This is why, when attempting at determining "what?", "why?" and "how?" we should design teacher education to support sustainable democratic societies – the question of values can not be circumvented." (Mompoin-Gaillard, 2011, p. 40) The values, the Council of Europe has taken up the cause of, are actively embraced by the Pestalozzi Programme, using the European Youth Centre in Strassburg as a pan-European teacher training centre: "Lecturing about democracy and the importance of intercultural competence will not be credible and is not likely to have an impact if trainers or teachers are not democratic and interculturally competent in their communication and their approach to the teaching and learning process." (Lazar, 2015, p. 16)

The truly international course - as well as the handbook - has been and still is consistent between concepts and values that are taught and the concepts and values that are used in the daily trainer training practice. The team of facilitators, for instance, comes from Hungary, Portugal, Croatia and France. The two official languages (English; French) are used alternately, plenary sessions are translated simultaneously. With educational



professionals from all over Europe and not more than two people coming from the same country, the course is in itself an inter-cultural encounter.

The action-oriented, reflexive and very well thought-through concept of *TASKs for democracy* should be widely used, tested, tried out and discussed in all kinds of formal and non-formal educational settings. In my view, especially student teachers at universities all over Europe should be confronted with this holistic approach in an early, but hopefully influential stage of their professional careers. The area of conflict between democratic/educational mission and academic content needs to be permanently balanced or negotiated, of course. Perhaps the *TASKs for democracy*-project likewise provides an appropriate concept also for precisely this ends.

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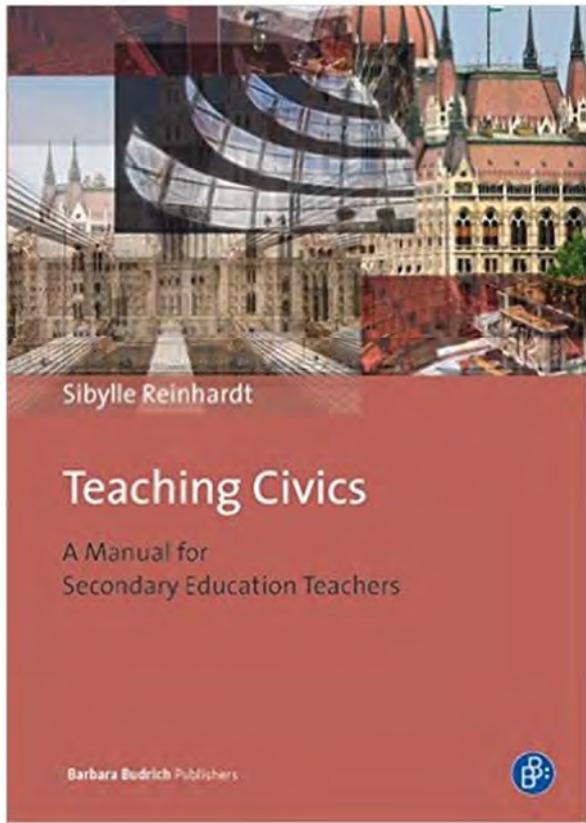
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Endnote

ⁱ "By "evaluation" we mean activities that focus on learning and teaching outcomes, providing information for improvement and further planning. [...] By "assessment" we mean activities that measure and reflect the level of understanding and mastery of competences regarding the content of the session." (Lazar/Mompoin-Gaillard 2015: 42)



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**Two Perspectives on the Book:
Reinhardt, Sibylle. 2015. Teaching Civics.
A Manual for Secondary Education Teachers,
Leverkusen: Barbara Budrich Publishers
ISBN: 978-3-8474-0704-1,
244 pp., 29,90 €**

out some of the accepted notions we have about democracy and how to educate people to understand the forces and inherent tensions in democratic systems and how to live in such realities. The importance of the subject and its proper and detailed consideration is a view shared by other educators who contend that 'properly developed and delivered educational practice on social learning can help promote social integration as well as contribute much to the fight against racism and xenophobia, and to developing essential attitudes and skills of inter-cultural communication, tolerance and understanding within a democratic framework' (CICE nd).

The book divides into a number of sections. Part one outlines what Reinhardt calls the Foundations of the subject. This section covers what she refers to as the building blocks of civic instruction and include the role of the teacher, the normative goal of learning as learning democracy, student abilities and learning democracy in the institution of school and she returns to these themes over the course of the book.

In the opening stages she argues that there has been a shift in focus from inputs with the emphasis on skills to competencies or outputs. Reinhardt offers the example of the guidelines for civic instruction for north Rhine Westphalia which seek to not only develop the child's 'ability and willingness to think about societal, political and economic structures' but to challenge and question such assumptions and 'to critically examine underlying structures, norms and interests' so that young people can 'develop the ability to adopt as their own, the ideas and values passed down to them as well as if necessary to consciously disengage from them' (p19). This notion of challenging convention and traditional structures through exploring controversial material in the classroom features throughout the book.

Reinhardt identifies the goal of democratic civic education as being about 'the formation of responsible citizens that is citizens who, out of responsibility for themselves and for others, keep themselves informed and independently make their own voices heard in the debates surrounding the political solutions to shared problems' (p18). This aim is not out of keeping with aims for similar subject approaches in other European countries. In the Irish context for example, Civics is taught primarily through the subjects of CSPE (Civic, Social and Political Education) up to the end of the junior cycle in secondary school and through the newly introduced subject of Politics and Society, for senior cycle. CSPE aims to 'encourage and develop the practical skills which enable students to engage in active participatory social

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"Teaching Civics. A Manual for Secondary Education Teachers" by Sibylle Reinhardt, which is considered to be a seminal text in the German speaking world, has recently been published in English. The book is intended to act as a handbook which, according to the preface, 'should be used and responded to in ways that are as diverse as its readers'. This modest claim for the usefulness of the book doesn't really do justice to the wealth and depth of material contained within it.

It is a logical and comprehensive work which offers a range of practical and theoretical considerations for teachers and learners in the subject area of Civics / Citizenship Education in secondary schools. Drawing on her experience as a teacher and academic in the thematic area, Reinhardt identifies the key concepts in the subject, the professional skills and competencies required of teachers and outlines a number of approaches to teaching and planning for the subject.

It is an extremely useful book in that it offers an insightful understanding of the complexity of the subject itself and the practical examples and case studies contained in it provide valuable templates for classroom activity. Although located within and drawing from a German experience and context, this material could easily be amended and adapted for use in a variety of contexts, across different jurisdictions and across different education sectors. It is of benefit to educators and particularly to teacher training programs as it outlines in an accessible fashion how the professional teacher should be prepared and how they should act and it speaks with authority on the necessity for such a subject in school systems in modern democratic states. It teases

interaction, and to adopt responsible roles as individuals, family members, citizens, workers, consumers, and members of various communities within a democratic society' (DES, 2016).

This notion of educating for an active citizenry is touched upon by Reinhardt in the opening section of the book and, elaborating on Ross' view that 'active citizenship should be encouraged and developed by educators (even though this might not necessarily be the first choice of all policy makers) and the context of contemporary Europe makes the development of an active citizenry particularly necessary' (Ross, 2008, p. 43) she suggests that 'if the active citizen is the ideal goal of civic education...the apathetic citizen represents the greatest difficulty for civic educators who should work to face this challenge rather than capitulate before it'.

Reinhardt poses what is probably the key question concerning the subject and not just from a German perspective but also arguably from a broader European perspective: 'How can democracy learning be translated into competencies that have normative content, can be formulated in terms of levels or steps and are empirically measurable?' (p. 22). She uses the example of teaching and testing knowledge related to the German electoral system to ask 'How can we know if the student can apply whatever knowledge they have or what significance it has for the political behavior?' (p. 28). These questions and the response of education systems to it is perhaps more critical and topical than ever in terms of the current European context which is arguably facing an existential crisis with threats to its economic, social and political structures.

The second and subsequent parts of the book are perhaps of most use to the trainee and established practitioner or teacher. Part two, *Teaching Civics: Principles and Methods*, which constitutes what she rightfully suggests is the heart of the book, begins by outlining what the author identifies as seven teaching principles which can be configured as methodologies and which form the 'glue that holds the teaching triangle (subject matter, learner, teacher) together' (p. 73). The seven principles she outlines are the conflict-based approach, problem-based approach, action-based approach, case teaching, future-based approach, moral and political judgment and the genetic method in civic education. Each of these is given a dedicated chapter in which the author begins by providing a theoretical context for the approach, moves on to suggest a framework within which to deal with the particular principle and each chapter concludes with recommendations on how best to plan and deliver classes with the particular approach. The chapter on conflict-based approaches for example, begins by discussing what is conflict and explores the work of Dahrendorf concerning how the 'creative power of conflict...constitutes a vital principle of all societies' (p74). The chapter goes on to offer a number of different categories or ways to conduct conflict analysis in classroom situations. Each of these categories, suggest Reinhardt, can lead teachers and students to develop a set of questions which can be used to then critically analyse particular conflicts which are presented in the

classroom in the form of real-life examples and using materials that can be integrated into conflict-based lessons. One of the many interesting aspects of this and the other chapters in part two is that the author draws on her own experience as a teacher and offers concrete examples from this experience, discusses problems that arose in the particular teaching episodes and describes how these were resolved. The categories that Reinhardt offers give learners a framework for how best to approach a problem and systematically work their way through it and this chapter was perhaps the most interesting one in this section of the book from this reader's perspective as the conflict-based approach allows students to begin to develop understanding of complex situations while at the same time equipping them with a set of valuable, transferable skills. The comprehensive, detailed and forensic approach taken in the chapter on conflict-based approaches is repeated in each of the subsequent chapters on those particular principles. This part of the book offers a rich set of practical guidelines for teachers which is grounded in theory, practice and experience and although based within the German education system could, with very little difficulty, be adapted to local and national needs in other national and educational contexts. The concluding sections of the book offer interesting and useful material on the development of critical skills for students moving in to higher education and in a final chapter some more practical guidelines and suggestions regarding lesson planning and are provided.

The book is very well written in an accessible style which is well served by the translation which presents a number of difficult concepts and materials in an engaging manner. Overall the book makes an important contribution at both a scholarly and practical level. It calls for a research based approach to many of the critical elements involved in teaching about and for citizenship and should provide guidance and food for thought for practitioners and academics alike.

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The strength of the book by Reinhardt is that it draws both on empirical research and on the large tradition of *politische Bildung* (political or civic education), in Germany, where researchers continuously engage in discussions and investigations of various approaches, principles and methods in the teaching of civic education.

The first part of the book provides the foundation for teaching civics in the form of a discussion of the goals of civic education and also some results from empirical studies concerning youth and politics. In the second part, the focus is on principles and methods in the teaching of civics. The third part is about the transition to upper grades of High School and civics as an introduction to the social sciences, and the fourth part is about lesson planning.

From a Scandinavian perspective, this book provides a valuable insight into central aspects of the German tradition of *politische Bildung*, a tradition which in many cases has been an inspiration for the development of civic education in the Scandinavian countries, while other sources of inspiration come from the English-speaking world. The book also provides valuable input for the planning and carrying out of civics teaching.

In Norway Rolf Th. Tønnessen (then professor of teacher education in Agder) published a dissertation on "Democratic education from a German perspective" in 1992. This dealt mainly with a discussion of the works of the German theorist of political education Herman Giesecke, and in Denmark the thoughts of Giesecke, with the focus on conflicts in political education and also works of the German professor in education Wolfgang Klafki, inspired the teaching of social science as well as the curriculum. On the other hand, inspiration from the English speaking world can be seen in the optimistic view of social *science* as the solution to societal problems. This can be seen in the strong focus on the scientific concepts in social science education for instance in the Swedish context. On a research level, similar inspiration is also present in the works on conceptual change in social studies by researchers at the University of Stockholm (Lundholm & Davies, 2013). In later years, the development of citizenship education in Great Britain has been discussed, for instance in Solhaug & Børhaug(2012). In the past few years the Scandinavian debate on civics education has been fueled also by the bi-annual NOFA-conferences (jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1500) and the journal "Nordidactica" (www.kau.se/nordidactica).

The translation of the German terminology into English and Scandinavian (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish) languages presents several challenges. First of all "*politische Bildung*" is not easily translated into English, as it refers to a tradition which is not entirely similar to "civic education" as it is translated to in Reinhardt's book (p.17). The title of the book "*politik didaktik*" is translated as "teaching civics", which is probably the most adequate translation even if the German concept of "*didaktik*" can be understood as broader than the concept of "teaching".

Civic education in Scandinavia

When we look at the situation in Scandinavia a further layer is added as the school subjects that deal with civic education and the teaching and learning of democracy and politics appear with different names and content. In the following I focus on Danish, Norwegian and Swedish as these languages have many similarities. For the discussion of the development in Finland I use the Swedish terms.ⁱ

While "*politische Bildung*" in Germany developed as a distinct area of teaching and research at universities despite the fact that it did not cover one separate school subject, in the Scandinavian countries civic education in schools developed in such a way that all the countries now have a subject that brings together elements from the broader research fields of politics, sociology and economy. Historically, civic education was a part of the teaching of history, but in the 1960s and 1970s and, in the case of Finland in 2004, was established as a separate subject, under the names of "*Samfundsfag*" (Denmark) "*Samfunnskunnskab*" (Norway) or "*Samhällskunnskab*" (Sweden), "*Samhällslära*" (Finland) all names signaling the knowledge of society. It is sometimes translated as "civic education", in Denmark the official translation is "social studies"¹ or "social science education". This development mirrored both a rise in the social sciences as fields of study at the universities and inspirations from reform- and critical pedagogics to focus more on societal issues in schools (Christensen, 2012).

In Denmark the subject has elements from sociology, politics and economy and is a compulsory subject in grade 8 and 9 in lower secondary school and in upper secondary school. In Sweden the subject is mandatory from primary throughout secondary school. In Norway there is a broad category of social sciences encompassing geography, history and social studies (*Samfunnskunnskab*), where social studies is also defined as having elements of sociology, economics and politics. As part of the subject the Norwegian curriculum also has an area called "the explorer" with a focus on social science methods (Koritzinsky, 2014, p. 45). The Norwegian subject is mandatory in primary and lower secondary education. In upper secondary education social science is optional. In Finland *Samhällslära* has been mandatory in grade 7-9 but from 2016 it will also become part of the curriculum in the grades 4-6 (Löfström, 2014).

Similar publications in Scandinavian languages

In Norway the work by Rolf Tønnessen (Tønnessen, 1992), former researcher and teacher in the teacher education, built directly on the German tradition, and he has also published a book similar in scope to that of Sibylle Reinhardt (Tønnessen & Tønnessen, 2007). Some recent books that deal with the same issues are (Koritzinsky, 2014), in Norwegian (Långström & Virta, 2011), in Swedish and (Christensen 2015) in Danish.

The teaching principles and methods

Reinhardt presents and discusses seven teaching principles, or approaches, that can be characterized by



teaching-learning methods that are defined as “the structure of a lesson series and describes its inner dynamic i.e., the development of learners’ interaction with the subject matter” (p. 73). The seven approaches are familiar to Scandinavian readers, even if the debate has not been as extensive as in Germany: They are the: “conflict-based approach”, “problem-based approach”, “action based approach”, “case teaching”, “future-based approach”, “moral and political judgement” and “the genetic method in civic education”.

In a Danish context the problem-based approach has had a direct influence on the curriculum. In 1975 when social studies was introduced in the lower secondary school, the aim was to give the students “insight in relevant problems of our time”, this was both inspired by the political climate post- 1968 and by the didactical thinking of both Wolfgang Klafki and Hermann Giesecke. For the teachers in the late 1970s, the problem-oriented method was the key to social studies in lower secondary school (Kristensen & Stigsgaard, 1979). This was not as widely the case in the case of upper secondary school where the subject, and the education of the teachers, was more closely tied to the disciplinary structure of academic social sciences at the universities.

What remains from the problem-oriented approach in Denmark is that it is generally seen as a fruitful way of doing social studies, but the conditions framework for doing this has are limited as the subject only has two lessons weekly in grades 8 and 9 in the lower secondary school. In contrast, problem-orientation has a prominent place in a mandatory interdisciplinary project work which the students carry out in grade nine. It must be noted that in Denmark the problem-oriented approach has been developed in connection with a project-oriented approach, which influenced both lower and upper secondary civics education.

The conflict based approach has not been as clearly described in Scandinavian didactical thinking as a distinct approach, but it is still fair to say, that the conflict view of society has had a huge influence on the teaching of social studies. It is common to work with the differences between a conflict view and a conservative/functionalist view of society which was also explicitly expressed in the curriculum in 2009 for lower secondary schools in Denmark.

The action-based approach has its own history in Denmark, where the notion of action-competence developed especially by Karsten Schnack who, as professor of education in Copenhagen until 2011, has had a broad impact primarily in pedagogics and in environmental education.¹¹

If we look at Sweden, one of the interesting aspects is that there seems to be a strong confidence in the use of learning content from the social sciences as such - a theme Reinhardt also discusses (176ff). In the Swedish curriculum one of the goals for grades seven to nine is that students shall learn to “analyze societal structures with the aid of concepts and models from the social sciences”. This approach is also reflected in the subtitle of the book on didactics of social studies by Långström and Virta “Social studies’ didactics – education in demo-

cracy and social scientific thinking”¹¹ (Långström & Virta, 2011). In this book there are many relevant discussions of the content of social studies, but only one chapter on methods in the teaching of the subject – the working methods that are mentioned are “source-criticism”, “SWOT-analysis”, “analysis of argument”, “writing”, “field trips”, “interview”, “simulations”, “debate” and “role-play” (Långström & Virta, 2011, p. 136).

Theo Koritzinsky, in his book on the teaching of social studies writes in a Norwegian context (Koritzinsky, 2014). Like Långström and Virta he also dedicates one chapter (out of 8) to teaching and methods in teaching. Interestingly enough he also dedicates one chapter to the students’ use of methods of collecting and using sources for learning. The teaching-learning methods discussed are “classroom teaching”, “group-work”, “the students as researchers”, “storyline” and “project-work” (Koritzinsky, 2014, pp. 177-215).

In comparison with the list of methods given by Reinhardt, both Koritzinsky and Långström and Virta seem to discuss the methods that are already in use in the respective school systems in the light of civic education, while Reinhardt provides a list of teaching-learning methods that have been discussed and developed theoretically in the German tradition of politische Bildung – this is also why her book can claim that it can be “read as the legacy of civics/social science teaching in Germany since World War II” (p. 73).

In their book on the teaching of social studies (2007) Tønnessen and Tønnesen draw heavily on the German tradition. As already mentioned Rolf Tønnessen also wrote his dissertation on the discussion of Hermann Giesecke. In a later book addressed to teachers the categories from Giesecke’s conflict approach are presented as an analytical tool (Tønnessen & Tønnessen, 2007, p. 86). In terms of working methods in teaching Tønnessen et al. mention “one talks, the rest listens”, “teaching with focus on concepts”, “discussion”, “political talk show” and “games”. On the level of methods, most attention is given to “problem-oriented teaching” and “project-work”. “Field-trips”, “case-studies” and “studies of society” are also considered. The latter deals with scientific methods from the social sciences. Case studies are treated with the same systematic as in the book by Reinhart (Reinhardt, 2015, p. 125; Tønnessen & Tønnessen, 2007, p. 221).

The examples

The sample lessons given in the book are useful as they give examples of how it the principles can be carried out in class. Most of the examples presented by Reinhardt, such as the law of shop opening hours (p. 80), Muslim teachers wearing headscarf in class, (p. 97) or garbage disposal (p. 151), might as well be taken from Scandinavian classrooms even though the contexts are different.

Perspectives

As I see the translation of the book by Reinhardt in a Danish and Scandinavian perspective, it opens up many possibilities. As a teacher involved in teacher education, I



find that it will be valuable especially in discussing principles and methods in civic education and the teaching of social sciences. As a ph.d. student and researcher I think it can provide an important input into how teaching and learning in the area of the social sciences can be discussed with a foundation in research. In this way I see the book both as an inspiration for prospective teachers of civic education, for educators working in teacher education and for researchers in the field of civic education.

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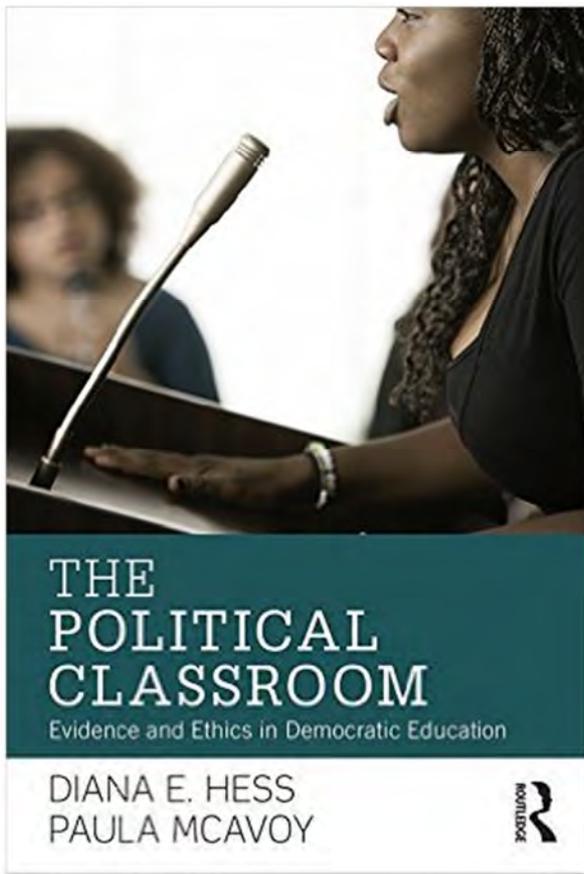
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Endnotes:

- ¹ As Swedish is the second official language of Finland official documents such as curricula are published both in Finnish and Swedish.
² The action competence approach in environmental education, *Environmental Education Research* 12(3-4), 2006 Special Issue: Researching education and the environment: retrospect and prospect
³ Samhällskunskapsdidaktik – Utbildning i demokrati och samhällsvetenskapligt tänkande





Review of the Book:

Diana Hess/Paula McAvoy. 2015. The political classroom. Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education, New York/London: Routledge, ISBN: 978-0-415-88099-2 247 pp., 37 \$

19) Hence the book offers a very inspiring, empirically grounded discussion of the very practical questions many teachers face on a daily basis: “What values, skills and dispositions am I trying to encourage when I engage students in discussions of political controversy?” (p. 77)

The United States as context

The present political situation in the United States poses severe challenges for teachers when dealing with controversial issues in their classrooms. While students are to be encouraged “to adopt a view of democracy that is more deliberate than what they see in the public sphere” (p. 79), at the same time Hess/McAvoy report of “concerns from some teachers that they are not as trusted as they need to be by parents or the general public to create a politically fair classroom.” (p. 205)

The direct consequences of this mistrust for educational practice are not far to seek: “Many teachers choose to avoid using political deliberations and discussions with students, often because they are unsure about how to negotiate the accompanying pedagogical challenges. Further deterring teachers is the increasingly polarized climate outside schools. Fear of parental and public backlash leads some teachers to retreat to lectures and the textbook.” (p. 6)

Hess/McAvoy do not conceal these challenges, they rather point to the growing necessity of well-educated teachers who make well-informed choices and decisions when teaching controversial issues as one “of the effects of political polarization and the increasing ideological make-up of so many communities in the United States is that citizens are not routinely exposed to political views on important political issues that differ from their own.” (p. 52)

The Political Classroom takes up this social challenge: “First, when classrooms are heterogeneous along lines of social class or race, teachers need to be aware of how social divisions affect the classroom culture. [...] Second, and more commonly, because schools in the United States have been rapidly resegregating since the mid-1980s, the deliberative space of the classroom is often a discussion among similarly positioned people in society [...]. In short, if the overarching question of the political classroom is, “How should we live together?”, then teachers need to be very clear about who is and who is not represented within their classrooms.” (p. 7-8)

The Political Classroom as teaching concept

Against this background Hess/McAvoy present an ethical framework for professional judgment that combines

The Political Classroom: How should we live together?

The Political Classroom is about how to work towards more nonpartisan political education in the United States and offers interesting insights into US classrooms, into the current functioning of American democracy, American schools and the American society. This book is entertaining to read and offers a varied mixture of empirical data, philosophical elaborations and personalized stories about teaching controversial issues in different school contexts. Clearly, Hess/McAvoy make the case for a professional teacher education. Written for teacher training and professional communities of practice in schools, it presents “one approach to democratic education” with the main focus on “cultivating students’ ability to discuss political issues”. (p. 77)

The research project

To anticipate the outcome, Hess/McAvoy’s research results point to the effectiveness of teaching for, through and about democracy: “There is clearly a strong relationship between the kinds of knowledge, skill, and dispositions that can be influenced by schooling and whether and how young people take up their citizen role as they age.” (p. 68) The study thus investigates the way *The Political Classroom* interacts with students and teachers on a large scale, using both quantitative and qualitative data (p. 10). One major focus is “[to] examine what students experience and learn in classes that engage them in high-quality discussions of political issues and to identify the effect of those experiences on study participants’ future political and civic engagement.” (p.

learning aims with the respective teaching context (e.g. classroom; school; larger political culture; community; country) taking into account evidence that is relevant for the specific learning group (Part I: Context, Evidence and Aims).

Regarding learning aims *The Political Classroom* focuses on *Political equality* as ideally enacted in classroom deliberations among equals, *Tolerance* towards contrary but reasonable views, *Political Autonomy* to participate in political affairs and *Political Autonomy* from your own political socialization as well as *Fairness*. Together they can enable students to think beyond their self-interest when making political choices, according to the authors. (see pp. 77-78) Added to this are *Political Engagement* outside of school and *Political Literacy* to “help students place the argument they hear and their own views into the larger political picture.” (p. 79)

How exactly can teachers work towards these aims by discussing controversial issues? What effect do specific classes have on learners in the short and long term? (p. 67) Firstly, Hess/McAvoy carve out different types of classroom interaction to make their point: “Students in Lecture classes are often engaged, to be sure, but their comments often sounded as if they appreciated being entertained. Students in Discussion Classes can choose to engage with the teacher in a dialogue, but they are not routinely required to engage with one another. Best Practice Discussion students are engaged with one another and as a result feel more responsibility for contributing to the learning that occurs in their classroom.” (p. 52) Secondly, the authors use their data to personalize teachers’ individual motivation in their political classrooms: “For one teacher, the central aim is to motivate students to participate actively in democratic institutions; for a second teacher, the paramount goal is to foster political friendships that transcend partisan lines; and for a third teacher, the key objective was to inspire students at an independent Christian school to reflect critically on their political values while adhering to their religious beliefs.” (p. 81)

Three case studies from different educational contexts within the United States highlight the different ways chosen by teachers to work towards these similar learning aims (Part II: Cases of Practice).

In “Adams High: A Case of Inclusive Participation (Chapter 5)” the focus of interest is on the social composition of *The Political Classroom* when arguing about controversial issues in front of a wider audience. The authors describe a legislative simulation on immigration in a public school with diverse racial/social classes:

The students of color, for the most part, valued the experience of the simulation, though many also said that they heard views from their classmates that they found offensive. However, having the opportunity to vote and speak against these views was powerful. As one example, Gabe, a first-generation Mexican American student, overheard his fellow Republicans dismissing a Democrat speaking in favor of an immigration reform bill, saying things like, “Oh man,

get out of here,” and, “Go back to Mexico.” [...] Gabe decided to act. [...] He walked over to the line to speak, and, though he “felt very uncomfortable,” he told the assembly that he was an immigrant and a Republican and that he “supported the Democrat side. (p. 103)

Hess/McAvoy analyze and evaluate this observation very positively:

Gabe’s example illustrates the democratic values in tension during the simulation. On the one hand, students experience a highly partisan activity designed to give them an understanding of the legislative process, but students also feel personally invested in the issues. Further, while students are expected to treat each other as political equals, they nevertheless experience different social standing relative to the issues. (p. 103-104)

The second case study, “Mr. Kushner: A Case of Political Friendship (Chapter 6)”, is based on data from a rather like-minded, leftish school. What is of main interest here, is the way Mr. Kushner wants students to be tolerant and fair toward the other: “That is, he wants students to know how to disagree in a spirit of goodwill and to talk about differences in a way that preserves relationships and respect.” (p. 117) In this context, Hess/McAvoy mention three habits, that could be developed to encourage political friendship: “1. willingness to talk to others as political equals; 2. reasoning about public policy with a concern for the public good; 3. holding a view of politics that obligates winners to maintain a relationship with those who lost a particular political battle.” (p. 129)

In the third case study “Mr. Walters. A Case of bounded autonomy (Chapter 7)”, the authors carry out research at a private evangelical Christian school and see ways of balancing Christian faith and political autonomy: “According to its mission statement and website, King High was established with the core beliefs that parents are primarily responsible for their children’s education, the Bible is the word of God, and the school ought to be an extension of the home. To enroll, students and their parents have to sign a statement declaring they have “been saved” - meaning they have dedicated their lives to Jesus and trust that He will guide them to heaven and “save” them from hell. [...]” (p. 133)

What can be deduced from this? How can the aims of *The Political Classroom* be adapted to the vast variety of different classes or schools in different countries?

The following systematizing analysis (Part III: Professional Judgment) helps to comprehend and – if required - easier implement parts of the concept of *The Political Classroom* in one’s own educational practice.

1. How should teachers decide what to present as a controversial political issue?
2. How should teachers balance the tension between engaging students in authentic political controversies and creating a classroom climate that is fair and welcoming to all students?

3. Should teachers withhold or disclose their views about the issues they introduce as controversial?" (p. 155)

First of all: There are no simple rules. Hess/McAvoy stress the importance of "professional judgment", asking teachers to consider their teaching context, the educational aims and available evidence. (p. 12) The Political Classroom implies that "decisions about what issues to include in the curriculum and whether to include them as open or settled are themselves highly controversial *pedagogical* issues that should be deliberated." (p. 173)

To give an example: Whether an issue is controversial (or controvertible) or not can depend on the definition of the issue, that is, whether it is a question of values or rather rights. For instance: "Instead of treating same-sex marriages as an open question, some argued that it should be presented as a human rights question for which there is a correct answer: Same-sex marriages should be legalized." (p. 159)

Moreover, there are empirical and political questions, while issues can also be presented as either open or settled. (p. 160) "Empirical questions can be answered through systematic enquiry requiring observation or experimentation. [...]" (p. 161) Political questions on the other hand are not resolvable by 'empirics' (information, data, statistics, etc.) alone, but are about how we should live together and are thus guided more by norms, values and ideas (p. 161) However, the two types of questions can be (and mostly are) closely related.

A further differentiation concerns whether a question can be deemed settled or open. "The difference between a settled and open issue is whether it is a matter of controversy or has been decided. Settled issues are questions for which there is broadbased agreement that a particular decision is well warranted. Open questions, on the other hand, are those that are matters of live controversy." (p. 161) Accordingly, settled empirical questions should be taught as settled. Such would be the case regarding the issue of climate change. However, precisely this example also reveals a further important aspect in differences between empirical and political or open and settled issues, namely that the 'nature' of the respective issues may depend also on the larger societal context: What is deemed controversial in one society (climate change in the United States) constitutes an almost wholly settled, empirical issue in European countries.

Secondly, in addition to defining types of issues, Hess/McAvoy provide a set of criteria for framing various political issues (pp. 166-169):

- Behavioral Criterion (some people in our society seem to be disagreeing about this topic)
- Epistemic Criterion (are standards of moral and political philosophy met/reasonableness)
- Politically authentic (issues need to have traction in the public sphere)

This set of criteria needs to be seen as complementing each other: "While the behavioral criterion is critiqued

for being too broad, the epistemic criterion is too narrow for the political classroom. Moreover, reasonableness is *an* aim of the political classroom but not the only aim. Teachers also want students to learn to treat each other as political equals by deliberating across their political, moral, cultural and religious differences. Toward that end, students need to learn to respond to views that appear unreasonable (and to be open to the possibility that their own views do not hold up under scrutiny). (p. 168)

Thirdly, Hess/MyAvoy discuss how to decide when best to avoid or deliberate a topic. Of course it is not only important to determine which issues to discuss and how to frame them in the classroom. The 'flipside' is then being able to determine which issues to omit or avoid in a particular setting. Here the authors also provide a set of considerations and guidelines. This likewise represents a balancing act between taking up controversial issues, omitting inappropriate ones but also not conflating the latter with mere conflict or controversy avoidance. "If students did not talk about these issues in school, it was unlikely they would build the political literacy needed to weigh in on them when called upon to make decisions as participants in the political sphere. Moreover, avoiders tend to underestimate the ability of their students to engage in meaningful discussions and overestimated the sensitivity of their students." (p. 175)

These pedagogical choices need educational professionals who feel they can handle challenging classroom situations that are likely to occur when teaching controversial issues in heterogeneous classes: "These teachers knew that bad behavior could occur, but they viewed correcting students about the civility of their comments as part of their educational responsibility and part of the learning process itself. That is, instead of shutting down discussions that were not going well or avoiding hard issues in the first place, these teachers felt it was up to them to address the problems head-on by encouraging vulnerable students to stand up for themselves and by helping students who make insensitive comments learn how to express themselves in ways that do not exact such a high price from others." (p. 176-177)

When to disclose your own political view?

Furthermore, teachers ought to think about disclosing and withholding their political views as pedagogical tools that should be used intentionally and with good judgment. (p. 182) Transparency, explanation of the politics teacher's unique role and communicative skills seem to be of particular relevance: "One of the most salient aspects of this research was how much disagreement we encountered among students in the same classroom about whether their teacher was sharing personal political views." (p. 186)

Based on their evidence, Hess/McAvoy argue that too much neutrality "ignores the ways in which schools are and should be institutions committed to democratic values." (p. 191) At the same time, "too much of the teacher's view undermines classroom deliberation." (p. 192)



Outlook

The authors' awareness of their project's own limitations sharpens the view for the true potential of the *Political Classroom*: "We want to be clear that we do not believe that merely teaching young people to deliberate will transform society; social inequality and political polarization are problems far too complicated to be corrected by schools. Nevertheless, deliberative principles can transform individuals, as these values can promote more productive classrooms, friendships, families, workplaces, and community organizations and can also shape how young people evaluate what is appropriate behavior in the public sphere." (p. 9) Furthermore, they state: "Teacher skill certainly matters, but our data show that even with teachers [...] who set clear norms for respectful discussion, model those norms, and explicitly teach and enforce them, students will make comments that offend and anger others, and students will come away from the same discussion with very different experiences." (p. 126-27)

The true democratic potential might therefore be found with regard to soft skills when Hess/McAvoy refer to Danielle Allen's concept of political friendship to point out the communicative and also emotional, cultural dimension of discussing controversial issues in class: "Debates over these issues (unemployment, welfare, taxes, affirmative action, monetary policy and other social-justice issues) are politically divisive not only because they are substantively difficult but also because they give citizens superb opportunities to reveal what their fellow citizens are worth to them." (Allen 2004: 96; in: Hess/McAvoy 2015: 127)

For non-US readers, *The Political Classroom* offers food for comparative thoughts; typologies and structures that can be easily related to German academic discourse such as on the *Beutelsbach consensus*, a minimum standard of civic education that is widely agreed on. (http://www.confusingconversations.de/mediawiki/index.php/Beutelsbach_Consensus) Having said this, up to now there is hardly any reference to how teaching concepts similar to the political classrooms are contextualized in political systems beyond the United States. The inclusion of research and studies outside the US context would have certainly proved beneficial, both in pointing out particularities there but also of course for gauging the scope of transferability of their study to other countries. However, regarding the increasingly polarized societies in many European countries - including Germany -, *The Political Classroom* can offer effective support for educational professionals when dealing with culturally sensitive questions such as:

- How should we live together in Germany?
- How should we live together in Europe?

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