School Democracy and Increased Student Diversity

edited by

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Trond Solhaug

Democratic Schools – Analytical Perspectives

1 Democratic schools

In this introduction democratic schools means schools which are run according to democratic principles and values.

Why publish a special issue on democratic schools? First, from an educational perspective, schools are the most important public institution for citizen's qualifycation and socialization in life. While most students qualify for further studies or work, they experience schools very differently, and a large minority drop out before graduating. It is important to research how schools support all students and qualify them for later studies in life. Second, democracies are struggling to provide work and welfare for many citizens, and these democratic failures often lead to declining political trust. Democratic schools are often associated with preparing students for active citizenship where the idea is that student participation in democratic schools may promote students' inclination to participate in civic activities after leaving school (Biesta, 2011). This way, schools are to some extent seen as a solution to the political challenges in democracies. In this introduction to a special issue on democratic schools, I elaborate theoretically on what we should mean and how we should analyse schools as more or less democratic schools?

I argue that to really analyse how *democratic* the schools are, one must consider several aspects of their legal framework as well as their guiding norms and practices. This implies taking a holistic view of school based on democratic and educational theories and analysing several factors: participation, school as an institution, teaching styles, values, virtues, and above all, inclusion in school. A citizenship perspective is used to focus on the relationship between students, parents, and school leadership and related governing bodies, municipalities, and the state. Such a perspective clarifies that students at any level in school have rights and duties and should be treated as citizens. This perspective contrasts the view often held in schools that students are only citizens 'in the making'. Such a perspective tends to ignore that children are legal entities with extensive rights in society and framed by the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN. 1989). It is argued that a citizenship perspective is a fruitful guiding principle for teacher practices to sufficiently cover important democratic aspects of schooling. The outline of the introduction is as follows. The main body is the theoretical framework of schools, followed by a presentation of the research contributions in this special issue. Finally, I offer some research samples and suggestions for further reading.

2 Conceptual clarification and legal framework

Carl Cohen defines democracy as, "*that system of community government in which, by and large, the members of a community participate, directly or indirectly, in the making of decisions which affect them all*" (Cohen, 1971, 7). While Cohen had governing bodies of states in mind, the 'system of community government' might also work for the governing structures of schools and their body of decisions. Schools are usually regulated by law, and using Norway as an example, the law on education specifies the rights and duties of students and parents. Also, different governing bodies such as counties and municipalities have freedom and responsibilities in governing schools (Opplæringslova, 1998). Since students' (and their parents') life in school is regulated by legal frameworks we may speak of a 'school citizenship'. Isin og Nyers defines citizenship as …"an *institution' mediating rights (and duties – author comment) between the subjects of politics and the polity of which these subjects belong*" (Isin & Nyers, 2014, p. 1). Using this definition, we may speak of students and parents in schools as political subjects in a single school which is included in local governmental bodies or schools in the state as levels of government and their accompanying polities. School citizenship might be defined as follows; *school is an 'institution' mediating rights and duties concerning schooling between students and their parents and the levels of school government of which these students and parents belong.* What states might have in common, with some variation, is schools as qualifying and socializing institutions with accompanying rights and duties of students and their parents (i.e. school citizenship). What might be more variable is the local autonomy of schools and local school government. While the Scandinavian countries have a somewhat centralized system of national curricula, the US and Germany offer considerably more local autonomy to states and Länder. The legal framework of schools might be subject to various democratic influences such as media, political debates, and elections in a large society.

2.1 A democratic tension

At the heart of the Norwegian law on education is the duty of every student to attend primary education in specified subjects (Opplæringslova, 1998); it is a law and duty which makes schools the most important institutionalized body of qualification and socialization, as

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well as ensures continuity in complex societies. In any country, there is a body of governing educational structures, usually with a cabinet ministry providing all their administrative support and a county or municipality level of school government, or both. Although there are democratic processes through elections and hearings on educational policies, it is beyond doubt that these governing bodies are there to implement educational policies and exercise supervision and control of schools. These governing systems might function differently across countries, but their task is to promote the continuation and development of societies in a relatively top down system. When there are tensions between the political state's interest and the interests of various groups (e.g., what subjects to teach and what knowledge to learn), the government certainly has the power to limit the influence on school outcomes from non-state actors. Actually, most schooling is decided upon by the state, and its interest is in the continuation and development of societies (Apple, 1995, 2004). In sum, schools are fundamental to societies, and many aspects of schools are not subject to democratic influence. This fact and the tensions between groups' and states' interests in schooling need to be considered when researching topics related to democratic schools. This tension might particularly affect the range of criticality related to what knowledge to teach and the political education in schools.

3 Democratic schools – analytical perspectives

In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the individual school as a relatively democratic unit, and I will only touch upon theoretical aspects of democratic schools, including how schools are perceived as relatively democratic. Within an individual school, governmental legal frameworks regulate the school's citizenship, and only school and classroom rules may be subject to influence, which limits the 'range' of school democracy (Cohen, 1970). With a focus on participation in decisions as the key aspect of democracy, I continue to apply Carl Cohen's democratic theory outlining three analytical dimensions of democracy, applied to individual schools in this case. First, Cohen speaks of 'democratic breath' which is a quantitative aspect of the share of participants actively involved in decision-making. As the share of participation increases, the school becomes more democratic. Second, he speaks of the depth of democracy, which is a qualitative matter. Central to decision-making is how well issues at stake are enlightened and argued for in a public debate. Many democratic theorists have pointed out the importance of public debates for a democracy (Barber, 1984; Cohen, 1971; Dahl, 1998; Diamond & Morlino, 2005; Habermas, 1995). Such participation might be regulated in laws or rules, which is the case in Norway (Opplæringslova, 1998). In practice, schools constantly have debates, particularly at the classroom level, but also at the school level on matters of importance. The procedures of democracy and the quality of the debate's content is of course vital for decision-making (Dahl, 1979), and schools and classrooms are

suitable arenas for 'public' debate. The third aspect in Cohens analytical theory is 'democratic range' (Cohen, 1971). This concept is related to the substance of democracy or what sort of issues are subject to democratic decision-making processes in both the legal framework and school practice. Cohen continues by dividing the range into a sovereign and an effective range; the sovereign range includes all possible issues for democratic involvement, and effective issues are those reflected in decision-making practices. Hence, as both sovereign and effective ranges broaden, a school becomes more democratic because all those affected by the decisions will have a say in matters of importance to them. Issues like teaching, assessment, homework, and learning procedures are all very important to all groups in schools, but most importantly, 'knowledge and qualification' is at the heart of the matter for students, teachers, and society at large. Consequently, democratic involvement in matters of importance to students' school experience such as knowledge, its content, and ways of learning characterize democratic schools, while limited involvement in issues less important to students characterizes less democratic schools (Solhaug, 2003).

3.1 Knowledge and teaching

The question of knowledge, as the content and heart of the matter in schooling, is a very complex issue in schools; the main stakeholders are primarily the state and its national interests, the politicians preoccupied with the school subjects, teachers, and finally, students who are learning the topics. Many scholars have politicized how knowledge is presented in school and argued for a more democratic approach to knowledge construction (Apple, 1990; Apple, 2000a, 2000b; Apple, 2004; Giroux, 1998; Kincheloe, 2001). One of the themes is therefore the epistemological question and the role of students in actively constructing their own knowledge. The theme of this debate may be phrased by the question, 'whose knowledge is to be taught in school'? In his writings, John Dewey devoted much of his effort to criticising schooling for its authoritarian tradition and particularly teacher-centred education (Dewey, 1938). Central to Dewey's thinking about schooling is his concept of experience: "*When we experience something we act upon it and we do something with it; then we suffer or undergo the consequences. To experience is to do something to a thing and observe what it does to us in return*" (Dewey, 1916/1968). Therefore to experience something, in Dewey's terms, the learner needs to actively engage and be able to observe the outcome of his or her efforts. Consequently, learners need to be active and develop their own knowledge. Dewey considered being able to 'experience' a fundamental aspect of schooling. According to Dewey, teaching and learning where it's possible to experience is central to democratic schools, which implies setting the premises for what knowledge to learn (Dewey, 1938). Democratic education is, therefore, a way of teaching and learning which supports students' active process of knowledge construction. The whole process of qualification is

democratized in the sense that students make choices of which path to follow, what to focus on, and what to explore with support from their teachers. Furthermore, Dewey acknowledged the need for a democratic government, but he was primarily preoccupied with the public (i.e. the citizens) and social life, which he saw as a precondition for democracy. He emphasised that citizens are all bound together (i.e. interdependent) in a '*joint living experience*'. For Dewey, education is also inherently social and nourished by communicative experiences (Dewey, 2000). It may be argued that Dewey's approach to teaching and learning in school leads to much more student, or democratic, influence on the development of knowledge. His emphasis on social learning and interdependence also supports social awareness and students' sense of responsibility for each other, which may be considered democratic. Dewey's perspective on teaching and learning influenced later educationalists, particularly when discussing what types of knowledge to focus on and how they are taught in school (Freire, 1993). A recent frequently-debated issue is the diversification of classrooms and the challenges in teaching, learning, and knowledge development accompanying these processes. Following Dewey, Cherry A. Mc Gee Banks and James Banks (1995) argue that diverse learners have diverse life experiences which are often not present in schools. Their view is that in teaching- and learning-processes the school should try to connect the knowledge to the learners' diverse background and life experiences. By connecting knowledge to learner's experiences, students' learning processes may be facilitated, equalized, and democratised despite the differrences (James A. Banks, 2009; Banks et al., 2004). Mc Gee Banks and Banks overall educational point may be fruitfully elaborated on by using Bourdieu's concept of habitus. According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus is closely linked to an individual's objective position in the social space, as it is formed by the opportunities and constraints that this position reveals. Habitus therefore designates an acquired disposition and can be described as follows. "*Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them*" (Bordieu, 1990). Bourdieu's overall point is that all socialization works as an embodiment of social structures, which the individual carries around, and educators need to connect to these embodied structures to provide equal opportunities for a diverse student body; see discussion of equality and democracy below. Furthermore, Bourdieu also provided concepts of economic, social, and cultural capital that have contributed to tools for analysing educational differences (Bourdieu, 1986). Using the concept of 'taste', he provides a ground-breaking sociological understanding of how 'taste' classifies social groups, and how it classifies the classifier (Bordieu, 1995). Bourdieu's ideas offer concepts and analytical approaches to differences and inequality in education as well as

inequality in society at large, which may only be mentioned here. Below, I will elaborate on the question of equality and democracy but will make a summary of this brief sketch of knowledge and democratic schools.

Knowledge is about understanding the world, premises for action, and the basis for qualifications in a student's future professional life. Student involvement and participation in knowledge development may be considered as learning to take charge and develop self-consciousness and self-interest in their future professional life. The *raison d'aitre* of participation in this perspective is therefore more than the prospects of future voting and political protest. Participation in school may be regarded as learning options for the many aspects of a citizen's life, self-determination, and social and political involvement. Schools may therefore be compared to the extent they take a citizenship perspective and involve students in teaching and all aspects of knowledge learning.

3.2 School as a democratic institution

I continue elaborating on the democratic aspects of schools by taking an institutional perspective. An institutional perspective allows for a more comprehensive analytical approach to democracy in schools. Schools as institutions involve almost all citizens for many years of their life; in Norway, it is at least 13 years. Institutions always have, as noted above, a legal framework or legal regulatory level (Scott, 2001). Rules regulate teachers', students', and parents' rights, responsebilities, and behaviour. This regulatory framework makes it meaningful to speak of school citizenship because the framework may facilitate and support democratic involvement as well as limit the options for democratic processes. Life in most institutions is also characterized by norms, which can be formal but are most often informal. In both cases, they regulate school leaders', teachers', students', and parent's behaviour either formally or informally in their practice of school citizenship. Some norms may support students' involve-ment in democratic processes and some may not. Norms are typically situated between the legal regulatory level and the informal level of practice or culture. Analytically, one may identify norms which are supportive of as well as counterproductive to democratic practices and a democratic culture (see below). At the third and very informal level, institutions have culture and practices which may support participation and involvement in decisions, or there may be a totally different authoritarian culture and less democratic in practice, which is also a type of practice and school citizenship. Such school cultures may support student practice or impose restrictions on student involvement. Based upon research, schools may display internal coherence and/or contradictions between the different levels of analysis (i.e. rules, norms, and practice). In addition to tension between levels of analysis, there might be tension or consistency between different rules, norms, and practices within a school. A typical example is that student participation in school varies according to teacher attitudes to students, and this sometimes-great

variety of practices often prevents schools from being effective arenas for learning citizenship and of being truly democratic. For a school to be effective in its democratic practices, there should be a perceived substantial consistency between the levels' rules, norms, and practices. In a citizenship perspective, participation in institutions is to regard schools as arenas for the many aspects of citizenship practice and learning. For a more detailed elaboration of the analytical framework of institutions, see (Scott, 2001).

3.3 Student council
The most prominent example of institutionalised school democracy and practice of 'political citizenship' is the student councils which exist in many countries, especially countries which have adopted the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child, as they have a responsibility to create structures for student participation and influence (UN, 1989). In Norway, concepts of student councils date back to the 1840s (Hareide, 1972), and they were formalized by 1964 in upper secondary schools and later in lower secondary and primary schools. School councils in Norway are also interconnected through student unions. The student council is usually a representative system of students from all classes in schools and has some rights and responsibilities. The aim of student councils in Norway is, according to *Opplæringslova* §11-2 and §11-6 (Law on Education), "*to promote the common interest of students in school, to contribute to a favourable learning and school climate for all students*". The councils have a say on school climate issues in primary schools and contribute to the learning environment, working conditions, and student-welfare interests. Applying Cohen's democratic criteria to the student council framework, for example, the democratic range does not involve teaching and learning, or much of the classroom practice, and seem to be excluded from the council's issues, which severely limit their democratic range (Børhaug, 2008). Student councils are certainly important to democracy in schools because they are a formal option for election procedures in schools, formal representation, and a voice for students and their involvement in decision-making. As such, it is an example of students' political school citizenship. However, in practice, student councils vary greatly in their effectiveness in democratic processes, in the number of participants involved, and how deep the democratic processes are in schools. They may also vary greatly regarding issues they can discuss and influence on behalf of students in the school (Lindholm & Arensmeier, 2017; Michelsen, 2006). In short, democratic schools certainly need to have student councils as a formal option for influence, but I believe schools vary greatly according to how effective and democratic these councils are, particularly according to the issues in which student councils may get involved. Effective student councils involve most students in a school in matters of importance related to their knowledge and life development.

3.4 Democratic values and virtues
Values and virtues often underpin certain regulations, norms, cultural aspects, and behaviours and are certainly important to the democratic practice of school citizenship in a formal setting or in school life and classes. Values can be characterized as general standards in judgement and behaviour which are preferred by an individual (Rokeach, 1973). Virtues reflect values and express preferred behaviour. Particularly relevant and interesting to an analytical framework of democratic schools are civic virtues and democratic values. Virtues may be participation and critical reflections, as well as citizens obeying the law and having social and political trust in school and political institutions. Democratic values include among others, freedom, equality, tolerance, and solidarity (Thommassen, 2008). While rules and norms are important guidelines for behaviour, most teachers, students, parents, and researchers are focused on the classroom and what takes place during lessons. I will elaborate on these core values and their relationship to democracy and democratic practices in society in general and schools in particular. The French revolution provided us with the terms *liberté* (freedom), *egalité* (equality), and *fraternité* (solidarity). I see these and other values as guiding principles for democratic citizenship practices in school.

3.4.1 Freedom
Democracies and democratic institutions are characterized by freedom of participation and involvement. However, some value freedom as an option for participation (e.g., republicans), while others (e.g., liberals) view freedom as most important to individual choices. Empirically, freedom seems to be the most important value documented in the World Value Survey (Thommassen, 2008). In Norway, students enjoy legal participation rights, which are also regulated in the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989) and official laws related to education (Opplæringslova 1998). However, classroom participation practices vary considerably both in frequency and content. While student participation is often viewed as a normative positive practice and an inherent quality of democracy (Diamond & Morlino, 2005), we must acknowledge that there is an ideological/political tension between liberals and republicans on the question of participation (Dagger, 2002; Schuck, 2002). Having said this, I emphasize the overwhelming democratic theory, which expresses that democracy in any unit, state, organization, and in this case, schools, is strengthened by citizens' or members' active participation. Consequently, I argue that as students and parents enjoy more freedom and engage in opportunities to participate, schools become more democratic.

3.4.2 Equality
Equality as a value in democratic theory is above all reflected in equal rights and responsibilities, including the right to vote and the equal worth of all human beings regardless of differences - the principle of universality of difference (Lister, 2008; Thommassen, 2008). Applying

the value of equality to schools is more complex. School has the role of qualifying citizens for economic, social, and professional self-determination. This implies that students should initially learn the same and later learn quite different professional topics. Coleman also complicates matters further by identifying three different approaches to equality in schooling (Coleman, 1968). First, equality in schooling means that students should have equal access. This implies that all children have a right to schooling, but this approach ignores what happens in school. Second, equality might imply that educational resources, usually teachers' time, should be distributed equally among students during their time in school. The consequence of this understanding is that a variety of students get the same support. Third, equality may also be understood as equal outcomes for all students. This third understanding of equality acknowledges that students are different, which usually implies a redistribution of educational resources. Coleman's three approaches to equality in education is analytically valuable but assumes that students are all going to learn essentially the same knowledge. Such an approach is relevant in most cases, but only relevant for a variety of groups in the upper classes of schooling when students specialize. I therefore turn to the concept of 'equity' in schooling. Banks and Banks (1995) understand 'equity' in school "*… as teaching strategies and classroom environments that help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within, and help create and perpetuate, a just, humane, and democratic society*" (McGee, Banks & Banks, 1995,152). By using the concept of equity, it is acknowledged that students are all different with a variety of goals and interests, but they all use schooling as the basis for later qualifications in life. In this perspective, 'equity' understood as 'equal opportunity' is a concept which acknowledges students' diversity and focuses on their rights to qualify and make individual professional choices. The aspect of equality built into these concepts are very complex to judge. In Norway, students have rights to schooling and teaching that are adapted to their special needs (Opplæringslova, 1998). However, the effectiveness of these rights in teaching and learning vary considerably, and consequently, the outcome of schooling also varies for most students. A special case is the challenge of preventing school drop outs, and leaving school prematurely which is also an international challenge (Rumberger, 2011). In Norway, up to 30% of students do not complete upper secondary school after five years (3 years are required) (Lødding, 2009). School drop outs is therefore a significant challenge to democratic schools because schools fail to qualify a substantial percentage of students for their professional life.

This discussion of equality and education is by no means exhausting, and judging equality or equity in education is very complex. Still, I argue that, at the theoretical level, schools which practice their teaching and learning process in accordance with equity principles will be more democratic. Also, schools which have a low dropout rate and thereby manage to qualify most of their students are more democratic.

As previously noted, there might be tension between liberty and equality. The tension is most obvious in liberals' and republicans' views of participation; liberals view responsibilities as restrictions of freedom but republicans view participation as options (Dagger, 2002; Habermas, 1995; Schuck, 2002). Additionally, unrestricted liberty will lead to inequality of conditions which may not be acceptable to the citizens (Thomassen 2008). These values underpin norms in a democracy, and the dilemmas of unrestricted freedom versus market intervention and redistribution of values are closely related to perceptions of justice and fairness and are very common in both school and society at large. Their link to justice tends to engage students and makes dilemmas of freedom and equality potential learning options for political citizenship. However, the controversies over freedom and participation makes it difficult to judge which school may be characterized as being more democratic.

3.4.3 Tolerance and intolerance

I continue by elaborating on political tolerance; political tolerance and intolerance reflects the individual's ability and willingness to put up with ideas they dislike (Gibson, 2008). The question of tolerance versus intolerance is important because diverse people have diverse habits, viewpoints, and attitudes which should be expressed in public. Building on Gibson, "*a democracy requires that all political ideas (and groups holding them) get the same access to the marketplace of ideas as the access legally extended to the ideas dominating the system*" (Gibson, 2008:325). It goes without saying that the political marketplace will constantly display views and behaviours that are sometimes provocative to some members of the public. The ability to show respect for any relevant difference is therefore a necessary condition for the practice of human citizenship within democracies. Of particular interest to schools is the school- and classroom-climate for behaviour and public debate. Schools and classrooms are potentially very important arenas for public debate, which certainly requires that those involved endure disagreement and tolerate or have respect for differences. Much research is devoted to the implications of the classroom climate for participation and public debate (Knowles & Di Stefano, 2015). This research has led to a growing literature on what contributes to the classroom climate; see Xiaoxue Kuang, Kerry John Kennedy, Magdalena Mo Ching Mok (2018) in this issue. Among factors contributing to the perceived classroom climate are quality of the relations to teachers and friends. Having said this, I argue that a school's level of democracy is influenced by how politically tolerant students and teachers are and particularly how views may be presented in class without the fear of hostile reactions. Furthermore, I argue that any public debate in school which exposes different views, particularly controversies, are options for learning and living with diverse citizens in practice.

3.4.4 Solidarity

Solidarity is defined as, *"a feeling of unity between people who have the same interests or goals"* (Merriam-Webster 2017). The extent of solidary is contested in several ways but above all between liberals and republicans in their view of civic responsibilities. Republicans and some social-liberals (i.e. pluralists) emphasize citizens' responsibilities for other fellow citizens and society at large, while ultra-liberals consider these duties as limitations to their individual freedom (Roche, 2002; Schuck, 2002). Still, solidarity is emphasized in considerations of what defines a 'good citizen' (Van Deth, 2008). I acknowledge that there are controversies regarding this value which, in the Van Deth' language, is considered as a norm of citizenship and practice. There also seems to be strong empirical support for solidarity as a basic civic virtue (Van Deth, 2008). Based on these premises, I consider schools where teachers and students practice acts of solidarity as important for the feeling of inclusion and empower students' abilities. Such an empowering school climate supports students' efforts and equity in the outcome of their schooling. Based on the above reasoning, schools characterized by the practice of citizenship as solidarity among students and teachers support equal opportunity and equity among students and will be more democratic.

3.4.5 Protection

Rights detailed in the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989) are legally binding in all states which have ratified it, and this convention contains quite a few articles which are relevant to democratic schools. I would like to point out two of them: Article 12 concerns the rights to have a say (i.e. participation), and is already included in this introduction to democratic schools, and Article 19 requires that children are protected from any violation of interest and mental or physical abuse in school. The protective rights are very important because many children are subject to various forms of suppression during their time in school. Such negative experiences may have serious consequences for the outcome of their schooling and often have lifelong negative implications. Schools' failure to provide protection may limit students' participation, and schooling in general and may deprive them of many options in life. Consequently, a democratic school provides effective protection for its students during their schooling.

3.4.6 Inclusiveness in schools

In response to what has previously been said about dropouts in schools and its potential consequences, I would like to draw attention to an analytical framework for inclusive citizenship developed by Neila Kabeer, Ruth Lister, and Nancy Fazer (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Kabeer, 2005; Lister, 2008). This framework may be adjusted to most relevant units; there are six important points, and some have been touched upon already.

The first is about justice in school, understood as the question which asks, when is it fair to treat people equally and when is it fair to treat students differently?

This criterion acknowledges that we are all different and sometimes deserve to be treated differently as we are to fulfil our goals in life. This understanding of justice is a precondition for equity in schooling. Following this first criterion, a second criterion of inclusiveness is the recognition of equal worth regardless of differences. The third criterion is self-determination, understood as people's ability to exercise some control over their own lives. Usually, self-determination is related to work and subsistence, where school, as pointed out earlier, has a key qualifying role. Particularly, the challenges caused by dropping out of school and lacking basic qualifications for academic studies and/or work places a burden of responsibility on students who drop out. The fourth criterion, solidarity, can be seen both as a societal goal and as especially important in education. The feeling of support from one's environment is vital to social life. Linking the four aspects, Lister writes of "*the capacity to identity with others and to act in unity with them in making claims", "participatory parity*", or the ability of members in society to interact with one another as peers (Lister, 2008, pp. 49-50). Finally, Lister emphasises the "ethos of pluralization"; to avoid an exclusive identity and politics, one must recognize the right to be different and promote reflective solidarity as the "*universalism of difference*"(Lister, 2008, p. 50).

To really practice inclusiveness in schools is a very complex matter, but there should be no doubt that schools capable of practicing inclusiveness among their diverse students are more democratic than the schools which struggle in such practices. Below is a table which summarizes theoretical analytical aspects of a democratic school. The introduction continuous by introducing the contributions in this special issue.

4 A summary of analytical approaches

This introductory article covers key theoretical perspectives related to democratic schools. It is argued that these theoretical perspectives are an important framework for analysing democratic schools but also offer a variety of approaches to citizenship learning and practice in school. While much of the literature on democratic schools is preoccupied with participation and the possibility that schools may contribute to democratic participation in real life, a citizenship learning perspective offers a more comprehensive view of democratic schools and democratic learning which may guide holistic practice in citizenship education and contribute to the democratizing of schools.

Table 1: Analytical approaches to democratic schools

Short name	Elaborations
Democratic participation	Democratic participation in schools may vary according to its breadth (the number and relevant participants, its depth (the qualities of participation) and its range (the subject matters which is to be decided on).
Schools as institutions	Institutions have their formal regulation, the norms governing practice, and culture which reflect a degree of democratic practice. Democratic schools have a supportive regulatory legal framework, norms which support school democracy, and a culture which support an inclusive democratic practice.
Knowledge	Democratic schools provide teaching and learning processes which support students' knowledge construction, social learning, and citizenship practices. Democratic schools acknowledge that a diversity of students have diverse life experiences which need to be present in the process of learning.
Student council	Democratic schools have effective student councils, which provide opportunities for student participation and being critical of issues of importance to their schooling
Democratic values and virtues-Freedom	It is being argued that the more freedom students are given participate in school, the more democratic the school is.
Equity	Building on the concept of equity, I argue that the more students experience equity in their schooling, the more democratic the school is.
Tolerance	It is argued that political tolerance is a necessity for democratic practice, and consequently, schools where students and teachers show great tolerance for diverse views and behaviour are more democratic than schools which have less tolerant students and teachers.
Solidarity	Schools with teachers and students who practice a culture of solidarity will experience more support for their school work and will be more democratic than schools with a less solidarity.
Protection	Schools, which provide effective protection of its students, are more democratic than schools, which provide less effective protection.
Inclusiveness	Schools, which have a practice of inclusiveness in schooling along with the criteria for inclusiveness mentioned above, will be more democratic than schools which are less inclusive.

5 The special issue on democratic schools

This special issue addresses democratic topics of school- and classroom-climate, sexual diversity and its acceptance in school, the role of criticality in citizenship, and human rights education, and finally, a paper on the role of emotions.

The first article is titled "Can schools engage students? Multiple perspectives, multidimensional school climate research in England and Ireland" and was written by *Dorien Sampermans, Maria Magdalena Isaac*, and *Ellen Claes*. Building on the previously-described analytical framework, this article contributes to the literature on schools as institutions by focusing on school climate, which is often associated with school culture. Three aspects of school climate are included: school order, interpersonal relations, and student-teacher relations. The study elaborates on how a general school climate along with control variables are associated with future electoral participation in an IEA ICCS 2009 sample from England and Ireland (IEA, see: www.iea.nl, ICCS,

International Civic and Citizenship Education study). Although knowledge, as expected, has the strongest association with future electoral participation, aspects of school climate also contribute. It is recommended that more attention be paid to overall school culture in political socialization.

The second article is titled "Creating Democratic Class Rooms in Asian Contexts: The Influences of Individual and School Level Factors on Open Classroom Climate" and was written by *Xiaoxue Kuang, Kerry John Kennedy, Magdalena Mo Ching Mok*. Many studies using data from international surveys like the CIVIC education study and the current ICCS study conducted by the IEA have explored the associations between an open classroom climate and various civic virtues. What often motivates these studies, as noted in the literature reviews in the article, is to explore how participation in classroom discussion in school may contribute to future democratic participation or other civic virtues. In the current study, which uses ICCS 2009 data from Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand, open classroom climate (OCC) is a dependent variable. The study acknowledge that OCC might be an important asset to schools, but the classroom climate might be perceived differently by students, and it is important to explore how schools may contribute to the classroom climate in these Asian societies. Using a multilevel analysis, both individual variables and school contextual variables are included. Such studies are rare in this region, and they revealed interesting findings on regional differences and possible local influences. The study adds to the literature on classroom climate, particularly because of its regional focus.

The third article is titled "Youth political engagement and communities of practice" and was written by *Gary Homana*. Data from the IEA Civic Education Study 2000 is analysed to investigate research questions on the association between participation in two civic communities of practice, including a student council and volunteer organizations, and two types of expected adult political participation as well as trust in political institutions in Australia and the United States. The study takes an important theoretical perspective when using the term 'communities of practice' in the analysis of how such practices may be associated with civic engagement. Findings were that in both countries, participation in the two civic communities of practice was associated with higher levels of trust in political institutions and greater expectations to become an informed voter and an active citizen.

The fourth article is titled "Discourses of young people from Portuguese secondary schools about sexual diversity: Unveiling an incomplete school democracy?" and was written by *Hugo Santos, Sofia Marques da Silva,* and *Isabel Menezes*. This article addresses the question of inclusion, exclusion, and protection for sexual minorities in school, and the study is contextualized theoretically in democratic schools. The study has a very important focus which is highly debated as much as these studies are rare. It adds significantly to the literature on

democratic schools and the field of protection (see above) for diverse students. The study builds on a large sample of student interviews (332) in Portuguese schools. A discourse analysis is applied which reveals findings of support, tolerance, and hostility towards sexual minorities. Particularly, the hostility is of course challenging to the school environment in general and to the students in question in particular.

The fifth article is titled "Leyla and Mahmood – Emotions in Social Science Education" and was written by *Katarina Blennow*. This study focuses on the role of emotions related to two cases, Leyla and Mohammed. Emotions are always important but rarely focused on in social science writings. Emotions in the current contribution are related to the two individual cases, Leyla and Mahmood, as refugees and at the same time subject to the teaching of subjects related to their destiny as refugees. Experiences with students' reactions to controversial utterances about terrorism is discussed. The article opens up a field in social science teaching and learning which is rarely touched upon. Few writers engage with this difficult topic; one of them is Jon Elster, who discuss what emotions are and the role in regulating behavior (Elster, 1999, 2007).

Finally, *Isabella Schild* and *Judith Breitfuss* contribute to this special issue on 'democratic schools' with a report which discusses an interrupted school lecture in Austria. The report is titled, 'Civic Education under Pressure? A Case Study from an Austrian School'. The case is about a representative from the Green party who was invited to lecture on political extremism in school, but a student and his influential father from a right wing party in Austria interrupted the discussion. The interruption and limiting of the expressions and the following debates are most interesting as such actions deal with the presence of politicians in school, their freedom of political expression, and the limits of controversy in civic education. Such debates are also at the heart of the matter for democratic schools and their framing of civic education. With reference to the German 'Beutelsbach Consensus' on controversies in civic education the authors do take a stand in favour of political expressions in school, but I recommend the audience to engage with this Austrian case also.

6 Samples of resent research on democratic schools

In the following, I provide some samples of further reading and research.

6.1 On democratic schools

The first topic to be reviewed here are alternative approaches to research on school democracy. One recent contribution is by Feu, Serra, Canimas, Làzaro, & Simó-Gil, (2017). They list four dimensions to be discussed. The first is governance, or a body of structures, and the accompanying possibility to participate and influence decisions in school. The second dimension is inhabitancy, which is about having basic, material, and health conditions and these qualities of life are preconditions for democratic involvement. Sen also laun-

ches the capability approach to human rights. People must have capabilities to convert their rights into action (Sen, 1999/2009). In school, inhabitancy is about well-being and every student's feeling of support and general ability to do his or her best. Also, the diversity of individuals should be recognized. The third approach in their analytic framework is 'democracy as otherness', or the recognition of difference between groups. Otherness refers to the recognition of the otherness of groups, which in schools may mean to avoid hegemony and dominance, to include, and positively assess the other. The fourth analytical approach concerns the virtues and values of a culture in schools. These virtues should support student's capabilities in classrooms.

A second study is Turkish and builds on the Delphi technique which involves a group of 22 experts from nine countries responding to the importance of a number of criteria for democratic schools (Korkmaz & Erden, 2014). The Delphi technique is a procedure based on anonymity and consensus over survey-items. There were two rounds of analysis of a very comprehensive material starting with more than 800 items in the first round and dropping to 339 in the second round (Korkmaz & Erden, 2014). The outcome of the analysis ten main categories: 1) school funding process, 2) decision-making model, 3) school policy forming, 4) curriculums, 5) learners, 6) teaching staff, 7) nonteaching staff, 8) internal and external relations, 9) physical properties, and 10) Financial resources. All these have subcategories.

6.2 On classroom practice

Not surprisingly, classroom practice is covered extensively. This is partly because the IEA CIVIC and ICCS studies have provided available data. There is an overview of the IEA related research in: Knowles & Di Stefano, (2015). Although these data are valid and comparable both longitudinally and cross sectionally (Country), a limited number of items was used which limits the survey outcome. My suggestion for future research is to use some of the available scales and add other scales which are theoretically founded and elaborate on important aspects which are not covered by these studies.

Important qualitative studies of classroom dialogue and discussion is Ljunggren and Øst, (2010) a study of Swedish teachers handling of controversies in classrooms; see also Hess, (2009). Samuelsson has developed an inter-esting typology of classroom discussions (Samuelsson, 2016). A variety of factors of importance to the class-room discussions are elaborated on by Claes, Maurissen and Havermans, (2017); see also Carole Hahn's overview (Hahn, 2010).

6.3 Diversity

In this field of research, there is a large body of literature on specific aspects related to diversity, and the prestigious volumes by Banks and Banks needs to be mentioned (Banks, 2004; James A. Banks, 2009). Meshulam discusses counterhegemonic strategies in the context of Palestinian/Israeli schools (Meshulam, 2015). Important

discussions are related to the demographic composition of classes and the outcome of schooling or well-being of students in Davis, (2004) and Jacobsen, Frankenberg and Lenhoff (2012).

6.4 Values

School effectiveness research has been preoccupied with the concept of equity; see Mortimore, Field, & Pont, (2004). There are many approaches to research on equity which has created an enormous body of literature which encompass integration and segregation of schooling; recent contributions are Frankenberg, Frankenberg, Garces and Hopkins, (2016), Jefferson, (2015), Gregory and Fergus, (2017), while Kugelmass's contribution is a bit older (Kugelmass, 2004). Important insights in equity pedagogy is delivered by McGee Banks and Banks (1995).

Paul Vogt wrote an important book on tolerance and learning in education (Vogt, 1997). A much-tested hypothesis is the contact hypothesis where intergroup contact is assumed to have a positive effect on tolerance (Frølund Thomsen, 2012). Laura Lundy (2017) specifies important contact premises for the development of tolerance in education; see also Pettigrew (1998). A recent and perhaps controversial contribution is by van Waarden (2016).

A remarkable finding by Torbjörnson and Molin revealed that their students were not acquainted with solidarity as a concept. In cases where solidarity was mentioned at all in class, the students primarily contemplated it in a historical context (Torbjörnsson & Molin, 2015). In a framework for inclusive citizenship, solidarity is emphasized by Kabeer (2005) and Lister (2008). Research on inclusiveness in education covers large fields of special needs education, diversity, and education. A handbook in the field is, Puri, Puri and Abraham, (2004).

In citizenship education, Arthur & Cremin, (2012) write about citizenship debates. A relatively recent handbook in the field is, Arthur, Davis and Hahn, (2008), and there are other important contributions related to citizenship and education in Haste (2010), Lister (2009), Lister (2009), Osler (2012a) and Osler (2012b). The most recent handbook is the *Palgrave International Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Social Justice* (Peterson, 2016).

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Dorien Sampermans, Maria Magdalena Isac, Ellen Claes

Can Schools Engage Students? Multiple Perspectives, Multidimensional School Climate Research in England and Ireland

- The school climate is a multidimensional concept.
- On average, students intent to go voting in the future will be higher if students experience a positive school climate.
- Teachers play a major role in the school climate.
- Researchers, practitioners, and policymakers should be aware of the importance of all aspects of the school climate

Purpose: This article assesses how different aspects of the school climate relate to students' intended future electoral engagement. Until now, political socialization researchers found evidence for a relation between formal citizenship education in school and students' participation levels. There is less consensus, however, in how multiple aspects of informal political socialization can contribute to individuals' participatory acts.

Method: To learn more about several aspects of informal political socialization and their relevance for student intended electoral participation this work draws on educational sciences and political socialization literature and focuses on multiple dimensions of school climate (cf. Konold, 2014; Lenzi, 2014) and their relationship to future electoral engagement. We rely on the English and Irish International Civic and Citizenship Survey (ICCS) 2009 data to operationalize multiple dimensions of the school climate. We estimate a structural equation model in which school climate is measured by indicators based on student and teacher questionnaire data aggregated at the school level. The relationship between multiple dimensions of school climate and student future electoral participation is tested.

Findings: We find that in order to engage students in voting; schools should focus not only on the formal curriculum but also on more informal aspects (the school climate). Implications for research, policy, and practice are discussed.

1 Introduction

From the 1960s onward research on political socialization has discussed the importance of different agents of socialization in influencing young peoples' civic competences. Studies in the sixties and seventies often conclude that formal civic education, in the sense of civic courses, in school does not influence young peoples' attitudes nor their political participation (Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Langton & Jennings, 1968; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). These studies assign more importance to the influence of families, peers and religious organizations within the socialization process. Yet, later studies on the role of schools in the political socialization process provide evidence of school influences on students' engagement and attribute these findings to better measurements and more sophisticated analysis techniques that can take into account the embeddedness of young people in the same/different schools (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2000). Thanks to this

increased attention to schools and their role within the political socialization process new questions are raised.

Recent review studies show that evidence of a political socialization effect through schooling needs to be scrutinized because evidence remains small and debatable (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Dam, 2013; Manning & Edwards, 2014; Persson, 2015). Scholars respond to this concern in different ways. On the one hand, scholars describe the need for a new methodological change and the inclusion of more randomized experiments or panel data to better measure the school influence on students' civic engagement (Amnå, 2012; Campbell & Niemi, 2016). On the other hand, scholars want to reevaluate the political socialization theory by paying more attention to informal school influences next to the formal curriculum influences when considering the impact schools can have on civic outcomes (Campbell, 2006; Glover & Coleman, 2005; Himmelmann, 2013).

In this article, we will focus on these informal school experiences. Where the formal school context is directly linked to the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded 'education system' (Scheerens, 2011, p. 203), the informal school context is broader, experience-oriented and observes the school as a social actor providing students a social experience. The informal school context can then be defined as the 'experiences schools provide of being part of a community' (Campbell, 2006, p. 153). In this article, we want to learn more about the importance of these informal school experiences. We will observe these school experiences to gain a better understanding of schools' role in the socialization process. In

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democratic countries, we expect schools to socialize students in a democratic environment and give them democratic experiences (Biesta, 2006; Campbell, 2006). Students can, for example, be involved in decision-making at school or help organize activities to improve the school environment. In this context researchers define the school experiences as the *democratic school climate* (Biesta, 2006; Campbell, 2006) or the *school citizenship climate* (Homana, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2006)*.*

In this article, we discuss different kinds of social school experiences and their role in shaping the *democratic school climate* where young people are socialized into citizenship. Informed by definitions formulated in the educational sciences literature (Glover & Coleman, 2005; Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2013; Voight & Nation, 2016; Wang & Degol, 2016), we observe three types of experiences: a) related to the school's order, norms and values, b) related to teaching and learning practices in school and c) relational experiences.

As the *school climate* concept in the political socialization literature is less commonly used (Campbell, Levinson, & Hess, 2012; Hoskins, 2013), this work builds upon definitions of school climate used in educational sciences literature. In the field of educational sciences, school climate was found to provide 'optimal foundation for social, emotional and academic learning' (Thapa et al., 2013, p. 7). Empirical studies offer extensive support for the links between school climate and students' achievement in different domains of learning. Nevertheless, evidence regarding its impact on civic learning outcomes remains limited.

The current work intends to address this gap. We first review definitions of the school climate informed by the educational literature and operationalize it in the context of civic education. Next, we examine theoretically and empirically its links to electoral participation as this is a fundamental civic competence in democratic societies.

2 Democracy's need for active citizens
Civic education aims to stimulate multiple civic outcomes such as civic knowledge (Campbell & Niemi, 2016), political trust (Flanagan & Stout, 2010) or political tolerance (Diazgranados & Sandoval-Hernandez, 2015). This article is interested in how schools can engage students and more specific, how democratic experiences in school relate to civic behavior such as electoral participation (e.g., voting). Voting is one of the most important civic behaviors for democracies. Consequently, the decline in electoral participation (Dalton, 2008; Dalton & Welzel, 2014) is a threat to democracy (Almond & Verba, 1989; Campbell et al., 2012; Crick, 2008). A first way this decline threatens democracy is the erosion of the political legitimacy. If many people cast their vote, decisions are supported by many and trust levels are high (Hooghe & Stiers, 2016). Without the participation of a major amount of the population, the legitimacy of governmental decisions disappears. A second threat is the disappearance of shared values. If citizens no longer participate in a common cause, the community becomes

more individualized (Dalton & Welzel, 2014; Inglehart, 1997). Although the existence of different voices and diversity can be positive for the community, it entails a third threat. If individuals participate only in informal ways (e.g., boycotting, signing petitions, legal protest), some voices will sound louder while other voices disappear into the crowd. Socio-economic differences or gender differences are bigger when it comes to informal participation compared to electoral participation (Ballard, 2014; Marien, Hooghe, & Quintelier, 2010; Sloam, 2014). These threats provide evidence of the need for more electoral participation.

Citizenship education can be seen as one of the most valuable tools to engage people. Through education, students can gain civic knowledge and become more involved (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Losito, & Agrusti, 2016). To unravel the influence of civic knowledge (Galston, 2001) early studies focused mainly on formal education and measured how students learn about politics (Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Nevertheless, the idea of civic knowledge as causal mechanism triggering participation is today subject to discussion (Manganelli, Lucidi, & Alivernini, 2014; Manning & Edwards, 2014; Niemi & Klingler, 2012). Because aspects of the school climate may uniquely affect civic outcomes as well, recent authors perceive civic knowledge no longer as sufficient to create active, participating citizens and suggest that citizenship education should also pay attention to the influence of democratic experiences in school (Bischoff, 2016; Campbell et al., 2012). Therefore it is essential to take into account both the role of civic knowledge education and democratic school climate experiences in future research on the topic of youths' political participation (Campbell et al., 2012; Hoskins, 2013). This research will help understand how school experiences are related to students' future electoral participation and will stimulate future research to consider the importance of multiple school experiences when studying the process of political socialization in youth.

3 Democratic school climate experiences and future intended participation
In contrast to the limited attention toward a general school climate citizenship research, multiple studies in this field observe the influence of specific teaching and learning practices on students' future participation or engagement. Particular attention goes toward the influence of active teaching and learning styles (which can be seen as one kind of democratic experience in school). Researchers discuss the positive influence of civic classroom discussions on civic outcomes (Alivernini & Manganelli, 2011; Barber, Sweetwood, & King, 2015; Campbell, 2008; Ekman, 2013; Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2013; Manganelli, Lucidi, & Alivernini, 2015; Maurissen, 2017; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; Wilkenfeld & Torney-Purta, 2012) or observe the influence of students' active participatory experiences in school (Gilleece & Cosgrove, 2012; Keating & Janmaat, 2015). These studies often refer to the theory of

experience-based learning as described by Dewey (1938) or Shernoff (2013). However, the results of these separately observed experiences are mixed. Even when political socialization studies combine the observation of multiple democratic experiences in school, the results are not clear-cut and easy interpretable (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013; Torney-Purta, 2002). In the educational research field, research would remark that these observations are restrained to the measurement of one single dimension instead of multiple dimensions which are important while observing school climate experiences.

Some political socialization studies are closer related to this multidimensional school climate concept. Dijkstra and his colleagues (2015) for example include both relational experiences (e.g., teachers ensure that students treat each other with respect) and content related aspects (e.g., language and numeracy tailored to students' educational needs) to observe school climate influences. Lenzi and her colleagues (2014) also emphasize the importance of participatory experiences. Two studies including a stronger and multidimensional concept of school climate are the study from Flanagan and Stout (2010) and the study from Keating and Benton (2013). They each measure participatory experiences, relational experiences and values of solidarity in school. Both studies obtain different results. Flanagan and Stout (2010) provide evidence of a relationship between the democratic school climate and students' engagement in the American context, whereas Keating and Benton (2013) only find mixed results in England. In their discussion Keating and Benton (2013) attribute these different findings to contextual differences or measurement invariance. Another reason can be that a more comprehensive understanding of the school climate is needed within the political socialization literature.

4 The school climate and educational effectiveness
The mixed results in the political socialization research stand in contrast with the outcomes described by educational studies. In this field, multiple studies describe how schools and teachers can enhance students' well-being (Jennings & Greenberg 2009; Lester & Cross 2015) or raise students' achievement levels (Wang & Degol, 2016; Wentzel, 1997). All these studies describe that the school climate has a clear and positive influence. Although the concept is not always defined and measured exactly in the same way (Berkowitz, Moore, Astor, & Benbenishty, 2016), educational studies tend to use a more comprehensive and comparable approach to the study of school climate. In the following paragraphs, this article provides an accepted definition of the school climate and points out the most important strengths of this definition (Thapa et al., 2013; Voight & Nation, 2016; Wang & Degol, 2016).
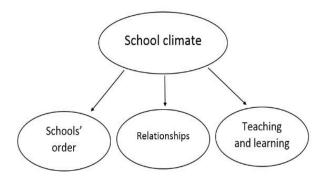
Sometimes defined as the *school culture* (Wren, 1999), *the hidden curriculum* (Jackson, 1968) or the *school ethos* (McLaughlin, 2005), it is the term *school climate* which is more commonly used (Wang & Degol, 2016). It is 'based on patterns of students', parents' and schools' personnel's experience of school life and reflects norms,

goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures' (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009, p. 182). Notwithstanding various versions of this definition, the common strength in school climate definitions is always the focus on multiple dimensions (Cohen et al., 2009, p. 182; Voight & Nation, 2016; Wang & Degol, 2016) and multiple perspectives (Kohl, Recchia, & Steffgen, 2013; Thapa et al., 2013). In the next paragraphs, this article explains how these dimensions and perspectives are being perceived and how we can translate this school climate concept to the civic learning context.

4.1 Multidimensionality of the school climate
Thapa (2013) and his colleagues argue that especially efforts grounded in the whole school can provide a powerful influence. They rely on the ecological systems theory advanced by Bronfenbrenner (1979) to explain why multiple dimension need to be included to asses school influences. In line with this idea both the extensive overview studies of Voight and Nation (2016) and Wang and Degol (2016) point out multiple dimensions: (1) safety, (2) community, (3) academic and (4) institutional environment. These dimensions match the ones mentioned in the National School Climate Council's definition: (1) the *schools' order* (Cohen et al., 2009; Thapa et al., 2013), (2) the *relationships at school*, (3) the *teaching and learning practices* at school and the (4) *organizational structures*. The first three dimensions are socially substantiated dimensions whereas the fourth is a practical context oriented dimension. In this study, we will focus on the first three dimensions, while the institutional can be considered as fixed.

Figure 1: School climate dimensions

The first dimension described as the *schools' order* relates to schools' need to express their norms and values to their students and to create a safe and orderly environment. Ferráns and Selman (2014) observe this order in school by measuring students' reactions against bullying. Other studies measure the *safety* in school by observing problems and students' social behavior (Cohen et al., 2009; Thapa et al., 2013) and describe how this safety and order measure can influence each kind of school outcome.

A second dimension is built on the prominent position of relationships at schools. Comparable to Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1986), this dimension

highlights how teachers, peers, and everyone in the school can learn through interactions with each other. The better the relationships, the easier social learning will happen and the better the schools' social climate. A positive relationship between all actors in a school is characterized by caring and supportive ties (Hamre & Pianta, 2006). Through positive relationships, teachers can also be considered as democratic role models and influence civic learning (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Sampermans & Claes, 2018)

The third dimension consists of teaching and learning practices. Dewey was the first to describe the experience-based learning theory that contributes to making young people more democratic (Dewey, 1913, 1938). His theory claims that students can learn from experiences in school. Kolb (1984) describes this experience process in his experiential learning theory and Dürr (2005, p. 13) explains this theory by the statement that 'teaching and learning about democracy will fail unless it takes place within a democratic educational framework.' Experience-based teaching and learning styles can then be: service learning at school (Birdwell, Scott, & Horley, 2013; Naval & Ugarte, 2012), school councils and school visits to a parliament (Hoskins, Janmaat, & Villalba, 2012; Quintelier, 2010), classroom discussion (Campbell, 2008) or remembrance education (Maitles, 2010; Maitles & Cowan, 2012). The more democratic experiences students have at school, the more effective the democratic school climate.

These three dimensions not only influence the general school climate. They can also relate to each other. A relationship often pointed out is the link between student-teacher relationships and classroom discussions at school. The better the student-teacher relationship, the easier teachers, can implement classroom discussions. (Clas, Maurissen, & Havermans, 2016) for example emphasizes that good student-teacher relationships are necessary to obtain effective classroom discussions. Another important linkage can be found on the level of bullying. Bullying affects both the relationships between students at school and the social behavior at schools (Ferráns & Selman, 2014; Klein, Cornell, & Konold, 2012). These strong ties between the dimensions indicate the importance not to neglect the interrelatedness while assessing the school climate.

4.2 Multiple perspectives of the school climate

As the school climate dimensions are built on social interactions between students and teachers within the school, different actors can be responsible for its establishment. Both students and teachers can influence how the school climate develops. Therefore it is important to include both student and teacher perspectives while observing the school climate (Kohl et al., 2013; Wang & Degol, 2016). Studies including only students' or teachers' perspectives (Keating & Benton, 2013) agree they would benefit from the inclusion of both perspectives in one study.

5 Research questions and hypothesis

The literature above provides an overview of citizenship education research and its quest to provide evidence of activating practices at school and of ways in which schools can create active and informed citizens. As the influence of an official social science curriculum or civic courses is strongly under discussion, more reflection and research is needed about the role of potentially valuable informal civic learning in formal school settings. Therefore, this article aims to reflect and test empirically broader multidimensional conceptualizations of school climate and their potential link with attitudes towards future electoral participation in youth. To do this, this article brings forward two research questions (RQ):

RQ1 Are broader, multidimensional, conceptualizations of school climate supported empirically by the ICCS data?
RQ2 Are these dimensions linked to intentions for future electoral participation in youth?

By the conceptualization of school climate in the context of civic learning we bring forward two hypotheses:
H1 The school climate is multidimensional in structure and it is composed by the following three strongly interrelated dimensions: schools' order, relationships in school and the teaching and learning practices in school.
H2 On average, these dimensions relate positively to overall intentions for future electoral participation.

6 Data

England and Ireland are both Western, democratic countries which attach great importance to citizenship education. Both these countries followed the advice of the Eurydice network (an information network of the European Commission on education in Europe) to pay attention to the informal democratic school climate (Eurydice, 2005). As confirmed by more recent Eurydice overviews, only one-third of the European countries refers to the informal school climate in its national regulations (Eurydice, 2017, p. 124; Eurydice, 2012, p. 59). As a result of this, we believe that England and Ireland are suitable to be observed to learn more about the democratic school climate. Earlier research also pointed out that the school climate can comparably be measured in these two countries (Sampermans, 2017).

This article uses the pooled ICCS 2009 data of England and Ireland to observe the school climate. ICCS 2009 is an international survey measuring the civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement of 14-year-old students in 38 countries. The samples in each country were designed in a two-stage way. In the first stage Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) procedures were used to select schools within each country. In the second stage, within each sampled school, an entire class from the target grade was chosen at random, with all the students in this class participating in the study. These student-classroom level results (civic knowledge test, background questionnaire, and regional questionnaire) can be linked to school level because, if possible, this randomly selected classroom was the only observation level in each school. Next to students also fifteen teachers were selected at

random to gain more school context information. The information from students and teachers can only be linked on the school level because the teacher sample requirements were only that teachers would teach in the observed grade.

The English and Irish dataset used for analysis in this article include 6271 observations at the student level. The English dataset includes 2916 students from 126 schools; the Irish dataset includes 3355 students from 145 schools. Aggregated to the school level we have 271 observations in the pooled dataset. For the analyses, we will include weights as advised by Zuehlke and Vandenplas (2009).

7 Variable operationalization

One goal of this article is to observe how the school climate can be linked to political participation. Hence, we are interested in students' future electoral participation. Electoral participation is measured by three questions asking whether students would vote when they reach adulthood: in local elections, in national elections; and whether they would get information about candidates before they cast their vote. Answers were measured while using a four-item Likert scale: ("I would certainly do this", "I would probably do this", "I would probably not do this" and "I would certainly not do this") (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, & Friedman, 2011, p. 189). The reliability of this scale in England (Cronbach alpha= 0.87) and Ireland (Cronbach alpha= 0.84) is good.

The observed independent variables in the school climate model are derived from both student and teacher questionnaires. The schools' order is measured by the teachers' perceptions of social problems in school and the teachers' perceptions of the students' social behavior at school. These concepts are measured by respectively nine and six questions. A scale is constructed out of each of these clustered questions (Schulz et al., 2009, p. 206). Appendix 3 and 4 both give an overview of the items used to construct the scales. Both these scales are reliable in England (Cronbach alpha= 0.81 and 0.89) and Ireland (Cronbach alpha= 0.86 and 0.90). The scores on these scales are aggregated to the school level to represent the schools' order dimension.

The quality, of the relations at the school is measured by questions from both the student and the teacher questionnaire. On the one hand, we measure student-teacher relationships as perceived by the students. This scale is derived from seven questions measuring how students perceive their relationship with the teachers at school including an item measuring whether students can discuss current, political topics with their teachers (Schulz et al. 2011, p. 171). An overview is given in Appendix 5. On the other hand, teachers were asked how they perceived the relationships between students. Three items measure this topic and are combined to create one scale. An overview is given in Appendix 6 (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 206). The scores on both scales are aggregated to the school level to represent the school level relationships between students and also between students and teachers. Both relational scales are

sufficiently reliable in England (Cronbach alpha= 0.59 and 0.88) and Ireland (Cronbach alpha= 0.58 and 0.87)[1].

Finally, the analyses in this article measure two teaching and learning practices in the school climate model. Both measurements are situated on the students' level. On the one hand, the article measures openness in classroom discussions. Six items measure how students perceive the classroom climate. One of the items measures for example whether students can bring up current political events for discussion in the class. The items are listed in Appendix 7, and together they can be seen as a reliable scale (Cronbach alpha= 0.81 in England and 0.78 in Ireland) (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 168). On the other hand, the article measures how often the students indicate to participate in their school. This is measured by six items listed in Appendix 8 (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 167). The items do not measure general engagement but a specific type of engagement captured by items tapping into activities such as voting, taking part in decision making, becoming candidate for class representative or the school parliament. These activities can be seen as civic experiences in school. Together, these items represent a reliable scale (Cronbach alpha= 0.70 in England and 0.61 in Ireland). The values of these scales are aggregated (mean per school) to the school level before implementing them into the predicted model.

8 Methods

We use structural equation modeling (SEM) techniques to observe theoretically expected relations between the scales. This type of analysis was also used by ICCS study analysts to validate scales, including the ones used for this current analysis (e.g., perceived student-teacher relationships). Next, the ICCS scales are estimated based on item response theory (IRT) models (Schulz et al., 2011, pp. 160–161). Further elaborations (e.g., a combination of these scales to construct multi-dimensional concepts such as the school climate) were not carried out. In this study, we go beyond most current operationalizations of school climate and attest a multidimensional latent construct of the school climate based on the IRT-scales build in the context of the ICCS 2009 survey.

In line with the educational theory, the operationalization of the school climate model includes three dimensions (Kohl et al., 2013; Thapa et al., 2013; Wang & Degol, 2016). On top of these dimensions, we will include two complementary relationships between dimensions, one between the student-teacher relationships and open classroom discussions (Claes, Maurissen, & Havermans, 2017) and the other between behavior in school and the relationships among students (Ferráns & Selman, 2014; Klein et al., 2012). The school climate can then be perceived as a second order latent construct. In the first step, dimensions are measured by observable indicators. In a second step, the school climate is constructed by the latent dimensions. In Figure 2, the rectangles are the observed indicators and the ovals the latent concepts. The three dimensions are mentioned in the ovals in the middle of the figure. On the right side, the school climate concept is included. In a final step, the model regresses

the latent school climate concept onto the school average of students' future electoral engagement, to

observe whether the school climate can be linked to students' intention to vote in the future.

Figure 2: The school climate model

To analyze this school climate model, we use SEM-techniques applied to data capturing all three dimensions. The corresponding information, based primarily on the student and teacher questionnaires is aggregated at the school level (mean per school). As an ideal SEM-analysis needs minimum 250 observations (Hu & Bentler, 1999), we combine the English and Irish dataset. We can do this because we know from previous research that the school climate in these regions is fully comparable or measurement invariant at the scalar level (Sampermans, 2017). In Appendix 1, we include an analysis confirming measurement invariance of the school climate in these two datasets.

Using Mplus software version 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 2015), we construct the measurement model and regress this latent model on the dependent variable: electoral participation. The partitioning of the variance for this dependent variable in an unconditional two-level model points out that the school level variance is 14.5 percent. This is important to keep in mind while we describe the results. In this article, we will not discuss individual perceptions of the school climate and individual outcomes of this school climate[2].

9 Results

To assess the model fit of the estimated model, we check a combination of fit indices (Byrne, 2010; Kline, 2011). The results show a good model fit of the predicted model. The chi-square, 38,253, is significant at 0.001[3]. The model has eleven degrees of freedom. CFI=0.95, TLI=0.91, SRMR= 0.05, RMSEA= 0.09. As a result of this, it is possible to interpret the relations represented in the model.

The factor loadings of the indicators on the dimensions vary between 0.63 and 0.79. Also, the factor loadings of the dimensions of the school climate vary between 0.90 and 0.97. On the one hand the lowest factor loadings are high enough (higher than 0.60) to keep them included in the estimated model (Muthén & Muthén, 2015) on the other hand the highest factor loadings point out that the indicators fit well into the model (Jöreskog, 1999)[4]. Next, to the factor loading in the measurement part, the model also includes a regression part: the relation between the latent school climate concept and the dependent school mean of students' future electoral participation. This part shows a strong regression factor of 0.72 explaining 51.8 percent of the variation of the dependent variable[5].

Figure 3: Estimated school climate model (including dimensions)

Source: ICCS 2009. Results from a Mplus analysis: n=271, χ^2=38,253 CFI=0.952, SRMR=0.051 All relationships indicated in the model are significant and standardized.

Teachers' perceptions of problems and teachers' perceptions of the students' social behavior in school have strong loadings in the schools' order dimension. These loadings are 0.77 and 0.72 respectively. These indicators can, therefore, be perceived as good predictors of the

schools' order. Both these measurements seem to be related to each other in the analysis. The results show a correlation of 0.58. Also, the theoretically expected correlation between students' social behavior and students' relationships can be confirmed in this analysis.

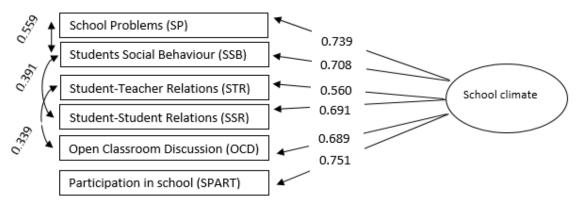Here we find a correlation of 0.44. The relational indicators student-teacher relationships (0.63) and relationships among students (0.72) load clearly on their underlying dimension. Student-teacher relationships correlate with the classroom discussions (0.39). The practices in school measured by open classroom discussions and participation at school are good indicators of the teaching and learning practices. They load properly on the teaching and learning dimension (0.72 and 0.79 respectively).

Each of the three dimensions formed by the indicators shows a strong factor loading on the school climate. The strongest loading is 0.97 and comes from the schools' order dimension. Next, the teaching and learning practices dimension shows a strong loading of 0.895. Finally, the relational dimension has a loading of 0.84. By interpreting these results and observing the school climate dimensions, we stay close to the school climate theory. This observation shows us that each of these dimensions is equally important and that they are each strongly related to the school climate concept. Next, we can also expect that the indicators of the school climate model are related directly to the school climate concept. We test this idea in a new model: Figure 4.

Figure 4: Estimated school climate model (Without theoretically described dimensions)

Source: ICCS 2009. Results from a Mplus analysis: n=271, χ^2=32.289, CFI=0.962, SRMR=0.043. All relationships indicated in the model are significant and standardized.

Figure 4 confirms that a model including observations on each dimension is a sufficient way to observe the school climate. This model can comparably measure the school climate as Figure 3 including an empirical observation of the dimensions of the school climate.

Both constructions of the school climate regress significantly on the students' average expected future electoral participation. It indicates that the school climate as perceived by the students and teachers in a specific school is related to how students in that school on average expect to participate in the future. If the school climate is better, students in this school will be more inclined to state their intentions to vote in the future.

These models (Figure 3 and Figure 4) indicate that the school climate is not negligible. We want to stress that these findings are only a partial indication of the possible influence school can have on students' future engagement. The school climate can be perceived as a secondary curriculum next to the formal curriculum. To take this formal curriculum and other context influences into account, we perform additional analyses. We include students' (school) average scores on the ICCS 2009 civic knowledge test. For each student five plausible test scores were calculated based on a cognitive test including 79 test items[6]. We also include two control variables that can be used to take school environment characteristics into account: the school averages of the number of books students have at home and students' gender. Next, we perform a regression analysis including the aggregated results. We control for the mean results on a civic knowledge test, the number of boys and girls in a school and books at home as one background measurement closely related to the socio-economic background. The results are shown in Appendix 9. By comparing the R^2 of the model including control variables (Model I) and the R^2 of the model including both the control variables and the school climate model (Model II), it is clear that the school climate still has a ten percent additional explanatory power to the basic model. This confirms again that the influence of the school climate is not negligible.

Although the regression model (shown in Appendix 9) is a simplification of our expectations and does not observe covariance between the indicators, the relationships in the simplified regression mainly correspond to the estimated school climate model. The only differences are the negative relationships between both open classroom discussions and students' social behavior at school and the dependent variable. This can be caused by covariation with the control variables or the fact that the linear regression does not take covariance between indicators into account. This indicates that the school climate model gives us a good grasp of what is going on within the school climate. Future school climate research should benefit the inclusion of control variables in the model.

10 Conclusion and discussion
First of all, this article shows that it is possible to perceive the school climate as a multidimensional concept. The

three dimensions observed in this article, the schools' order, relationships in school and teaching and learning practices, are each important within the school climate model. Each of these dimensions shows high factor loadings. And comparable to our predictions, we can find correlations between the dimensions. Next, this article provides evidence of an association between the democratic school climate and students intended future electoral participation. In schools where the school climate is better students are on average more engaged.

Each of the measured dimensions based on aggregated averages of student- and teacher perceptions contribute equal to the school climate and can in a second step be linked to the students' average of intended future participation. Results indicate that this model explains a significant part of the variance in students' future electoral participation at the school level.

Describing these results, this article contributes to the discussion held on the school influences in the political socialization process. In earlier political socialization literature, lots of mixed results are discussed. This research applied a broader school climate definition aiming for a better grasp of the relationship between school experiences and civic outcomes. We argue that future citizenship education research should also pay more attention to the operationalization of school climate. More specifically, the findings reported here indicate that it is reasonable to perceive the school climate as a multidimensional and multi-perspectives concept. The results also show that these aspects are interrelated. In contrast to the political socialization research discussed earlier in this article, which only includes one or a limited amount of social school experiences, future research should pay more attention to each of the specific school climate dimensions and the interplay among them.

Related to the importance of school experiences teacher education programs should, therefore, pay more attention to political socialization and school policies should give teachers the opportunity to reflect on the school climate including experiences related to each of the dimensions.

This study also acknowledges some limitations. Future studies should further reflect on how to measure the democratic school climate. This study is based on the ICCS 2009 results and was able to observe civic experiences in the classroom; students' participation in school elections and students' possibility to discuss political topics in the classroom. The data also includes student-teacher relationships and a reflection on the possibility to openly discuss current, political topics. The schools' order was measured by more general scales including teacher perceptions of student behavior and problems in school. Although most of the scales are closely related to the educational literature and apply the scales to a political socialization context, socialization literature should further try to improve the measurement on each of these dimensions and further reflect on how they are related.

A second measurement reflection that needs to be made and especially related to the use of teacher

questionnaires is social desirability. (Debnam, Pas, Bottiani, Cash, & Bradshaw, 2015; Krumpal, 2013). Since an optimal school climate measurement includes multiple perspectives, it is important to further reflect on a possible desirability bias.

Related to multiple perspectives in this type of measurement, the validity can also improve if multilevel structure can be taken into account. Using a multilevel approach, teachers can be observed at the school level while students' characteristics and more background characteristics can be observed at the individual level.

This article also points out multiple opportunities for further research. It is clear that teachers play a central role in the school climate. On the one hand, teachers can be a role model for students at the relational dimension. On the other hand, they can provide their students with democratic experience. They can lead class discussions and give students the opportunity to participate at school. But, we do not know how teachers themselves perceive this important role. Therefore, it would be interesting to focus more on how the teachers perceive the school climate and how they perceive citizenship education efforts.

Another opportunity for this kind of citizenship research is the school climate's potential ability to close a participation gap. Educational research already provided evidence of school climates' ability to close an achievement gap (Castillo, Miranda, Bonhomme, Cox, & Bascopé, 2014). Comparable to this study, civic school climate research should pay attention to the ability of informal school characteristics to engage disadvantaged groups. If different groups perceive the school climate, they can also be influenced differently. It is, for example, possible that students with a different socio-economic background or with another migration background perceive the school climate differently. This different perception can then lead to a different intention to participate in future elections. More research is needed to understand how the school climate relates to different groups and how it can be actively used to reduce group related electoral participation gaps.

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Appendix 1: Multilevel SEM model of the school climate

The predicted multilevel school climate model is a strong model. Fit indices show a strong model fit: chi-square=32,73 CFI=0.99 and SRMR within=0.01 and SRMR between=0.05.

The factor loadings on the within level are low and vary between 0.38 and 0.41. This is an indication that the school climate on the individual level is not measured correctly by these three indicators. These three individual perceptions are not a good representation of the individual school climate perception. The between level factor loadings are higher, they vary between 0.73 and 0.97. Therefore, we can conclude that the between level measurement of school climate dimensions and the school climate are good predictors in the estimated model.

The intra-class correlation of this estimated model is 14.5 percent. This indicates that 14.5 percent of the variance of students' electoral participation can be explained by school level variables.

	Ireland + England
N observations	**6267**
Within Level	
Factor loading of students' perception of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC) on the school climate	**0.411***
Factor loading of students' perception of student-teacher relations at school (STREL) on the school climate	**0.379***
Factor loading of students' participation at school (PRTSCH) on the school climate	**0.490***
Correlation of OPDISC with STREL	**0.269***
Within level regression of school climate on students' expected electoral participation	**0.579***
Between level	
Factor loading of teachers' perceptions of social problems at school (TSCPROB) on the schools' order	**0.793***
Factor loading of teachers' perception of student behavior at school (TSTSBEH) on the schools' order	**0.748***
Factor loading of students' perception of student-teacher relations at school (STREL) on the relational dimension	**0.728***
Factor loading of teachers' perceptions of classroom climate (TCLCLIM) on the relational dimension	**0.754***
Factor loading of students' perception of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC) on teaching and learning dimension	**0.828***
Factor loading of students' participation at school (PRTSCH) on teaching and learning dimension	**0.828***
Factor loading of schools' order on the school climate	**0.973***
Factor loading of relationships in school on the school climate	**0.890***
Factor loading of teaching and learning on the school climate	**0.937***
Correlation of OPDISC with STREL	**0.570***
Correlation of TCLCLIM with TSTSBEH	**0.517***
Correlation of TSTSBEH with TSCPROB	**0.429***
Between level regression of school climate on students' expected electoral participation	**0.613***

Source: ICCS 2009. Standardized results from a Mplus analysis using school- and student level weights. Measurements on the school level are aggregated: χ^2=32,732 df(12), CFI=0.986, SRMR within=0.010, SRMR between=0.048. Significant values *** p=0.001, ** significant p=0.01, * significant p=0.05.

Appendix 2: Measurement invariance test England and Ireland
First, it is important to take into consideration that actually there are not enough observations in each case (England versus Ireland) to perform a measurement invariance test between the two conditions. In fact, it is better to have more than 250 observations on each level (Hu & Bentler, 1999). This can cause the model fit problems shown by the fit indices. The SRMR indicates a good model fit, but the CFI is too low as it should be above 0.95 (Byrne, 2010; Kline, 2011). Therefore, we must be careful while interpreting the results. Yet, we believe England and Ireland are comparable because the factor loadings, correlations and the regression part in Table A below show significant and comparable results for each of the regions.

Table A: Scalar invariance test school climate model in England and Ireland

	Ireland	England
N observations	**145**	**126**
Factor loading of teachers' perceptions of social problems at school (TSCPROB) on the schools' order	**0.626***	**0.752***
Factor loading of teachers' perception of student behavior at school (TSTSBEH) on the schools' order	**0.675***	**0.730***
Factor loading of students' perception of student-teacher relations at school (STREL) on the relational dimension	**0.486***	**0.653***
Factor loading of teachers' perceptions of classroom climate (TCLCLIM) on the relational dimension	**0.584***	**0.757***
Factor loading of students' perception of openness in classroom discussions (OPDISC) on teaching and learning dimension	**0.841***	**0.778***
Factor loading of students' participation at school (PRTSCH) on teaching and learning dimension	**0.721***	**0.742***
Factor loading of schools' order on the school climate	**0.962***	**0.969***
Factor loading of relationships in school on the school climate	**0.827***	**0.899***
Factor loading of teaching and learning on the school climate	**0.950***	**0.951***
Correlation of OPDISC with STREL	**0.412***	**0.798***
Correlation of TCLCLIM with TSTSBEH	**0.347****	**0.405***
Correlation of TSTSBEH and TSCPROB	**0.595***	**0.438***
Regression of school climate on students' expected electoral participation	**0.671***	**0.560***
X²/country	**45,605**	**44,291**

Source: ICCS 2009. Standardized Results from a Mplus analysis using aggregated measurements and school level weights: χ^2=89,896, CFI=0.916, SRMR=0.075 significant values *** p=0.001, ** significant p=0.01, * significant p=0.05, n.s.= not significant.

Appendix 3: Teachers' perceptions of social problems at school
Teachers were asked to indicate how frequently ("never", "sometimes", "often", "very often") students experience social problems at their school considering the following topics:
   a) Vandalism
   b) Truancy
   c) Racism
   d) Religious intolerance
   e) Bullying
   f) Violence
   g) Sexual harassment
   h) Drug abuse
   i) Alcohol abuse

Appendix 4: Teachers' perception of student behavior at school
Teachers were asked to state how many students ("all or nearly all", "most of them", "some of them", "none or hardly any") exhibit the behavior indicated in the following items:
   a) Are students well behaved on entering and leaving the school premises?
   b) Do they have a positive attitude towards their own school?
   c) Do they have a good relationship with the school teachers and staff?
   d) Do they care for school facilities and equipment?
   e) Are students well behaved during breaks?
   f) Do they show they feel part of the school community?

Appendix 5: Students' perception of the Student-teacher relationship
Students are asked to "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", or "strongly disagree" with the statements:
  a) Most of my teachers treat me fairly;
  b) Students get along well with most teachers;
  c) Most teachers are interested in students' well-being;
  d) Students can choose current, political topics themselves to discuss in class;
  e) Most of my teachers really listen to what I have to say;
  f) If I need extra help, I will receive it from my teachers;
  g) Teachers discuss different sides of the topics they explain these in class. (not included in the scale)

Appendix 6: Teachers' perceptions of classroom climate
Teachers were asked to rate how many of their students ("all or nearly all", "most of them", "some of them", "none or hardly any") interacted with the class and other students considering the following questions:
  a) Do students get on well with their classmates?
  b) Are students well integrated in the class
  c) Do students respect their classmates even if they are different?

Appendix 7: Students' perception of openness in classroom discussions
Students were asked how frequently ("never," "rarely," "sometimes," "often") social and political issues were discussed during lessons:
  a) Teachers encourage students to make up their own minds
  b) Teachers encourage students to express their opinions
  c) Students bring up current political events for discussion in class
  d) Students express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students
  e) Teachers encourage students to discuss the issues with people having different opinions
  f) Teachers present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class

Appendix 8: Students' participation at school
Students were asked how participated in civics related activities ("within the last twelve months," "more than a year ago," or "never."):
  a) Voluntary participation in school-based music or drama activities outside of regular lessons
  b) Active participation in a debate
  c) Voting for <class representative> or <school parliament> Taking
  d) Taking part in decision-making about how the school is run
  e) Taking part in discussions at a <student assembly>
  f) Becoming a candidate for <class representative> or <school parliament>

Appendix 9: Regression model – including control variables

	Model I		Model II	
	coëfficiënt (SE)	β	coëfficiënt (SE)	β
Intercept	26.691 (0.468)***		8.590 (0.834)***	
Knowledge	0.038 (0.001)***	0.547	0.028(0.001)***	0.404
Gender (boy=0/girl=1)	-0.766(0.255)***	0.044	-1.433(0.196)***	-0.083
Home literature	0.970(0.100)***	0.171	0.518 (0.099) ***	0.092
Absence problems in school			0.145(0.015)***	0.183
Positive social behavior			-0.163(0.014)***	-0.238
Student-teacher relationship			0.274(0.016)***	0.218
Student-student relationship			0.056(0.016)***	0.056
Classroom discussions			-0.053(0.017)**	-0.049
School level participation			0.266(0.014)***	0.218
R²	0.469		0.569	
ΔR²			0.100	

Source: ICCS 2009: Aggregated measurements from the student- and teacher questionnaires n=252, including school level weights. Dependent=future electoral participation.

Endnotes

[1] We acknowledge that a Cronbach Alpha between 0.50 and 0.60 can be considered as poor and we urge the reader to interpret the results with caution. Yet we choose to keep these scales in the analysis in order to ensure international replicability of results. The ICCS 2009 technical report (Schulz et al., 2011) indicates a median international reliability of Cronbach Alpha 0.78.

[2] In Appendix 1 a multilevel analysis of the school climate is included. This model shows a construct on the school level that is in line with the theoretical expectations of the school climate concept and in line with the aggregated school level observation that we discuss later in this article. On the individual level, the low factor loadings show that the individual level data does not fit the school level expectations. This confirms that it is a positive choice to connect school level expectations of the school climate with school level observations.

[3] The Chi-square statistics in SEM are very sensitive to the sample size and therefore easily result in significant values. Therefore it is more interesting to assess also other fit indicators and a combination of fit indicators (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Mehta & Neale, 1987)

[4] In CFA the factor loadings need to be perceived as regression coefficients and not correlates. The misunderstanding probably stems from classing EFA where factor loadings are correlations (Jöresko, 1999).

[5] We remind the reader that these analyses are conducted on data aggregated at the school level and that multilevel variance partitioning shows that 14.5 percent of the variance lays on the school level.

[6] If we perform the same analyses using the other plausible values, the results do not change.

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Creating Democratic Class Rooms in Asian Contexts: The Influences of Individual and School Level Factors on Open Classroom Climate

- Student perceptions of OCC differed across societies.
- Good student-teacher relationships and students' participation experiences predicted OCC.
- Civic knowledge and self-efficacy were positively related to OCC in four societies.
- The influence of school level predictors on OCC differed from society to society.

Purpose: Literature indicates that open classroom climate (OCC) is a positive influence on civic outcomes. Few studies have explored factors that appear to facilitate OCC. Most research on OCC has focused on Western countries. The emphasis has been on individual student characteristics related to OCC with little attention made to school level effects. The purpose of the present study was to investigate both individual and school level influences on OCC using Asian student samples.

Methodology: Data were drawn from the five Asian societies that participated in the 2009 International Civics and Citizenship Education Study. Multilevel regression analysis was used to test individual and school level relationships in the data.

Findings: There were significant differences among the five societies with regard to student perceptions of OCC. At the individual level, results showed the importance of good student-teacher relationships, students' discussion experiences outside school, and civic participating at school for promoting OCC. Civic knowledge and self-efficacy were positively related to OCC in four Asian societies. The roles of school level predictors differed from society to society, some predictors even working in the opposite direction. Different cultural contexts, local policies, and school system characteristics might account for these differences.

1 Introduction

Schools and classrooms play a pivotal role for adolescents in developing their cognition and social emotion (Eccles & Roeser, 2011) and forming positive experiences

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and attitudes towards learning and preparing them to participate in different aspects of civic and political life (Al Kharusi & Atweh, 2012; Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Sherrod, 2003). Gibson and Levine (2003) have pointed out classrooms are usually the contexts where students and children are introduced to democratic processes and it is one place that provides the opportunity for students to learn to interact, discuss various issues, and cooperate with others, thereby developing the basis for their civic skills. Godfrey and Grayman (2014) pointed out that classroom climate is important for fostering students' critical consciousness.

Some empirical support has been provided for the importance of classroom teaching and learning processes in enhancing civic knowledge and civic engagement. Alivernini and Manganelli (2011), for example, showed with a sample of Italian students that OCC was a significant factor influencing both civic knowledge and school participation. Knowles and McCafferty-Wright (2015) conducted a similar study with more diverse European samples to show the broader influence of open classroom climate across these samples. Persson (2015), using Swedish panel data, showed that a 10% increase in open classroom climate accounted for an increase of 5% in students' civic knowledge. Hooghe and Dassoneville (2011) also conducted a panel study but with Belgian students showing that those who worked on group projects, a form of cooperative learning, had higher levels of civic knowledge. What these studies suggest is

that classroom processes matter. What they do not indicate, however, is how OCC can be facilitated.

For this reason, the present paper will focus on the role of individual and school level factors that potentially can contribute to the development of student experiences with OCC. In terms of construct validity, Campbell (2005) argued that OCC is a measure of students' perceptions concerning "the discussion of contemporary social and political issues by teachers and students alike". (p. 8). He further argued that "some students are going to perceive a different level of openness than others which is expected to affect their preparation for political engagement". (Campbell, 2005, p. 9). In a similar, although more focused analysis, Barber, Sweetwood, and King (2015, p. 200) argued that "one could anticipate that demographically homogenous students with similar levels of civic engagement would provide more consistent ratings of their climates than would more heterogeneous classrooms of students". To demonstrate this point, they examined the in-class variability of student reports of OCC. The classroom level reliability of OCC was low (λ= 0.574) and they concluded that "this analysis suggests that students have individual experiences and attitudes that shape their perceptions of their classrooms (Barber et al., 2015, p. 201). The current study will address this issue by identifying individual and school level variables that can enhance or sharpen students' experiences with OCC.

There are also good reasons for focusing on Asian contexts and East Asian contexts in particular. Education systems in societies such as South Korea, Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taiwan have been labelled "high performing education systems" because of their students' performance on international assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Marsh & Lee, 2014). At the same time, there is an extended literature that points to rote learning and memorization as the main learning processes in many of these societies (Aguinis & Roth, 2005; Aoki, 2008; Han & Skull, 2010) to the point where it has become a popular stereotype of learning in East Asian societies. Yet there has also been a reaction to these stereotypes in terms of empirical research that has sought to understand better what happens in Chinese classrooms in particular (Biggs, 1996; Biggs & Watkin, 1996; Chan & Rao, 2009). More recently there has been an attempt to show how learning practices in Chinese classrooms are more likely to be on a continuum rather than clustered at the rote learning end (Kember, 2016). Thus identifying the factors influencing OCC could help Asian educators further develop diverse classroom climates to enrich student experiences. The specific research questions addressed were:

- What are the predictive roles of civic knowledge, civic attitudes, and participation experiences on open classroom climate among samples of Asian students?
- Are there school-level variables that facilitate the development of open classroom climate in selected Asian classrooms?

2 Literature review

Openness in classroom climate or openness in classroom discussion has been defined as students' perception of the atmosphere for openly discussing political and social issues and respect when opinions are difference from other (Campbell, 2008; Hoskins, Janmaat & Villalba, 2012; Schulz et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

Studies have demonstrated that open classroom climate has a positive effect on adolescents' civic knowledge (Alivernini & Manganelli, 2011; Andersson, 2012; Campbell, 2008; Hess & Posselt, 2002; Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2011; Persson, 2015; Torney-Purta, 2002), political efficacy (Knowles & McCafferty-Wright, 2015), appreciation of political conflict (Campbell, 2008), democratic values (Hess, 2009), civic participation (Zhang, Torney-Purta, & Barber, 2012), voting intention (Campbell, 2008; Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2013; Maiello, Oser, & Biedermann, 2003; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013), and expected legal and informal civic participation (Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2013; Manganelli, Lucidi, & Alivernini, 2015; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). The variables influenced by OCC were identified in Western contexts but their cultural transfer has not been tested so the current study has focused on Asian contexts.

Previous scholars often focused on the effect of OCC on students' achievement and engagement, while little attention has been given to identify factors that contribute to OCC. Some studies have found that teachers' self-disclosure and verbal behaviors could create an open classroom climate (Goldstein & Benassi, 1994; Mazer, Murphy & Simonds, 2007; McBride & Wahl, 2005), but they have not taken into consideration other school factors such as school social economic status, school climate (school mean student-teacher relationship) as well as school atmosphere about country, good citizenship and participation. There is considerable evidence to suggest that schools as entities account for a considerable amount of variance in student learning (OECD, 2016) but whether school level factors are also important for facilitating teaching learning processes such as OCC remains to be investigated.

The results of such an investigation have the potential to yield important empirical data that can lead to a better understanding of OCC. At the same time there may also be significant implications from such a study for theory building in citizenship education and related areas. There are two broad areas that are of particular importance in this regard: political socialization and cultural influences on the construction of citizenship values. Each of these is discussed below.

2.1 Political socialization

Early political theorists argued that schools were important agents of political socialization and consequent models gave schools a prominent role in the development of young people's political values and political literacy (e.g. Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p. 21). Yet empirical research has often contradicted the value placed on schools as agents of political socialization.

Koskimaa and Rapelli (2015), for example, set out to show that in a society such as Finland with high levels of civic literacy, schools would be shown to play an important role. Yet their results showed that parents and peers rather than schools were much more significant agents that influenced older adolescents' political interests. Similarly, Dostie-Goulet (2009) showed, using a sample of students from the United States, that social networks appeared to be more influential than school when it came to the formation of civic values. After a lengthy review of the literature, Amna (2012) concluded that there is little agreement on the role of schools when it comes to the development of political values.

Lee (2016), researching in an Asian context, offered a slightly different perspective. Using focus groups with small samples of older adolescents he showed that while the formal curriculum and structures did not appear to influence students' political values, certain school subjects did raise the political interest of some young people. At the same time individual teachers were also shown to influence young people's political involvement, although again this occurred informally rather than in any formal manner. Such a view concerning the role of teachers in political socialization had been endorsed earlier by Leung (2006). Despite these results, that appear somewhat to rehabilitate the role of schools as an agent of political socialization, the formal role of schools remained minimal, at least from the perspective of the students who were interviewed. They placed much more emphasis on peers and networks.

Niemi and Hepburn (1995) argued that early theorists and researchers exaggerated the influence of schools on political socialization especially when it came to the unrealistic expectations of students in elementary schools whose political values have been shown to be quite unstable over time. Buckingham (1999) characterized much research in the area as having a functionalist view of socialization and a very narrow conception of political understanding. His own work focused on the role of the media as an influence on civic values — a role that does not necessarily rely on schools at all.

It seems clear from the literature that schools cannot be regarded in isolation from the societies of which they are a part and a more ecological view of schools is required and a better understanding of how different parts of the school ecosystem interact. The current study attempts to do this by examining the multiple influences that construct OCC itself. Methodologically the study also adopts a multiple perspective by examining influences on OCC at both the level of the individual student and the school on the assumption that individual students come to school with dispositions already formed and that under the influence of the school these may be reinforced or challenged. Thus the more that is understood about the way schools and their communities work as an ecosystem the more nuanced will be our theoretical constructions of the role of the school in political socialization.

2.2 Cultural influences on the construction of citizenship

Our research team is part of a larger research effort that for over a decade has been investigating the issue of the influence of culture on the development of citizenship values. Kennedy (2016, p. 415) has called this the "culture thesis" in educational research and practice whereby "culture" is conceptualized almost as an independent variable influencing different aspects of education and social life in general. Halse (in press) has recently reminded us that "culturalism retains a persistent presence across perspectives on schools and schooling both within and beyond Asia".

The conceptual ground work for this cultural research was laid out in Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, and Fairbrother (2004) and follow up work was conducted specifically in relation to citizenship curriculum (Grossman, Lee, & Kennedy, 2008) and citizenship pedagogies (Kennedy, Lee, & Grossman, 2010). Collaborative research teams in the Assessment Research Centre and the Centre for Governance and Citizenship at The education University of Hong Kong then worked together on an empirical research agenda to investigate Asian students civic values such as political trust (Kennedy, Mok, & Wong, 2011), school participation (Kennedy, Kuang, & Chow, 2012), civic engagement (Mok, Kennedy, & Zhu, 2012; Chow & Kennedy, 2015), religious influences (Cheung, Kennedy, Leung, & Hue, 2016) and teachers' civic values (Wong, Lee, Chan & Kennedy, 2017).

To date our work has shown clearly that Asian students' civic values certainly have distinctive characteristics influenced by local cultures — respect for authority, a focus on harmony rather than dissent, support for traditional cultures and for Asia's role in the world and support in particular for family members and membership. At the same time there is also relatively strong support for democracy so that traditional and democratic values sit side by side. Yet there are also significant differences between different national groups of students — there is no homogenous 'Asian cultural citizenship'. The differences between societies on any range of civic values, traditional or democratic, are likely to be significant.

It is against this background that the current study has been developed. By examining a classroom construct such as OCC the purpose is to assess whether the influences on OCC are the same across societies and cultures. Investigating cultural research issues help us to understand better civic values in different contexts, a perspective not without some risk but also benefit as pointed out by Cooper and Denner (1998):

"…bringing concepts of culture into psychological theories is an abstract, disputed, and inherently irresolvable process, yet … doing so is crucial to both social science and policy in multicultural societies, particularly democracies." (p. 63)

Western understandings about citizenship are undoubtedly important, but they are not the only source of epistemology in a complex global environment. The study reported here, therefore, seeks to expand

understanding about civic learning and the contexts that construct it.

3 Method
3.1 Sample
Data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education study were used (ICCS 2009) (Schulz et al., 2010). ICCS 2009 surveyed a sample of 14-year-olds in 38 participating nations, including five Asian societies (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand). ICCS not only measured students' learning outcomes (civic knowledge and behaviors) but also collected relevant contextual information related to student attitudes. The total sample included 5167 students and 150 schools in Chinese Taipei; 2902 students from 84 schools in Hong Kong; 5068 students and 142 schools in Indonesia; 5254 students and 150 schools in South Korea, and 5263 students and 149 schools in Thailand. Further details concerning these samples can be found in Schulz et al. (2010).

3.2 Measures
Open classroom climate (OCC) was measured with six items. Students were asked to report the frequency they thought political and social issues were discussed during regular lessons, for example, teachers encourage students to make up their own minds, express their opinions, discuss the issues with people having different opinions, present several sides of the issues when explaining them in class, students bring up current political events for discussion in class, express opinions in class even when their opinions are different from most of the other students (Schulz, Ainley, & Fraillon, 2011, p. 168). The weighted likelihood estimates (WLE) with an average of 50 and standard deviation of 10 were used in this study.

3.3 Student variables
The national index of students' socioeconomic background (NISB) was a continuous indicator of students' family socio-economic status and had a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. It was derived from three indices: highest occupational status of parent's, highest educational level of parents in approximate years of education according to the ISCED classification and the approximate number of books at home (Schulz et al., 2011, p.193).

Students' gender was coded as male: 0; female: 1.

Civic knowledge was an IRT continuous scale containing five plausible values formed by 79 items covering content related to civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation, and civic identities with a mean of 500 and a standard deviation of 100 for all the participated countries (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 18).

Student-teacher relationship (STUTREL) was a continuous WLE scale derived from six items about students' perceptions of student-teacher relations at school. The scale assessed the degree to which students agreed or disagreed with statements about relationships in their school.

Political and social discussion (POLDISC) was a continuous WLE scale derived from four items which asked students how often they took part in discussion of political and social issues outside of school with their parents and friend.

Students' civic participation in the wider community (PARTCOM) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to report whether they had participated in eight differrent organizations, clubs, or groups in the wider community.

Students' civic participation at school (PARTSCHL) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to state if they had participated in six different civic-related activities at school.

Students' interest in politics and social issues (INTPOLS) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students indicate their interest in a series of issues.

Students' internal political efficacy (INPOLEF) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to state their degree of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about their confidence in different kinds of political actions.

Students' citizenship self-efficacy efficacy (CITEFF) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students how confident they felt about performing a number of civic related activities.

Student's attitudes toward country (ATTCNT) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to state their degree of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about their attitudes towards their country.

Students' perceptions of the importance of social-movement related citizenship (CITSOC) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to rate the importance of a series of possible citizenship behaviors.

Students' perception of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON) was a continuous WLE scale that asked students to rate the importance of a series of possible citizenship behaviors.

3.4 School level effect
Krull and MacKinnon (2001, p. 255) demonstrated that for multilevel models "any individual level measure can be aggregated to the group level, simply by taking the mean for each group. Effects involving the variable may operate at either or both levels". Therefore school means of the student variables were created to examine whether school level factors were linked to OCC

School mean for socioeconomic background (MSES);

School mean for student-teacher relations (MSTUTREL);

School mean for political and social discussion (MPOLDISC);

School mean for civic participation at school (MPARTSCHL);

School mean for civic participation in the wider community (MPARTCOM);

School mean for attitudes toward country (MATTCNT);

School mean for perceptions of the importance of social-movement citizenship (MCITSOC);

School mean for perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (MCITCON);

3.5 Analytic procedures

The major constructs of this study were combined through the ICCS dataset using a Rasch model that transforms the individual measures into major latent constructs (Rasch, 1960). The major variables were standardized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, except for social economic background and civic knowledge (M = 500, SD = 100).

Firstly, levels of student reported open classroom climate were compared among the five societies using ANOVA. Secondly, as the data is nested (students within schools), correlations among unexplained components (residuals) at each level may lead to biased results (Chiu, Chow, McBride, & Mol, 2016). Thus the study used a multilevel analysis to separate the residuals into student (Level 1) and school (Level 2), to remove the bias. Multilevel regression models were developed to gain an understanding of the relationship between predictors and open classroom climate separately for the five societies of Asia. Two-level models were built for the five societies' separately. Level 1 variables were students' gender, social economic status, students' efficacy, participation experiences and attitudes; Level 2 variables included school factors by averaging student level variables listed in the *Measures* section. The intra class correlation (ICC) for the baseline model without any predictors on each level and final model with statistical significant predictor is reported. ICC represents the portion of variance in the dependent variable that is explained at school level in this study.

4 Results

The results found statistically significant differences on student perceptions of open classroom climate. An ANOVA compared the mean differences of students' perceptions of OCC across the five societies, as shown in Table 1. The main effect for students' perceptions of open classroom climate was statistically significant indicating there were differences across societies (F (4,633) = 560.95, p < .000, partial $\eta2$ = .78). Korean students' scores were higher than those in the other four societies. Indonesian students' reported the lowest level of open classroom climate. There were significant differences among all societies except Chinese Taipei and Thailand.

Table 1

Analysis of Variance for OCC

	M	SD	F	η^2
Chinese Taipei	50.46	3.21	560.95***	0.78
Hong Kong	52.86	3.47		
Korea	54.54	3.86		
Indonesia	38.12	2.76		
Thailand	51.16	3.04		

4.1 What are the predictive effects of student level factors on open classroom climate among Asian samples?

The results of the multilevel regression models are presented in Table 2. The intra class correlation for the baseline model without any predictors on each level and final model with statistical significant predictor is reported at the bottom of Table 2. The school-level context, with no explanatory variables, was responsible for 7.3% of the variance in students' perceptions of OCC for Chinese Taipei, 10.2% for Hong Kong, 3.8% for South Korea, 13.5% for Indonesia, and 10.4% for Thailand. After adding the school level predictors, the variance was reduced to 4.5% for Chinese Taipei, 3.5% for Hong Kong, 1.6% for South Korea, 6.0% for Indonesia, and 2.6% for Thailand. The residual variances were large for all societies. They were larger for the South Asian societies than the South East Asian societies. It could be hypothesized that differences across the region would be even greater than within society differences although that was not tested with this model.

Demographic variables were used to estimate their effects on OCC. Social economic status showed no significant relation with OCC among the five Asian societies.

Gender exerted significant and positive associations in all societies in favor of girls except in South Korea where there was no gender effect. In the four societies in which girls reported higher scores on OCC than boys there were positive and significant relationships with OCC (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Thailand). It seems the effect of gender was greater in South East Asian societies than South Asian societies.

A number of civic related variables were regressed on OCC to determine their influence as facilitating factors. Students' interest in political and social issues showed no significant relation with OCC among the five Asian societies. Student-teacher relationships, students' discussion experiences outside school, and school civic participating at school were positively related to OCC among the five societies. Yet the values of the coefficients differed from society to society with some other predictors only statistically significant on OCC in particular countries.

Students' civic efficacy was positively related to OCC in four Asian societies (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Korea, and Thailand) but not Indonesia. Students' civic knowledge was also positively associated with OCC in four Asian societies (Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Thailand) except in Korea where the correlation was negative. Students' attitude toward country was also positively associated with OCC in Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand.

Students' perceptions of the importance of social-movement related citizenship (CITSOC) were positively related to OCC in Indonesia and Thailand. Students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship (CITCON) were positively related to OCC in Chinese Taipei, Korea, and Indonesia.

These results showed that civic knowledge, attitudes, and participation experiences are   positively associated with OCC.

Table 2
Significant student level and school level predictors for OCC

	Chinese Taipei	Hong Kong	Korea	Indonesia	Thailand
Gender	0.079*** (0.013)	0.043* (0.02)		0.118*** (0.014)	0.107*** (0.014)
Civic knowledge	0.106*** (0.017)	0.122*** (0.027)	-0.072*** (0.018)	0.178*** (0.019)	0.267*** (0.019)
STUTREL	0.243*** (0.018)	0.323*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.018)	0.067*** (0.016)	0.161*** (0.015)
CITEFF	0.057** (0.018)	0.072* (0.031)	0.052* (0.016)		0.075*** (0.017)
CITCON	0.065** (0.02)		0.071*** (0.017)	0.071*** (0.018)	
CITSOC				0.083*** (0.017)	0.068*** (0.014)
ATTCNT			0.052** (0.016)	0.057** (0.016)	0.048** (0.015)
POLDISC	0.129*** (0.015)	0.141*** (0.03)	0.173*** (0.015)	0.178*** (0.015)	0.210*** (0.015)
PARTCOM					0.055** (0.017)
PARTSCHL	0.132*** (0.018)	0.087*** (0.023)	0.138*** (0.015)	0.12*** (0.017)	0.064*** (0.018)
Variance	76.879	74.474	92.418	64.527	45.808
MSES		-0.365* (0.185)		0.215* (0.095)	
MCITEFF		0.474** (0.14)			
MATTCNT	-0.368*** (0.1)			0.395*** (0.088)	
MCITSOC					0.397** (0.117)
MSTUTREL	0.473*** (0.101)				
MPARTSCL				0.25* (0.103)	
MPARTCOM				-0.188* (0.091)	
Variance	3.650	2.689	1.472	4.118	1.199
ICC-baseline model	0.073	0.102	0.038	0.135	0.104
Variance explained by final model	0.045	0.035	0.016	0.060	0.026

Note. Gender: 0-boys, 1-girls; STUTREL: student-teacher relation; CITEFF: citizenship efficacy; ATTCNT: attitude towards country; POLDISC: political discussion outside school; PARTSCL: school participation; PARTCOM: community participation; CITSOC: students' perceptions of the importance of social-movement related citizenship; CITCON: students' perceptions of the importance of conventional citizenship;MSES: school mean for socioeconomic background; MSTUTREL: school mean for student-teacher relations; MPOLDISC: school mean for political and social discussion; MPARTSCHL: school mean for civic participation at school; MPARTCOM: school mean for civic participation in the wider community; MATTCNT: school mean for attitudes toward country; MCITSOC: school mean for perceptions of the importance of social-movement; MCITCON: school mean for perceptions of the importance of social-movement.
Note. () Standard errors appear in parentheses,   * $p<.05$; ** $p<0.01$; *** $p<0.001$.

3.2 Are there school-level variables that facilitate the development of OCC in Asian classrooms?

Table 1 indicated that some school-level variables did exert an impact yet not in a consistent way across the region. For example, school averaged social economic background was positively related to OCC in Indonesia while negatively associated with OCC in Hong Kong. School averaged students' attitude towards country was positively related to OCC in Indonesia while negatively associated with in Chinese Taipei. School averaged students' citizenship efficacy was positively related to OCC only in Hong Kong. School averaged students-teacher relationship was positively related to OCC only in Chinese Taipei. School averaged students' perceptions of the importance of social-movement related citizenship was positively related to OCC only in Thailand. School averaged students' civic participation was positively related to OCC and school averaged students' community participation was negatively related to OCC in Indonesia and not significant elsewhere. As presented above, positive school climate (school mean student-teacher relationship), attitudes towards country, good citizenship, and participation experiences were positively related to OCC at school level in some societies but not all. Student attitudes towards country appeared to negate the influence of OCC for students in Indonesia and Chinese Taipei. These somewhat inconsistent results across Asian societies are discussed below.

4 Discussion

Literature has demonstrated the important role of OCC in promoting students' civic learning outcomes such as civic knowledge, efficacy, participation and willingness to participation in the future (Andersson, 2012; Knowles & McCafferty-Wright, 2015; Manganelli et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2012). The study reported here, however, sought to understand how students' experiences of OCC could be enhanced by identifying both demographic and attitudinal variables that exerted a positive effect on OCC using data from five Asian societies.

This study showed at the student level that a strong positive relationship between student and teachers (STUTREL) is important for providing an atmosphere where OCC can be positively experienced in all five Asian societies. As Hamre and Pianta (2001) pointed out when students have positive bonds with teachers, the classroom would become a supportive space where students could engage academically, socially and productively. Students' political discussion experience outside school (talk with friends and parents) and civic participation at school was also related to OCC. Learning does not only occur between the teachers and students in the classroom, but also among students themselves (Hirschy & Wilson, 2002) as well as between students and their parents at home (Castro, et al., 2015). Yet this result was not repeated at the school level since only in Chinese Taipei did the school averaged measure of student teacher relationship significantly influence students' perceptions of OCC. This is an important result for that particular context since it indicates that school leaders have a role to play in supporting the development of positive student teacher relationships in their classrooms. For the other societies, student teacher relationship remain an important classroom level process that teachers should be encouraged to develop in order to enhance OCC.

A similar pattern can be seen in relation to students' reported experiences of participation in school (PARTSCHL). At the individual level these experiences were positively and significantly related to students' experiences of OCC. Yet at the school level the only significant relationship reported is from Indonesia. Since this result is consistent with similar result for STUTREL, it is worth noting Krull and MacKinnon's (2001) comment that "in general, individual level variables tend to be more psychological in nature than group aggregates, which may be more indicative of organizational or normative aspects of the environment. Aggregate measures may also represent contextual influences, which can operate differently than the individual measures on which they were based" (Krull & MacKinnon, 2001, p. 255). What this suggests is the importance of context that will differ from society to society so that the aggregate levels variables may well take on different meanings across contexts — important in some but not in others. This maybe the case for PARTSCHL — important at the school level only for Indonesia but at the individual level in all Asian societies studied here.

Not unexpectedly, students' experiences of political discussion outside of school (POLDISC) in all societies were positively and significantly related to their positive perceptions and experiences of OCC. This is consistent with Campbell's (2005) view that students who already have a disposition to debate and discuss social and political issues will be more likely to regard their school experiences of OCC as positive. It follows from this that the reverse is probably also true: lack of experience with discussing political issues is likely to inhibit students in classrooms from engaging in and perhaps even failing to recognize the nature of OCC as a pedagogical strategy and the kind of classroom climate it creates. Such a view is consistent with the work of Barber et al. (2015) reported earlier in this paper. It underscores the importance of the research reported here: how can all students be encouraged to take advantage of OCC in order to enhance their civic development and future engagement?

Students' citizenship self-efficacy (CITEFF) exerted a small but significant effect on OCC in four societies but not in Indonesia. The positive results suggest that developing students' confidence to engage civically is an important process that will help them both to understand and participate in OCC. CITEFF is an action oriented civic belief fueled by the psychological construct of self-efficacy. Bandura (1977) pointed out that teachers can help create students' confidence by engaging them in activities that allow them to contribute ideas and insights thereby providing the foundation for taking action on their civic beliefs. Why CITEFF does not exert a positive effect in Indonesia remains an open question. Perhaps the fact that Indonesian students had the lowest scores on OCC (i.e. either they did not experience OCC to any large extent or they did not recognize it when they did) may also mean that they had little experience of confidence building activities in their day to day civic education. This is an important question for future research in the Indonesian context.

The relationship between civic knowledge and the creation of positive experiences of OCC was significant across all societies. Yet the direction of the relationship differed in one of those societies. In four societies the relationship was small to moderate and positive but in Korea the relationship was negative. The positive relationships can be accounted for because engagement in OCC requires a certain level of civic knowledge. Asking and answering questions, evaluating peer comments and views, debating issues that maybe controversial require civic knowledge. This is an important understanding since very often inquiry oriented classrooms are stereotyped as those where there is a lot of exchange between teacher and students and between students but perhaps not very much of substance. The results reported here suggest differently: students with a good level of civic knowledge are likely to view their experiences of OCC more positively than those who do not. It is more difficult, however, to account for the negative relationship between civic knowledge and OCC observed in South Korea. Lin (2014) reported a not dissimilar result
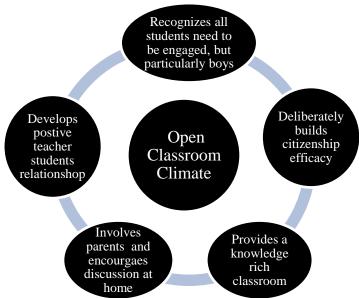
using an aggregated measure of OCC in which South Korea was the only society among thirty eight in which there was a negative, although non-significant relationship, between OCC and civic knowledge (β = -0.01) (p. 9). It may be that South Korean students perceive OCC differently from their regional peers and in contexts where debate and discussion are divorced from understanding and knowledge. This is another important area for future research.

For all other variables in the model, at both individual and school level, the results are either society specific or at times extend to two or three societies. Some of these results are difficult to explain. For example, school averaged social economic background (MSES) was positively related to OCC in Indonesia while negatively associated with OCC in Hong Kong. This suggests the broad influence of context in seeking an explanation for these results since in the absence of a common pattern it can only be assumed that the specific historical, social and political contexts accounts for these results. A good example of this is the results for school averaged students' attitude towards country (MATTCNT). It was positively related to OCC in Indonesia while negatively associated with OCC in Chinese Taipei and was not significant in the other three societies. Indonesia is a country with very strong national identity education that civic education has been a compulsory courses of the school curriculum from primary to post-secondary school (Setiani, Made Yudhi & MacKinnon, 2015) and schools have had a major responsibility for this. Yet in Chinese Taipei, strong anti-China movements over the same time period coupled with the growth of localist democracy that has often advocated independence from China has meant that 'national identity' remains a contested concept. While the school curriculum has changed with the ideological convictions of different governments, national identity education has rarely found an easy place in the classrooms of Chinese Taipei. Thus will many of the results as shown in Table 1 may appear to be

inconsistent, it is likely they simply reflect the diversity for the region and the dominance of local contexts.

Given that a key focus of this study was on school level effects on OCC the results may seem somewhat disappointing. There was not a single school level variable (as defined in this study) that had a consistent influence in all societies across the region. One reason for this may have been the influence of context as discussed above – the school level variables may simply work in different ways in different contexts. This result is consistent with our earlier work on cultural influences on civic values — there are no single set 'Asian' civic values across different societies. Or at least there is not a set of civic values that is endorsed in the same way across the region. Another explanation may be that of Krull and MacKinnon (2001) that when individual level variables are transformed to second level variables their meaning may change. The example they give is that individual SES at the school level may be more an issue of family wealth and urbanism. This is an important issue that deserves further study since it has not been well documented in the literature. A third possible reason could be that most of the variables featured in this study were by nature classroom level variables that do not just change their meaning when transformed to the school level but lose their meaning. If this is a correct interpretation it highlights the significant role of the classroom teacher in constructing a conducive classroom environment and it sheds light on political socialization processes.

The results of this study have indicated that teachers should not rely solely on OCC to create democratic classrooms, but draw on the range of significant individual level variables that have been identified in this study. These can support students' experiences of an enhanced pedagogical classroom environment that contains elements all of which are capable of contributing to political socialization. The key components influencing OCC and therefore students are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Creating a multi-input pedagogical environment to
support OCC

Based on Figure 1, that summarizes the results of this study, complementary and independent pedagogical strategies that can support OCC can be identified: A focus on civic knowledge to create "knowledge rich classrooms" supports OCC so that debate and discussion can be informed;

- Building citizenship efficacy should be part of civic classroom activities;
- All students require support, but strategies that can engage boys in particular will be very important.
- Positive student teacher relationships are need to complement OCC;
- Parents have a pedagogical role in supporting OCC

Thus building democratic classrooms cannot depend on OCC. As mentioned previously the ecology of the classroom needs to be considered. Teachers can make use of complementary strategies and pedagogies that support OCC processes and make them a part of everyday civic education activities. Students experiencing a more integrated classroom with multiple strategies being used to make civic discourse a natural part of their learning experience are more likely to grow and develop civic values and skills informed by civic knowledge. Political socialization therefore does not depend on one single fragile variable but on a holistic experience designed to support civic development. This is not to undermine the value of OCC. Rather an integrated approach will to enhance it to the benefit of individuals, their schools and society.

5 Limitations
The cross-sectional data from ICCS 2009 can only provide evidence of association not causation. Causation can be determined more definitely if the study could be supplemented with longitudinal research. It would be even better if the current study could be complemented

by experimental studies of different approaches to enhancing open classroom climate.

Another caveat is that this study cannot and does not intend to represent the whole Asian area as only five societies in Asia participated in ICCS 2009. If more Asian countries participate, their information could shed more light on the results. Due to the above limitations, the results of the study should be interpreted with caution and may not be easily generalized.

6 Conclusion
In popular discourse, 'Asian' education is often essentialized especially in the light of the results of international assessments such as PISA. Yet the study reported here has demonstrated some distinctive regional splits between North and South East Asia and even within these two regional groupings. It seems from these results that education is much more locally and culturally influenced than any essentialized view might suggest. Therefore one of the priorities for the future should be to understand better these local influences and the way they work in schools and classrooms. A good starting point would be to examine the school level influences identified in Table 1 and seek to account for the differences between societies in terms of their histories, politics and cultures.

At the same time, the study has shown that the sampled Asian students were able to identify OCC in their classrooms and that such a classroom climate influences civic learning to a greater or lesser extent across the regions' schools. Facilitating conditions that support OCC differ across the region but there is a core of individual level influences that do affect OCC and have the potential to enhance it for all students. Yet this study represents a beginning only. It has shown the diversity of pedagogical practices in Asian contexts but further research is needed to understand both the practices

themselves and the contexts that influence them. At the same time the results of this study might also influence research in Western contexts. Are the core influences on OCC identified here invariant in other cultural contexts? Hopefully this study has provided a foundation on which future research in both Asian and non-Asian contexts might be developed.

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Gary A. Homana

Youth Political Engagement in Australia and the United States: Student Councils and Volunteer Organizations as Communities of Practice

- Analyzes representative samples of 14-year-olds in Australia and the United States.
- Conceptualizes student councils and volunteer organizations as *communities of practice*.
- Political trust and expectations for political participation are the outcomes.
- Participation in these communities of practice associated with higher scores on outcomes.
- Associations between organizational membership and outcomes vary for males and females.

Purpose: Lave and Wenger's Communities of Practice is presented as a conceptual framework for examining extracurricular activities as a part of democratic schools' contribution to students' civic engagement. Data from the IEA Civic Education Study is analyzed to investigate research questions on the association between participation in two civic communities of practice (student council and volunteer organizations) and two types of expected adult political participation as well as trust in political institutions in Australia and the United States.

Method/approach: The methodology examined data from students in nationally representative samples of schools that surveyed 14-year-olds in 1999. This was the most recent large scale study of civic education in which these two countries participated. Analysis of variance examined main effects and statistical interactions, especially by gender.

Findings: Findings were that in both countries, participation in the two civic communities of practice was associated with higher levels of trust in political institutions and greater expectations to become an informed voter and an active citizen. The results also suggest that male and female students in the United States experience these communities of practice in different ways. Practical advantages to encouraging democratic communities of practice are important to the experience of democracy at school.

1 Introduction

Political participation is essential for healthy democracies. While most adults remain generally supportive of the democratic process, they are becoming less satisfied with the associated core institutions (Norris, 2010; Oliver, 2016). Equally important, engagement in traditional forms of political participation such as voting and contacting political representatives appears to have declined in established democracies (Pew Research Center, 2017). At the same time online politics has increased dramatically.

In the United States, turnout among younger eligible voters has declined since 1972 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017; Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning, CIRCLE, 2016[1]). In addition, there is ongoing concern about young people shying away from political campaigns and contacting elected officials (Carnegie Corporation of New York & Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning, 2003; Oliver, 2016; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Carpini 2006). In Australia, despite compulsory voting, there is concern about youth

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voting in an informed and responsible fashion (Denniss, 2016; Print, 2007; Saha, Print, & Edwards, 2007). In 2004, 82% of Australian youth expected to vote in that country's federal election. By 2010, only 53% of 18-19 year olds intended to vote in regional or national elections (Brooker, 2013). The Australian Electoral Commission (2016) indicated that this trend has continued.

There are also civic engagement differences between males and females (Saha & Print, 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001; Zaff, Kawashima-Ginsberg, Lamb, Balsano, & Lerner, 2011). Since 1972 young women in the United States have had higher rates of voter turnout in presidential elections. This trend continued in the 2012 national election when 41% of single young men (ages 19-24) voted compared to 48% of single young women (CIRCLE, 2013). In Australia the situation differs with approximately equal proportions of males and females voting (Australia Institute, 2013).

There continues to be a preponderance of males holding political office in both countries. In the 2016 Australian Parliament women comprised 27% of the House and 39% of the Senate (Hough, 2016). In the 2015 114th United States Congress, women comprised 19% of the total House members and 20% of the Senate. Sweet-Cushman (2016) explores reasons why females are less likely than males to run for political office. Importantly, Damico, Damico, and Conway (1998) found that women's political engagement later in life was associated with their experiences as leaders in school activities.

Curricular programs integrating civic engagement have the potential to enhance youth political participation that goes beyond voting and to promote gender equality more broadly. Researchers have found that schools that rigorously teach civic content and where classrooms encourage participatory action are more likely to achieve high-quality civic engagement outcomes (Hess & Avery, 2008; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001). In addition, studies confirm that respectful discussion about issues is associated with higher expectations of later voting, and with community activism, political interest, and commitment to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Campbell, 2008; Kennedy, Hahn, & Lee, 2008; Knowles, Torney-Purta, & Barber, in press; Print, 2008).

Recent large-scale international studies present an opportunity to study these issues. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CIVED) measured political knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among approximately 90,000 14-year-old students in 28 countries in 1999 (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Although IEA conducted a 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Study (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010) neither Australia nor the United States elected to participate in that study or subsequently in 2016. Utilizing the communities of practice framework (Lave & Wenger, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 2014; Wenger, 1998), this article reports a secondary analysis of the 1999 CIVED data, the most recent comprehensive international dataset available for these two countries. The purpose is to examine adolescents' civic beliefs and anticipated political participation in Australia and the United States, looking especially at school participation and at gender differences.

Since many political attitudes are formed during early adolescence, these data collected in 1999 are useful for understanding the formative years of young adults who entered their thirties in about 2015. Furthermore, this analysis can inform educators about the importance of experiences where students become engaged learners expressing ideas, making decisions regarding real-life concerns, and developing leadership skills. Understanding how communities of practice at school could influence political attitudes and participation can provide teachers, principals, policymakers, and researchers with information allowing them to foster the civic capacities of all students.

2 Purpose of the study

This cross-national analysis takes a socio-cultural approach to conceptualizing participation in two civic communities of practice (*student councils* and *volunteer organizations*). The associations of these experiences with anticipated adult political participation and with trust in political institutions among 14-year-olds in Australia and the United States are explored. The conceptual framework associated with the idea of *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 2014; Wenger, 1998) is elaborated. Framing school student councils and volunteer

organizations as communities of practice allows a nuanced understanding of processes of civic and political development. In particular, this theoretical position emphasizes that sense of identity, purpose, and direction are shaped by the social processes within a community of practice; students coalesce around issues that are important to them and develop understanding and strategies for collective action. Furthermore, exploring the role of these two civic communities of practice reveals challenges and possibilities for schools.

Examining data from Australia and the United States supports a clearer idea about how civic communities of practice operate. Both are Federal states and have histories of well-developed civic education programs. Additional similarities and differences are presented in the methods section. Analysis by Kennedy, Hahn, and Lee (2007) found differences in youth attitudes and contexts between the two countries. These differences included less support among Australian youth than among youth from the United States for civic behaviors (e.g., engaging in political discussion, following political issues through newspapers and other media) and for social movement engagement (e.g., participation in peaceful protest or in activities that promote human rights, and the environment). The current article builds on these findings to look at associations within the two countries in parallel and does not explicitly compare levels of trust or participation.

Sections present the conceptual framework describing the concept of communities of practice, and overviews of research on gender differences in political attitudes as well as students' reported membership in student councils and volunteer organizations. The communities of practice framework has a robust notion of participation. However, the measures available did not allow that to be fully explored. Next are sections on the methods and results. The article concludes with a discussion of implications for educational practice, policy, and research and with limitations of the study.

3 Conceptual framework

Young people need a range of academic, social, and emotional competencies for civic and political participation (Smith, Faulk, & Sizer, 2016). Educators need information about contexts where students engage in meaningful learning, try to understand others' points of views, make decisions about issues and acquire a sense of identity as someone prepared to take action. Schools are uniquely positioned to provide these types of learning opportunities.

This article explores the idea that the communities of practice into which youth enter, along with the relationships those communities foster, relate to their civic attitudes and behavior. This builds on the recognition that students create normative expectations during their interactions, a process with potential to influence later adult political participation (Levine, 2010). *Communities of practice* is a broad conceptual framework to understand these social processes. This includes how young people draw meaning from their experiences, develop a

sense of community, initiate collective action, and form identities. In short, the concept of communities of practice helps to operationalize what democracy at school means (Torney-Purta, 2006; Torney-Purta, Amadeo, & Andolina, 2010).

The concept of communities of practice also suggests explicit opportunities for learning within educational organizations. The specific characteristics central in communities of practice include: acquisition of socially situated meaningful learning, enhancement of individual and group identities, and the individual's transition from peripheral to central participation. This last characteristic is of special importance (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Peripheral participation consists, for example, of observing others' skilled practices and participating in apprentice-like activities. Well-functioning student councils should provide an apprenticeship in governing, where students formulate statements to support their point of view and vote according to the interests of the electorate. It is plausible that the integration of young people into communities of practice at school, in interaction with peers and mentors, could be a positive step toward more active political and civic involvement.

Communities of practice can facilitate a sense of belonging built on trust. Trust is positively associated with concerns for others, conflict resolution and social competence (Batistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schap, 1997; Finnan, Schnepel, & Anderson, 2003). Other research among adolescents found trust to be associated with increased expectations to vote, write letters on political issues, read newspapers, volunteer, and hold positive beliefs about the value of school participation (Torney-Purta, Barber, & Richardson, 2004; Uslander & Brown, 2005). Communities of practice have the potential to build this trust.

Engagement in one civic community may also have implications for participation in others. Wenger (1998) emphasizes the capacity of individuals to move from one community of practice to another. This boundary crossing civic participation can result in students' involvement in issues that they care about, which shapes the information they seek, and the individuals with whom they develop connections. Communities of practice have the potential to provide embedded learning opportunities consistent with the goals of political and civic participation. Students engage in open dialogues that can foster the development of more sophisticated civic knowledge and action. Communities of practice may also facilitate a sense of belonging built on respect for others who bring different experiences, ideas, and beliefs. This has the potential to keep civic learning dynamic.

The central research question for this analysis is the following: Is participation in two types of civic communities of practice (the *student council community* and the *volunteer organization community* of practice) associated with expected adult political participation (of two types) and with trust in political institutions among students in Australia and students in the United States? Do these associations vary for male and female students within each country?

4 Overviews of research

4.1 Research on gender and political attitudes or participation

Studies of gender differences from several historical periods assist in interpreting the current analysis. Hahn's (1998) extensive review examined gender differences in a range of political attitudes and civic participation. National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) assessments in the early 1970's found that adolescent female students in the United States displayed less knowledge about certain aspects of government and law, but scored higher than males on others (Education Commission, 1971, 1978). By 1988, however, the NAEP assessment revealed smaller gender differences in political knowledge (Educational Testing Service, 1990). Other studies found small gender differences regarding political trust, confidence in political decision-making, expected participation in voting, joining political parties, or contributing to political campaigns (Hahn, 1996; Hepburn, Napier, & Cremer, 1990; Orum, Cohen, Grasmuck, & Orum, 1977).

Researchers have analyzed gender differences using data from the CIVED study. Barber and Torney-Purta (2009) found female students across all 28 participating countries were more supportive of women's rights, but males in 23 of the countries had higher levels of internal political efficacy. Mellor, Kennedy, and Greenwood (2001) found that Australian adolescent female students reported more involvement in school organizations and scored significantly higher on scales measuring support for women's political rights, confidence in the value of school participation, and the government's responsibility for dealing with social or economic issues compared to males. No gender differences were found for expected political participation or anticipated voting as an adult in national elections. Kennedy (2006) found that females across countries had more positive attitudes toward ethnic groups. In another study, Kennedy and Mellor (2006) found few gender differences for trust in government institutions. More recently, Torney-Purta and Barber (2011) labeled a group consisting disproportionately of male students as *alienated* - having little trust in government, lacking respect for laws, and possessing negative attitudes about their neighborhoods and schools. Similarly in a large sample tested in a major United States city, Voight and Torney-Purta (2013) found that males were disproportionately found in a cluster of students with negative attitudes toward social action. Cicognani, Zani, Fournier, Gavray, and Born (2012) examined data from Italy and found that membership in clubs, and other similar social activities, was especially likely to be associated with adolescent males' political interest and their political participation.

The current analysis focuses primarily on gender as a moderator, that is, whether certain associations between variables hold true for males but not for females (or vice versa). This expands upon the previous analysis, most of which has focused on statistical main effects for gender but not statistical interactions.

4.2 Research on youth participation in school student councils and volunteer organizations

Theoretically, student participation in extracurricular activities, and especially student councils, should enhance adult political participation especially when such participation involves examining and making decisions on issues. Participation may be linked to the development of civic knowledge, but this is beyond the scope of this article.

Evidence indicates that youth are abandoning traditional forms of political participation (Pew Research Center, 2017; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017), but are engaging in alternative forms of civic participation. This includes volunteer community service organizations and also the internet/social media (see for example, Bureau, Cole, & McCormick, 2014; Finley & Flanagan, 2009; McBride & Sherraden, 2007). However, little research has investigated the extent to which participation in school councils or volunteer organizations is associated with political trust or engagement other than voting.

4.3 Research on student councils and political engagement

Early research suggested that students develop political attitudes well before high school. Connell's research in Australia (1971) and Hess and Torney's research in the United States (1967) reported studies of children and considered differences between males and females. Other work in the field suggested that school extracurricular activity can positively influence future adult political participation and decrease political alienation (Dejaeghere & Tudball, 2007; Homana & Barber, 2007). More narrowly defined studies found that involvement in high school extracurricular activities was associated with adult political participation, including political discussion, campaign participation, voting, and attending political events (Hart, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007). In a classic and heavily cited study, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) found associations between retrospectively reported involvement in high school student council and traditional adult political participation such as voting. McIntosh, Berman, and Youniss (2007) reported significant associations between school governance participation and students' confidence about writing letters to public officials, beliefs in political efficacy, and intended community service.

In Australia voting is mandatory, but enforced with minor penalties. Saha and Print (2010) found that students who voted or were candidates in school council elections were better prepared to vote as adults, more likely to intend to vote, and more knowledgeable about politics compared to students who didn't engage in these school-based activities. Reichert (2016a, 2016b) identified patterns in views about the norms of citizenship among 10th graders surveyed in an Australian national assessment. Also females were especially likely to support norms of conventional citizenship behavior while males were especially likely to eschew it. His analysis did not examine students' expected participation or political trust.

Hahn (1998) found that students' participation in student councils provided opportunities to develop leadership skills, especially in the United States. However, Scheerens (2011) voiced concern about teachers' influence on school councils in England. He suggests that the context for decision-making should be constructed to promote autonomy of students' action.

As noted, female students are more engaged in civic activities, consider community service more important, and are prompted by different motivations compared to males (Malin, Tirri, & Liauw, 2015; Metzger & Smetana, 2009). However, there is little research exploring the association between gender and the contextual school factors related to civic participation. Rosenthal, Jones, and Rosenthal's (2003) study with adolescents participating in a Model United Nations revealed that context shapes opportunities. When female students served as committee chairs there was greater turn-taking during discussion and an increased focus on issues important to women. The percentage of females on committees appear-ed less important than equitable opportunities for females to actively participate in discussions.

Although associations have been found between membership in student councils and adult political participation, studies have used retrospective data or studied non-representative samples. A few studies have examined participation in Australian student councils and there are findings from Denmark, Germany, England, and the Netherlands (for example, Hahn, 1998).

4.4 Research on volunteer organizations and political engagement

Evidence supports an association between volunteer program participation and stronger civic identity and sense of responsibility. An early study (Roker, Player, & Coleman, 1999), argued that youth volunteer participation promoted political awareness, knowledge, and understanding. Other early work on school-related volunteer activities in the community, sometimes called service-learning, also found greater awareness of community issues (Melchior, 1999; Simon & Wang, 2002). Associations with conventional political participation were not substantial, however. Other research revealed an association between school-related community service and voting and commitment to civic participation (Hart, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007; Henderson, Pancer, & Brown, 2013). Annette (2008) argued in a review that what appears crucial is whether programs are of high quality and designed to support the development of political participation.

Recent research also supports the value of youth involvement in volunteer organizations finding correlations with adult voting, political interest and membership, motivation to engage in future service, and campaign involvement (Kim & Morgül, 2017; Malin et al., 2015; Thomas & McFarland, 2010). Other studies have found support for volunteer involvement and "expressive" political activities such as peaceful protests, signing petitions, or participating in youth forums (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013; Keating & Janmaat, 2016).

A few empirical studies conducted outside the United States have considered connections between student involvement in volunteer programs and political participation. Quintelier (2008) found that students participating in volunteer organizations were more likely to sign petitions, protest, and connect with politicians in Belgium. Similarly, using CIVED data from five European countries Hoskins, Janmaat, and Villalba (2012) found that students who volunteered were more likely to expect to vote and be future political participants.

The current study extends the research utilizing nationally representative data on the civic knowledge, skills, and behaviors of adolescents in Australia and the United States. In addition, it examines ways in which male and female students' experiences are associated with different types or levels of political and civic engagement, an issue not investigated previously. In particular, this study is an opportunity to more closely examine two civic communities of practice - student councils and volunteer organizations - and their association with two aspects of expected future political participation (expected voting and more active involvement in the political process) as well as political trust.

4.5 Research on student council participation and political trust

There are only a few systematic examinations of associations between participation in student council and political trust. Damico, Damico, and Conway (1998) looked at democratic values, but not at generalized political trust. Niemi and Junn (2005) found that participation in student council and in mock elections was associated with higher political trust and greater civic knowledge in the United States. The current study fills a gap in research concerning student council participation and its potential role in developing both adolescent political trust and anticipated political participation.

4.6 Research on volunteer organization participation and political trust

There is also limited evidence regarding the association between student involvement in volunteer associations and political trust. Brehm and Rahn (1997) found a positive connection between civic engagement and interpersonal trust. Torney-Purta, Barber, and Richardson's (2004) analysis of political trust across six primarily European countries found trust was a positive predictor of expectations of informed voting, writing a letter on political issues, and joining a political party. Some researchers in Europe have investigated similar issues (Maiello, Oser, & Bidermann, 2003; Menezes, 2003). However, relatively little is known about the association between student involvement in volunteer organizations and political trust. This study provides an opportunity to examine this association.

5 Summary of the contribution of this study

This analysis seeks to expand understanding of adolescent political and civic development by exploring the correlates of participation in two communities of practice at school - student councils and volunteer organizations. Overall, the literature regarding adolescent participation, is difficult to compare across studies. This study uses nationally representative samples and overcomes the limitations of some earlier studies on student councils and volunteer organizations. Furthermore, although research suggests the potential utility of examining the link between participatory structures in schools and the development of civic capacities (Homana, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2006), the concept of communities of practice remains under-explored. Wenger (2010) expanded discussion of communities of practice in general but has not made a link to civic engagement. In addition, this study considers the cultural and identity-related aspects of schools as they are experienced by students. Two independent variables (student council participation and volunteer organization participation) and three dependent variables (trust in political institutions, expected likelihood of voting and getting information about candidates, and expected likelihood of contacting a political official to express an opinion and of running for political office) are investigated. The analysis also examines whether student council experience and volunteer experience have different associations with these aspects of participation for males and females.

6 Methods

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CIVED) (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001) provides a comprehensive archived source of data on the civic behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge of approximately 90,000 14 year-old students from 28 countries. It is the most recent international civic dataset to include both Australia and the United States using a common cognitive and attitudinal instrument validated by a multinational group of scholars. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was the statistical method utilized given its ability to examine both main effects for the two types of participation (student council membership and volunteering) and also the significance of interactions by gender. Many previous studies using regression models either controlled for gender or used complex statistical methods that make it difficult to understand how males and females differ in their political engagement.

6.1 Country selection, context

Comparative international work is valuable in understanding similarities and differences among students across countries. Torney-Purta and Amadeo (2013) and Knowles, Torney-Purta and Barber (in press) consider the benefits of extensive secondary analysis of international large-scale datasets such as CIVED. The intention here is to use parallel analyses in two countries to examine the theoretical and empirical utility of the communities of practice framework to address the question of how two organizations in schools enhance students' capacities for civic engagement.

Australia and the United States were selected for several reasons. Both have established democracies based on similar political principles and have comparable economic systems; both countries can be characterized as immigrant societies. Both have high proportions of students attending secondary school and similar literacy rates (NationMaster, 2017). Both countries are experiencing declining rates of youth civic and political participation, yet view education as key in addressing these concerns. In addition, among all 28 countries participating in CIVED, Australia and the United States had the highest rates of involvement in student councils and in volunteer associations. In Australia, 34% of students participating in CIVED reported taking part in a student council; 33% of students in the United States reported participation in student council. In terms of volunteer organization participation, 33% of Australian students and 50% of United States students reported involvement.

6.2 Sampling and variables chosen for analysis

The current investigation used an archived dataset from CIVED containing data collected in 1999 from nationally representative samples of schools. The data for this analysis is available from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (Humboldt University of Berlin and University of Maryland-College Park). In Australia, 3,331 students average age 14.6 years in 142 schools participated in the survey. In the United States, 2,811 students average age 14.7 years in 124 schools participated.

The primary independent variables are respondents' reports of school council involvement and of volunteer organization participation. Gender is included to highlight differences in levels of expected political participation and trust between female and male students as well as possible differences in the associations between participation in communities of practices and the three civic outcomes for males and females. Student council and volunteer organization involvement were each measured with single items on the IEA survey (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Item A, within a section of items regarding participation in various organizations, asked whether the student had participated in "a student council/student government [class or school parliament]" and item H queried students about participation in "a group conducting [voluntary] activities to help the community." Both questions had yes/no options.

The dependent variables in the study were political trust and two aspects of anticipated adult political participation. Trust was measured using the mean of responses to three questions on the IEA survey. These questions were in a section with the following stem: "How much of the time can you trust each of the following institutions?" The three items of interest were: "The national [federal] government [in _____ (the national seat of government)]," "the local council or government of your town or city," and "National Parliament [Congress]." Responses to each included

"never," "only some of the time," "most of the time," "always," and "don't know." The scores for each item ranged from 1 for "never" to 4 for "always", with "don't know" coded as 0 (treated as missing). In the original report of CIVED these items were part of a highly reliable scale on Political Trust (Torney-Purta, et al, 2001, p. 201). A simpler scale was constructed for the current study to focus on representative institutions (omitting items asking about trust in political parties).

Expected adult political participation was measured using two scales: anticipated informed voting and conventional participation. Past analyses had shown the importance of these types of involvement (Torney-Purta, Barber, & Richardson, 2004). The IEA instrument included the question "When you are an adult, what do you expect that you will do?" in reference to various political activities. Item response choices were 1 to 4: "I will certainly not do this," "I will probably not do this," "I will probably do this," and "I will certainly do this," with "don't know" treated as missing. The expected informed voting scale was created using the mean of answers to the items "Vote in national elections" and "Get information about candidates before voting in an election." The expected conventional participation scale was created using the mean of responses to the items "Write letters to a newspaper about social or political concerns" and "Be a candidate for a local or city office." Each mean could vary from 1 to 4. Students with missing data on any item were not included in the analysis. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that in both countries the scale scores on expected informed voting were higher than those on expected conventional participation. This is understandable since relatively few adults extend themselves to becoming a candidate or even to writing letters about political concerns (these data were collected before omnipresent social media). Voting and learning about candidates, on the other hand, is accepted as a basic and vital part of democratic participation.

SPSS was used for all analyses. Cronbach's α for the trust, informed voting, and conventional participation scales were 0.71, 0.74, and 0.69, respectively. Parallel analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted in the two countries to explore whether students' reports of involvement in school council and in volunteer organizations were related to higher levels of political trust and to higher levels of expected adult political participation. It also allowed for the examination of different patterns of organizational involvement for male and female students. ANOVA requires a preliminary check for homogeneity of variance (Pedhazur, 1997). Although this assumption was not met, the results can be considered valid because the higher errors were associated with cells with larger sample sizes (biasing the results against finding statistically significant effects). The relatively conservative p-value of 0.01 was adopted (Lomax, 2001).

7 Results

Tables 1 and 2 present the analysis of variance results for the three dependent variables.

Table 1: ANOVA Results in Australia for Political Trust, Informed Voting, and Conventional Participation: Cell Means, F ratios, and Ns

		Student council participation			Volunteer organization participation		
		Trust	Informed voting	Conventional participation	Trust	Informed voting	Conventional participation
	N	1973	1826	1826	1953	1813	1813
Participation							
	Yes	2.73	3.31	1.97	2.69	3.25	2.02
	No	2.58	3.06	1.78	2.60	3.08	1.76
	F	23.95**	59.67**	40.70**	8.23**	25.63**	70.16**
Gender							
	Male	2.67	3.15	1.87	2.66	3.12	1.89
	Female	2.65	3.22	1.88	2.62	3.22	1.88
	F	0.58	4.79	0.35	1.48	8.05	0.05
Interaction							
	Y/Male	2.74	3.31	1.98	2.67	3.21	1.78
	N/Male	2.55	2.99	1.75	2.58	3.03	1.99
	Y/Female	2.72	3.31	1.97	2.71	3.30	1.73
	N/Female	2.62	3.13	1.80	2.62	3.13	2.05
	F	0.81	4.93	0.92	0.02	0.01	3.09
df		1, 199	1, 243	1, 237	1, 197	1, 241	1, 235

** $p < .01$

Table 2: ANOVA Results in the United States for Political Trust, Informed Voting, and Conventional Participation: Cell Means, F ratios, and Ns

		Student council participation			Volunteer organization participation		
		Trust	Informed voting	Conventional participation	Trust	Informed voting	Conventional participation
	N	2158	1679	1679	2138	1663	1663
Participation							
	Yes	2.82	3.38	2.10	2.82	3.32	2.09
	No	2.74	3.22	1.92	2.71	2.99	1.86
	F	8.89**	57.06**	15.58**	17.30**	111.29**	53.50**
Gender							
	Male	2.75	3.10	2.03	2.73	3.06	1.95
	Female	2.81	3.30	1.99	2.80	3.25	1.20
	F	6.16	33.77**	1.30	7.57	35.78**	2.22
Interaction							
	Y/Male	2.82	3.28	2.13	2.82	3.21	2.06
	N/Male	2.67	2.93	1.85	2.64	3.03	1.85
	Y/Female	2.83	3.38	2.07	2.83	3.30	2.12
	N/Female	2.80	3.22	1.99	2.78	3.13	1.88
	F	4.65	8.48**	10.80**	5.28	1.92	0.18
df		1, 216	1, 240	1, 222	1, 214	1, 238	1, 219

** $p < .01$

7.1 Political trust

Main effects for the associations between participation in student council and in community volunteering with political trust were statistically significant in both countries (Tables 1 and 2). There were no significant main effects for gender or gender interactions when trust in political institutions was the dependent variable.

7.2 Informed voting

For both Australia and the United States, the main effects indicate that those students who had participated in the student council community of practice had a statistically significantly higher mean likelihood of informed voting than those who had not participated in this community of practice (Tables 1 and 2). In addition,

female students in the United States had a higher informed voting score overall than male students (Table 2). In the United States there were also significant statistical interactions (Table 3). Females who participated in student council had the highest mean score on this basic political participation (with male student council members slightly lower). Males who did not participate in school council had the lowest mean scores (significantly lower than all three other gender by participation groups). The difference in the likelihood of voting between those who participated in student council and those who did not was quite substantial for males (3.28 compared with 2.93). For females it was a smaller difference (3.38 compared with 3.22).

Table 3: Cell Means on Expected Informed Voting in the United States Illustrating Significant Interaction

	Participant/Student Council	Non-Participant/ Student Council
Male	3.28	2.93
Female	3.38	3.22

The main effects findings for participation in the communities of practice within a volunteer organization indicate that students in both Australia and the United States who participated had statistically significant higher mean informed voting scores than those students who did not participate. No significant interactions were found between gender and volunteer participation in relation to informed voting in the United States or in Australia.

7.3 Conventional political participation
In both countries, the main effects indicate a statistically significant association between student council involvement and expected conventional participation that extends beyond voting (i.e., communicating with political officials and intending to run for office). Students involved in the student council communities in both countries had higher mean scores than those who were not involved (Tables 1 and 2). There were no significant main effects for gender in either country. There were no significant interactions by gender in Australia. There was, however, a significant gender interaction in the United States accounted for by the fact that male members of student councils had the greatest intension of becoming politically active (including running for office). Males who were not involved in student councils had the lowest mean scores of all four groups on this more active conventional participation. Among participants in student councils there was a relatively small gender difference with males slightly more likely to communicate with elected officials and run for office themselves.

Table 4: Cell Means on Expected Conventional Participation in the United States Illustrating Significant Interaction

	Participant/Student Council	Non-Participant/ Student Council
Male	2.13	1.85
Female	2.07	1.99

The main effects analysis indicates that students in both countries who were involved in volunteer organizations as communities of practice had statistically significant higher mean conventional participation scores than those students who did not participate. No significant interactions were found in either country.

7.4 Summary
In both Australia and the United States, involvement in the *student council community of practice* is associated with adolescent civic development for all three civic outcomes - higher political trust, expectation of informed

voting, and expectation of conventional political participation. The same positive association with the three outcomes is observed for involvement in a volunteer organization. This is encouraging for proponents of school-based extra-curricular civic initiatives as part of school democracy. It suggests a potential role for communities of practice in preparing young people for political and civic engagement.

The main effects and interactions involving gender are more complex. In the United States (but not in Australia) females were more likely than males to report that they expected to become informed voters. There were also some interactions between participation in the two communities of practice and gender in the United States. Male students who did not participate in student councils had the lowest average scores on expectations of informed voting and also the lowest average scores on expectations of conventional participation of all the gender by extra-curricular participation groups. Female students who had experience on student councils were the group most likely to expect to vote. Although experience in volunteer groups was associated overall with political trust, with informed voting, and with conventional participation, this was equally true for males and females.

8 Discussion
Although youth involvement in traditional forms of political participation has declined in many countries, these findings suggest the potential value of participation in student council and volunteer organization in reversing that trend. In both Australia and the United States, participation in these two communities of practice was associated with higher levels of political trust, with greater expectations to become an informed voter, and with higher expectations to become an active citizen who expresses political opinions and runs for office. Creating councils and volunteer organizations with the potential for students to solve problems can build a positive sense of commitment and identity. These results also suggest the value of learning communities that involve students in collaboration. By cultivating an active voice in discussion students practice skills required in real life problem solving. An essential mechanism may be the opportunity to observe adults in political and civic activities, what Lave and Wenger (1991) call *legitimate peripheral participation*.

Gender differences are of interest. Rosenthal, Jones, and Rosenthal's (2003) assert that having females in leadership roles can lead to increased civic engagement, but primarily if they are working on issues that are important to them. Although both female and male students reported participating in school student council and volunteer organization communities the correlates were somewhat different especially in the United States. Females, especially those who were involved in student councils, reported the highest level of expectation to vote in the United States. Gender difference, although small, still showed males as being more likely to contact elected officials and run for office. Participation on a

student council may engage young women in a political community of practice but the real world of politics still appears to be male dominated, at least in the United States. In Australia, there were no significant differences by gender in either voting or more active political participation.

There is another way to look at some of these findings. The statistically significant interactions between gender and student council participation indicate that males in the United States who did not participate were the least likely to have strong inclinations toward later political participation (either by voting or through more active involvement). One possible explanation is that this is a manifestation of general alienation on the part of a group of male students in the United States (Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). Membership in student communities of practice may not be able to counter this negative orientation, perhaps reinforced by informal peer groups.

9 Implications for education practice and policy

Schools can provide rich opportunities for students to learn from engagement in interactions and to forge a sense of community based on respect and trust. Those interested in enhancing democracy at school should consider providing more avenues for young people to become involved in these activities.

The concept of civic communities of practice explored in this study could be the basis for future work to cultivate the skills helpful for students to become involved adult citizens. Youth need opportunities for learning that facilitate robust partnerships where they are involved in shared decision-making and building of identity. This may require creating democratically engaged communities of practice enmeshed into a school's social fabric so that political and civic engagement can be widely practiced. One mechanism may be the integration of experiences with classroom and school discussion-based learning coupled with action to address school and neighborhood issues. However, not all school civic-related experiences will necessarily support political engagement. If volunteer participation in the community is to become a viable option to enhance political participation, it will require more intentional design strategies that encourage youth to explore and develop the skills associated with civic action.

This analysis suggests several opportunities. First, schools should consider providing a comprehensive range of communities of practice explicitly fostering discussion, collaboration, and real-world participation. This may require targeted focus on the inclusion of students in decision-making processes. Equally important is mobilizing support from parents and educators, to promote the development of positive civic capacities through communities of practice. This may require careful navigation of different groups' views about values such as equality and social justice, including feminist or critical perspectives.

10 Future research

Researchers could benefit from examining more closely how schools can design curriculum and other learning opportunities that embody the ideals of communities of practice and direct them to enhance civic outcomes. Civic engagement researchers could deepen the field by identifying specific characteristics of communities of practice that promote civic development through student councils and volunteer organizations. Perspectives from a range of fields may be helpful.

There are also cross-national issues. Should we expect that school councils and volunteer organizations create the same types of communities of practice in different national contexts? There were differences even between the two relatively similar societies examined here. What can be learned from different types of communities of practice regarding specifics of demographic composition, pressing issues, and processes for addressing them? The study which followed CIVED was the International Civics and Citizenship Study (conducted by IEA in 2009 and in 2016). Data are released within about two years by IEA and are freely available for analysis. European, Latin American and Asian countries are well represented in these datasets (although Australia and the United States did not participate in either study). Further analysis of these data could provide guidance for policymakers, teachers, administrators, and community members hoping to encourage civic engagement.

Small-scale and mixed-method research could build on the findings of this study. Complex social and cultural interactions exist within schools and classrooms that could be investigated to refine conceptualizations of communities of practice. Possible areas include dimensions of the classroom and school environment where students explore ideas through open discussion, build positive relationships, and develop strategies for school and community change. Especially important is investigating how to make student councils more effective in enhancing female students' engagement. There are also considerations regarding issues of race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status that could benefit from investigation. Future research should consider observations, focus groups, and interviews with students, teachers and administrators regarding instructional practices as well as informal interactions. The purpose would be to assess the potential of communities of practice to promote civic learning and engagement across groups.

The students who responded to CIVED are currently adults in their thirties, and they live in a world transformed by technology and social media, which this investigation could not address. Researchers could consider issues pertaining to capacity building of communities of practice on the internet, as well as issues of sustainability when technology is the platform. Other research questions could address the types of interaction among individuals most likely to result in political action.

11 Conclusion

The central purpose of this study is to understand whether communities of practice have the potential to make a difference in students' political trust and partici-pation. It provides evidence that both the *school council community of practice* and *volunteer organization com-munity of practice* are associated with these civic capa-cities. Although the design does not permit claims for causality, it does provide support for examining com-munities of practice as a potential policy and practice lever for the development of political and civic capacities in Australian and United States schools (and perhaps more broadly). Next steps may involve examining schools and classrooms as more nuanced civic teaching and learning environments marked by dis-course, affective, and participatory communities of practice (Homana, accepted).

Framing student council and volunteer organizations as communities of practice also allows the exploration of the broader normative structures in schools. Learning is linked to expectations, and attitudes across school con-texts. Understanding the cultural dimensions of schools, either through surveys or interpretive studies, has the potential to enhance understanding of communities of practice within schools.

12 Limitations of the research

First, students' surveys cannot capture the full experi-ence of a community of practice in discussing issues, collaborating, or serving as a source of identity. The team designing CIVED did utilize Lave and Wenger's general conceptualization of communities of practice in formu-lating the study (Torney-Purta, 2006), but the measures were not designed to capture specific attributes of these groups. Mixed methods studies could more fully consider capture the pervasiveness of communities of practice across the school. This could lead to a more nuanced depiction of the socio-cultural environment for the development of civic engagement.

Second, as these students (and future generations) become young adults, their actions and attitudes toward political and civic engagement will adjust to new circum-stances. Since these two countries did not participate in the two more recent IEA studies, and since there are few (if any) more recent nationally representative studies that include these measures, it is necessary to rely on these older findings. However, more recent studies have not shown substantial changes in the gender differences observed here, for example.

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Endnote

[1] Reports no evidence of decreased youth voting since 2016 which remains around 50%.

Hugo Santos, Sofia Marques da Silva, Isabel Menezes

From Liberal Acceptance to Intolerance: Discourses on Sexual Diversity in Schools by Portuguese Young People*

- This article explores different layers of discourse about sexual diversity in Portuguese secondary schools.
- Focus groups discussions were conducted to 232 students.
- There are some discourses that make impossible a full access to an inclusive democracy for LGBT youth.
- In spite of changes, the dominant youth discourses gravitate between conditional acceptance and intolerance.
- There is a lack of critical and political discourse.

Purpose: This article explores different strands of educational discourse about sexual diversity in Portuguese schools, from the students' perspectives.
Method: The methodological approach consisted in conducting focus groups discussions: 36 with 232 young students (H = 106, M = 126) in 12 public secondary schools.
Findings: Students reveal a polyphony of discourses that gravitate between liberal acceptance, conditional acceptance and intolerance.
Research implications: Attention is drawn not only to discriminatory processes that question school as a democratic place for LGBT youth, but also to the gap between what is legally decreed and a lack of know-how in the approach to sexual diversity in school.

Keywords:
School democracy, sexual diversity, educational discourses, homophobia

1 Introduction

Even if the intersection between democracy and education can be traced to the writings of Aristotle (vd. Fraser, 1996), it was mainly during the 20th century that democratic theories of education came into being in the context of the institutionalization of public schooling, especially in North America (Haste, 2010; Meyer, 2010). This intersection has a double implication. It includes the idea that some principles of democracy (e.g., cooperation, dialogue, participation) should be immersed in the organization and management of the schools, the classrooms and the learning processes; but it also encompasses a vision of schools as contexts for learning and empowering citizens as critical and participative agents of democracies – as places where "one learns to appreciate politics (…), to be intolerant with injustices and to speak out" (Canário, 2008, p. 80). Both ideas are central to pedagogical conceptions known as 'progressive education' that flourished across Europe, North and South America. John Dewey's pioneer vision of education as an emancipatory experience of 'life itself' – opposed to a traditional durkheimian vision of education

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as conservation – is of particular significance. In his view, education should promote, through the child and youth involvement in experience and reflexivity, their personal and social development and their civic and political engagement in their community (Dewey, 1916).

However, democracy is far from being a monosemic concept, and democratic principles are multiple and, sometimes, ideologically diverse or even contradictory (Held, 1997). For instance, principles of equality and non-discrimination were always central in democratic theories of education – a discussion that was particularly vivid in the discussion of non-segregation in public schools (Coleman, 1975). As stated by Gutman (1987, p. 14):

"A democratic theory of education recognizes the importance of empowering citizens to make educational policy and also of constraining their choices among policies in accordance with those principles – of nonrepression and nondiscrimination – that preserve the intellectual and social foundations of democratic deliberations. A society that empowers citizens to make educational policy, moderated by these two principled constraints, realizes the democratic ideal of education."

The growing pressure for the inclusion of diverse social "minority" groups, historically excluded from citizenship rights (Benhabib, 1996; Carneiro & Menezes, 2007; Young, 1990, 1995) has challenged classical models of democracy with the assertion of the need for a "differentiated citizenship" that would be "the best way of realising the inclusion and participation of everyone in full citizenship" (Young, 1997, p. 257). A similar recognition has also pushed educational theories, educational policies and the school curriculum to integrate and value diversity and to confront discrimination in its various

forms (Bernstein, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Osler, 2012) – clearly, the growing democratization of education has been a strategy to promote social inclusion and reduce social inequalities, but also exposed the school's inability to deal with pluralism by remaining a sexist, racist and class-biased institution (Apple, 2000, 2004). As stated by Meyer "a positive school climate is an important goal in order to create the conditions that will encourage most students to succeed and thrive in school. Unfortunately, many school climates are hostile and toxic for many students." (2010: 8-9). In fact, schools frequently appear incapable to become safe and inclusive environments for youth marked by diversity in relation to social class, but also gender, race and ethnicity, nationality, disability and sexual orientation. This is particularly perverse as the experience of this diversity is one of the major advantages of public schools (Beane, 1990), contexts whose inherent pluralism generate, to use Geertz's metaphor, a vivid bazaar where there is a real possibility for "citizenship [to] express itself through the community of general rules that do not violate the differences of citizens" (Magalhães & Stoer, 2005, p. 98).

This study explores the production and reproduction of oppressive discourses regarding LGBT youth in Portuguese schools, inspired by Foucault's (2002) concept of "conditions of possibility". Conditions of possibility in schools would then be the possibility (agency) of LGBT youth (i) to be/affirm their (sexual) identity; (ii) to access (human and sexual) rights and (iii) to participate in the (sexualized) world of life, itself structured by a set of conditions (e.g., homophobia).

2 Democracy and gender/sexual diversity in and out-of-schools

In the last decades, there is a growing recognition of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex rights as 'human rights' – and not as 'special rights' –, even if across the world this is still a challenge for democracies, with the persistence of both real and symbolic oppresssion in institutional (e.g., criminalization) and social (e.g., discrimination) forms, that transcend viola-tions of sexual rights (Aggleton & Parker, 2010; Lees, 2000; Kollman & Waites, 2009; O'Flaherty & Fisher, 2008; Richardson, 2000). For instance, the 'Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity' proposed by a group of human rights experts in 2007, resulted from the acknowledgement of

> "persistent human rights violations because of […] actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity. These human rights violations take many forms, from denials of the rights to life, freedom from torture, and security of the person, to discrimination in accessing economic, social and cultural rights such as health, housing, education and the right to work, from non-recognition of personal and family relationships to pervasive interferences with personal dignity, suppres-sion of diverse sexual identities, attempts to impose heterosexual norms, and pressure to remain silent and invisible" (O'Flaherty & Fisher, 2008, p. 208).

Only in 2011 the United Nations Human Rights Council passed its first resolution recognizing LGBT rights, urging all countries to enact laws protecting their basic rights. And, even in the European context, in spite of the growing recognition of same-sex marriage and adoption rights in many countries, there are problems with equality and discriminatory attitudes (Trappolin, Gasparine & Wintemute, 2012). Data from the 2015 Eurobarometer (EU, 2015) shows an increase in supportive views regarding sexual orientation and gender identity, but discriminatory attitudes still emerge: for instance, while 72% of the respondents say that they feel comfortable or indifferent with heterosexual couples showing affection in public, the percentage drops to 49% and 51% for gay and lesbian couples, respectively (EU, 2015).

Given this societal framework, it is not surprising that schools continue to be depicted as profoundly homophobic and heteronormative (Pascoe, 2007; O'Higgins-Norman, 2009). According to the LGBT survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2012), at school only 4% of the respondents were 'always open', with 30% being 'selectively open' and 67% 'hiding' their LGBT identity. Additionally, when asked to consider the most serious incident of harassment that ever happened to them, the school emerges as the second most frequent context (14% vs. 31% for public places). Not surprisingly, only 32% of the respondents never experienced negative comments or conducts during their schooling before the age of 18 (with 30% rarely, 28% often and 10% always); only 12% openly talked about being L/G/B/T; 64% always disguised their identity (vs. 9% who never did); and only 9% did not hear negative comments about a colleague being L/G/B/T (http://fra.europa.eu/DVS/DVT/lgbt.php) .

A recent report by the Council of Europe (2016) identifies "three central issues that prevent LGBTI children and young people from fully realising and enjoying their human rights: prejudice and discrimination, resistant educational systems and the targeting or negation of the work of civil society organisations" (p. 5). Access to education and the experience of violence in schools continue to be severe problems, together with "the lack of inclusiveness of school curricula" (p.6) and absence of teacher and other school personnel training in this domain. Homophobic bullying has been presented as a public health issue (Pascoe, 2013; Poteat, Mereish, DiGiovanni & Sheer, 2013; Rivers, 2011) leading the UNESCO to present two reports (2012a, 2012b) – "Review of homophobic bullying in educational institutions" and "Education sector responses to homophobic bullying" – that account for the global nature of the phenomena and call for the need for more intervention in this domain. Even if homophobic bullying can target heterosexual youth (Mahler & Kimmel, 2003; Minton, Dahl, O' Moore, Mona & Tuck, 2008), its negative impact, including mental health problems such as suicidal ideation and behaviours, is much more severe for L/G/B young people (Almeida, Johnson, Corliss, Molnar & Azrael, 2009; D'Augelli, Pilkington & Hershberger, 2002; Rivers, 2004, 2011). Other long term

consequences involve school disengagement and poorer academic results (Poteat & Espelage, 2007).

The persistence of homophobic bullying is then a threat to school democracy not only because it denies basic human rights to LGBT youth, making them more vulnerable to oppression and limiting their possibilities for genuine participation as citizens in schools, but also because it questions the democratic ideal of schools as pluralist contexts where one learns to 'live together' with – to use Hannah Arendt's assumption (1995) – inevitably different others. However, as Touraine (2000) emphasizes, "it is no longer possible to believe that the education system, which refuses to take children's private lives into consideration, is the best means of promoting the equality of all or of reducing the real inequalities that exist" (p. 196).

3 The case of Portugal – circumstances and specificities

The progress of human and sexual rights in Portugal with respect to the LGBT community has been long, but LGBT claims only emerged after the instauration of democracy by the Revolution of April 25, 1974, that ended a 48-year long dictatorship. Since then, Portugal has gradually recognized equality of rights for LGBT people, like other European countries, being one of the three countries in the world where sexual orientation is included in the Constitution as a basic criterion for non-discrimination (Carneiro & Menezes, 2007; Santos, 2013).

In the educational field, the concerns regarding homophobic and heteronormative violence experienced by LGBT subjects were more strongly reflected in the adoption of the decree-law that regulates Sexual Education (ES) in Portuguese schools. Sexual Education had a long and gradual course in Portugal, which was characterized by advances and retreats (Rocha, Leal and Duarte, 2016), but only from 2009 – in the context of the political effervescence on the subject of civil marriage between same sex couples – it started to integrate "sexual orientation" with explicit references to respect for differences between people and different sexual orientations; and the elimination of behaviour based on sexual discrimination or violence based on sex or sexual orientation. However, there have been few studies in Portugal on sexual diversity in education, particularly focused on youth discourses.

Our goal in this paper is to explore the *conditions of possibility* that democratic schools offer to enable the affirmation of young people's legitimate sexual identities and their rights at the level of the *informal school*, involving interpersonal relationships with heterosexual young people. The relevance of "discourse" was essential, not only as a vehicle of transmission of these same attitudes, but also as a productive element of identifications and of realities (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In this sense, discourse has the power to create certain conditions of possibility (or impossibility) for the emergence, legitimation or de-legitimation, naturalization or anti-naturalization of certain identities, rights or forms of participation, in short, of citizenship.

4 Methodology

This article rests on a qualitative research on homophobic bullying and on attitudes towards sexual diversity. The research was implemented in the North of Portugal, between 2015 and 2017, in 12 public schools with upper secondary education. School curriculum guidelines clearly emphasize the promotion of respect for sexual/ gender diversity and the fight against gender violence and homophobic bullying (Decree-Law nº60/2009) and a government-led campaign against homophobic bullying was promoted in 2013. However, research regarding sex education shows a clear gap between guidelines and practice (Rocha, Leal Duarte, 2016).

4.1 Local context and participants

The contacts with schools began in January 2015 and only ended in February 2017 (2 years). Twelve urban schools of the coastal north of Portugal were chosen. Contact was established with the school board in order to set up the participating population and schedule the meetings to explain the research (objectives, ethical issues and pragmatic possibilities). Other contacts took place with the class director who would be responsible for the logistical issues of organization of the groups, only with recommendations for a certain level of gender balance and of the number of elements (between 4 and 10). The class director also took on the task of collecting written informed consent by the parents.

Thirty-six Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were carried out with 232 young people - 106 boys and 126 girls - from upper secondary education (mainly from the 10th grade), of different ages (between 16 and 19) and from pre-existing groups (the same class).

4.2 Method of data collection

Contrary to of the majority of studies on *bullying*, homophobia or attitudes toward people and LGBT rights, which favour a quantitative approach (Furlong, Sharkey, Felix, Tanigawa & Greif-Green, 2010), we used a methodological approach in which listening to the voices of subjects was constituted as "data". This means, a research centred "on the circulation of discourses on homophobia, and the social effects produced by their deployment in order to stigmatise circumstances, social groups or cultures" (Trappolin, Gasparine & Wintemute, 2012: 04). If in recent years homophobic *bullying* has become a *discursive object* in the public sphere (Pascoe, 2013), it is necessary to listen to what the subjects have to say about the problems that are said to affect them and/or their communities in a "natural" context.

Making methodological justice to an epistemology of the collective construction of meanings, focus group discussion was the method chosen for data collection as it is particularly suitable for accessing the beliefs, opinions, attitudes of groups of people on one or more discussion topics (mainly the ones that have been poorly debated), while at the same time allows for making the best in terms of the number of participants, availability, time and space (Bloor, Franland, Thomas & Robson, 2001; Dias & Menezes, 2013; Kitzinger, 1994). It was thus

sought that the FGD should be constituted as "discussion forums" that made it possible to glimpse *representations* about certain identities and *experiences* of discrimination. Even if the objective was merely investigative, an interventional intentionality that derives from the recognition of the own reflexivity of the discursive interaction is not rejected. In that sense FGD "can provide the occasion and the stimulus for collectivity members to articulate those normally unarticulated normative assumptions. The group is a socially legitimated occasion for participants to engage in `retro-spective introspecttion', to attempt collectively to tease out previously taken for granted assumptions" (Bloor et al., 2001: 5-6). FGD can even access some aspects of youth cultures (Hyde, Howlett, Brady & Drennen, 2005).

The concern with an open approach extends to the intentional choice of participants who are not necessarily LGBT, with the aim to access the ways in which discourses produce or make impossible the production of subjectivity (Trappolin, Gasparine & Wintemute, 2012). It is worth noticing that, on the one hand, this is not a classic study of "*giving voice to the oppressed group*" - on the contrary: [we take into account] the oppressive potential contained in the voices, in the community (and, indeed, even within the "oppressed group") as well as of the very method that can privilege certain dominant voices to the detriment of others (Bloor et al., 2001). On the other hand, one cannot assume a unilateral relationship between "being heterosexual" and simultaneously "homophobic". Hence the research assumes both the role of young people (of any sexual orientation) as active constructors of their realities, and the role of the school as a "community" in which young men and young women inherently interact (Dias & Menezes, 2013).

4.3 Procedures

We began by constructing a script with three main topics each of them with some open-ended questions: homophobic bullying, attitudes towards homosexuality (male and female) and sex education. It should be noted that "homosexuality" appears here as a symbol of non-heterosexual form of sexuality as bisexuality.

Taking into consideration that the classrooms were one of the preferred locations for the FGD, we started by organizing the elements of the group in a circle, around a table, and began by explaining the objectives of the research and highlighting the importance of the individual contributions and of the (voluntary) participation of each one. Whenever possible, a double partnership strategy was adopted in which the first author assumed the role of "moderator" and the other (usually a woman) the role of an "observer" whose task would be to take notes on non-verbal behaviours – both partners were experienced in the conduction of these groups. Sessions began with an icebreaker that allowed the presentation of each one.

Shortly thereafter, a video on homophobic *bullying* was displayed as the motor for script-driven discussion (e.g., "Dislike Homophobic Bullying"[1]). As the main character in

the video is a boy, we explicitly referred that these type of discrimination involves not male but also female homosexuality, bisexuality and transgenderism – but then let the discussion flow based on young people's daily experiences in their school. In facilitating the groups, we tried to create open and voluntary conditions of participation where each one (young man or young woman) could express their opinion, always with due respect for the opinion of others. Some strategies were used to engage all young people in the discussion. The groups were recorded either in audio or video and lasted approximately 50 minutes each, with a further 10 to 15 minutes of exposition of doubts and/or more interventional exploitation of concepts (e.g., *bullying*, sexual orientation).

The data were complemented by some reflexive notes of participant observation outside and inside the FGD (e.g., to register, for example, *off the record* conversations) and some individual conversations that also took place, granting the research a certain *ethnographic setting* (Silva, 2004). There were also some ethical considerations before, during and after the research, such as informed consent (from schools, participants and parents), (relative) anonymity of participants and institutions (e.g., by changing the names of the interveners and naming the schools after names of colours), and data confidentiality and devolution, and data discussion, whenever possible.

It is important to discuss the role of the researcher in the process of data formation, particularly how his/her gender identity affects how FGD plays out (who feels safe or not, what kids think they can say and so on). All the groups were conducted by the first author who, contrary to McCormack (2012), did not assume openly addressed his gender identity to avoid "politically corrected" speeches. It should be noted that the initial video was already presenting a critique of homophobia, but we wanted to go further and discuss actually lived episodes in daily life at schools: to expose and not to cover homophobia. This implies that one of the ethical dilemmas we faced, similarly to other researchers (Braun, 2000; Kitzinger, 1994), was when majoritarian students voiced their views on the rights of presumably minority students in the context of FGD. However, we cannot run the risk of silencing certain public topics as we cannot presume neither a vulnerability of LGBT subjects nor the 'tyranny' of heterosexual subjects. In this case we strongly emphasised the significance of respect regarding other people so that each opinion, even if sincere, was followed by some reflection/ discussion on its implications regarding the rights and perceptions of 'the other'.

4.4 Method of Analysis

After being recorded and transcribed, the data were analysed. "Data" are assumed here as the discourse collectively produced in the interaction of those particular groups. We made resource to thematic analysis (TA), mainly inspired by Braun & Clarke's approach (2006). TA was essential to organize a large amount of data and to understand patterns of regularity of

meanings that allowed for meaningful analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). We followed the suggestions of Braun and Clarke (2006): reading, re-reading and annotation of some ideas, initial codification, search and revision of themes and writing. Notwithstanding the dissenting opinions, the excerpts displayed in the empirical discussion result from the condensation of meanings that became dominant and are sufficiently illustrative as representative of the ideas that were discussed. We operate on the discourse presenting it in the form of "typologies" only for the purpose of reading reality, since the meanings are too volatile to be reduced to tightly defined ideals.

5 Young people discourses - acceptance, tolerance and intolerance

By understanding the discourses not only as pre-constituted (by various forms of socialization, class *habitus*, linguistic structures, educational qualifications, etc.), but mainly as *constituents of social reality* (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), it is assumed that what is said about certain identities has effects on what people are (or think they can be). This is tantamount to saying that a homophobic discourse, for example, makes it difficult or impossible for people to identify themselves intimately with a certain sexual identity and/or to be able to express it. In turn, a discourse of greater "acceptability" that considers homosexual identities as a legitimate possibility among many, ends up validating and naturalizing such sexual identities. In short, the discourse ends producing, in one way or another, what Foucault (1994 [1976]) notably called "effects of truth".

5.1 The discourse of liberal acceptance

Through the discourses of young people one can access a vast and complex *polyphony* about homosexual people and on their rights. One of the most common or dominant discourses, which seems to oppose many perspectives that represent the school as unilaterally homophobic or heteronormative, is a discourse of some *liberal acceptability of homosexuality*:

"Sara - Everyone is like he /she is...
Marta - Who are we to judge? It does not mess me up...
Beatriz - Nowadays it is more accepted. We have no problem with that. I know some homosexuals. They are people just like the others "(FGD1, Red School)

"Ivo - Everyone knows about him/herself.
Telma - Yes. These are tastes. Each person has its own, is not it?" (FGD1, Yellow School)

If we analyse the liberal discourse on homosexuality with some detail, it is based on three main argumentative instances that can be ascribed to two notions of rights: human and sexual. In the field of human rights, we can refer to the recognition of a widely shared humanity that makes violence impossible ("we are all human beings"); an egalitarian in-distinction of the person ("homosexuals are people like the others") and the right to 'difference' ("we are all different"). In the

field of sexual rights, the right to the individuality of the being ("each is as he/she is") stands out; the right to affective and/or sexual choice ("each person has its own preferences") and the general right to happiness ("everyone deserves to be happy as he/she is!"). It is no wonder that this discourse generally culminates in the recognition of *institutional rights*, leading to understand that the dominant values of young people sexuality are guided by a modern conception of sexuality (Giddens, 1992), which has already incorporated some democratic values, such as autonomy and equality:

"Maria: - I think that it is the same for everyone. If society has an enough open mind to accept homosexuality, it must also have to marriage [rights]. And adopt children as well!"(FGD2, Yellow School)

An ethnography by McCormack (2012) accounts for this shift in the discourse of young people. In the schools where he did his research, McCormack recognizes some smoothing of the homophobic discourse, as well as the fact that young people deal with other openly homosexual young people, without homophobic discrimination. A European study on lesbian and gay attitudes shows that in recent years there have been some changes towards greater acceptance (Takács & Szalma, 2014). Whether this results from a stronger awareness and ethical recognition of discrimination as something negative or to a mere moral obedience to what is legally designated is yet to be determined.

5.2 The discourse of conditional acceptance

Another common discourse, one that places an emphasis on an understanding of discrimination, is the discourse of a *conditional acceptance*, that is, homosexuals and their relationships may be acceptable, provided that they fulfil a certain number of *conditions*. In that sense, many discourses are rationally constructed with rhetorical recourse to a sequence of sentences in which, generally, the most socially accepted opinion is first enunciated briefly, and the most individually credited opinion is detailed shortly in the second place straight after an adversative sentence:

"Rui: I have nothing against, as soon as they do not flirt with me, for me, it is okay! If they flirt with me, then we have a problem..." (FGD1, Purple School)

Many times these conditions refer to potential situations based on a stereotyped projection of the group of 'homosexuals', followed by the generalization of some type of negative behaviour (e.g., as, in this case, alleged harassment), or to symbolic forms of non-heterosexual visibility. Three of these forms stand out here: the first is related to gender behaviour, i.e., to be "accepted", homosexual men have to behave as a "normal" man (i.e., heterosexual and thus "masculine"):

"Luis - I think it's because of this [homophobia]. Because to be gay is to be different, so being a boy with a "girl style" in the eyes of society, I think this is still much more open to

criticism. And yet I think many even exaggerate. Because one thing is to like men, and another thing is to be or look like sissies." (FGD1, Yellow School)

Young people constantly make this tacit separation between the "homosexual" man (whose orientation is homosexual and whose gender behaviour is derived from his biological, masculine sex) and the homosexual "sissy" (the homosexual man whose gender behaviour seeks, in some way, to mimic an archetypal "woman", according to young people). The "sissy" appears as the fictional identity figure through which the inclusion of homosexual men is thought but made impossible, above all. In an ethnography with schools in the Midwest, Kathleen Elliot (2012) explains how young people in school can accept certain homosexual identities and reject others when they become symbolically more visible. Elliot denotes that, while certain gay male homosexuals could be perfectly integrated into school activities, and even enjoyed a high degree of popularity, other homosexuals were generally excluded, precisely because they were more stereotyped (in terms of gender behaviour, preferences or activist positions). What seems to be unbearable for these young people, at least how they express it, is less the desire or practice directed towards a specific sexual object, but the performative femininity in men.

Homophobia is related to gender expression and, sometimes, this even implies a regulation of sexual behaviour and its expression, close to Butler's concept of "heterosexual matrix" as "a hegemonic discursive/epistemic model of gender intelligibility" that is founded on the notion of "a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality" (Butler, 1990: 194). This uncovers the second symbolic form of non-heterosexual visibility, related to the management of sexual conduct, particularly the *public manifestations of affection*:

"Rui - If they do not want anyone to take the piss out of them, they do not subject themselves.
Mariana [visibly irritated] - But they too, if they restrain themselves, more and more prejudice will prevail, and they will not be able to overcome it. So they have to overcome that barrier.
Sérgio - But they also have the notion that they are not exactly the most "normal" people on the planet.
Mariana - Yes, of course. They're not going to [show off] around here either, but I think you have to have, for example, [the right to] walk hand in hand at ease without having anyone pointing out their finger!
Rui - But even to go hand in hand, I've seen it [changes the tone of voice], I've seen it! Nobody gives a damn. But if two men pass by and they're kissing, that really bothers me. "(FGD1, Purple School)

That is, the homosexual can be accepted as long as s/he does not publicly express his/her affections just like heterosexual couples do – and this seems to be even more so for men. Here the homosexual conduct begets

strangeness, with some boys expressing their "disgust," often as a performative exercise of their own symbolically heterosexual masculinity (McCormack, 2012; Pascoe, 2007). To complete the previous reasoning, the homosexual can be accepted, as long as s/he does not express his/her sexuality. Lisa Duggan (2004) applies the neoliberal concept of "privatization" to the domain of sexuality by explaining how the sexuality of the other may exist in neoliberal contexts as long as it is kept in the private domain, especially if it is not normative. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that this discourse on homophobia, which is more rationalized and "politically correct" (but not so subtle), often generates moments of tension with other group members (particularly girls) who perceive exactly the incompleteness of the tolerant posture and do not hesitate in challenging it, as illustrated by the above-mentioned excerpt.

The third symbolic form relates to the *tacit separation between "human rights" and "sexual rights"* denying above all the institutional rights (e.g., marriage and adoption). The rights of homosexuals are based on the minimalist logic of their "humanity", but their "sexual rights" (such as their right to express their sexuality) or their "institutional rights" (e.g., marriage or adoption) are less acceptable.

Cesar: - Look, I'm not a homophobe. I have nothing against gays, mark this! But I am against that they could adopt kids [some participants roll their eyes]. In school, how is it going to be? [Cesar imitates a voice]: «What's the name of your father? João [John]! And what's the name of your mother? José [Joseph] [some boys laugh]. I am against this, I am sorry! [GDF2, Green School]

These discourses have to be conceptualized as forms of "tolerance". In her work, Wendy Brown (2010) explores the idea that, even if tolerance is taken as an integral part of a civilizational project alternative to violence, tolerance can play a part in justifying violence by reifying the hegemony of the one who tolerates.

5.3 The discourse of intolerance
Notwithstanding these dominant discourses, there are other discourses that are expressively homophobic, although rarer; i.e., in the common sense they are what is understood as "homophobia" in a more uncontested way, that is, a monolithic notion of homophobia as a propensity for direct rejection. The boundaries that the discourse of intolerance establishes with the "discourse of tolerance" are rather tenuous, and perhaps the most striking feature is the demarcated focus given to expressive abjuration for homosexuality as Antonio's discourse seems to foretell:

Antonio - "It's not normal! It is not normal! For me the normal thing is man with woman! That's it! I do not like it and I do not accept it!" (FGD2, Green School)

These are discourses that are mostly enunciated by boys and in which the conceptual dispute about the "normal" (or "abnormal") seems to be the ultimate decision

maker on the legitimacy (or illegitimacy) of homosexual identifications:

> Filipe – "Okay, but it's not like that [about same-sex marriage being accepted]. The normal has always been "man" with "woman"!
> Joana - Of course, but homosexuality has always existed, so it is also normal." (FGD1, Orange School)

These types of discourses have to be understood within a logic of performative masculine exuberance already evidenced by other authors (McCormack, 2012; Pascoe, 2007), giving meaning to the discourse of "gay but not queer" without its feminine equivalent:

> Andreia: - It is funny because guys never criticize lesbians like 'oh, I accept lesbians but since they behave like this, like this, like this' [gesticulates with hands]. They always go: 'Oh I accept homosexuals, as long as [imitate a hypermasculine voice], bla, bla, bla…' It is funny, I guess" (FGD1, Yellow School).

That is the reason why male homosexuality is more repudiated than lesbian as assumed both young men themselves and also the literature (cf. Pascoe, 2007; Pascoe, 2013). As Pascoe (2013) says, homophobia is a process of masculine socialization; that is not the only way how homophobia is produced but it is, undoubtedly, its more expressive form.

5.4 School as a homophobic institution

Regardless of these discourses, many young people recognize how school continues to be a homophobic and heteronormative structure, where it is very complicated for someone to express their homosexuality. Youth cultures in themselves are cultures where issues of pressure to conform to the norm, as a desire for popularity, potentiate schemes that make "different" people more susceptible to bullying (Rivers, 2011). This does not mean that young people do not contact with other homosexual peers within the school. On the contrary, their exposure to sexual diversity is much greater than it was a few years ago. Therefore, it is possible to find in school both practices of inclusion and practices of exclusion when facing sexual diversity that make it both a safe and dangerous (Elliot, 2012)—and, therefore, ambiguous (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000)—territory. For many, however, the school continues to be a place of discrimination.

Some homosexual youth expose their own negative experiences of discrimination ranging from direct discrimination to forms of "subtle homophobia". This is the case of Debora, who states at the beginning of the FGD in a tone of denunciation:

> Debora – I already [suffered homophobic bullying]. And this affects me because I'm homosexual and I've been criticized in the past for liking a girl here at school and people almost beat me over it. They called me "dyke", they said they would give me a "dildo", I do not know what else, that I should not be here because I was different from the others,

anyway, I was constantly criticized and it hurt me immensely. (FGD2, Gray School)

When questioned how the school as an institution deals with the situations of bullying and homophobic bullying, young people demonstrate a discourse of discontent that extends to the nonexistence or shortage of (physical, but also curricular) spaces in the school as well as their dysfunctionality or lack of disclosure:

> "Hugo - How does the school deal with situations of homophobic bullying? Does the school want to know about these situations, does it not want to know about these situations…?
> Ivo - No! The school does not want to know anything!
> Telma. - No! They even know about it, but they are not here to be bothered." (FGD1, Yellow School)

The youth discourse is keen to stress that the school often renounces its responsibilities both in relation to situations of violence and bullying and in relation to topics related to sexuality.

6 Conclusion: school democracy in an age of diversity

Our analysis of the conditions of possibility for LGBT young people in Portuguese secondary schools, based on focus groups discussions, made it possible to unveil the homophobic character of the school and to recognize three main discourses: liberal, tolerant and intolerant. Obviously, the Portuguese case does not inform other contexts, but it can be a good starting point for thinking how this typology of discourses builds on a kind of democracy possible for LGBT young people. Intolerant discourses make the expression of an identity different from heteronormativity impossible – this is clearly not what one would expect from democratic living, and inevitably generates exclusion. The tolerant discourse allows LGBT youth to live their sexual identities, as long as they 'behave themselves'. It is a kind of supervised exposure: you can be 'different' as long as you keep it 'undercover'. As Wendy Brown says, "tolerance as a political practice is always conferred by the dominant, it is always a certain expression of domination even as it offers protection or incorporation to the less powerful" (Brown, 2010: 178). The challenge, then, appears to be making our schools more liberal and less tolerant. At least, a liberal discourse makes a liberal democracy possible: LGBT young people can live their sexual identities without the fear of being discriminated against as individuals, in an institutionalized way. However, this democracy does not contemplate a political reading of discrimination – and therefore any possibility to challenge or fight against oppression in ways that are collectively produced is limited. Liberal democracies emphasise individuals' rights to live their private lives and enforce legislation to protect these rights. However, it is not enough to have a law; it is important to find the means to put the law into practice: by training professionals, by promoting students' contact with LGBT realities, by fostering dialogue and an open discussion of these issues. It is here that a Deweyan notion of democratic

education is vital, with its emphasis on education as a cooperative process where new meanings emerge "in-between those who constitute the social practice through their interactions" (Biesta, 2006, p. 32). This implies confronting the risks of isolating individuals from the world by engaging them in joint participation experiences – an endeavour without which s/he cannot "understand the meaning which things have in the life of which [s/]he is a part" (Dewey, 1916, p.41).

In general, young people discourses reveal that attitudes about homosexuality are far more complex than it is sometimes suggested. It cannot be said that young people are either deeply homophobic in a homogeneous sense of the term, or that homophobia is a phenomenon that has become residual, since it takes on several forms due to societal changes. As Elliot explains, "(...) it is important to recognize that changes surrounding the acceptance of sexual diversity among young people do not occur in a simple progression, for example from homophobic attitudes to more accepting, equity-oriented perspectives, but rather are negotiated and contested (...) "(Elliot, 2012: 159). We must recover the concept of "antagonism" by Ernest Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) in order to explain how inherently conflictual are the meanings ascribed to LGBT people by youth reality in school. A rational process to understand homosexual identifications is not attainable. However, it is desirable that these issues are constantly debated and worked out (Meyer, 2010).

This paper also illustrates that discrimination against LGBT youth is still a problem in schools. In fact, if we were to answer the question 'what are the conditions of possibility for LGBT youth', we could reply that there is still some prejudice, discrimination and even violence, especially when non-heterosexual identities are affirmed. Nevertheless, school appears as a challenging and, at some extend, a provocative context against the idea of homogenous answers and perspectives regarding sexualities and specifically homosexuality. Following recent studies that highlight the fact that we are living a change of mind-set in what concerns homosexuality, school can be seen as a barometer of these changes (Tacacks & Szalma, 2014; Passani & Debicki, 2016) revealed by the less represented dominance of homophobic discourses among young people participating in this study. Therefore, if school is often seen as a place in which young people can be involved in experiences of discrimination, violence and inequalities, school can also be understood as the place in which different voices have the possibility to be produced and co-exist.

Young people seem to be aware of the main issues discussed in the public debate, encouraged by legal changes, and a significant amount of discourses reveal a liberal attitude towards gay marriage and childbirth or same sex adoption. In this type of discourse, they assume that gay people are "authorized" to live their lives freely, expressing concerns with human rights and dignity. The liberal and even the conditional acceptance perspectives of young people on diverse sexualities seem to be done from a completely different standpoint from former

generations and this change happened over the last couple of decades. Not long ago we could find other, more often conservative, perspectives among young people in schools, about sexuality, masculinities or homosexuality (Silva & Araújo, 2007). The second type of discourse seems to be founded on an emphasis of the "distinctiveness" of the "other", whose attitudes and behaviours should be supervised and even restricted, almost as if 'we tolerate the individual, not his/her behaviour'. Less, but still existent, the article also reveals the persistence of essentialist views towards sexuality with some positions revealing a "gender panic", anti-gay discourses, with a more visible adherence towards prejudice, condemning and normative attitudes. This type of discourses is found often among boys.

In conclusion, this article highlights how young people make sense of the diversity that is an inevitable part of school life. Schools are intergenerational contexts, where people with varied cultural experiences, power positions and exposure to sexual diversity coexist. Adults may have attitudes of ignoring, universalizing or turning the problem invisible, but the improvement of schools in dealing with diversity clearly benefits, as this research shows, from listening to young people's perspectives. Clearly, their vision denounces schools as a place where LGBT young people are hardly supported in developing a positive self-identity. However, young people are also putting some pressure on the school context to become more inclusive and democratic. On the whole, even if the school seems to be still in a state of incomplete democracy, a democracy that is unable to genuinely include diversity, there are signs of hope in that the schools are also being pressed to change from within.

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Endnotes

[1] As mentioned above, this was an initiative of the Portuguese Government taken in 2013 to stop homophobic bullying in schools *http://www.dislikebullyinghomofobico.gov.pt/*

Katarina Blennow

Leyla and Mahmood - Emotions in Social Science Education

- The paper explores the role of emotion in social science education in two specific cases.
- A relational perspective on emotion captures how bodies come together and move, forming communities through emotion.
- There seems to be a relation between strong emotions and a potential for politicization of the subject.
- In one of the cases, the teacher fails to move the students through a disciplinary social science analysis.

Purpose: The paper explores what emotions do in social science education through two specific cases and discusses the relation between emotion and politicization in the subject education.
Method/approach: The cases are selected from an on-going dissertation project that uses interviews, video and observations in examining how social science education is played out in practice, with a focus on the students. Inspired by Sara Ahmed, emotion is seen as relational.
Findings: Seeing emotions as relational makes it possible to capture a dynamic in the classroom that brings a complexity to a discussion on social science education. There is a relation between emotion and politicization; in the two cases, emotion signals that a subject matter or situation is contested.

Keywords:

Social science education, emotion, politicization, ethnography

1 Introduction

'I have experienced all of this', Leyla, a student, tells me during a lesson on international law. It is the first time that I speak to her and it is the first thing she says to me. I had asked Leyla about finding the information asked for in an assignment. In response she tells me about her experiences of war. '*This is what happened, this is how you feel in war'.*

A month later, in an interview, Leyla claims that the teaching on international law and human rights 'is crap'. However, she did not intervene in the teaching taking place that day. The crucial point for Leyla is not telling her story, making a testimony, becoming visible. What is crucial, rather, is how her story would be heard and interpreted by the others in the teaching group. She is angry with the education, but if she did intervene and other students would question her or laugh at her, she says she would hate them. And the feeling of hate would distance her dramatically from them.

Education is impregnated with emotions (Boler, 1999; Karlsohn, 2016; Pekrun & Linnenbrink-Garcia, 2014; Zembylas, 2016), and social science education is no exception; emotion is shaping and being shaped by the education going on in the classroom. In this paper I will analyse the role of emotion[1] in social science education[2] through two specific cases and discuss the relation between emotion and politicization in the subject education. Emotion is seen as relational which is inspired by the thoughts of Sara Ahmed (Ahmed, 2000, 2010, 2014) and the field of critical emotion studies (Seibel Trainor,

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2006; Zembylas, 2016). This involves trying to get away from the perspective that emotions are personal in order to capture that they are systematic when it comes to their effects. The focus is on what emotions *do* in the classroom.

Instead of considering emotion as either something that exists inside a person, something we have, or something entering a person from the outside through social and cultural practices, to Sara Ahmed emotions create the borders between me-we or individual-social[3]. If we transfer that thought to the context of education, to become a part of the classroom's *we* you must feel in a certain way. Emotions move between people and also make bodies move forwards, backwards and sideways in relation to objects.[4] Hence, emotion aligns some bodies with others; being moved in the same way creates community (Ahmed, 2014, p. 209). Emotions stick to certain objects, and these objects can be increasingly emotionally charged when emotions circulate between people. This way of seeing emotion as relational acknowledges the fact that everything we do is shaped by contact with others. The way we come in contact with others is shaped by histories of contact, which have to do with the subject's history but also histories that come before the subject (Ahmed, 2014, p. 6).

Politicization is conceptualised as when an activity or event is made political in character ('Politicization', *OED*). For that to happen I assume that there has to be a contention taking place in the classroom that involves demands for resources, justice or recognition (Calhoun, 2002). In this paper the analysis regards specific heated situations, even though I acknowledge the inherently political character of all education.

The use of cases makes it possible to pay attention to the subtlety and complexity of the case in its own right (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011, p. 292) and due to

the research design[5] it has been possible to get beneath the surface of the situations in order to catch emotion that is not expressed as overt emotionality in the classroom.

The two cases are from the same teaching group and teacher but they are deliberately chosen because of their different character: In the case of *Leyla*, emotion works beneath the surface of classroom interaction. In the case of *Mahmood*, the classroom is heated and students as well as the teacher are taking action.

2 Leyla: Experiences of war

3/2 2015: The teacher Rickard had planned for student presentations of an assignment about international law but it turned out that only a few students had finished it. Instead, Rickard lectured about the historical development of international law. Among the slides in his PowerPoint were two photos of cities bombed to pieces; the first one pictured Dresden, Germany in 1945, the second one Kobane, Syria in 2015. The teacher lingered at the picture of Dresden – he had himself been to Dresden a couple of years earlier. He talked about how beautiful the city is, recommending a visit. In the case of Kobane, no voice was raised to make it beautiful in contrast to the devastation in the picture. The teacher told the class that he was using the picture of Kobane to show that it is hard to realize international law; it depends on the states involved in the conflict.

After the short lecture the students were given time to finish their assignments. As I approached Leyla she was using a web tool to translate Swedish text into Arabic. I had not spoken to her before. I took a seat beside her and asked her if it was difficult to find the information requested in the assignment. In response, she told me that she has experienced war: *'I have experienced all this at close quarters'*. Leyla described the situation in Iraq in 2003: her family just staying inside a room with some food, for several months. Her father was an engineer for the Iraqi military and had to work, so they were just waiting for him to come home. She said something about it being a totally different thing to be part in it, to be at the centre of it, than to look at pictures.

At the time of the fieldwork, Leyla had lived with her family in Sweden for five years. When they fled she had almost finished upper secondary school. She describes herself as a top-student, getting prizes and advantages because of her high achievement, but on arrival in Sweden she had to start all over again, studying Swedish for one year, and then trying to pass enough subjects to qualify for upper secondary school. Leyla studies hard and wants to continue studying at the university. In the interview, there is a sense of fatigue when she talks about trying to master well known subjects in a new language. Regarding social science, she adds having no experience of the subject; she studied for one year what most of the other students have studied for nine years. They have meta-knowledge of the subject, knowing what it is and what one can expect from it.

The teacher Rickard talked to me about Leyla several times as an example of a potentially high-achieving

student where the language is a barrier. He said he avoids pushing her verbally by asking her questions:

> Rickard: She strives for a lot and she is clever, really, but I think it is not fair to approach her with a verbal question (…) but when she raises her hand it is OK and in private it is OK.

Leyla's view on social science education is that it helps her learn about Swedish society in order to improve it. She sees Rickard's teaching as trying to create a mini society in the classroom, where everyone is interested in the others' views. Leyla tries to learn as much as she can and says she is very content with the teaching, but when it comes to education about the United Nations, human rights and international law she rejects the education. There is a change in her way of expressing herself: suddenly she calls the education crap. When I interviewed Leyla a month after we spoke to each other in the classroom, she returned to that lesson. It came up in response to the question of whether something had been emotional for her in the social science education during my observations:

> Leyla: Yes it was when we were sitting and writing about it and you came to me and helped me, it just… when you talk about it, it just feels … well some people don't feel well. But when you have experienced it yourself, then you know what it feels like, you know how hard it is.

Leyla recognises that feelings circulate in the classroom because of the topic of war; maybe particularly because of the pictures the teacher was showing. But she makes a distinction between the feelings of the people who do not feel well and her own feelings.

> Leyla: When we talked about human rights and stuff like that, you talk about it, you say that: '*No we are not going to do anything [bad]*' but still, when in war, it's just… they do it, they are allowed to do it … Even now, you know, ISIS [Islamic State in Iraq and Syria] is in Iraq, my uncle lives in the city where they went into a museum and destroyed everything. He has still got that same feeling. So when they talked about human rights, I thought it was just crap. (…) When they sit in the EU, when they sit in the UN, when they sit talking about everything, they just… 'Yes no one is going to fare badly…' but in reality it is not like that. In reality, many people die, in reality… well I'm not with Saddam Hussein, for example. But before, there was only one who murdered many. Now many are murdering many, quite many.

Leyla says she thinks the views held by her and some other students in the teaching group who have experienced war may develop the discussion in the classroom. But they do not intervene. The topic of withholding is something that recurs on several occasions during the interview.

> Leyla: That's why I am not speaking during the lesson; it is because when I speak during the lesson, what should I say? Should I tell the things I have told you? Maybe it takes time, and then it is the self-confidence. (…) I could say it, but if

you have lived a nice life and haven't had problems you won't believe or feel what I am saying. Because what I am going to say, it feels, well it is difficult, so if someone would laugh, then I would just hate him or her, because it gets real so I just, I can't cope.

Leyla gives different reasons for withholding speech in the classroom; a lack of confidence regarding whether she would be able to express her thoughts in Swedish and the risk of boring the other students by taking a long time formulating herself. When talking about the lesson on international law, she adds a previously unmentioned reason for her withholding of speech, the risk of hatred.

3 What does emotion do to social science education in the case of Leyla?

In Leyla's case, the subject matter of international law could have been politicized in the classroom in a new way. Leyla says that she could have developed the discussion if she had shared her thoughts. The emotion of anger that she relates shows that the teaching is contested. At the same time, emotion is the reason for her withholding of speech: The threat of anger intensifying into hatred stops her from intervening in the teaching going on. This is added to the other reasons she states for not speaking, reasons that seem to exist all the time, and no matter what the topic is. So emotions stick to the topic of international law. But what is stopping Leyla here is not the topic but a risk that is relational – she speaks about the teacher trying to create a mini-society in the classroom and being rejected or distanced from that seems to be unbearable. Hatred would make her move away so fast from the other students that it might be difficult for her to stay as a part of the classroom's *we*.

Regarding the pictures of Dresden and Kobane, Leyla assumes that feelings about the photos circulate between students in the teaching group; '*some people don't feel well*'. When she adds that she *knows* what it feels like, it is as if she thinks that other feelings circulating in the teaching group because of the pictures encroach her feelings; we cannot settle with the feelings of pity or compassion, because they are not true. '*I know what it feels like; I know how hard it is*'.

This view on 'real' versus 'fake' feelings corresponds to a reflection made by the teacher, Rickard. When talking about the education on migration, human rights and international law after the actual education has taken place, he says that he has been operationalizing his own ideas about how students with an immigrant background might feel:

> Rickard: I feel it is tricky, because it is obvious that I should have asked if there is someone who wants to recount his or her experiences of this. I should have. But then at the same time I feel a bit frightened about it, actually it is my own presupposition that maybe you don't want to give an account of this, it is not a nice experience to expose to others. And if you ask them about it you put pressure on them – I am a refugee, I am pointed out as a refugee, and now I have to recount it as well. You want to cut that off …

but it is a bit strange if you cut off experiences of life so it just becomes a theoretical perspective.

Rickard's ideas about how it might feel to have a background as a refugee and then be asked to tell your story keeps him from bringing up students' experiences in the teaching despite his notion that it is strange to cut off the life world from the theoretical perspectives. But in this particular case, as we have seen, it is not actually telling the story or the story itself that is a hindrance for Leyla, what worries her is how she would come across to other students and what the emotion in the situation would do to their relationship.

4 Mahmood: responses to terrorism

On January 7-9 2015, attacks on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and a kosher shop in Paris killed 17 people. The attacks were carried out by three gunmen claiming they were part of al-Qaida and avenging the Prophet Muhammad. At the first social science lesson after the attack, the attacks were brought up by the students. The teacher Rickard had not planned to spend time discussing the attacks; still it had crossed his mind that it might happen. It was a heated situation. In the discussion, the student Mahmood said that '*you have to expect a negative response if you provoke someone*'. In response, he was met with a strong reaction from a group of students in the teaching group, defending freedom of speech. Two months later, in an interview, the response he received from a group of students was still vivid, there is a sudden intensity in his narrative:

> Mahmood: Everyone was like, no, you can't think that way, it is not Sweden. I was like, yes I can think that way, because it is the way I think. If you're going to do something in the first place, then you have to expect something back, so you get some shit back. You won't get flowers back.

The teacher describes the reaction in a similar, generalizing way, as the whole teaching group turning against Mahmood, like a mob, defending freedom of speech. Later in the interview, Mahmood nuances what happened, in saying that some of the other students in class were 'on his side'. They just did not let it show in class:

> Mahmood: So I was the only one that like, okay, I didn't think it was okay that they were murdered, but I thought they [the editors of Charlie Hebdo] were wrong. There were others who agreed with me there and then, they said it in Arabic, but they never let it show.

Mahmood fled from Iraq with his family in 2009. He studies at the natural science programme and would like to study to become an engineer, working with construction. In class Mahmood was either verbally active, making comments and asking questions, or visually absent, occupied by his mobile phone or almost falling asleep. I noted several times that other students laughed when Mahmood said something. Sometimes it seemed to be because of a language mistake, sometimes I could not trace the reason for laughing; it was as if other students

were expecting his utterances to be funny, even before they had a chance to catch what he said. On those occasions, Mahmood was often smiling in response to the laughter. Only once I perceived him as nervous: during an oral presentation of the European Parliament, where he clearly struggled with some of the Swedish terms. The teacher Rickard has got the impression that Mahmood is thick-skinned:

> Rickard: It [Swedish language] easily goes wrong and I guess that can get tough (…) but he is probably rather thick-skinned. (…) If you ask a question he always answers it, he does not have a problem with that.

In the heated situation in the classroom, Rickard paid attention to what Mahmood said and the overt reaction he got from other students. He then started talking about different perspectives on the attacks and expectations on Muslims to apologize for what happened. Rickard's main focus was to nuance the view on Islam and violence; '*a religion cannot be made responsible for the deeds of three individuals*'.

> Mahmood: He tried to explain what I meant, so that they would not get it wrong. (…) He is on no one's side, he just tried to fix the situation, and he did not want the class to be a mess. Because that is his job.

According to Mahmood, Rickard tried to calm down the situation.

5 What does emotion do to social science education in the case of Mahmood?

In analysing what Mahmood said in the classroom, which could be summarized as *the editors at Charlie Hebdo are wrong and it is not surprising that they were attacked*, it is striking that his utterances are not extreme; he is, as he puts it in the interview, not saying that attacking the magazine's office was right. Still, he receives a strong emotional reaction from a large group of students in the teaching group, expressing a massive unity. The quick mobilization of unity, making Mahmood's utterance seem more extreme than it is, could be shaped by past histories of contact, or rather an established narrative about the other. He is heard through that narrative, either by some word or phrase that he actually says, that is sticky, starting the associations, or just by saying something in a 'brutal' way (as the teacher Rickard puts it in an interview), that is coming in contact with the other students in a way that triggers them. The students reacting against Mahmood may well be hearing more in his statement than was uttered due to a narrative they interpret him through.

A number of feelings are at work in this situation: disgust, fear, and love.

Disgust involves moving away from an object, a movement of repulsion. According to Sara Ahmed (2014 p. 195) emotions align some bodies with others, as well as attach different figures together, by the way they move us. Seen this way, Mahmood's utterance in the classroom threatens the community of disgust over the

terrorist attacks, and by a disgust reaction against him, other students re-attach disgust to the terrorist attacks and thereby resettle the borders defining the classroom's *we*.

Ahmed interprets responses to terrorism as emphasizing a need for showing community, a need for 'sticking together'. She describes an idea of good citizenship in the aftermath of terrorist attacks that involves being alert, being vigilant, reacting against suspicious 'others', as well as defending the values of a 'global community of free nations' (Ahmed, 2014, p. 78). According to Ahmed, the defensive reaction is driven by *fear* for the future and aims at survival. It is directed towards imagined others who can appear anywhere, anyhow and maybe (horror of horrors) pass by un-noticed.

The defensive reaction from a large group of students in this case can be seen as such a 'good citizenship'; the students stick together, defending freedom of speech, reacting quickly and emotionally and therefore perhaps without taking in what Mahmood is actually saying. While Sara Ahmed sees fear and anxiety as driving forces in such defensive reactions, there is also the possibility of a feeling of pride or even *love* in showing unity against 'the other', the intruder. In the classroom, could the 'good mob' be seen as driven by love of itself and/or a love of the 'global community of free nations'?

In the heated situation, the teacher uses an analytic, disciplinary, social science approach. In the interviews conducted six weeks later, Mahmood and other students remember that the teacher did try to widen the perspectives in the teaching group, but they do not remember the content of what he said. What remains with the students is what other students said in class and the emotional reaction. The teacher did not break through to the students with the 'cool', disciplinary analysis he conducts. The motion through emotion in the classroom is not affected by the teacher. So what emotion does in the case of Mahmood and the discussion about the terror attacks is that it aligns some students to others, rejects Mahmood and other students who remain silent from that community despite the fact that Mahmood is needed as a trigger for the movement *and* it makes a distanced, disciplinary social science analysis ineffective.

6 Discussion

This paper examines how a relational perspective on emotion affects the analysis of social science education. The relational perspective is able to capture a dynamic and complexities that an object-focused view (what counts as controversial and emotive topics) or psychologizing of emotion (as something an individual has) might miss because they look for emotions inside persons, not between them. The situations in the classroom are more complex than they might initially seem. In the visually calm lesson on international law, there is the risk of being moved and disconnected from others by the feeling of hatred, that is *what the feeling would do*, that keeps Leyla from openly politicizing the topic international law in relation to experiences of war. In the heated discussion about the attacks on Charlie Hebdo

and the kosher shop in Paris, Mahmood is made the trigger for the mobilisation of unity of other students in the teaching group.

Regarding the relation between emotion and politicization in the social science education, emotion in the cases signals that a subject matter is contested and is or can be politicized[6]. There is a judgement and critique through emotion, also in Leyla's case where intervention is withheld. In the two cases, the recognition from other students seems to be more important than the recognition from the teacher. Leyla worries about the reactions of the other students, she does not worry about the teacher's reaction, he is not threatening. Teachers may be stuck in thinking about how they react, and miss how students react and the analysis of the dynamic in the classroom. Or think that they can 'make it up' by sole disciplinary analysis, as in the case of Mahmood: It is striking that the teacher's action in the situation, dealing with the emotionally charged class-room by modelling different perspectives on the attacks, fails to move the students.

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Endnotes

[1] In the following, I use the terms emotion and feeling as synonyms. Following Sara Ahmed I do not make a distinction between bodily affect and cognitive emotion.

[2] Social science education in this paper refers to the Swedish school-subject Samhällskunskap, a subject that resembles, but does not equal, civics, social studies and citizenship education.

[3] This part of Ahmed's thinking on emotions separates her from other researchers theorising emotion in relation to politics; for example Nussbaum (2013) and Marcus (2013). Ahmed does not make the distinction between an inside and an outside, that is, she does not see emotions as something we 'have'. Emotions rather play a part in shaping the *we* and the *I*. By deploying Ahmed's thinking in relation to the situations in the classrooms, I am able to capture complexities that Nussbaum's normative view on which emotions to cultivate as support for just institutions or Marcus' psychologizing of emotion might loose because they look for emotions inside persons, not between them.

[4] This line of thinking is inspired by the etymology of the word; it stems from the Latin word emovere – 'move out' (*e-* out + *movere* move). ('Emotion', OED)

[5] The cases stem from the author's on-going dissertation project (monograph) that investigates how social science education is played out in practice, with a focus on students and the composition of student bodies. The fieldwork used in this paper has been conducted in four upper secondary schools in Sweden, in teaching groups where 40-70% of the students have an immigrant background. I have interviewed teachers about their plans and ideas regarding a certain subject matter, then observed and filmed the teaching of that subject matter for a number of weeks. Afterwards, I have interviewed students and teachers about shorter videoed situations but also social science education more generally. From this material I have chosen two cases/persons for this paper for a close up view of how emotion work in relation to a certain subject matter or situation.

[6] In the first version of this paper, I stated that the relation between emotion and politicization is positive, by which I meant that the strong feelings in the cases show a potential for politicization. As Leyla's case shows though, the relation is not always positive in the sense that strong emotions facilitate the politicization to be addressed in the teaching. An alternative reading of the relation between emotions and politicization in the cases, provided by one of the reviewers of the paper, would be that the strong emotions are making it difficult for the teacher to politicize the content, or even preventing the issue from being politicized. Through that reading, the relation between politicization and emotion is seen as negative. It is possible that emotions both facilitate and obstruct politicization in social science education, but there seems to be a potentially important relation between the two. I would like to thank one of the reviewers for comments that developed my reasoning on this.

Isabella Schild, Judith Breitfuss

Civic Education under Pressure? A Case Study from an Austrian School

When the politician Roman Haider of the party Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ – Freedom Party of Austria)[1] caused the interruption of a lecture about political extremism in an Austrian school in spring 2017, a heated debate erupted over the place of politics in school education. While Haider accused the lecturer of political propaganda, teachers, students and political opponents were upset about this seeming act of censorship. The controversy raises important questions over the aims and principles of civic education,[2] which will continue to engage teachers and educationalists.
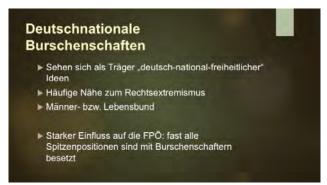
1 A lecture causing a stir

The 8th of March 2017 should become a day to remember for Wolfgang Oberndorfer, headmaster of the Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium Honauerstraße (BORG Honauerstraße – an upper secondary school with a special emphasis on music, sports and science, among others) in the Austrian city of Linz.[3] At the invitation of one of the school's philosophy teachers, Thomas Rammerstorfer visited the school to give a lecture about "The extremist challenges" in front of an audience of around seventy pupils between the age of seventeen and nineteen years. As teenagers from the age of sixteen have been eligible to vote in Austria since 2007, a topic such as this one is highly relevant for this age group. Rammerstorfer is a journalist, author, and social worker as well as a member of Die Grünen (The Austrian Green Party). During his lecture, he spoke about various examples of political and religious extremism, covering topics such as left-wing extremism, right-wing extremism, IS terrorism, Salafism, and so-called 'Staatsverweiger' (i.e. people who refuse to accept the legitimacy of modern nation states).[4]

One of the PowerPoint slides used by Thomas Rammerstorfer during his lecture (© Thomas Rammerstorfer).

While talking about right-wing extremism, Rammerstorfer also discussed the role of German-nationalist *Burschenschaften* (see the blue box for more information) and briefly mentioned their influence on the FPÖ. When Rammerstorfer wanted to open the floor for discussion, however, he was suddenly interrupted by a teacher and asked to stop his lecture. As it emerged later, one of the pupils in the audience, eighteen-year-old Rüdiger Haider, had informed his father about the content of the lecture via WhatsApp, who immediately contacted headmaster Oberndorfer and demanded that the lecture be cut short. Roman Haider – Rüdiger Haider's father – is not only parent representative of the school, but also a member of the National Council for the FPÖ.[5] Both Roman and Rüdiger Haider are also members of a *Burschenschaft*.[6] In an interview with the newspaper *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, Haider called the lecture an "incredible impertinence with a political agenda" and harshly rejected criticism of his party:

> "It's intolerable to associate a party represented in parliament with extremism. Extremism means to reject democracy. I will not accept this allegation. Views like these do not belong in schools."[7]

Haider accused Rammerstorfer of political rabble-rousing, dubbing him a "green wolf in sheep's clothing." Herwig Mahr, leader of the FPÖ parliamentary group in the Upper Austrian *Landtag* (state parliament), said that Rammerstorfer should not be allowed to lecture in schools in the future.[8]

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Thomas Rammerstorfer makes headlines in the Austrian press (© Screenshot Isabella Schild).

Thomas Rammerstorfer himself was quick to defend his lecture, pointing out that he had mentioned the FPÖ only briefly and that his remarks were based on historical facts. He also clarified that he had never intended to equate the Austrian Freedom Party with terrorism. On his Facebook page, Rammerstorfer commented on the issue:

"Ironically, one of the topics that I dealt with in my lecture was Putin's and Erdogan's crackdown on critical media. In that regard, the break-off of my lecture perfectly illustrated my point."[9]

While the teacher who had originally invited Rammerstorfer to speak at the school did not issue an official statement after the incident, headmaster Wolfgang Oberndorfer rallied to the support of his colleague. In an interview with *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, Oberndorfer claimed to have stopped the lecture in order to protect the teacher and related the phone conversation he had with Roman Haider:

"Haider threatened that the teacher would have to expect massive repercussions on his career. He was talking about extreme left-wing sedition and said that he would do anything to bring the teacher down."[10]

Upon further request, Haider denied these threats.[11] Fritz Enzenhofer, president of the education authority of Upper Austria, was apparently unwilling to take a definite stand on the incident. In the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, he said:

"It's not acceptable to associate a democratically legitimised party with extremism. It's imperative that civic education is unbiased."[12]

However, in the same newspaper article, Enzenhofer denied that he had mandated the break-off of Rammerstorfer's lecture and claimed that he had refused when asked to do so by several FPÖ politicians in phone conversations.[13]

Members of other Austrian parliamentary parties were largely critical of Roman Haider's intervention. Bettina Stadlbauer, leader of the Upper Austrian branch of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs* (SPÖ – Social Democratic Party of Austria), said that the break-off of Rammerstorfer's lecture was "totally un-acceptable" and demanded that he be invited to the school again in order to continue the lecture.[14] Gottfried Hirz, leader of the Green Party in Upper Austria, criticised the actions of the teacher and headmaster, arguing that the school inspectorate should have thoroughly examined the situation before the lecture was cut short.[15] Contrary to Stadlbauer and Hirz, Thomas Stelzer of the *Oberösterreichische Volkspartei* (OÖVP – Upper Austrian branch of the Austrian People's Party) was more cautious in his statement, emphasising that party politics should not interfere with school education and that schools should carefully choose which speakers they invite when it comes to political topics.[16]

Student representatives were particularly upset about the incident. Susann Scheftner of the *Aktion Kritischer Schüler_innen Linz* (Campaign of Critical Students Linz), who was present at Rammerstorfer's lecture, was outraged about the fact that "a politician attempts to impinge on a school's curriculum and succeeds in doing so." Die *Kommunistische Jugend Oberösterreich* (Communist Youth of Upper Austria) said that the FPÖ intervention "smacked of censorship," and the youth wing of the Austrian Green Party accused the FPÖ of antidemocratic behaviour.[17] According to Thomas Rammerstorfer, several students who had been among the audience during the lecture contacted him after the incident, expressing regret over headmaster Oberndorfer's decision and thanking Rammerstorfer for his interesting talk.[18]

In the weeks and months following Thomas Rammerstorfer's visit to the school, the incident continued to be the subject of heated debate. On March 15, 2017, members of parliament Harald Walser, Berivan Aslan and Karl Öllinger initiated an interpellation concerning the "break-off of an event at BORG Honauerstraße Linz" in the Austrian parliament, submitting the PowerPoint slides used by Rammerstorfer during his lecture and requesting a thorough investigation of the incident.[19] On March 29, 2017 – three weeks after the ill-fated lecture – leading politicians of the Upper Austrian branch of the FPÖ officially presented a newly-launched website designed for documenting "incidents of political manipulation" in schools. The website encouraged students to report any case of "political influencing" during lessons, without requiring them to give their names, e-mail addresses, or other data.[20] Hardly surprising, the project sparked considerable backlash both by other political parties and by teacher representatives. Gottfried Hirz of the Green Party called the website a "smear campaign," while Paul

Kimberger of the teachers' union for compulsory schools expressed disapproval over the fact "that politicians are now putting pressure on teachers."[21]

The website for documenting "incidents of political manipulation" in schools (© Screenshot Isabella Schild).

On April 27, 2017, several members of parliament for the FPÖ – among them the current Interior Minister of Austria, Herbert Kickl – in turn initiated an interpellation concerning "potential lectures by alleged experts on right-wing extremism in Austrian state schools" in parliament.[22] Shortly afterwards, on May 8, 2017, the education authority of Upper Austria issued a report on the incident at BORG Honauerstraße, which backed the teacher who had organised the lecture and testified to the impartiality of Rammerstorfer's talk.[23] Not convinced, Roman Haider rejected the stance of the education authority, claiming that the report was "not worth the paper" and refusing to apologise for his intervention.[24] In fact, instead of dropping the subject, Haider and his party comrades continued to exploit it for their own purpose: In November 2017, in a parliamentary symposium attended by high-ranking FPÖ politicians such as party leader Heinz-Christian Strache and former presidential candidate Norbert Hofer, Roman Haider's son Rüdiger was awarded the Franz Dinghofer Medal for his "services to democracy."[25]

Rüdiger Haider is awarded the Franz Dinghofer Medal for his "services to democracy" (© Parlamentsdirektion/Thomas Topf).

2 Consequences for Civic Education

Ultimately, the incident at BORG Honauerstraße has also had repercussions in the Austrian civic-education land-scape. For example, *Zentrum Polis*, the central education service institution for civic education in Austrian schools, has been putting special emphasis on the topic of extremism since 2016 and has also published a special issue on the subject. In their annual report of 2017, the staff of *Zentrum Polis* claim that

"extremism and radicalization […] are frequently named by teachers as great challenges in civic education. Therefore, *Zentrum Polis* has created a special issue including helpful links and materials, which is designed to support the teaching of subject knowledge and the development of political skills and competences. In that regard, civic edu-cation makes an important contribution to the prevention of extremism and radicalization."[26]

Furthermore, as a direct response to the incident in Linz, the University College of Teacher Education Vienna hosted a special workshop for teachers (titled "How far can civic education go?") in April 2017. The event also included a discussion between Thomas Rammerstorfer, Michael Sörös (school superintendent and president of the education authority of Vienna) and Philipp Mittnik (head of the department of civic education at the University College of Teacher Education Vienna) over the question whether teachers can take a stand on political parties in class or need to be impartial.[27] These examples demonstrate that the "scandal" of Linz did not only generate a lot of clamour in the press but has also launched an animated discussion within the field of civic education.

How can we assess the event at BORG Honauerstraße and its repercussions from the perspective of civic edu-cation? As it should have become clear in the preceding observations, the incident has garnered signifycant media attention and sparked considerable debate over the relationship between civic education and politics. Much of this debate has been influenced by the old animosities between right-wing and left-wing groups on the political spectrum.

From a legal point of view, Roman Haider's objection to Thomas Rammerstorfer's lecture was not completely unfounded. In 2008, the Austrian Ministry of Education issued a circular on the "unlawfulness of party-political advertising in schools," based on the Austrian School Education Act of 1974. The circular decrees that

"[…] party-political interests must not take hold in schools. Instead, schools need to inform students about politics – party politics included – in a factual, objective and pluralistic way. They must not give the impression that they import party politics in the form of people or pertinent advertising material. […] If teachers consider inviting experts from outside the school as part of their individual and independent lesson design, they need to ensure that these experts do not in any way serve as an advertising medium for a political party."[28]

In the case of the BORG Honauerstraße, it is certainly difficult to ascertain whether Rammerstorfer made any remarks that could have been construed as an exertion of political influence – after all, the lecture was neither recorded nor videotaped, so that Rammerstorfer's testimony as well as the accounts of the students and teachers present at the talk remain the only "evidence" available. However, the fact that Thomas Rammerstorfer is an active member of the Austrian Green Party is certainly a more incriminating aspect here, and one that Haider very likely deliberately took advantage of. On the other hand, the mere political affiliation of an expert can hardly be given as an argument for interrupting an academic lecture. This would mean that experts who sympathize with the FPÖ would also no longer be able to express themselves on an academic platform.

From the perspective of civic education, though, the case appears even less clear-cut. Since the 1970s, (German and Austrian) civic educationalists have largely accepted the paradigms of the so-called "Beutelsbach Consensus" of 1976, which aimed to lay out the basic principles of civic education. The Consensus consists of three main clauses: 1) "Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil"; 2) "Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial"; and 3) "Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils."[29] It thus stipulates that teachers are not allowed to impart desirable opinions on their pupils and therefore to hinder them from forming an independent judgement, and it further emphasises the importance of a balanced civic education that takes into account multiple perspectives and different opinions. Moreover, it highlights the need to enable pupils to establish a link between political circumstances and their own opinions and interests and thus to prepare them for active participation in politics.

Both Austrian school law and the guidelines of the "Beutelsbach Consensus" therefore demand that political parties and their party platforms be accessed and handled in an objective and pluralistic manner. Despite recognition of these paradigms, it remains the responsibility of teachers to explicitly take a stand against party content that either unequivocally threatens democracy or appears inhumane, and to raise awareness for the good of democracy. The teaching of democratic values cannot be compared to indoctrination. It entails the opposite in that it deals with open-mindedness and diversity of opinions as central aspects of societal cohabitation. It remains to be discussed whether this diversity of opinions applies to those political ideologies and beliefs that they ultimately wish to restrict pluralism.

Regardless of this, there obviously remains the question of whether civic education in schools contributes to the steering of pupils towards maturity and democracy. Wolfgang Sander writes that

"all too easily, […] contexts are far too simplified in public perceptions regarding civic education […] – even trivialized. This leads to false and/or excessive expectations concerning the potential achievements in this particular subject."[30]

On the one hand, the central role that is equally played by extracurricular factors such as domestic environments and circles of friends in political socialization is often neglected. On the other hand, it must furthermore be taken into consideration that democratic education is not acquired through knowledge of institutions and that theoretical knowledge about democracy does not on its own indicate a democratically thinking individual. Instead, Wolfgang Sander believes that actual politics themselves must also be placed into context and focused upon when learning about democracy:

"Democratic learning must […] not entail searching for democracy outside of the political, for democracy is a form of the political and therefore seen as a practical sub-sector of politics. There is no democracy outside of politics […]."[31]

In this context, the incident in the BORG in Linz itself serves as a perfect example in civic education classes. The highly political discussion about democratic values and the handling of parties, their programs, and their political negotiations in a scholastic context offers pupils an idea of how democratic operations are carried out in everyday politics. The pupils should understand that democracy is not merely to be equated with the right to take part in decision-making. This is because, rather than focusing on a cross-party aim, discussions about interests tend to instead prioritize single-party expectations. In fact, pupils learn that actual democracy can be characterized by conflictual disputes and must therefore be consistently analyzed and reflected upon.

The interruption of the lecture of Thomas Rammerstorfer also teaches us that even politicians, although they are the symbol of real-life politics, need to learn more about civic education. The discussion about the disagreeable occurrence should include more but the old fight along right- and left-wing paradigm. Instead of these non-constructive discussions, there should be an emphasis on a political culture which is characterized by respect and the will to cope with problems. This also includes the FPÖ confronting the problematic fact that its own members have links to far-right groups.[32] Only recently revealed in relation to the Lower Austrian regional elections, the connections of the FPÖ to the fraternity "Germania" which caused a stir with a far-right song book,[33] present the incident in Linz in a whole new light. Manfred Haimbuchner, head of the Upper Austrian FPÖ, spoke of there being "certain idiots within the FPÖ."[34]

The conclusion of the incident in Linz is that politicians should not utilize their political authority in schools especially, that politicians should not threaten other people because of their authority, and that there should be a culture of discussion which is minted of democratic values and of the recognition of different opinions. In addition to this, the borders of political influence in schools need to once again be strongly enforced. Simultaneously, it has become clear how the rivalry between different political parties regarding their understanding

of democracy looks and which conflicts affecting political cooperation arise from this situation. It is not civic education which finds itself under pressure, but rather the type of politics that needs to establish and accept overall conditions which enable a modern-day civic education.

Burschenschaften

Burschenschaften are pan-German student fraternities that today exist in Germany and Austria. They have their ideological roots in early-nineteenth-century Germany, when university students formed associations inspired by both nationalist and liberal ideas. In the course of the nineteenth century, the liberal element was increasingly side-lined by nationalist fervour, and the fraternities were significantly involved in the unification of Germany. Many members of these fraternities later joined the National Socialist movement, with antisemitism being a distinctive trait of *Burschenschaft* ideology.

Today there are about 20 different *Burschenschaften* in Austria. Most of them are *farbentragend* ("sporting colours"), which means that members wear a ribbon and cap in the colours of their fraternity. Many are *schlagend* ("beating"), i.e. members regularly hold fencing bouts with other fraternities. The central ideological element is *völkisch* ("ethnic") nationalism. In this respect, Austria is regarded as part of the German "fatherland", and the Austrian majority population is considered part of the German *Volk* ("people"). Other defining traits are a cult of masculinity as well as elitism.

In Austria, *Burschenschaften* have gained considerable political influence through their close relationship with the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ): Leading FPÖ politicians such as the current minister of transport Norbert Hofer and vice-chancellor Heinz-Christian Strache are members of *Burschenschaften*, as are 17 of the 51 members of parliament for the now co-governing FPÖ.[35]

A *Burschenschaft* logo containing the slogan
"*Ehre, Freiheit, Vaterland*" ("Honour, Freedom, Fatherland")
(© Wikimedia Commons).

Further Reading:

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Endnotes

[1] At the time when the incident at BORG Honauerstraße took place, the FPÖ was an opposition party. By December 2017, however, the FPÖ had entered government as the coalition partner of the Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP – Austrian People's Party). FPÖ party leader Heinz-Christian Strache is currently vice-chancellor of Austria.
[2] In this article, the term "civic education" is used for talking about education in political matters. We are aware that other publications sometimes use the terms "political education" or "citizenship education"; however, we found "civic education" more suitable, as it is more commonly used.
[3] BORG Honauerstraße is an upper secondary school with approximately 1,000 students and 140 teachers. Upon application, students at BORG Honauerstraße choose one of the school's special branches (sports, computer science, music, communication, popular

and electronic music, natural science, art), which will shape their curriculum up to graduation.
[4] Philipp Hirsch, "Schuldirektor bricht Vortrag nach Kritik an FPÖ ab" [Headmaster breaks off lecture after criticism by FPÖ], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 10, 2017, http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/linz/Schuldirektor-bricht-Vortrag-nach-Kritik-an-FPOE-ab;art66,2506846.
[5] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[6] Hanna Herbst, "In einer Linzer Schule wurde ein Vortrag abgebrochen, weil die FPÖ nicht glücklich damit war" [A lecture was broken off in a school in Vienna because the FPÖ was not happy about it], *Vice*, March 10, 2017, https://www.vice.com/de_at/article/8qb8kx/in-einer-linzer-schule-wurde-ein-vortrag-abgebrochen-weil-die-fpo-nicht-glucklich-damit-war.
[7] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[8] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[9] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[10] Robert Stammler, "Vortrag abgebrochen: Direktor wirft FPÖ 'massive' Drohungen vor" [Lecture broken off: Headmaster accuses FPÖ of 'massive threats'], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 14, 2017, http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Vortrag-abgebrochen-Direktor-wirft-FPOE-massive-Drohungen-vor;art4,2511370 (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[11] Stammler, "Vortrag."
[12] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[13] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[14] "Wirbel um Abbruch von Vortrag an Linzer Schule nach FPÖ-Intervention" [Stir over interruption of lecture at school in Linz after FPÖ intervention], *Der Standard*, March 10, 2017, http://derstandard.at/2000053937689/Wirbel-um-Abbruch-von-Vortrag-an-Linzer-Schule-nach-FPOe (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[15] "Vortrag an Linzer Schule nach FPÖ-Intervention abgebrochen" [Lecture broken off at school in Linz after FPÖ intervention], *Die Presse*, March 10, 2017, https://diepresse.com/home/bildung/schule/5181432/Vortrag-an-Linzer-Schule-nach-FPOeIntervention-abgebrochen (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[16] Hirsch, "Schuldirektor."
[17] "Wirbel."
[18] Herbst, "In einer Linzer Schule."
[19] See https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/J12484/imfname_622915.pdf (last accessed 12 March 2018).
[20] The site was presented in an article on the website of Manfred Haimbuchner, deputy governor of Upper Austria. In the article, Herwig Mahr claimed that the site received reports of "incidents" at schools almost on a weekly basis and stressed that he expected the number of unreported cases to be much higher. However, since the website was taken down shortly after its creation, the exact amount of activity remains unknown. See "FPÖ richtete Meldestelle für parteipolitische Beeinflussung an Schulen ein" [FPÖ starts registration website for political influencing in schools], FPÖ Oberösterreich, March 29, 2017, http://www.fpoe-ooe.at/fpoe-richtet-meldestelle-fuer-parteipolitische-beeinflussung-an-schulen-ein/ (last accessed 9 March 2018).
[21] Stefan Minichberger, "'Spitzelwesen': Empörung über blaue Meldestelle für 'politische Manipulation'" ['Spy system': Outrage over FPÖ registration website for 'political manipulation'], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, March 10, 2017. http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Spitzelwesen-Empoerung-ueber-blaue-Meldestelle-fuer-politische-Manipulation;art4,2525782 (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[22] See https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXV/J/J_12928/imfname_632035.pdf (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[23] "Vortrags-Abbruch: Landesschulrat unterstützt Lehrer" [Break-off of lecture: Education authority backs teacher], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, May 8, 2017, http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Vortrags-Abbruch-Landesschulrat-unterstuetzt-Lehrer;art4,2560782 (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[24] "Bericht nach Vortrags-Abbruch ist für Haider 'das Papier nicht wert'" [Report after break-off of lecture 'not worth the paper' for Haider], *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, May 10, 2017, http://www.nachrichten.at/oberoesterreich/Bericht-nach-Vortrags-Abbruch-ist-fuer-Haider-das-Papier-nicht-wert;art4,2562837 (19 February 2018).

[25] "Dinghofer-Symposium 2017 im Parlament zur Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit" [Dinghofer Symposium 2017 in parliament on the topic of constitutional jurisdiction], APA-OTS, November 8, 2017, https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20171108_OTS0190/dinghofer-symposium-2017-im-parlament-zur-verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit (last accessed 19 February 2018).
[26] See http://www.politik-lernen.at/dl/uuuLJKJKonNnOJgx4mJK/Jahresberichtpolis_2017_web.pdf (last accessed 3 March 2018).
[27] "Was darf Politische Bildung?" [How far can civic education go?], *Erinnern.at*, http://www.erinnern.at/bundeslaender/wien/termine/was-darf-politische-bildung (last accessed 03 March 2018).
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Lauren E. Willis

Finanzinformierte Bürger_innen, bürgerbestimmtes Finanzsystem: Ein Essay aus Anlass des International Handbook of Financial Literacy[1]

Zielsetzung: Überall in der Welt sieht der dominante Diskurs „Finanzbildung" als notwendig und ausreichend an, um das Wohl Einzelner und der Gesellschaft zu verbessern.

Erkenntnisse: In diesem Essay wird argumentiert, dass Finanzbildung weder notwendig noch ausreichend ist und dass die Förderung der Finanzbildung ein abwegiger Ansatz ist, um unzureichende Finanzierung von Renten, Überschuldung, Finanzkrisen und andere soziale Missstände in den Griff zu bekommen, wie es Regierungen und Pädagog_innen von dieser Maßnahme erhofft haben. Stattdessen wird hier angeregt, das Ziel von Finanzbildung darin zu sehen, finanzinformierte Bürger_innen heranzuziehen, die die Fähigkeit zum bürgerschaftlichen Engagement besitzen, das eine von den Bürger_innen bestimmte Wirtschaftspolitik und Finanzregulierung hervorbringen kann.

Keywords:
Finanzbildung, Finanzkompetenz, Finanzinklusion, staatsbürgerliche Bildung

1 Einleitung

Eine Anthologie zu besprechen ist immer eine Herausforderung. Für das *International Handbook of Financial Literacy* (Aprea, Wuttke, Bruer, Koh, Davies, Greimel-Fuhrmann und Lopus, Hrsg., 2016; nachstehend „Handbook" genannt), mit 43 Kapitel von 74 Beitragenden und 713 Seiten ist „Herausforderung" noch untertrieben. Daher warne ich gleich zu Beginn, dass es sich hier weniger um eine Besprechung als um einen Essay handelt, aus Anlass des *Handbooks* – oder vielleicht genauer, provoziert und inspiriert davon.

Das Handbook enthält eine umfangreiche Sammlung neuester Forschung und hochaktueller Denkansätze aus aller Welt zum Thema „Finanzbildung". Insgesamt nimmt man von dem Band den Eindruck mit, dass wir alle wissen, es stimmt etwas nicht mit unserem Zugang zu dem Thema. Und doch gibt es keine klare Übereinstimmung darüber, was das Problem ist oder wie wir es angehen sollen.

Viele Kapitel im Handbook nennen potenzielle Rezepte für dieses Problem, aber die meisten beziehen sich auf einen Aspekt des Themas, losgelöst von anderen, ebenbürtigen Anliegen. Darüber hinaus, und trotz der kritischen Perspektive vieler Autor_innen auf herkömmliche Vorstellungen von Finanzbildung, passen die meisten ihre Politikempfehlungen in einen neoliberalen, individualistischen Rahmen. Ein Ruf nach Reformen in dieser Form erzielt wohl mehr politische Attraktivität und gesellschaftliche Akzeptanz, doch beschwert die herkömmliche Vorstellung von Finanzbildung diese vielleicht mit zu viel Ideologie und Wunschdenken, um einen sinnvollen Wandel in diesem Diskurs zu erreichen.

Nach der Lektüre des *Handbooks* regte sich in mir der Wunsch, alle Beitragenden in einem Raum zu versammeln und das Thema gemeinsam zu besprechen. Zu

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diskutieren und zu klären, in welchen Punkten sie uneinig sind. Die Bereiche der Übereinstimmung auszuweiten. Die Debatte weiter zu bringen, die kollektive Klugheit der Beitragenden zu nutzen. Ich habe weder die Macht noch die finanziellen Mittel, alle Beitragenden zusammenzubringen. Daher will ich diesen Essay dazu nutzen, mir teilweise vorzustellen, was herauskäme, wenn wir eine solche Konversation hätten.

Ich beginne mit einer Beschreibung der engen und unproduktiven, wenn nicht sogar schädlichen Vorstellungen von Finanzbildung, die den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Diskurs über dieses Thema sowohl in reichen als auch in weniger reichen Ländern dominiert haben. Danach bespreche ich die weiter gefassten und potenziell nützlicheren Ansätze, die viele der Beiträge im Handbook zu diesem Thema liefern. Schlussendlich, inspiriert von den Belangen, über die unter den fortschrittlicheren Autoren und Autorinnen eine gute Portion Übereinstimmung herrscht, weise ich darauf hin, dass breit gestreutes, individuelles und kollektives materielles Wohl nur durch länderspezifischen politischen Wandel erreicht werden kann und dass politischer Wandel finanzinformierte Bürger_innen erfordert und nicht „Finanzbildung".

2 Traditionelle Konzeptionen von Finanzbildung

Was *ist* eigentlich „Finanzbildung" (*financial literacy im Sinne von Finanzkompetenz; Anm. d. Übers.*)? Vier Konstrukte haben bisher die Diskussionen in aller Welt dominiert: Finanzbildung als die Fähigkeit, mit Geld umgehen zu können, Finanzbildung als Sozialisation, finanzielle „Fähigkeit", doch ohne finanzielle Ressourcen, und Finanzbildung als Allheilmittel. Die Konstrukte unterscheiden sich etwas, doch sie stammen alle aus der neoliberalen Ideologie und verstärken diese. Leider ist der Neoliberalismus ein Hauptschuldiger am mangelnden finanziellen Wohlergehen überall in der Welt. Vorstellungen von Finanzbildung, die auf dem Neoliberalismus basieren, bieten daher wenig Aussicht auf eine Verbesserung des individuellen oder kollektiven finanziellen Wohls. Nachstehend wird jedes der vier

traditionellen Konstrukte nacheinander besprochen und kritisiert.

2.1 Finanzbildung als die Fähigkeit, mit Geld umgehen zu können

In den USA bevorzugen wir ein individualistisches und ahistorisches Verständnis von fast allem und Finanzbildung ist keine Ausnahme. Finanzkompetenz wird hauptsächlich als das Wissen und die Fähigkeiten von Einzelpersonen betrachtet. Diese kognitiven Fähigkeiten, so glaubt man, ermöglichen es Personen, Praktiken des Umgangs mit Geld anzuwenden, die ihr materielles Wohl verbessern. Ähnliche Konstrukte existieren überall in der Welt.

Diese enge, traditionelle Sicht auf Finanzbildung als die Fähigkeit einer Person, ihr eigenes finanzielles Wohl durch die Anwendung ihres eigenen Wissens über und ihrer Fähigkeiten mit Finanzen herzustellen, gründet sich in neoliberalen Postulaten: Finanzkompetenz ist eine kognitive Fähigkeit von Individuen und nicht von Gemeinschaften und kann gelehrt werden. Individuen erzielen Erfolg durch autonomes Handeln. Erfolg misst sich in materiellem Wohlstand (mehr dazu etwa bei Henchoz, 2016, S. 98-99). Die bestehende Wirtschaftsordnung, einschließlich der vorhandenen Verteilung von Ressourcen und der Struktur des Marktes, wird dabei als exogen gegeben angenommen. Gemeinschaft, Politik und Macht fehlen in diesem Modell.

Speziell außerhalb der USA haben viele begonnen, eine weiter gefasste Konzeption von Finanzbildung rhetorisch zu postulieren, eine Konzeption, die finanziell informierte Bürger_innen einschließt. Doch wie Retzmann und Seeber (2016) in ihrem Kapitel im *Handbook* scharfsinnig erkennen, spiegeln Werkzeuge zur Beurteilung von Finanzkompetenz, inklusive das *OECD Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA), weiterhin eine engere Sicht und tragen gleichzeitig zu dieser bei (S. 12).

Finanzkompetenztests, besonders diejenigen, die in reichen Ländern verwendet werden, tendieren allgemein zu einem Finanzkompetenzansatz in Richtung Information, Fähigkeiten und Umgang mit Geld. Das zeigt sich im gesamten Handbook, etwa in dem Test, mit dem Finanzkompetenz in Neuseeland beurteilt wird, wie ihn Cameron und Wood beschreiben (2016, S. 186), in der Liste an Fragen, die Greimel-Fuhrmann, Silgoner, Weber und Taborsky (2016, S. 256-257) vorlegen, mit der Finanzkompetenz in Österreich gemessen wird, und in den Themen zur Beurteilung von Finanzkompetenz in der Schweiz, die Ackermann und Eberle (2016, S. 350-351) behandeln.

Da Lehrende den Lernenden beibringen, wie man diese Tests besteht, konstruieren die Beurteilungswerkzeuge aktiv genau die Qualität, die sie angeblich messen. Die Vorstellung vom Umgang mit Geld als Finanzkompetenz in Finanzbildungsprogrammen und wird durch diese perpetuiert. Hašek und Petrášková (2016) beispielsweise beschreiben in ihrem Beitrag die Themen, die in der Finanzbildung in der Tschechischen Republik behandelt werden, als bestehend aus „Geld, Haushalten können und Finanzprodukten" (S. 678)[2].

Viele Finanzbildungsprogramme, die auf dem Umgang mit Geld als Finanzkompetenz fußen, sind ziemlich oberflächlich und „betonen … praktisches Wissen innerhalb eines vorgegebenen Rahmens zu einer bestimmten Zeit" (Pang, 2016, S. 588). In den USA ist etwa das Ziel der Finanzbildung in weiterführenden Schulen, „Lernenden praktische Fähigkeiten zur Entscheidungsfindung [in Finanzangelegenheiten] zu vermitteln" (Gutter, Copur, & Garrison, 2016, S. 215). Differenziertere Ansätze werden in mehreren Kapiteln des *Handbooks* empfohlen. Pang etwa stellt ein pädagogisches Programm vor, das in Hongkong eingeführt wurde und tiefgreifender und dauerhafter ist als die meisten, denn es lehrt, wie Wirtschaftskonzepte dazu verwendet werden können, Entscheidungen zu fällen, die individuellen Wohlstand maximieren, unabhängig von bestimmten Produkten oder Umständen (S. 594-598).

Trotzdem, selbst ausgeklügelte Pädagogik zum Umgang mit Geld ist durchdrungen von Ideologie und Fehlinformationen. So implizieren zum Beispiel die Standards des *U.S. Council for Economic Education*, die Bosshardt (2016) in seinem Beitrag vorstellt, fälschlicherweise, dass Verdienen, Sparen, Kreditaufnahme, Investieren und Versichern allesamt als das Ergebnis von Kosten-Nutzen-Rechnungen von Individuen stattfinden (S. 172). Unerwähnt bleibt, dass das Finanzverhalten der Menschen überwiegend von ihren Ressourcen, Gelegenheiten und anderen Umständen bestimmt werden. Die US-Standards gehen außerdem von einem Umfeld aus, in dem Firmen den Leuten zahlen, was ihre Arbeitskraft „wert" ist und Preise verlangen, die den tatsächlichen Kosten und dem Risiko der Transaktion für die Firma entsprechen (a.a.O.). Dabei wird die Tatsache ignoriert, dass Firmen den Leuten so wenig wie möglich zahlen, unabhängig vom „Wert", und von Leuten so viel verlangen, wie sie jemanden überzeugen können zu bezahlen, unabhängig von tatsächlichen Kosten und Risiko für die Firma.

Die Annahmen derjenigen Wirtschaftstheorie, auf der diese Pädagogik basiert, geraten unter wachsenden empirischen Druck. Einen Beweis führt Budd (2016) in seinem kreativen Beitrag im Handbook an und verweist auf den Tod der Effizienzmarkthypothese (S. 623). Außerdem werden Personalentscheidungen von wirtschaftlich irrelevanten Faktoren wie die wahrgenommene Rasse oder Ethnie beeinflusst, selbst bei Kontrolle aller anderen Faktoren (z.B. Bertrand und Mullainathan, 2004). Während ausbeuterische Preisgestaltung nicht neu ist, institutionalisieren jedoch heute Big Data, proprietäre Algorithmen und Maschinelles Lernen zusätzlich die Preisdiskriminierung. So werden etwa persönliche Daten heute dazu genutzt, die Nachfrageelastizität einzelner Konsumenten und Konsumentinnen vorherzusagen und damit personalisierte Preise für Kredite (Experian, 2013) und Versicherungen (Earnix, o.D.) festzulegen.

Sowohl Lohn- als auch Preissetzungsmechanismen funktionieren daher nicht gemäß theoretischen Vorstellungen von neutralen, gesamtmarktlichen Angebot-und-Nachfrage-Kurven und Konsumentenrente.

Finanzbildung und das darin eingebettete Konzept der Finanzkompetenz als Umgang mit Geld gründen auf der Marktideologie und nicht auf der Realität des Marktes.

2.2 Finanzbildung als finanzielle Sozialisation

Menschen gelingt es oft nicht, das Wissen, die Fähigkeiten und die Praktiken des Umgangs mit Geld, die ihnen im Rahmen der Finanzbildung vermittelt wurden, in der Praxis umzusetzen. Das wird auf einen Mangel an Vertrauen in die eigenen finanziellen Fähigkeiten, mangelnde Selbstbeherrschung bei finanziellen Entscheidungen und einen Mangel an Vertrauen in den Finanzmarkt zurückgeführt. Das Verständnis von Finanzkompetenz als die Fähigkeit, mit Geld umzugehen, wurde in vielen Ländern um diese nicht-kognitiven Eigenschaften, nämlich Selbstvertrauen, Selbstbeherrschung und Vertrauen, erweitert.

So behandeln etwa van der Schors und Simonse (2016) in ihrem Handbook-Beitrag die Bedeutung von Vertrauen, Motivationen und Einstellungen im Kontext der Niederlande (S. 311). Stillwell (2016) stellt fest, dass walisische Schulen Finanzbildung dazu nutzen, „in jungen Jahren positive Haltungen zu Finanzen" einzuflößen (S. 360). Auch die OECD (2012) hat Einstellung und Verhalten in ihre Definition von Finanzkompetenz inkludiert, als „[eine] Kombination von Bewusstsein, Wissen, Fähigkeit, Haltung und Verhalten, die notwendig sind, um solide finanzielle Entscheidungen zu treffen und letztendlich individuellen finanziellen Wohl zu erreichen" (S. 2; siehe auch, z.B., Financial Literacy and Education Commission, 2016, S. 8-9, zur Diskussion der Bedeutung von Selbstvertrauen, Selbstbeherrschung und „Bequemlichkeit" für das Treffen von finanziellen Entscheidungen).

Wenn an der Finanzbildung nicht-kognitive Komponenten beteiligt sind, so zeigt dies, dass Finanzkompetenz kein technisches Konstrukt, sondern ein kulturell definiertes und sozialisiertes ist. Ein gutes Beispiel findet sich in dem Buch im Kapitel über Finanzbildung in Rumänien, wo Kindern beigebracht wird, „wie sich Leute in einer Bank benehmen sollten" (Lacatus, 2016, S. 324). Ein weiteres kommt aus Indonesien, wo die Regierung für ihre Finanzbildungs-kampagne den Slogan „Geh'n wir in die Bank" ausgab (Amidjono, Brock, & Junaidi, 2016, S. 285).

Besonders in weniger reichen Ländern, in denen die Missstände des Neoliberalismus offensichtlicher sind, spiegeln die Messinstrumente der Finanzbildung eine Vorstellung von Finanzbildung als finanzielle Sozialisation und verstärken diese. Speziell Personen, die Finanzinstitutionen trauen, gelten als finanzkompetent. Im Beitrag von Amidjono, Brock und Junaidi über Indonesien etwa verwendet das Autorenteam als Indikatoren der „Finanzkompetenz" der Bevölkerung den Besitz eines Bankkontos, Spareinlagen innerhalb des formellen Bankensystems und nicht außerhalb davon sowie die Verwendung einer Kredit- oder Geldautomatenkarte (S. 281). In einem anderen Kapitel misst Peña (2016) die „Wertschätzung der Bank" von mexikanischen Jugendlichen. Er codiert dann positivere Eindrücke von Banken,

zusammen mit mehr Geduld und besseren mathematischen Fähigkeiten als gleichbedeutend mit einer besseren „Finanzkultur" (S. 474 und S. 482).

Die Sozialisationsabsichten der Finanzbildung sind jedoch nicht auf weniger reiche Länder beschränkt. In den USA beispielsweise lernen Schüler_innen u.a. „von den Vorteilen von Finanzwissen und gesundem Finanzverhalten" sowie „von der sozialen Erwünschtheit und Wirkung, eine finanziell verantwortungsvolle Person zu sein" (Danes, Deenanath, & Yang, 2016, S. 429).

In Deutschland, so erklären die *Handbook*-Autoren Frühauf und Retzmann (2016), orientiert sich die Förderung der Finanzbildung an zwei Zielen (S. 270-271). Das eine, Erziehung, lehrt die Menschen, sich zu schützen, für sich selbst zu sorgen und sich ansonsten den gesellschaftlichen Standards entsprechend zu verhalten (z.B. durch Vermeiden von Überschuldung). Das andere, Bildung, das die Autoren als „finanziell reifer" ansehen, wirbt für die Idee, dass die Menschen ihr persönliches finanzielles Wohl durch gut informierte, autonome Entscheidungen aktiv fördern sollen, einschließlich Entscheidungen, die Risiko im Austausch für Ertrag eingehen. Diese Orientierungen unterscheiden sich zwar, aber beide sozialisieren die Menschen dazu, den Finanzmarkt so zu akzeptieren, wie er derzeit operiert und beide verorten finanzielle Probleme und deren Lösungen im Individuum.

Die Umarmung der Finanzbildung durch die Finanzindustrie zeigt außerdem ein implizites Motiv dafür auf, die Bevölkerung zu „sozialisieren". In praktisch jedem Land, das im *Handbook* besprochen wird, ist die Branche zu einem gewissen Teil in Finanz-"bildung" involviert, von den USA (Heath, 2016, S. 378), Italien (Farsagli, Filotto und Traclò, 2016, S. 539) und Singapur (Siu und Koh, 2016, S. 573) bis Südafrika (Wentzel, 2016, S. 333), Mexiko (Ruiz-Durán, 2016, S. 297) und Sambia (Knoote, Partington und Penner, 2016, S. 204). In Deutschland geben „Bankangestellte und sogar freiberufliche Investmentberater_innen" Finanzunterricht in öffentlichen Schulen (Frühauf & Retzmann, S. 267). Auf jeden Fall zielt die von der Finanzbranche unterstützte Pädagogik, selbst wenn sie nicht direktes Marketing für ihre Produkte und Dienstleistungen ist, darauf ab, Respekt für die aktuelle wirtschaftliche Ordnung zu erzeugen und nicht Kritik oder Reform.

So ist Finanzbildung, mal mehr, mal weniger explizit, als eine Methode finanzieller Sozialisation gedacht. Finanzkompetenz wird weiterhin gesehen als eine Fähigkeit, die dem Einzelnen innewohnt, da sie sowohl kognitive als auch nicht-kognitive Komponenten hat. Wie Toni Williams (2007) in ihrer vor einem Jahrzehnt erschienenen Arbeit erkannte, lehrt Finanzbildung die Menschen, eine untergeordnete Rolle des Staates beim Konsumentenschutz und in der Bereitstellung grundlegender sozialer Wohlfahrt zu akzeptieren. Die Schüler_innen werden indoktriniert, die Rolle anzunehmen, die ihnen neoliberale Ideologie als Konsumenten und Konsumentinnen zuweist, die ohne politischen Wandel dazu fähig und dafür verantwortlich sind, ihr eigenes materielles Wohl zu verfolgen.

2.3 „Finanzielle Fähigkeit" ohne finanzielle Ressourcen

Der irreführende Begriff „finanzielle Fähigkeit" (*financial capability*) wird immer öfter anstatt „Finanzkompetenz" verwendet (siehe etwa Cameron und Wood, S. 183-184; Farnsworth, 2016, S. 148). Vom Sprachlichen her müsste man denken, dass zur „finanziellen Fähigkeit" die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Ressourcen eines Menschen gehören, die fast sicher der wichtigste Faktor für die Fähigkeit eines Menschen sind, materielles Wohl zu erreichen. Bei näherer Betrachtung der Materialien, in denen dieser Begriff verwendet wird, zeigt sich jedoch, dass die Ressourcen eines Menschen meist nicht als Teil seiner „finanziellen Fähigkeit" betrachtet werden (siehe z.B. Financial Literacy and Education Commission, 2016, S. 7).

Stattdessen schreiben die Befürworter_innen der „Fähigkeit" die Vorstellung fort, dass Wissen, Fähigkeiten und Praktiken des Umgangs mit Geld, die gelehrt werden können, die ebenso wie Selbstvertrauen, Selbstbeherrschung und Vertrauen trainiert werden können, für das finanzielle Wohl nicht nur notwendig, sondern auch ausreichend sind. Die normativen Botschaften dieses Konstrukts sind klar: Ressourcenverteilungen werden nicht hinterfragt, in den Markt soll man nicht eingreifen und der und die Einzelne soll materiellen Wohlstand innerhalb der bestehenden Ordnung maximieren. Vor kurzem identifizierte ein Artikel im *Journal of Social Science Education* ein ähnliches Muster für die Pädagogik der Wirtschaftskunde. „Eine Studie der acht Lehrbücher, die in heutigen amerikanischen High Schools verwendet werden, ergab, dass sieben davon Vermögensverteilung nicht behandeln, ein grundlegendes Maß zur Bewertung des Wirtschaftssystems einer beliebigen Gesellschaft" (Neumann, 2017, S. 11).

Dass die sozioökonomische Lage etwas mit finanziellem Wohl zu tun hat, wird im dominanten Finanzbildungsdiskurs einzig im gerade aufkommenden Eingeständnis anerkannt, dass Finanzbildung Ungleichheit „berücksichtigen" muss. Was dabei verstört, ist dass dieses Eingeständnis, zumindest in den USA, nicht so verstanden wird, dass die Gesellschaft dafür sorgen sollte, dass die Armen einen gerechteren Anteil an den finanziellen und sozialen Ressourcen haben. Nein, Ungleichheit „berücksichtigen" heißt, dass die Unterrichtsmaterialien bis zu einem gewissen Grad angepasst werden müssen, um die Bedürfnisse all jener mit weniger finanziellen und sozialen Ressourcen zu behandeln (Financial Literacy and Education Commission, 2016, S. 21). Das heißt, die Pädagogik muss den Armen das Wissen, die Fähigkeiten und den Umgang mit Geld vermitteln, die die aktuelle Wirtschaftsordnung von ihnen verlangt. Andere Länder verfolgen einen ähnlichen Ansatz. In ihrem Kapitel über Neuseeland behandeln Cameron und Wood beispielsweise das spezielle finanzielle Training für bestimmte Minderheitspopulationen, das z.B. so adaptiert wurde, dass es sich auf die Arten von Produkten konzentriert, die diesen Bevölkerungsgruppen häufig verkauft werden (S. 189-190).

Wentzel nimmt in seinem Kapitel im *Handbook* hier eine ziemlich progressive Perspektive ein und spricht sich dafür aus, Finanzbildung wieder darauf zu fokussieren, den Armen beizubringen, wie man Unsicherheit minimiert und nicht, wie man Wohlstand maximiert. Mehr Sicherheit sei wichtiger für das Wohl der Armen als mehr Wohlstand (S. 337-338). Dass materieller Wohlstand nicht synonym mit Wohlbefinden ist, ist eine entscheidende Einsicht. Wenn diese Einsicht jedoch wieder darin eingebunden wird, dem Einzelnen bestimmte finanzielle Handlungen beizubringen, hält das die Idee aufrecht, dass der Markt außerhalb der demokratischen Kontrolle bleibt und die Einzelne einfach ihr Bestes tun muss, um Wohlstand im Markt zu erreichen.

Immerhin geht Wentzel weiter als die meisten; das Ausmaß, in dem der dominante Finanzbildungsdiskurs Ungleichheit anerkennt, ist viel enger gefasst. Wie Henchoz etwa in ihrem Kapitel hervorragend beobachtet, kann es für jemanden, der seine aktuellen Schulden nicht bezahlen kann, die beste Vorgehensweise sein, Mahnbriefe einfach zu ignorieren, bis sich die eigene finanzielle Situation bessert. Das vermeidet Stress und hebt das physische und psychologische Wohlbefinden. Es kann sogar das finanzielle Wohl bessern, insofern als Einkommen mit physischer und psychischer Gesundheit in Beziehung steht (S. 108). Aber es ist unvorstellbar, dass selbst ein „kulturell sensibles" Finanzbildungsprogramm Menschen beibringt, ihre Rechnungen nicht zu öffnen. Die meisten Vertreterinnen der Finanzpädagogik wären empört über so einen Vorschlag.

Und so hat die Anerkennung von Ungleichheit durch konventionelle Verfechter_innen der Finanzbildung zu der Schlussfolgerung geführt, dass die Gesellschaft mehr daran arbeiten muss, die Armen dazu zu sozialisieren, dass sie mehr Selbstbeherrschung üben, dem System vertrauen und daran glauben, dass ihre autonomen Handlungen ihren persönlichen Wohlstand heben können.

In Rumänien etwa bemerkt Lacatus, dass das Leiden, das die globale Finanzkrise von 2008 verursacht hat und das allgemeine niedrige Einkommensniveau zu einer weit verbreiteten „Skepsis gegenüber den langfristigen Vorteilen des freien Markts" geführt haben (S. 322). Sie scheint daraus *nicht* zu folgern, dass Kritik und Misstrauen gegenüber dem gegenwärtigen System gerechtfertigt ist, sondern dass die rumänische Bevölkerung eine Extradosis Finanzbildung braucht, um finanziell sozialisiert zu werden.

Andere behaupten, dass Finanzbildung für benachteiligte Gruppen die Ausgangsbedingungen für Vermögensbildung angleichen kann (siehe, z.B., Pinto, 2016, S. 137, die das Vorherrschen dieser Behauptung in der kanadischen Presse dokumentiert; Hill & Asarta, 2016, S. 555-556, die Gender-Unterschiede in Finanzkompetenz anführen, eine weitere Rechtfertigung für Angleichung durch Finanzbildung). Die Beweislage unterstützt eine solche Schlussfolgerung keineswegs. Sehr wenig Geld bleibt sehr wenig Geld, egal, ob es auf einem Bankkonto mit 1% Zinsen liegt, in einen aufstrebenden Aktienfonds investiert ist oder unter der Matratze liegt. Abzüglich der Gebühren sind Bankkonto und Aktienfonds unter

Umständen schlechter für die Vermögensbildung als die Matratze.

Wie Arthur (2016) in seinem exzellenten Beitrag im Handbook ausführlich erklärt, hinterfragt die Diskussion über die „finanzielle Leistungsfähigkeit" weder Ungleichheit noch die wirtschaftlichen Strukturen, die sie produzieren (S. 113-125).

2.4 Finanzbildung als Allheilmittel

Ob nun als die Fähigkeit, mit Geld umzugehen, als Sozialisation oder als Leistungsfähigkeit gedacht, die herkömmlichen Konzepte von Finanzbildung sind sämtlich ziemlich eng gefasst. Und doch wird erwartet, dass dies enge Konzept erstaunliche Funktionen erfüllt. Der oft wiederholte Tropus im Handbook-Kapitel von O'Neill und Hensley (2016) zeigt es deutlich:

> „Vielleicht war noch zu keiner anderen Epoche der Bedarf an Finanzbildung so groß wie heute. Die globale Finanzkrise hat deutlich gezeigt, was passieren kann, wenn die Menschen komplexe Finanzinstrumente nicht verstehen (z.B. Option-ARM-Hypotheken und derivative Wertpapiere)." (S. 640; siehe auch Schuhen und Schürkmann, 2016, S. 384, die ähnlich argumentieren).

Finanzbildung, so die Vorstellung, kann Finanzkrisen verhindern.

Die Menschen mit den besten Finanzkenntnissen in der Welt, die in der Finanzindustrie arbeiten, verstanden jedoch sehr wohl variabel verzinsliche Hypothekenkredite mit mehreren Zahlungsoptionen (*option ARM loans*) und derivative Wertpapiere. Die Finanzfirmen, die in der Krise scheiterten, wurden nicht durch die Studienabschlüsse ihrer Führungskräfte und Mitarbeiter_innen in Finanzwirtschaft und Betriebswirtschaftslehre gerettet. Wie Pinto in ihrem Beitrag im *Handbook* bemerkt, wird die Behauptung, dass Finanzkompetenz die globale Finanzkrise von 2008 abgewendet hätte, auch in Kanada aufgestellt, doch die Beweislage zeigt auf ein Versagen in der Geldpolitik, unzureichende Regulierung und riskantes, ausbeuterisches Verhalten der Finanzinstitutionen als Ursachen für die Krise (S. 136-37).

Dennoch wird Finanzbildung in aller Welt als Heilmittel für eine Vielzahl von finanziellen Missständen propagiert. In reichen Ländern, darunter zum Beispiel die Niederlande (van der Schors & Simonse, S. 316), das Vereinte Königreich (Stillwell, S. 358), Deutschland (Barry, 2016, S. 450) und Singapur (Koh, 2016, S. 500), werden oft drei Leiden genannt. Erstens wird Finanzbildung als Gegengift zu niedrigen Sparquoten, Überschuldung und Insolvenzen empfohlen. Zweitens wird Finanzbildung empfohlen als ein Mittel, um Menschen vor schlechten Entscheidungen in Bezug auf ihre Altersvorsorge zu schützen, inklusive unzureichender Ersparnisse, überteuerter Investitionen, äußerst riskanter *und* unzureichender, riskanter Portfolios, und kurzsichtiger Vermögensentnahme im Ruhestand. Drittens wird von der Finanzbildung erwartet, dass sie die Verwirrung der Menschen auflöst, wenn sie als Käufer_innen mit der wachsenden Komplexität von Finanzprodukten konfrontiert sind.

Interessanterweise wird Finanzbildung auch propagiert mit dem Argument, dass sie gebraucht wird, um mit dem Wohlstand in reichen Ländern „zurecht zu kommen". In einem Kapitel aus Deutschland wird angeführt, dass die zahlreichen Erbschaften Finanzbildung erfordern, weil „die Nutznießer_innen [der Erbschaften] Investitionsentscheidungen von beträchtlichem Ausmaß treffen können und treffen müssen" (Frühauf & Retzmann, S. 264). In einem weiteren Kapitel wird der jüngste Anstieg im Vermögen der Haushalte in Singapur als Auslöser für Interventionen in Sachen Finanzbildung genannt (Lee & Koh, 2016, S. 415-416).

In weniger reichen Ländern wird davon ausgegangen, dass Finanzbildung ganz andere Probleme löst, in erster Linie das niedrige Ausmaß an Engagement im formellen Finanzsystem, besonders unter den Armen. In Mexiko ist Finanzbildung Teil einer nationalen Strategie der „finanziellen Einbeziehung", soll heißen, Ersparnisse auf Konten von formellen Finanzinstitutionen zu legen und Kredite von diesen Institutionen aufzunehmen. Die Regierung hat sich sogar das Ziel gesetzt, „Kredite im privaten Sektor von 28 % auf 40 % des BIP zu steigern" (Ruiz-Durán, S. 293-296 und 302). In Indonesien werben Finanzbildungskampagnen dafür, dass die Bevölkerung den formellen Bankensektor für Ersparnis und Kreditleistungen und -produkte nutzt (Amidjono, Brock, und Junaidi, S. 285-286).

Es scheint also, dass Finanzkompetenz in reichen Ländern das Heilmittel für zu wenig Ersparnisse und zu *viel* Schulden ist und in ärmeren Ländern das Heilmittel für zu wenig Ersparnisse und zu *wenig* Schulden.

Das *International Handbook of Financial Literacy* beginnt selbst mit dem Allheilmittelkonstrukt von Finanzbildung. In der Einleitung zum ersten Teil des Buchs behauptet die Herausgeberin, dass "die Förderung von Finanzbildung von höchster Bedeutung für das individuelle und kollektive Wohl im einundzwanzigsten Jahrhundert" sei und dass sie "angesichts der Komplexität von wirtschaftlichen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungen ... ein Anliegen für politische und Bildungsmaßnahmen in allen Ländern der Welt sein sollte." (Aprea, 2016, S. 5). So manche der Beitragenden formulieren einen ähnlichen Standpunkt oder haben ihn im öffentlichen und politischen Diskurs ihres Landes vorgefunden – die Ansicht, dass die aktuellen wirtschaftlichen, politischen und sozialen Entwicklungen nicht veränderbar sind und die Finanzkompetenz des Einzelnen die einzige Möglichkeit für die Menschen ist mitzuhalten.

Wie andere traditionelle Vorstellungen von Finanzbildung, so verortet auch das Allheilmittelkonzept das Problem und die Lösung im Individuum. Diese Perspektive definiert weniger den Inhalt von Finanzbildung, sie behauptet vielmehr, dass Finanzkompetenz eine Reihe von Eigenschaften und Verhaltensweisen von Individuen umfasst – und nicht deren wirtschaftliche und soziale Ressourcen –, die sie gegen finanzielle Probleme impfen oder sie sogar von diesen kurieren. Sie behandelt neuere Änderungen in der Sozialpolitik als gegebene Tatsachen, die dem einzelnen Menschen mehr finanzielle Verantwortung und mehr finanzielles Risiko aufbürden

und größere Ungleichheit und finanzielles Leid für viele schaffen.

Das sind jedoch keine selbstverständlichen Gegebenheiten, sondern allesamt *Entscheidungen*. Cameron und Wood erklären in ihrem Kapitel, dass Finanzbildung in Neuseeland „aus der Alterseinkünftepolitik erwuchs", das heißt, aus einer politischen Entscheidung, staatliche Renten zu kürzen, anstatt sie weiter voll zu finanzieren, was die einzelnen Menschen dafür verantwortlich machte, ihren Ruhestand zu finanzieren (S. 182). Im britischen Parlament, erklärt Farnsworth, wurde Finanzbildung unterstützt als eine Maßnahme gegen die Täuschung von Konsument_innen durch komplexe Bedingungen von Finanzprodukten, wie man sie in den Bedingungen für Kreditkartenverträge findet (S. 154-159). Anstatt Maßnahmen zu implementieren, die verhindern, dass Anbieter_innen betrügerische Praktiken anwenden, entscheidet die Politik, die Verbraucher_innen durch Finanzkompetenz dagegen zu wappnen, in der Hoffnung, dass sie sich dann selbst schützen können. In Kanada wurde Finanzbildung als eine Möglichkeit zur Vermeidung nationaler und persönlicher Finanzkrisen propagiert, anstatt etwa Geldpolitik, die Regulierung von Finanzinstitutionen oder Maßnahmen zur direkten Reduzierung von Schulden durch medizinische Behandlung und Armut (Pinto, S. 136-138).

Die Kosten-Nutzen-Methode der Wertermittlung, wie sie so inbrünstig vom Mainstream der Finanzpädagogik propagiert wird, zeigt jedoch, dass Finanzbildung eine suboptimale, ja sogar bizarre Wahl der Mittel für jedes der Probleme ist, auf die sie abzielt. Finanzbildung ist nicht besonders teuer. Die Förderung von Finanzkompetenz, wie sie herkömmlich definiert wird, hat jedoch ernsthafte Opportunitätskosten, weil politische Maßnahmen mit höherer Aussicht auf Erfolg nicht verfolgt werden.

So stellt etwa Heath in ihrem Kapitel über die Situation in den USA die unlogische Schlussfolgerung auf: „Allein das Ausmaß an Studentenkrediten deutet auf einen Mangel an Finanzbildung hin…" (S. 370). Und doch schneiden Menschen mit einem Studienabschluss, unabhängig von ihrem Studentenkredit, in Finanzkompetenztests viel besser ab und verdienen viel mehr als Menschen ohne Studienabschluss. Außerdem ließe sich die Verschuldung der Studierenden sicher besser eliminieren, indem man die Studiengebühren reduziert und überteuerte, erfolglose (Hoch)schulen schließt. Menschen den Umgang mit ihrer Altersvorsorge beizubringen ist eine weit weniger wirksame Antwort auf schlechte Ruhestandsplanung als staatliche Renten zu erhalten. Dasselbe gilt für die Komplexität von Finanzprodukten. Einzelnen Personen beizubringen, wie man komplexe Produkte versteht, scheint ein weniger effizienter und unsicherer Ansatz zu sein, als die Produkte einfacher zu machen oder denen, die solche Produkte verkaufen, treuhänderische Pflichten aufzuerlegen. Das heißt nicht, dass irgendeiner unserer finanziellen Missstände leicht zu beheben wäre, sondern dass Finanzbildung geringere Erfolgsaussichten hat als alternative Maßnahmen.

In weniger reichen Ländern überzeugt das Argument für die Bevorzugung von Finanzbildung noch weniger. In Indonesien fördert die Regierung Finanzbildung „mit dem Fernziel, eine höhere Lebensqualität zu schaffen" (Amidjono, Brock, & Junaidi, S. 286). In diesem Land lebt ungefähr die Hälfte der Bevölkerung unterhalb der internationalen Armutsgrenze und selbst diejenigen über der Grenze „sind nicht geschützt gegen Schocks wie etwa Anstiege der Lebensmittelpreise, Umweltgefahren und Krankheit, die sie leicht in die Armut drücken können" (a.a.O. S. 280). Wenn Lebensmittelpreise, Umweltgefahren oder Krankheit die Menschen in die Armut treiben, wird Finanzkompetenz sie nicht davor schützen oder sie daraus befreien.

Finanzbildung als Allheilmittel ist also nicht nur an sich unglaubwürdig, sondern auch eine wahrscheinlich unwirksame politische Maßnahme im Umgang mit den Missständen, auf die sie gerichtet ist. Außerdem schreibt sie die neoliberalen Mythen fort, dass der Markt sakrosankt ist, der/die Einzelne unausweichlich für sein/ihr finanzielles Unglück verantwortlich ist und dass die Ressourcenverteilung der aktuellen Wirtschaftsordnung nur durch das Handeln Einzelner und nicht durch politischen Wandel verändert werden kann.

* * * * *

Finanzkompetenz im Sinne von mit Geld umgehen können ist nicht besonders hilfreich, um, wie gefordert, das individuelle und kollektive finanzielle Wohl zu sichern. Finanzielle Sozialisation hinzuzufügen reicht nicht. Selbstbewusstsein und Vertrauen können geradezu schädlich sein. Eine Karte lesen zu können und den eigenen Navigationsfähigkeiten zu vertrauen und darauf zu vertrauen, dass die Karte stimmt, reicht nicht, wenn einem der Treibstoff fehlt oder ein effektives Transportmittel und die Entfernungen zu groß, die Berge zu hoch und die Flüsse zu breit sind, um zu Fuß vorwärts zu kommen. Und es ist noch schlimmer, wenn die Karte Routen als offen ausweist, die eigentlich blockiert sind.

3 Weiter gefasste Vorstellungen von Finanzbildung

Die meisten Beitragenden im *International Handbook of Financial Literacy* verwenden einen weiter gefassten und durchdachteren Ansatz zum Thema Finanzbildung als die oben beschriebenen traditionellen Zugänge. Insgesamt enthalten die Kapitel zahlreiche Einsichten in Probleme mit der dominanten Vorstellung und der Art von Finanzbildung, die sich aus dieser Konzeption ergibt und sie stärkt. Allerdings lehnen sich viele der vorgeschlagenen Reformen zu eng an das neoliberale Paradigma an, um zu großen Verbesserungen zu führen. Andere Beiträge nehmen die Form allgemeiner Attacken auf dieses Paradigma an, ohne eine glaubwürdige, umsetzbare Alternative anzubieten. Keiner dieser beiden Zugänge bringt uns weiter. Nachfolgend werden einige der Einsichten aus dem Sammelband diskutiert und ihre jeweiligen Defizite analysiert.

3.1 Aufgabe der Annahme vom rationalen Wohlstandsmaximierer

Die erste Erweiterung gegenüber traditionellen Vorstellungen von „Finanzkompetenz" ist die allgemeine Einsicht unter den Beitragenden im Handbook, dass die finanziellen Handlungen der Menschen von mehr Faktoren beeinflusst werden als ihren Fähigkeiten, mit Geld umzugehen, ihrem Selbstbewusstsein, ihrer Selbstbeherrschung und ihrem Vertrauen. Handlungen werden beeinflusst von Neigungen, Denkmustern, Kultur und Werten. Diese Autorinnen und Autoren propagieren gemeinhin, man solle zu bestehenden Finanzbildungsansätzen etwas hinzufügen, um solche Einflüsse zu berücksichtigen.

Loerwald und Stemmann, zum Beispiel, beschreiben, wie finanzielle Entscheidungen durch Neigungen bei der Entscheidungsfindung beeinflusst werden (2016, S. 25-38). Sie sprechen sich dafür aus, den Inhalt der Finanzpädagogik um Verhaltensökonomie zu erweitern und behaupten, dass es Leuten hilft, Voreingenommenheit zu vermeiden, wenn sie Voreingenommenheit bei der Entscheidungsfindung verstehen. Ähnlich argumentieren Antonietti, Borsetto und Iannello in ihrem Kapitel, dass die Anwendung verschiedener Arten des Denkens – Beratung, Intuition oder Heuristik – mehr Einfluss auf finanzielles Handeln haben könnte als das Wissen um finanzielle Informationen oder der Besitz der Fähigkeit zum Umgang mit Geld (2016, S. 57-68). Sie empfehlen metakognitives Training, den Lernenden beizubringen, zuerst herauszufinden, welches Entscheidungsfindungssystem in der jeweiligen Situation angewendet werden soll und dieses System dann zur Entscheidungsfindung anzuwenden.

Leider gibt es keinen Beweis dafür, dass metakognitives Training zu besseren finanziellen Entscheidungen führt. Sogar theoretisch ist es schwer vorstellbar, dass sich jemand bewusst für einen unbewussten Entscheidungsfindungsprozess entscheiden kann. Noch schlimmer: Es gibt Hinweise, dass es sich wenig bis gar nicht auf ihre Entscheidungen auswirkt, wenn man Leuten ihre Voreingenommenheit bei der Entscheidungsfindung aufzeigt (siehe Willis, 2011, für eine Übersicht der Hinweise).

Koh argumentiert, wenn man Lernenden die richtigen kulturellen Werte von Sparsamkeit, Selbstbeherrschung und Teilen (Nächstenliebe) vermittelt, sei dies grundlegend dafür, dass sie die finanziellen Informationen gut nützen (S. 501-508). Marchetti, Castelli, Massaro und Valle plädieren ebenfalls dafür, soziale Normen in die Finanzbildung zu integrieren (2016, S. 78). Koh geht so weit zu behaupten, dass Studierende, wenn man sie lehrt, im Rahmen ihrer finanziellen Möglichkeiten zu leben, nicht zu viel ausgeben werden (S. 504). Im Gegensatz dazu lassen empirische Arbeiten den Schluss zu, dass, wenn man Studierende lehrt, entsprechend ihrer finanziellen Verhältnisse zu leben, dies wahrscheinlich die Selbsteinschätzungen, im finanziellen Möglichkeitsrahmen zu bleiben, erhöht, aber nicht unbedingt die tatsächlichen Schulden senkt (siehe Willis, 2009, S. 427-429, für eine Übersicht der Hinweise).

Budd stellt die Hypothese auf, dass persönliche Moral und persönliche Finanzen miteinander verwoben sind (S. 621-638). Er bringt vor, dass Studierende, wenn sie Theorie und Praxis der doppelten Buchführung vermittelt bekommen, finanzkompetent und zu ehrlichem Leben und Handeln angeleitet werden. Und doch waren Wirtschaftsprüfer_innen, die alle Arten von Rechnungswesen beherrschen und anwenden, in den jüngsten Finanzskandalen in Unehrlichkeit und rechtswidriges Handeln verwickelt (siehe etwa Toffler & Reingold, 2004).

Yeo betont, dass Finanzpädagogik den Lernenden beibringen sollte, nicht nur den eigenen Wohlstand zu maximieren, sondern diesen auch mit weniger Glücklichen zu teilen (2016, S. 60-7). Es stimmt zwar, dass Nächstenliebe im Alltag oft das Glück beider Seiten vergrößert. Andererseits kann Nächstenliebe allein nicht echtes und nachhaltiges individuelles und kollektives Wohl schaffen. Nächstenliebe als Quelle von materiellem Wohl hält die Armen machtlos weil abhängig von den wohltätigen Anwandlungen der Bessergestellten.

Ein grundlegenderer Aspekt ist aber, dass alle diese Rezepte weiterhin in der Vorstellung wurzeln, dass das Problem und die Lösung für finanzielles Leiden beim Individuum liegen (so auch Arthur, S. 116). Wie ich an anderem Ort erklärt habe, ist es nicht machbar, Einzelpersonen so zu ändern, dass sie sich erfolgreich im heutigen Finanzmarkt zurechtfinden können und tatsächlich zurechtfinden. Selbst abgesehen vom erdrückenden Einfluss bestehender Ressourcenverteilung auf finanzielle Ergebnisse: Das finanzielle Innovationstempo ist so hoch, dass Bildung nicht damit Schritt halten kann, die Komplexität von Finanzprodukten zu groß, als dass Nichtspezialisten sie meistern könnten, die Häufigkeit von großen finanziellen Entscheidungen (z.B. Altersvorsorge und Entscheidungen über Hypotheken) zu gering, um aus Erfahrung lernen zu können, und die Marketingmacht von Finanzinstitutionen zu stark, als dass sie von Bildung aufgehoben werden könnte (Willis, 2008).

Das *Handbook* selbst liefert in dieser Hinsicht einige interessante Hinweise. Kapitel für Kapitel beklagen Autor_innen aus aller Welt die schlechte Finanzkompetenz in der Bevölkerung ihres Landes. In Rumänien (Lacatus, S. 327), Südafrika (Wentzel, S. 332-33), Mexiko (Ruiz-Durán, S. 302) und Neuseeland (Cameron und Wood, S. 189) ist das Niveau der Finanzbildung niedrig. In den USA „sind die Kreditaufnahmegewohnheiten der Amerikaner_innen riskant und ihr Wissen über grundlegende Finanzkompetenzkonzepte ist gering", und trotzdem fühlen sich die meisten selbstsicher in ihrem Finanzverständnis (Heath, S. 373; siehe auch Frühauf & Retzmann, S. 269, die ähnliche Selbstüberschätzung für deutsche Jugendliche berichten). Sogar in Österreich, einem Land mit einer der niedrigsten Armutsraten der Welt, „besteht dringender Bedarf, das Verständnis von Geld und Finanzfragen zu verbessern" (Greimel-Fuhrmann, Silgoner, Weber, & Taborsky, S. 260).

Vielleicht ist das Kompetenzniveau nicht zu niedrig. Vielleicht sind die Anforderungen zu hoch, die die Gesellschaft an die Menschen stellt, ihr eigenes

materielles Wohl im aktuellen Wirtschaftssystem zu erreichen.

Oder vielleicht ist Finanzkompetenz einfach irrelevant in der gelebten Erfahrung der meisten Leute und gibt ihnen wenig Anlass, sich darum zu bemühen. Mehrere Kapitel im Handbook berichten davon, dass Finanzbildung wenig Auswirkung auf das Finanzverhalten hat (z.B. van der Schors & Simonse, S. 318; Greimel-Fuhrmann, Silgoner, Weber, & Taborsky, S. 260), obwohl die Validität der meisten Messungen von Finanzkompetenz hinterfragt wurde (Schuhen und Schürkmann, S. 384-388).

Für manche ist Finanzbildung unnötig und daher irrelevant. Die Wohlhabenden müssen nicht besonders finanzkompetent sein, um materielles Wohl zu erreichen. Wie Sherraden und Ansong aufschlussreich bemerken, steuern die Arbeitgeber_innen und das Sozialsystem der Wohlhabenden diese in Richtung gesunden Finanz-"verhaltens", unabhängig von ihrem Kompetenzniveau (2016, S. 87; siehe auch Aprea & Wuttke, 2016, S. 402, die ähnliches beobachten).

In Gegensatz dazu macht Henchoz in ihrem Beitrag klar, dass für Menschen mit wenigen finanziellen Ressourcen und unvorhersehbaren Einkünften und Ausgaben viele Praktiken des Umgangs mit Geld, die von Finanzbildungsinitiativen propagiert werden, unmöglich sind, einschließlich Sparen, Investieren, Budgetieren und Planen (S. 100-105; siehe auch Wentzel, S. 337, der ähnliches beobachtet). Damit wird die konventionell definierte Finanzbildung auch für sie irrelevant.

Hier sind Hinweise aus Indonesien lehrreich. Landwirt_innen, die Finanzkompetenztraining und eine Geldsumme auf einem Bankkonto erhielten, ging es besser als einer Kontrollgruppe ohne Betreuung, aber nicht besser als Landwirt_innen, denen man einfach das Geld und das Bankkonto gegeben hatte (siehe Amidjono, Brock, & Junaidi, S. 89, die die Studie zitieren). Es war nicht das finanzielle Training, das den Unterschied machte, sondern schlicht das Geld auf die Hand.

3.2 Finanzielle Chancen und Inklusion

Die nächste Stufe an Einsicht kommt von den Autorinnen und Autoren, die das Problem des finanziellen Wohls zurückverlegen vom Individuum selbst zu den Chancen, die einem Menschen offenstehen, insbesondere dem Mangel an erstklassigen Finanzproduktangeboten am bestehenden Markt für nicht Wohlhabende. Sherraden und Ansong, zum Beispiel, heben hervor, wie wichtig es ist, den Zugang einer Person zu günstigen Finanzprodukten, wie etwa Bankkonten mit niedrigen Gebühren, zu berücksichtigen, die etwa in den USA nicht auf breiter Basis angeboten werden (S. 83-96). Knoote, Partington und Penner betonen ebenfalls, wie wichtig der Zugang zu „etablierten" Finanzdienstleistungen ist und beschreiben die Bemühungen, in erster Linie von internationalen Organisationen und Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen, solche Zugänge im Sub-Sahara Afrika zu ermöglichen (S. 193-197). Ruiz-Durán konzentriert sich auf finanzielle Inklusion und diskutiert verschiedene Ansätze, wie die mexikanische Regierung es den Finanzinstitutionen

erleichtert hat, Bankkonten mit niedrigen Gebühren anzubieten und den Verbraucher_innen, diese Konten zu nutzen (S. 293-296).

Die Bewegung, „Bankenlose" in den finanziellen Mainstream zu überführen, indem man sie drängt, Sparkonten und Kreditprodukte, wie sie von Banken verkauft werden, zu nutzen anstatt jene von „randständigen" Kreditgebern wie Geldverleiher_innen, scheint weltweit Unterstützung zu haben. Ohne Preisregulierung jedoch bieten Mainstream-Banken den Armen nicht unbedingt kostengünstige Produkte an. Die Erfahrung in den USA mit den Überziehungsgebühren auf Konten der Mainstream-Banken, die sich zu einem Effektivzinssatz von mehr als 7 % summieren können, mahnt zur Vorsicht (siehe Willis, 2013, S. 1176).

Mobiles und elektronisches/Bankkarten-Banking werden von vielen Programmen der Finanzinklusion energisch beworben als erschwinglichere und praktischere Methode als das Banking in einer konventionellen Filiale (Ruiz-Durán, S. 296). Die sofortige und dauernde Verfügbarkeit der finanziellen Mittel raubt jedoch vielleicht denjenigen, die Schwierigkeiten haben über die Runden zu kommen, ein nützliches Budgetierungswerkzeug. Wie Henchoz in ihrer Arbeit zeigt, kann das optimale Budgetierungsverhalten für manche das physische, wöchentliche Auszahlen von Bargeld an sich selbst sein, anstatt sich zu erlauben, jede Woche mehr auszugeben (S. 105). Für andere kann es sein, erklärt sie, dass ihr Scheitern am Sparen ihr persönliches Wohl maximiert; Sparen und Budgetieren, wie es Finanztrainer_innen raten, verlangt von den Armen einen Grad an Opferbereitschaft und Selbsteinschränkung, den Wohlhabende nicht kennen (S. 106).

Überdies sind erstklassige Finanzprodukte und –dienstleistungen nur für diejenigen relevant, die das Geld haben sie zu nutzen. Sorgfältig reguliert können diese Produkte dabei helfen, das Wenige, das den meisten Leuten übrig bleibt, zu erhalten. Aber wenn die Person nicht schon wohlhabend ist, erzielen solche Produkte niemals viel Ertrag.

Der Mythos der Vermögensbildung, mit dem viele Finanzbildungsprogramme verkauft werden (siehe Pinto, S. 137), ist eine Finte, trotz der oft erwähnten Zauberkraft des Zinseszinseffekts. Der Ansatz der finanziellen Inklusion ist vielleicht kaum mehr. Der Inklusionsansatz bringt mehr Bürger_innen in die bestehende Finanzordnung hinein und legitimiert diese Ordnung vielleicht, aber er ändert sie kaum.

Immerhin gibt der Diskurs über finanzielle Chancen und Inklusion zu, dass der „freie" Markt derzeit der Gesellschaft nicht gut dient und nicht komplett außerhalb politischer oder sozialer Kontrolle ist. Die Bereitstellung von guten Produkten und Dienstleistungen an Personen ohne Bankzugang erfordert Eingriffe in den Markt, entweder durch die Regierung oder durch wohltätige Organisationen, die nicht vom Profit getrieben sind. Die Regierung von Südafrika ist bereits eingeschritten und hat das Mzansi-Bankkonto geschaffen, „das auf die Bedürfnisse von wenig Verdienenden abgestimmt ist" (Wentzel, S. 334).

Die Beitragenden im Handbook, die für finanzielle Inklusion argumentieren, haben zwei wichtige Schritte über die engen konventionellen Konstrukte von Finanzbildung hinaus gemacht. Sie geben zu, dass finanzielles Wohlergehen nicht zur Gänze von Einzelnen gesteuert werden kann und dass der „freie" Markt nicht unantastbar ist.

3.3 Finanzbildungsnihilismus

Das vielleicht interessanteste Kapitel im *Handbook* stammt von Remmele, der behauptet, dass das konventionelle Finanzbildungsprojekt versagen muss, weil Finanzen und Finanzsystem unbegreiflich sind (2016, S. 39-56). Er argumentiert, dass der Markt und die Wirtschaftsordnung, zu der er gehört, in vielfacher Hinsicht unfassbar sind: Geld an sich ist so abstrakt, dass man es nicht voll verstehen kann, die immense Macht des Marktes stellt ihn außerhalb des normalen Wortsinns und die Ungerechtigkeit, die das System produziert, führt jegliche Erklärung des Systems ad absurdum. Die Funktionsweise des Marktes ist zu komplex, um komplett verstanden zu werden. Innerhalb des Marktes sind Rückkoppelungen am Werk, die zu kontra-intuitiv sind, als dass man sie akzeptieren könnte, und die sich laufend weiter entwickelnden betrügerischen Praktiken behindern den Durchblick.

Wenn Nobelpreisträger wie Akerlof und Shiller (2009) davon ausgehen, dass selbst Menschen mit höchsten Abschlüssen in Finanzwissenschaft Markteinbrüche nicht vorhersagen können, hinterlässt das ein Gefühl, als herrschten irgendwelche Geister über den Markt (*animal spirits*, nicht-rationale Elemente des Handelns; d. Übers.). Die Zerstörungen, die Börsenkräche nach sich ziehen, verstärken nur den Eindruck, dass diese Geister zum Bösen neigen.

Indem er den Markt als unverständlich hinstellt, zielt Remmele darauf ab, Finanzbildung als Ansatzpunkt für politisches Handeln zu positionieren. Er schreibt, „Es geht nicht um Verständlichkeit, sondern um Demokratie." (S. 40).

Einen Bereich als „unverständlich" zu konstruieren, riskiert jedoch, diesen zu naturalisieren und zu mythologisieren, womit er unhinterfragbar und unveränderbar wird. Wir verstehen vielleicht nicht alle Dynamiken des Marktes, aber der Tropus der „Unverständlichkeit" ist sowohl falsch als auch kontraproduktiv. Wir schaffen den Markt, wir sind dafür verantwortlich und er geht uns etwas an. Budd liefert eine markige Antwort. Er kritisiert diejenigen, die Finanzereignisse mit Stürmen auf hoher See vergleichen, „als wären sie natürliche Ereignisse, gegenüber denen wir hilflos sind, dabei haben wir sie natürlich selbst erzeugt" (S. 624, Fn.13).

4 Wege vorwärts

Am Ende seines Beitrags erklärt Remmele, dass Finanzbildung einerseits die Fähigkeit der Lernenden fördern muss, konkrete persönliche wirtschaftliche Handlungen durchzuführen und andererseits abstrakte ökonomische Prozesse wahrzunehmen und zu beurteilen als Grundlage für politisches Handeln. Er behauptet außerdem, dass es

keine Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Funktionen gibt (S. 50). In der Folge versuche ich, die kollektive Klugheit der Beitragenden im Handbook zu nutzen, um vielversprechende Wege nach vorn und sogar manche Brücken zwischen dem Individuellen und dem Politischen vorzuschlagen.

4.1 Bürgerbestimmtes Finanzsystem

Wenn wir die Fähigkeit von Menschen, sich in ihrer physischen Umgebung zurecht zu finden, diskutieren, würden wir nicht von der Annahme ausgehen, dass die Topographie feststeht und wir der Einzelnen beibringen müssen, eigene Ressourcen zu finden, eigene Wege zu bauen und ihre eigenen physischen Fähigkeiten zu ändern. Nein, wir verstehen die Beziehung zwischen Menschen und ihrer Umwelt als eine, in der die Umwelt an die physischen Fähigkeiten der Menschen angepasst werden soll.

Es ist eigenartig, dass wir die konkrete physische Welt als anpassungsfähiger einschätzen als die nicht greifbare und sich laufend verändernde Finanzwelt. Der dominante Finanzbildungsdiskurs versucht, die Menschen zu ändern, ihnen beizubringen, wie sie gut mit allem, was immer der Markt ihnen heute bietet, interagieren. Finanzbildung ist also ein eigenartiges, ja perverses Konzept. Es muss wahrscheinlich verworfen werden, denn es ist belastet mit dem Glauben, dass der oder die Einzelne sich ändern kann und sollte, um die Bedürfnisse des Marktes zu befriedigen.

Sherraden und Ansong beziehen sich auf die Arbeiten von Amartya Sen und Martha Nussbaum und erkennen scharfsinnig: Was uns wirklich wichtig ist oder sein sollte, ist nicht die Fähigkeit Einzelner (S. 83-96). Vielmehr ist es die Interaktion zwischen Menschen und ihrer ökonomischen Welt, die das finanzielle Wohlergehen von Menschen bestimmt. Will man das verbessern, dann braucht man eine Mischung von Änderungen im finanziellen Terrain, in dem sich Einzelne bewegen, und die Bereitstellung von Transportmitteln für die Menschen, um sich darin zu bewegen, anstatt nur Landkarten auszuteilen.

In diesem Ansatz kann „der" Markt nicht als naturgegeben verstanden werden. Zu sagen, dass politische Entscheidungen nicht in den Markt „eingreifen" sollten, muss für uns so seltsam klingen, wie wenn man sagen würde, politische Entscheidungen sollten nicht in das nationale Autobahnsystem „eingreifen". Genauso wie die physische Infrastruktur – Straßen, Tunnel, Brücken – ein öffentliches Gut ist, so ist auch die Finanzinfrastruktur – Wirtschaftspolitik und Finanzregulierung – ein öffentliches Gut. Wir haben unsere Finanzinfrastruktur genauso selbst gebaut wie die Autobahnen und wir müssen die Verantwortung dafür übernehmen, wie sie gebaut wurde, wem sie hilft und wem sie schadet, und dafür, sie zu verbessern.

Die finanzielle Landschaft zu ändern ist kein technisches Regulierungsprojekt, sondern zutiefst politisch. Die Bürger_innen müssen entscheiden, wie sich diese Landschaft verändern soll und sie müssen diese Änderungen durchsetzen. Die wertegeladenen Abwägungen, die dieser Prozess erfordert, sind demokratische

und nicht technokratische Entscheidungen. Wie sollen die Risiken von Schocks durch unerwartete, große Veränderungen auf der Einkommens- und der Ausgabenseite der Haushalte verringert werden? Zu welchen Kosten sollen sie verringert werden? Wie sollte das Restrisiko verteilt werden? Wie viel Ungleichheit sollte die Gesellschaft akzeptieren? Wie viel Reichtum sollte von den Wohlhabenden zu den Armen transferiert werden?

Wie Arthur zeigt, akzeptiert und normalisiert der herkömmliche Finanzbildungsdiskurs die Individualisierung ökonomischer Unsicherheit (S. 116-117). Darüber hinaus erlaubt uns der Diskurs mit der geflissentlichen Vermeidung von Diskussionen über Ungleichheit zu glauben, dass es keinen Ausgleich braucht, dass Finanzbildung an sich Wohlstand für die unteren 90 Prozent in der Vermögensverteilung schafft, ohne den reichsten 10 Prozent irgendetwas zu nehmen. Das Paradigma beschreibt alle anderen Entscheidungen über ökonomisches Risiko als unvorstellbar und einen etwaigen Ausgleich zur Behandlung der Ungleichheit als unnötig.

Entscheidungen über die Verteilung von Risiken in der Gesellschaft sind aber möglich, und in allen Wirtschaftssystemen kommen Kompensationen vor. Wichtig ist, dass Entscheidungen wissentlich gemacht werden, auf der Basis von korrekten Informationen, wohlüberlegt und von allen, die davon betroffen sind. Das verlangt finanzinformierte Bürger_innen, die eine von den Bürger_innen bestimmte Finanzordnung schaffen können.

4.2 Finanzinformierte Bürger_innen

Um zu verstehen, um welche Ausgleiche es geht und die politischen Urteile zu fällen, die eine demokratische Kontrolle der Wirtschaft erfordert, müssen die Leute verstehen, wie die Wirtschaft und der Markt wirklich funktionieren, nicht nur die neoliberale Erzählung, die Marktversagen als Fehler und nicht als Merkmal der gegenwärtigen Ordnung versteht. Finanzbildung muss deutlich machen, wie Regierungspolitik der Wirtschaft und dem Markt erlaubt so zu funktionieren und das auch noch antreibt. Arthur erinnert uns daran, dass wir neben den Vorteilen auch das Leid berücksichtigen müssen, das dieses System den Menschen zufügt (S. 114).

Zu verstehen, wie das System funktioniert und seine aktuellen Auswirkungen zu kennen, ist jedoch nicht genug. Finanzbildung, „die das Finanzsystem erklärt, aber nicht hinterfragt", wie Budd es ausdrückt, wird nicht in weitverbreitetem individuellem und sozialem finanziellem Wohl enden (S. 622).

Entscheidend für eine Kritik der herrschenden Ordnung ist die Fähigkeit, nicht nur zu erkennen, *wie* sie aufgebaut ist, sondern *dass* sie überhaupt von der Gesellschaft konstruiert wurde. Ein Verständnis der verschiedenen Wirtschaftsordnungen und Finanzsysteme, die derzeit existieren und die im Laufe der Geschichte existiert haben, legt diesen Konstruktcharakter offen (Budd, S. 628; Arthur, S. 121). Dazu präsentiert Berti in ihrem Kapitel einen anthropologischen, wissenschaftlichen Ansatz für Lehre und Unterricht:

„Wirtschaftstheorien sollten sowohl diachron diskutiert werden, als Antworten auf die Probleme, die in unterschiedlichen historischen Perioden auftraten, als auch synchron, als unterschiedliche, wetteifernde Perspektiven auf das Funktionieren von Wirtschaftssystemen, auf die Rolle des Staates und auf Lösungen für die ökonomischen Hauptprobleme, die in einer bestimmten Periode auftraten." (2016, S. 521)

Solch ein Ansatz zur Erschaffung von finanzinformierten Bürger_innen wird sicher als ideologisch voreingenommen angeprangert werden. Der Neoliberalismus duldet keine Kritik. In einem Kapitel des Sammelbandes wird sogar angemerkt, dass manche in Deutschland verwendeten Finanzlehrbücher kritisiert wurden, weil sie „angeblich eine antikapitalistische Haltung propagierten, indem sie etwa ein negatives Bild von Unternehmer_innen und Marktwirtschaften vermittelten" (Frühauf & Retzmann, S. 267).

Dabei bemerkt Lucey in seinem nachdenklichen Beitrag zur Anthologie, dass gerade die konventionelle Finanzbildung mit ihrem Fokus auf die Anhäufung von Reichtum die ideologische Position unterstützt, dass die Menschen innerhalb der gegebenen Marktstruktur miteinander um die knappen Ressourcen wetteifern sollen, und nicht die Vorstellung, dass die Einzelnen mit anderen zusammenarbeiten sollten, um gerechte finanzielle Bedingungen für alle zu schaffen (2016, S. 659). Abgesehen von den Ressourcen, die zur Deckung der Grundbedürfnisse erforderlich sind, ist individueller materieller Wohlstand weder ein universales Ziel noch ein transzendenter Wert.

Aufschlussreich sind die Messungen von Lucey zu den Haltungen von Referendarinnen für *Social Studies* bevor und nachdem diese eine traditionelle Unterweisung in Finanzbildungspädagogik erhalten hatten sowie vor und nach Anweisungen, die an sozialer Gerechtigkeit orientiert waren und traditionelle Finanzkonzepte auf allgemeinere ökonomische und politische Anliegen bezogen (S. 667). Manche Referendarinnen der zweiten Gruppe änderten ihre Ansichten über die Rolle von Lehrenden der *Social Studies*. Sie erweiterten ihre ursprüngliche Sicht dieser Rolle als eine, die Lernenden nur darauf vorzubereiten, mitwirkende Bürger_innen zu sein, zu einer Rolle, zu der es auch gehörte, die Lernenden darin auszubilden, Gerechtigkeit anzustreben und weniger Begünstigten zu helfen.

Aber auch einige derjenigen Referendarinnen, die eine traditionelle Unterweisung in Finanzbildungspädagogik erhalten hatten, änderten ihre Ansichten. Sie begannen mit derselben Ausgangsvorstellung von der Rolle von *Social-Studies*-Lehrenden, nämlich die Lernenden darauf vorzubereiten, mitwirkende Bürger_innen zu sein. Nach der Unterweisung in traditioneller Finanzbildung wechselten sie zu einer konservativeren Position, nach der die Lehrenden verantwortungsvolle Bürger_innen erziehen sollten, die ihre Rechnungen rechtzeitig bezahlen und im gegenwärtigen System gut verdienen, sparen und investieren, anstatt sich als Bürger_innen daran zu beteiligen das System zu verbessern.

Der Neoliberalismus gibt sich eher als neutrale Beschreibung denn als normative Vorschrift aus. Aber

Ideologie ist den Ansätzen inhärent, die Menschen dazu erziehen, bestimmte finanzielle, soziale oder politische Handlungen zu ergreifen. Zwar ist keine Pädagogik neutral, doch ermutigt der stärker anthropologische und historische Ansatz von Berti die Studierenden, eigene Ansichten darüber zu entwickeln, wie ihr Wirtschaftssystem strukturiert und reguliert sein sollte.

Diese Ansichten unterstützen zwangsläufig bestimmte Werte. Finanzpädagogik sollte nicht nur zugeben, dass Werte an finanzpolitischen Entscheidungen beteiligt sind, sondern auch darlegen, wie Werte an diesen Entscheidungen beteiligt sind. Das bedeutet: Ein Zweck von Finanzbildung ist es, Menschen verstehen zu helfen, welche Werte durch bestimmte politische Entscheidungen unterstützt werden, sodass sie politische Handlungen vornehmen können, die ihren eigenen Werten entsprechen.

4.3 Die Brücke zwischen persönlichen Finanzen und politischem Handeln

Die elaboriertesten Analysen des Finanzbildungsprojekts sind sich darin einig, dass politische Bildung (*civic education*) Teil der Finanzbildung und bürgerschaftliches Engagement bei gesellschaftlichen Entscheidungen über das Finanzsystem Teil unserer Konzeption von Finanzbildung sein muss. Berti etwa weist darauf hin, dass es nicht ausreicht, Kindern den Umgang mit Geld beizubringen, weil erwachsene Bürger_innen gesellschaftliche Entscheidungen verstehen und daran teilnehmen können müssen, z.B. über die „Regulierung der Finanzmärkte, individuelle [und] kollektive Lösungen für Risikomanagement, Steuerpolitik [und] wie man mit Finanzkrisen umgehen soll" (S. 520).

Es besteht jedoch eine offenkundige Spannung zwischen dem Bestreben, Leuten beizubringen, wie sie heute mit ihren persönlichen Finanzen umgehen sollen – wie man innerhalb der herrschenden Wirtschaftsordnung Wohlstand vermehrt oder finanzielle Unsicherheit verringert – und dem Bestreben, ihnen zu vermitteln, wie sie die Welt verändern können, um das finanzielle Wohl für alle zu verbessern.

Vordergründig nimmt diese Spannung die Form einer Frage an, die oft von Anwälten und Anwältinnen gestellt wird, die sich mit Fragen der sozialen Gerechtigkeit befassen: Soll man direkten Rechtsbeistand liefern, den Benachteiligten einzeln dabei helfen, sofort Erleichterungen zu erhalten, wie sie bei der derzeitigen Gesetzeslage verfügbar sind und die ihnen helfen, ein besseres Leben zu führen? Oder soll man sich auf einen strategisch auf soziale Verbesserungen für Benachteiligte angelegten Rechtsstreit (*impact litigation*) einlassen, einen langfristigen Rechtsstreit, der auf strukturelle soziale und gesetzliche Veränderungen abzielt, die, so steht zu hoffen, einer großen Anzahl von Menschen längerfristig helfen werden? Die Antwort in diesem Kontext muss sein: beides. Nur durch direkten Rechtsbeistand erfahren Anwält_innen das eigentliche Wesen der Bedürfnisse Einzelner und die Hindernisse, die ihnen bei der Befriedigung dieser Bedürfnisse im Weg stehen. Dieses Wissen ist notwendig, um erfolgreiche Klagen mit dem Ziel sozialer Veränderungen zu entwickeln.

Man beachte, dass niemand argumentiert, die Gesellschaft sollte die rechtlichen Probleme der Benachteiligten dadurch lösen, dass man jeder armen Person beibringt, ihre eigene Rechtsanwältin zu sein.

Auch im Finanzkontext brauchen wir beides: Leuten zu helfen, ihren finanziellen Alltag zu meistern *und* ihnen zu helfen, Teil des Prozesses zu werden, der gesellschaftlichen Wandel erzeugt. Finanzielles Wohl unterstützt „die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, die nötig sind", damit sich Einzelne aktiv als Bürger_innen engagieren (Farsagli, Filotto, & Traclò, S. 537). Herkömmliche Finanzbildung ist jedoch in dieser Hinsicht kaum nützlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass solche Bildung offenbar sehr wenig Wirkung auf das finanzielle Wohlergehen zu haben scheint (Fernandes, Lynch, & Netermeyer, 2014). „Gib einem Mann einen Fisch und er hat heute etwas zu essen; lehre den Mann zu fischen und er wird morgen etwas zu essen haben," ist manchmal ein nützlicher Aphorismus. Einem Mann das Fischen beizubringen, wenn sein See keine Fische enthält, ist jedoch dumm oder sogar gemein.

Retzmann und Seeber erklären daher, „Es ist wichtig, aus der Perspektive des Handelnden, die ausreicht für den individuellen Umgang mit Geld und den Finanztransaktionsprozessen, zu der eines Beobachters der Regeln, Märkte, Ordnung und des Systems, um die einzelne Person zu befähigen, solide politische Urteile zu fällen..., an der Gesellschaft teilzunehmen und sich am politischen Geschehen zu beteiligen" (S. 21). Einzelne zu lehren, auf den Finanzautobahnen zu fahren, ist Teil dieses Projekts, nicht nur, damit sie erfolgreich fahren können, sondern auch, damit sie sehen, wie diese Autobahnen derzeit gebaut sind.

Außerdem muss man auch die eigene Rolle innerhalb der neoliberalen Finanzordnung kritisch beobachten. Das ist gut fundierte Pädagogik. Abstrakte Konzepte werden besser verstanden, wenn deren Auswirkungen in der persönlichen Erfahrung beobachtet werden können. Das ist auch politisch wachrüttelnd, denn wenn man sieht, wie sich Regierungsmaßnahmen auf die gelebte Erfahrung von Einzelnen auswirken, kann das zum Handeln motivieren.

Auch hier sind die konventionelle Vorstellung von Finanzbildung als die Fähigkeit, mit Geld umzugehen, und die Bildungsmaßnahmen, die aus dieser Vorstellung erwachsen, kontraproduktiv. Im Handbook-Kapitel über die Schweiz wird erklärt, dass die Bakkalaureat-Schulen im Land für die ca. 20 % der Bevölkerung, die an die Universität gehen wollen, Finanzbildung mit einer breiten „allgemeinen, ökonomisch-finanziellen Perspektive" vermitteln, die auf die zukünftige Rolle der Schüler_innen als Bürger_innen abzielt. Die „berufsbildenden" Schulen für die 75 % der Schüler_innen, die ihre Bildung mit der Sekundärstufe abschließen, lehren das Finanzthema mit dem Schwerpunkt auf den persönlichen Finanzen (Holtsch und Eberle, 2016, S. 699-700). In gewisser Hinsicht ist dies ein Rückschritt. Die hoch Gebildeten sind schon zufrieden mit der herrschenden Wirtschaftsordnung, während die restliche Bevölkerung erst

verstehen muss, wie diese Ordnung funktioniert, um sie zu ändern.

In diesem Zusammenhang beklagen O'Neill und Hensley, dass genau die Lehrer_innen, von denen erwartet wird, dass sie den Lernenden Finanzkompetenz beibringen, von einer Gehaltszahlung zur nächsten leben, anstatt sich „korrekt" zu verhalten, indem sie sparen und investieren (S. 643). Und doch mag es gerade die Erfahrung dieser Lehrer_innen sein, die sie besser und nicht weniger befähigt, Finanzangelegenheiten zu unterrichten.

Die Brücke zwischen dem Persönlichen und dem Politischen wird von der neoliberalen Ideologie vernebelt. Sie taucht aber aus diesem Nebel auf, wenn diese Ideologie nicht mehr als maßgebliches Objektiv für die Sicht auf die Welt gilt. Menschen den Umgang mit Geld beizubringen in einem Kontext, in dem verständlich wird, dass diese Fähigkeiten notwendig sind, weil manche Gesellschaften heute Sozial- und Regulationspolitiken übernommen haben, die solche Fähigkeiten erst notwendig machen, kann ein Licht werfen auf die Fairness oder Unfairness, Effizienz oder Ineffizienz, Klugheit oder Absurdität solcher Politik.

Eine Studentin, die sich durch eine realistische Simulation zum Kauf eines Autos und der Finanzierung dieses Kaufs durcharbeitet, versteht vielleicht nicht ganz die Algebra hinter der Anpassung der Preise des Autos und des Kredits, die dafür sorgt, dass der Verkäufer/Kreditgeber immer gleich viel verdient, egal wie erfolgreich die Schülerin den Preis des Autos aushandelt. Aber sie lernt dabei wahrscheinlich, dass die Preise von Autos und Krediten nicht von einer unsichtbaren Hand festgesetzt werden, dass manche Händler von verletzlichen Kundinnen mehr Geld verlangen und dass das Gesetz dies in manchen Punkten beschränkt und in anderen erleichtert.

Vielleicht fallen ihr die Augen zu, wenn man ihr sagt, welche Entscheidungen über ihre Altersvorsorge und Investitionen sie machen sollte. Wenn sie aber dann diese Entscheidungen in einer realistischen pädagogischen Simulationsübung zu treffen versucht, entdeckt sie wahrscheinlich das ungeheure Ausmaß dieser Aufgabe. Wenn man sie außerdem lehrt, wie verschiedene Gesellschaften zu verschiedenen Zeiten unterschiedliche Ansätze verfolgt haben, um Menschen jenseits des erwerbsfähigen Alters zu unterstützen, wird sie die Chance erhalten, die Kompromisse in den unterschiedlichen politischen Entscheidungen zu beurteilen.

Und schließlich: staatsbürgerliche Bildung und Finanzbildung müssen als miteinander verflochten erkannt werden. Viele der wichtigsten politischen Entscheidungen, die Menschen treffen, beziehen sich auf finanzielle Angelegenheiten und viele der wichtigsten finanziellen Handlungen von Menschen finden in der politischen Arena (*civic arena*) statt. Staatsbürgerliche Bildung, genau wie Finanzbildung, muss eine Brücke schlagen zwischen dem Persönlichen und dem Politischen. Sie muss sowohl etwas über das System als auch über die Rolle des Einzelnen innerhalb des Systems lehren. Finanzbildung muss den Lernenden ihre Verant-

wortungen klarmachen und ihre Macht, durch politisches Handeln die Finanzordnung der Gesellschaft zu beeinflussen.

*   *   *   *   *

Der Zweck, den alle Beitragenden im Handbook zumindest auf abstrakter Ebene verfolgen, ist unumstritten: mehr individuelles und gesellschaftliches Wohl. Leider rüstet eine konventionell verstandene Finanzbildung die Menschen nicht dafür aus, dieses Ziel zu erreichen. Die Finanzlandschaft selbst muss umgebaut werden und die Menschen müssen effektive Transportmittel dafür erhalten. Die Rolle der Finanzbildung zur Steigerung des Wohlstands und des Wohlergehens muss es daher sein, die kleinen Leute zu befähigen, ermächtigen und inspirieren, auf kompetente Art an politischen Entscheidungen über Finanzen und die Wirtschaft teilzunehmen. Wir müssen finanzinformierte Bürger_innen bilden, die eine bürgerbestimmte Finanzordnung aufbauen können.

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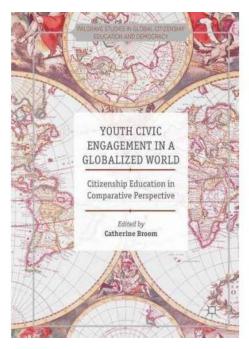
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Endnoten:

[1] Die Autorin dankt Mariam Sarwar für ihre Unterstützung.

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Review of the Book:

Broom, Catherine, Ed. 2016. Youth Civic Engagement in a Globalized World: Citizenship Education in Comparative Perspective, Palgrave MacMillan, ISBN 978-1-137-56533-4, $99.00

The book is a part of the recent Palgrave Studies in Global Citizenship Education and Democracy series.

This new edition on comparative studies of citizenship education contributes to the literature on civic engagement both theoretically and empirically. The comparative perspective is based on studies from Canada, England, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Japan and Mexico. The student and country sample thus covers a global variety (except Africa) of samples that represent a variety of cultures, democratic traditions and educational practices. The book is well organised by country chapters that combine introductions to citizenship education, empirical studies of student samples from each country and local varieties in citizenship education. What is quite noteworthy is the new theoretical model of youth civic engagement, awareness and action. The model of human civic cognition and action builds on sources in developmental psychology and social interaction. According to the editor 'The model theorizes that people are born with varying traits and that they develop in various ways depending on the interactions between their internal and external factors. Thus, youth's attitudes and actions in civic life may differ, based on the manner in which individuals' personality traits, attitudes, and beliefs interact with their experiences and their sociocultural environments' (page 8). A central concept in the model is the 'civic mindset' or a personal cognitive orientation toward civic life. The model combines different internal and external sources as determinants of the civic mindset. Internal is self, civic knowledge motives, aims feelings, sense of efficacy, gender, personality traits, labels and events. Context and external influence are family skills, friends, attitudes, values and school identity. Social context is economic wealth and social issues cultural context and international context.

The study's main questions are: *What are the characteristics of youth civic engagement/disengagement in nations/societies with different experiences with democracy? How does engagement relate to individuals'* *internal and external factors, such as knowledge, attitudes, characteristics, experiences and cultures? What recommendations emerge from the findings?*

The empirical study builds partly on a common framework and partly on local emphasis. The authors developed survey and interview research tools to explore youths' mindset, i.e., conceptions of and participation in civic life and the relations between these, and the conceptual model just described. The country chapters cover a brief history and introduction to citizenship education in the country. These introductions are of course very different, like Canada, where there are regional histories of civic education, and there have been only recent attempts for a national education. England is introduced, where there was no citizenship education before 1998 until Crick introduced its first attempt. Italy is also discussed, where the turbulent (fascist) political history caused much conflict about the role of citizenship education, and the strong presence of the Catholic church for a long time had a monopoly on moral education. Japan, on the other hand, experiences quite different challenges; the author claims that Japanese schools fail to encourage Japanese youth to actively en-gage and participate in Japanese politics.

The empirical study builds partly on a common framework and partly on local emphasis. The authors developed survey and interview research tools to explore youths' mindset, i.e., conceptions of and participation in civic life and the relations between these, and the conceptual model just described. The country chapters cover a brief history and introduction to citizenship education in the country. These introductions are of course very different, like Canada (*Catherine Broom, Antony Di Mascio, Douglas Fleming*), where there are regional histories of civic education, and there have been only recent attempts for a national education. England (*Richard Harris*) is introduced, where there was no citizenship education before 1998 until Crick introduced its first attempt. Italy (*Enzo Colombo*) is also discussed, where the turbulent (fascist) political history caused much conflict about the role of citizenship education, and the strong presence of the Catholic church for a long time had a monopoly on moral education. Japan (*Keiichi Takaya*), on the other hand, experiences quite different challenges; the author claims that Japanese schools fail to encourage Japanese youth to actively engage and participate in Japanese politics.

At the end of the book, there is an unusual but important contribution from a young Mexican (*Medardo Tapia Uribe*) who voiced some important concerns for
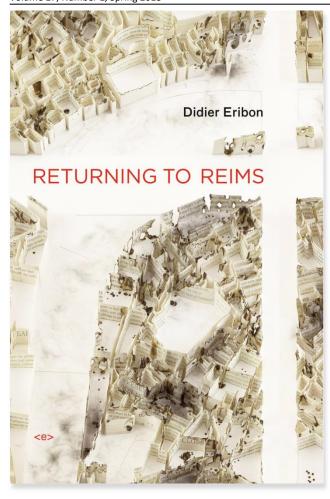
the Mexican democracy that is also relevant for democracies in general. Democratic political systems are supposed to provide a framework for self-subsistence and to solve problems for ordinary people the world. Instead, they often give priority to their own (politicians') interests and/or their friends, which creates distrust, frustration and disengagement. Such voices are echoed by the youth in other countries too. It is suggested that citizenship education needs to address these frustrations and provide some means to overcome these challenges through more un-conventional and effective partici-pation.

What is actually addressed at the end of the book are the options but also the limits of criticality in citizenship education. It also seems that educational programmes in citizenship education may face fundamental challenges in responding to the needs of the variety of students who distrust politicians and the political system and may find conventional participation in democracies less attractive due to the many failures in the political system. This book touches upon these fundamental challenges as well. I do recommend reading the book and continuing this discussion. Many democracies face similar challen-ges (as in Mexico) of distrust and decline of participation which raises fundamental questions about citizenship education and its role in support for the system versus supporting the critical young people. I do recommend reflecting on this dilemma while reading this book.

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Review of the Books:

Eribon, Didier. 2013. Returning to Reims, Los Angeles/CA, Semiotext(e).
Louis, Édouard. 2017. The End of Eddy. London, Harvill Secker.

Eribon, Didier. 2009. Retour à Reims. Une théorie du sujet, Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard.
Louis, Édouard. 2014. En finir avec Eddy Bellegueule, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.

Eribon, Didier. 2016. Rückkehr nach Reims. Berlin, Suhrkamp Verlag.
Louis, Édouard. 2016. Das Ende von Eddy, Frankfurt am Main, S. Fischer Verlag.

The two novels "Returning to Reims" by Didier Eribon and "The End of Eddy" by Édouard Louis have contributed to the creation of a new literary genre. As both books are autobiographical novels, they tell of the authors' personal stories about their teenage years spent in two provincial communes in France and their coming-of-age experiences as gay men in relatively poor, working-class households. As children, they are exposed to violence at home and at school – a fact which the authors thoroughly describe and then explain in terms of a general theory on the social and political behaviour of the working-class in contemporary France. While Louis' book leans towards narration, only occasionally reflecting the events in a more general fashion, Eribon tells his story with more direct reference to sociological theory. Being a professor of sociology at the *Université de Picardie Jules Verne* in *Amiens*, and having gained experience as a journalist and author, particularly known for a biography on Michel Foucault and his book "Insult and the Making of the Gay Self", Eribon is arguably more successful in connecting his personal story to theoretical debates on class behaviour and class distinctions. Nevertheless, both novels deal with generalized prejudice and its causes by following Bourdieu's theory on *La Distinction*. With this theory, Bourdieu develops the idea that personal ambition for educational advancement as well as numerous other customs and tastes, be it in music, clothing or design, are determined by the preferences of the social class in which children are brought up. Illustrating this, Louis says: "At my

parents' house we didn't have dinner; we ate…the verb we used was *bouffer, chow down*…" (Louis, p. 88).

Both books thus begin with an introspection of family life as a representation of class related prejudice and negligence. These attitudes lead to painful experiences of humiliation for the two boys, which is the reason why they do not view their homosexuality as a meaningful part of their own identity, but primarily as a category of difference. After unavailing attempts to adapt to the norms of their milieu and to fit in ("I thought it would be better if I seemed like a happy kid", Louis, p. 25), they find themselves in a process of alienation from the world in which they grow up. The way they are treated by others is a representation of a more general prejudice common among many people living in the communities where they come from: racism is as widespread as homophobia and misogyny.

Both authors withdraw from the world in which they were raised. It enables them to chronicle their life circumstances, the hostile atmosphere and even the most violent events at school, with an astonishing analytical clarity, as if they were telling the story of their own life from a bird's eye perspective. This vantage point may be familiar among LGBT people generally, as many of them are forced to question the norms which helped forge their parents' relationships, this compact between husbands and wives full of implicit agreements which later on becomes a social reality for their children as well. Members of the LGBT community need to escape from this social reality of their parents to some extent, and the coming-out process by definition involves a deep-seated questioning of the normative principles gained in childhood.

Therefore, despite the personal and private perspective these books provide, they must ultimately be treated as political books revealing a double layer of discrimination. At first glance, the novels aim to put homophobic violence, to which the protagonists are frequently subjected to, in the spotlight. Throughout the unfolding

events though, it becomes apparent that those committing the violence are just as much outsiders to French society as the protagonists were during their childhood. In both novels, the authors thus relate their personal experiences to a broader political context, or as Louis puts it in an interview on "The state of the political novel" with The Paris Review (2016, May 3rd): "When I wrote it down, I understood that even our tears are political. That's why this book is both a novel and an analysis."

Eribon, in particular, vividly describes how his family and community was socially and economically marginalised during the decades in which the French economy experienced a severe process of de-industrialisation. However, while these tectonic shifts in the creation and distribution of wealth emerged, conservative and "socialist" governments alike increasingly ignored the economic consequences for the French working-class. As poverty seemed to become an inevitability, democracy became meaningless to those who were affected. The reader might be very compassionate with the victims of this dreadful development, would it not have reinforced the culture of violence both authors were confronted with. Today, this aggression has transformed into a paradoxical voting behaviour during French presidential elections in which a significant share of French working-class families wholeheartedly support the right-wing populist, anti-immigrant Front National and their party leader, Marine Le Pen. Eribon and Louis were both raised in families in which this political attitude became the norm and in communities in which working-class voters dissociated themselves from left-wing ideologies and socialist party support.

The authors could not be clearer about how much the racist, homophobic and misogynous attitudes common among the influential characters of their childhood finally made them want to live in a different world; Eribon even calls himself a "class traitor" (Eribon, p. 29), a person who denies his roots due to shame. And yet, in these books, they return to these places and navigate through the violent events of their own past, reflecting on how much their own experience is an example of a bigger picture, of the French working-class and society as a whole.

The way these events are told – how microscopic descriptions of schoolyard violence or shaming for being effeminate (Louis) are combined with macroscopic reflections and theoretical distancing from these events à la Bourdieu, turn these novels into texts of exceptional significance for social science. Both books can also be treated as excellent case studies on a milieu that has long been forgotten by French academics and political elites alike. However, no field researcher being unacquainted with working-class life in provincial towns could ever depict such events with this much authenticity, thorough understanding and wild determination to uncover a meaningful explanation.

Louis was raised in Hallencourt situated in the northern Hauts-de-France region while Eribon grew up in Reims, a town in the north-east of France. The similarity of their stories is striking, especially when their age difference is taken into account. While Eribon is sixty-four, Louis turned twenty-five in 2017, writing his book at the age of eighteen. His experience of schoolyard bullying took place at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, a fact that is specifically mentioned at the beginning of the novel so as to make it abundantly clear that these events certainly do not date back to a time when homosexuality was still a criminal offence or the general public in Western Europe considered it a mental illness at best. In fact, his experience is very recent; the narration begins with a naturalistic description of how someone at school spits at him and how he freezes while being humiliated for his appearance ("You are the faggot, right?" [Louis, p. 5]). Yet this scene doesn't stop there. He gets beaten up:

> "The kicks to my stomach knocked the wind out of me and I couldn't catch my breath…They laughed when my face began to turn purple from lack of oxygen…They didn't understand that it was because I was suffocating that I had tears in my eyes; they thought I was crying. It annoyed them…Insults came one after the other with the blows, and unfailingly I kept silent" (Louis, pp. 7-8).

This story blends into a description of Louis' father's and grandparents' life. The grandfather was a factory worker; a heavy drinker who, when drunk, turned on his wife and beat her up. When he abandoned the family, the grandmother was happy to be freed from his tyranny, even if this meant raising six children on her own. Interestingly, the characterization of Louis' own father starts with a depiction of events which took place when the father was still a child himself, thus emphasizing the mechanism of social reproduction going on in the family. Louis' father had to watch the violent behaviour of his own father and "…stored up his hate in silence" (Louis, p. 11). Much like Louis learned to stay silent in the school hallway, his father likewise kept silent when he himself became a victim of family violence. I'm sure I'm not alone in being reminded here of one of the LGBT Act Up Group's most popular political posters in the 1980s to raise awareness of the terrible consequences of the AIDS epidemic, which simply read: "Silence = Death". An extra line was added upon this poster's inclusion in an exhibition at the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art in New York City, namely: "Be Vigilant. Refuse. Resist". Although at the time, the meaning of the campaign motto was that silence meant physical death, it certainly also alluded to the social death which came along with the disease.

In a similar way to AIDS, which largely determined the afflicted person's social status at the time, the social norms among the communities of the authors' childhoods, especially those promoting an image of toxic masculinity, seem to have determined the social status of those growing up in the world portrayed by Louis and Eribon. It comes as no surprise then that Louis places the topic of his father at the forefront of his book, in chapter two ("My father"). An understanding of the widespread norms underlying society's image of masculinity and

male culture are key to grasping the workings of the intolerance and violence in the two biographies: the idea that "real men" are tough, drop out of school as early as they can, look for a job to provide for the family and gain status in the village by winning as many fights as possible with other youngsters. Likewise, women drop out of school to work and to care for their children, their husband and their parents. Again, Louis demonstrates the continuity of this behaviour with a reference to family history:

> "He [his father] had indeed given up on his vocational diploma at the lycée in order to start working in the factory in the village that made articles out of brass, as had his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather before him" (Louis, p. 13).

Although everything in this milieu appears static, (the social events like the fun fair in the village every September, the choices regarding school and work, the poverty), there are signs of change – even if unorthodox in their nature: for instance, when Louis describes how his father "only" punches the walls of their house, "because it was a point of honour for him never to lift a finger against anyone in his family so as not to be like his own father" (Louis, p. 34). While there seems to be a generally agreed desire for change, no successful strategy is proposed by which it could be achieved. When the father discovers the violent behaviour of Louis' older brother against his sister, and threats against other family members, he finds himself helpless and without the necessary resources to discipline his son. It is as if society's social structure would reproduce violence to such an extent that the parental violence can be rationalized as a necessary tool for the family to establish a minimal discipline among the family members and to protect them from the outside world. This starts with the names the children are given. They are supposed to be cool and reflect the kind of tough behaviour which is expected of them. Édouard Louis' real name is Eddy Bellegueule, hence the book's title – "The End of Eddy" – is a metaphor for a new beginning beyond the norms of the old world of Louis' childhood.

This world has also been torn apart by another fundamental change for which there seems to be no successful coping strategy: unemployment. After many years of work in the factory and carrying heavy weights, the father returns home with back pain due to ruptured discs. He stops working and doesn't return to the work at the factory. The family suffers from economic hardship as attempts to find a new job are in vain and the father increasingly retreats to alcohol. Louis finally escapes from this world by advancing his education; he is admitted to a boarding school, a *lycée* in *Amiens* where his schoolmates have a much more relaxed attitude to him and his homosexuality. The book ends with an epilogue depicting his departure to *Amiens* and a light-hearted line by a schoolmate: "Hey Eddy, as gay as ever?" (Louis, p. 192).

Similar to Louis' novel, Eribon's story begins with a scrutiny of his relationship with his father. His mother tells him on the phone that his father died an hour ago. He comments: "I didn't love him. I never had… The gap that had begun to separate us when I was a teenager had only grown wider with the passage of time, to the point where we were basically strangers" (Eribon, p. 19). Despite this perceived dissociation from his father, his death leads to emotional distress and a consideration of how his father influenced the development of his own life. Eribon concludes that his father had been enormously important, however, he believes only as a "negative social model" basically serving as "…a reference point against which I had performed all the work I undertook as I struggled to create myself" (Eribon, p. 21). Very similar to Louis' depiction of his father he represents a kind of male culture that Eribon wanted to escape from. Thus, he refuses to attend his father's funeral, but visits his mother a day later, finally returning to Reims, the place where he grew up. This gives him the opportunity to remember his childhood family life and to reflect on his decision to leave his hometown.

Eribon moves to Paris at the age of twenty where he encounters a strange dialectic in terms of how he builds his own identity. While he stops being silent about his homosexuality and starts to live as an openly gay man, he begins being silent about his class related origins. As he is used to hiding his true feelings and adapting himself to the expectations of others, his behaviour doesn't really change, he simply starts obeying a different social norm. In both cases the root cause is shame: while he is able to free himself from the shame of being gay, he begins to feel ashamed about the way he was brought up and the social milieu he comes from. One might think that there is something particularly French about this story, after all, there are few places in the world where class related social norms have such a significant impact on the way people behave as in Paris. Despite the French revolutionary tradition, social stratification is upheld by a rigidly closed education system promoting an elite culture which is not much challenged even among the younger generations. Therefore, although it may well be easier to come out of the "class closet" in Madrid than in Paris, this does not narrow the relevance of Eribon's story for social science as it opens an understanding of how social exclusion works in many societies today, especially in contemporary France.

Like Louis' father, Eribon's father was a school drop-out who left school at fourteen and considered it nothing short of a scandal when education was made mandatory until age sixteen. Eribon insightfully observes that the French education system does not stratify by tangible barriers and explicit means of exclusion, but rather by a process of "self-elimination" (Eribon, p.53). People are not actually hindered in getting an education, but they assume that education isn't accessible for them. Therefore, it is difficult from an outside perspective to understand why some people feel trapped in a society which seems to offer so much opportunity. These considerations lay the groundwork for solving the primary puzzle

in this book, namely why it is that French voters coming from a milieu in which it was once common to follow a communist tradition have now turned to support right-wing populism. This is a phenomenon which has spread all over Europe and recently affected Germany, when the right-wing populist *Alternative für Deutschland* gained 12.6 percent of the votes in the 2017 federal election. While many social scientists struggle to make sense of this by analysing voting behaviour, labour markets or education policies, Eribon offers unique insights into the microcosm of families in which the feeling of being excluded from society has been slowly gaining momentum since the 1980s onwards, in his case since François Mitterrand was elected president.

On a theoretical level, he argues that the notion of social class has been eliminated as a basic concept to explain what Habermas termed the latent conflict in late capitalism. By promoting the idea of individual rights and equal opportunity, all sense of class-determined privyleges and disadvantages was lost. Instead, the new paradigm of the socialist party and the conservative party alike became that of the self-empowered individual which is, at least theoretically, free from all class boundaries. Eribon's novel tells us that this idea is flawed. However, the fact that even the left parties support it in modern democracies shows how a gap in political representation has emerged. Those who are still confronting supposedly non-existent class-based disadvantages – those trying to survive on low wage jobs and reduced welfare benefits – no longer have a voice in the public sphere. While such people would previously have found solidarity in working-class movements and left party organizations, today there is no effective form of collective action which would improve societal fairness. As a result, poor people feel ashamed for what they are and how they are judged. Therefore, Eribon explains:

> "Unlike voting communist, a way of voting for the extreme right seems to have been something that needed to be kept secret, even denied in the face of some 'outside' instances of judgement…the former way of voting was a proud affirmation of one's class identity…The latter kind of vote was a silent act in defence of whatever was left of such an identity…" (Eribon, p. 131-132).

These two novels identify the fact that, when silence enters the public sphere, shame is often the most likely cause. Thus, shaming people for being racist, homophobic or misogynous is unlikely to be an effective strategy to deal with their anger as many of the people targeted are already overwhelmed by shame. This cannot be read as an excuse for racism or any other form of violence, but it can be read as a sociological microfoundation for a theory of justice that takes the causes of discrimination as much into account as its consequences. Politically, the ignoring of poverty must be stopped as much as the ignoring of racism and other forms of violence. However, this requires insights into the living conditions of those who discriminate. These novels help us to understand such conditions, which is why they should be read in particular by social scientists and

educators in the field of social science. In fact, the books had such an impact on public debate on prejudice in Germany that the Federal Agency for Civic Education, a public organization promoting civic education for instance by distributing copies at subsidized prices, reprinted Returning to Reims. The copies were sold out in a very short space of time.

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