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## Social Sciences in Higher Education

edited by  
*Jennifer Bruen*

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Using Experimental Methods to Investigate Discriminatory Tendencies: A Lesson Report

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From Teacher-Centred Instruction to Peer Tutoring in the Heterogeneous International Classroom: A Danish Case of Instructional Change

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Liberal Liability. Understanding Students' Conceptions of Gender Structures

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Part II: Insights into Citizenship Classrooms - The Art of Documentation & Description:

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Case Student Yumiko and the Footbridge Construction on the Route 419

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Der fliegende Mensch

*Adolf Reichwein (1937)*

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Human Flight

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Part IV: Commentary:

Teaching Human Rights in Turkey: Commentaries on a Single Lesson from Multiple Perspectives

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## Jennifer Bruen, Tilman Grammes

### Editorial: The Social Sciences in Higher Education

How we see ourselves as teachers is just as important as the competence and insight that we develop over time. It is crucial that as teachers in Higher Education we reflect on and update our practice, monitor and develop our own professional impact, and draw on evidence and research in order to inform our practice.

(Slowey, Kozina, and Tan 2014, 8)

#### Keywords:

Specialised Didactics [*Fachdidaktik*], Higher Education, Transformative Learning, Bildung, Learner-Centred Pedagogy, Critical Pedagogy, Citizenship Education, Documentation and Description, Critical Incidents, Lesson Study

#### PART I: Towards specialist didactics<sup>1</sup> [*Fachdidaktik*] for the social sciences in the Higher Education classroom.

##### 1 Introduction

Specialized journals examine the teaching and learning of the social sciences in Higher Education. These include, for example, the highly regarded *Teaching Sociology*, or, more recently the *Journal of Political Science Education*, *Journal of Legal Education* and *International Journal of Pluralism and Economics Education*, to name but a few. These journals capture a significant amount of knowledge and experience. However, there is little coherence in terms of research and a lack of a well-developed academic sub-discipline around Higher Education in the

social sciences. Furthermore, most of the discourses within the cited journals are located within a US context of college education (Nilson 2003). Thus, it is the intention of JSSE at this point to shift the focus to European discourse on Social Science Education. As such, this issue builds on a previous issue of [JSSE \(2009-2\)](#) in which the focus was on the training of teachers in the social sciences including those involved in the teaching of civics, politics and economics. In particular, [JSSE 2009-2](#) focused on developing the concept of specialized didactics (or *Fachdidaktik*) for the social sciences in teacher training. The purpose of this issue is to continue this debate and the process of developing principles which would form the core of such specialized didactics designed to improve the learning experience of students engaged in the study of the social sciences.

##### 2 “Bildung” and transformative learning

The classical German understanding of the term *Bildung* can be equated with the notion of the transformation of the learner through education or “transformative learning”. The process of transformation [*Bildungsprozess*] differs significantly from the process of learning. According to Hans Christoph Koller (2011), current Chair of the German Educational Association (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft* [www.dgfe.de](http://www.dgfe.de)), while learning can be seen as the acquisition of new information, transformation or *Bildung* is a higher order form of learning which involves a change in the way in which information is processed. *Bildung* involves a fundamental transformation of the whole person, or what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as a change in the socialized norms that guide behavior and patterns of thought [*Habituswandel*], and not just the acquisition of particular competencies. Of significance is also the stimulus for the process of *Bildung*. It can be viewed as a form of reaction to a crisis as a critical incident [*fruchtbarer Moment*] which poses new challenges which cannot be adequately dealt with by existing means. Transformation is associated with what is foreign, what is new and unknown, what has not been previously experienced, and as such disturbs the “taken for granted” perspective and



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the epistemological framework of everyday knowledge. In other words, transformation or *Bildung* results from engaging with discomfort and dissonance (Koller 2011; see also Ricken and Maaschelein 2010).

### 3 Reflection on teaching and learning using case-study research

According to the recent OECD *Institutional Management in Higher Education* study on quality teaching, the vast majority of initiatives intended to support teaching quality address institutions' needs at a given point in time while initiatives inspired by academic research are rare (Hénard 2010, p. 5). This is regrettable. Clearly, short-term practical needs must be addressed. However, changes in teaching and learning should also be research-informed if they are to result in longer term benefits. Therefore, a core principle of specialized didactics for the social sciences in Higher Education concerns the need to empower teachers in the social sciences to gather information relating to their own teaching, reflect on it and communicate the results to their peers. In other words, it relates to a need to enable teachers to view their teaching and its impact on their students as research and to investigate and document it accordingly. This is a particular strength of all four contributions to the first section of this issue.

### 4 Exploring experimental methods: Simulating reality

In their paper, Professor Yu-Wen Chen, of the *Graduate School of Public Policy, Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan*, and her co-researchers, Lena Masch and Kristin Finze, explore the value of "dictator games" or more generally the use of simulations in postgraduate teaching. Chen observes and reports on the impact of their use of such methods to investigate the possible existence of discriminatory tendencies among non-Muslims in Germany towards Muslims. Chen argues at the outset that such experimental methods have distinct advantages over other research methods. Specifically, this paper documents the experimental design, data collection, data analysis and report writing processes and assesses the learning outcomes associated with such an approach. Recommendations as to how the approach might be used to even greater effect conclude the article. For classroom games in economic education see Bostian and Holt 2013.

### 5 The learner as a point of departure

The social sciences are primarily concerned with social interaction and communication by people in the world. Therefore, teaching and learning in the social sciences may be more likely to be impacted by teachers' and learners' understandings and conceptualisations of human beings and the world around them than teaching and learning in other disciplines. As a result, an awareness of such pre-conceptions underpins much successful teaching and learning in this field. This point is highlighted by Linda Murstedt, Maria Jansson, Maria

Wendt and Cecilie Ase of the *Department of Education and the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, in Sweden*. In their contribution, *Liberal Liability: Understanding students' conceptions of gender structures*, Murstedt et al focus on students' pre-conceptions and conceptions of gender structures. Their interest lies in the learning processes at work when students engage with course content which has a gender perspective. In particular, they consider the influence of any pre-conceptions regarding gender equality and inequality on such learning processes.<sup>2</sup>

Operating within a conceptual change framework, Murstedt et al consider students' attempts to offer alternative interpretations of media images of male and female politicians based on explanations other than a structuralist gender perspective, which focuses on gender-based, structural social inequalities. Murstedt et al note in their findings that their students frequently lose sight of the structuralist perspective in their group discussions. Instead, they operate within a liberal paradigm interpreting some of the images as representative of individual discrimination, individual personality or demographics, or individual choice, rather than as a reflection of social norms and structures. Murstedt et al suggest that the automatic adoption of a liberal framework impedes interpretation from a structuralist perspective. They recommend explicit teaching about both frameworks in order to enable students to conduct analysis from more than one perspective. This is an approach supported by Louise-Lawrence (2014) who grapples with similar issues in her classroom and makes similar suggestions in terms of the refinement of pedagogic practice in gender studies.

Enhancing the ability of the social sciences student to view issues from multiple perspectives should be a further key element of specialized didactics in this field. It has perhaps been more developed in the political sciences to date than in other areas of social science education. This is evidenced by use of methods in this field such as *Structured Academic Controversy* or *Structured Controversial Dialogue* in the classroom to enable students to view issues from different angles, to engage in informed debate and to reach reasoned consensus (D'Eon and Proctor 2001; Hahn 2009; Moloney and Pelehach 2014; Zainuddin and Moore 2003). These approaches are gradually being adopted in other disciplines in the social sciences, however, including, for example, in the teaching and learning of languages.

"Learner situatedness" or meeting the learner at their point of departure applies to more than their pre-conceptions in a particular area. It also relates to understanding the diversity of many different kinds present in any university classroom. This includes cultural diversity, different learning styles, backgrounds and expectations as well as relevant prior learning. The ongoing internationalisation of Higher Education has the potential to enrich considerably the learning experience of all



involved. It results in an increased diversity of many kinds on university campuses combined with a proliferation of sometimes radically different experiences of and approaches to learning among students. These range from autonomy-oriented to more teacher-centred modes of learning. This makes it increasingly important that a lecturer be given the tools to assess and manage the diversity in front of them. This is particularly essential as it relates to whatever is the core epistemological framework in their discipline. This diversity could encompass, as in the example above, preconceptions of gender structures or, in additional examples, understandings of the nature of language, and expectations around language teaching and learning (for further discussion, see Sudhershnan and Bruen, forthcoming; Holland, Schwart-Shea, and Yim 2013).

### **6 Ceding control: A learner-centred pedagogy and shifting classroom dynamics in Higher Education**

This principle is core to any pedagogy which aims to engage, disturb and transform the everyday cognitions, thinking and performance of a learner. In their article entitled *From Teacher Centred Instruction to Peer Tutoring in the heterogeneous, International Classroom*, Klarissa Lueg and Rainer Lueg of Aarhus University in Denmark, document a move from teacher-centred instruction to reciprocal peer tutoring (RPL). RPL involves collaborative learning in small groups where the roles of tutor and tutee are interchanged under the guidance of the teacher. Lueg and Lueg track this change in approach over a period of two years on a core “Business Models” module offered on the *Masters Programme in Management Accounting and Control* offered by Aarhus University. In doing so, they have two primary objectives. The first is to provide an example of best practice, for others interested in implementing a similar change. The second is to contribute to an evidence-base regarding the impact of such a change. Despite the inevitable challenges associated with implementing change of this nature, Lueg and Lueg demonstrate how RPL can address many of the difficulties associated with increasingly heterogeneous Higher Education classrooms which display the kind of “multidiversity” or heterogeneity discussed previously, be it linguistic, cultural or psychological. (Jacobson 2012)

### **7 The classroom as a microcosm of the wider world**

According to one of the central tenets of critical pedagogy, the classroom, including the Higher Education classroom, can be viewed as a microcosm of the wider world (Pennycook 1997) in that it is rooted in that world and one of its objectives according to a critical pedagogical approach is to empower students to critically analyse this world and their place within it. In addition, an understanding of critical pedagogy further incorporates the notion that power relations and dynamics present in the wider world are also at work in the classroom.

The contribution by Veronica Crosbie of *Dublin City University* in Ireland, entitled *Cosmopolitan capabilities in the Higher Education Language Classroom*, explores this feature of the classroom in the context of an English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) module entitled “Globalisation and English”. The module was offered to 29 students from a diverse range of countries and disciplines within the social sciences. Using several instruments pertaining to the art of documentation such as focus group interviews, classroom observations, students’ reflective reports, examinations, learning artefacts and presentations generated over the course of the module, Crosbie reflects on the impact of a range of pedagogical approaches designed to develop the awareness, knowledge and attitudes associated with cosmopolitan or global citizenship. The students themselves engaged at a micro level in terms of syllabus and content negotiation, peer teaching and peer evaluation. They also reflected actively on their position in society both in local and in global terms.

### **8 Why the social sciences are different**

While many if not all of the above principles could be related to specialized didactics for fields other than the social sciences, it is argued here that they have particular resonance for the social sciences in Higher Education. As touched upon above, the social sciences are primarily concerned with the study of contemporary society. Therefore, any specialized didactics must remain both dynamic and research-informed in the light of contextual shifts in contemporary society and the ever changing demands being placed on Higher Education and its social science graduates (see for example Teichler 2011). In the words of Craig (2014, p. 33-34), referring to the study of political science in particular:

This creates a particular set of dynamics in the teaching and learning relationship that are not necessarily found, or not necessarily present to the same degree, in other disciplines.

Additionally, borrowing from the arguments of Anderson and Day (2005), which they related specifically to history as a discipline, the social sciences in general are characterised by a wide-ranging focus and a diversity of concerns using a variety of theoretical frameworks. A similar point is made by Rickard and Doyle (2012, p. 359) in their review of the study of International Relations (IR) in Ireland as follows:

... IR scholarship and teaching at Irish universities does not fall under any single hegemonic theoretical, methodological or ideological perspective. Instead, the field is characterised by vibrant theoretical and methodological debates...

Perhaps more than in the natural sciences, there is less agreement on what constitutes the core knowledge or



canon of many disciplines in the social sciences. Research is increasingly clustered around particular issues or methodologies (Engartner 2009). However, questions remain around the implications of this tendency for the novice student and their introduction to the academic study of the social sciences. If we take the area of human rights as an example, it can be perceived as spanning anthropology, law, sociology, social psychology, and history to name but a few. As a result, the design and delivery of a course on human rights is more susceptible to a lecturer's understanding or position on the relevant issues and a student's preconceptions regarding such issues. However, we should note, as Craig (2014) points out, that it would be overly simplistic to directly compare such features of much study in the social sciences, particularly in Higher Education, with an idealized model of the natural sciences as exclusively concerned with the disinterested pursuit of a delimited body of objective knowledge. While, perhaps less obviously than the social sciences, the natural sciences also continue to struggle with the existence of uncertain knowledge and ambiguity.

Teaching and learning in the social sciences, as in all disciplines, is taking place in a context where tensions exist between the desire that a university education should result in transformative, deep learning as opposed to surface or rote-learning on the one hand, and the notion of students-as-customers, on the other (Killick 2013, p. 722) with the inherent danger that a "corporate" view of Higher Education could potentially foster in the student the expectation that the education they have "purchased" should be learned for them or at the very least fed to them in easily digestible, bite-size chunks. The "Bologna process" and the packaging of courses according to the European Credit Transfer System could potentially reinforce this perception (see also Grammes 2009). Indeed, falls in levels of learner autonomy and motivation have been observed for example in the previous edition of JSSE (2009-2). On the other hand, advances in our understanding of the learning process and transformative learning in particular, and a gradual bridging of the gap between the theory and practice of education is reaping valuable rewards in many classrooms.

The contributions to this edition are excellent example of such advances and, in addition, underline the importance of good practice in "documentation and description" (see also JSSE 2014-1), something we also return to in the second part of this issue. Indeed, the importance of engagement with learning and of "learning by thinking about what we are doing"<sup>3</sup> is a recurrent theme in this issue. Similarly, the recognition of the importance of research-informed approaches to teaching in the social sciences offers hope for the eventual emergence, in this field, of coherent, specialized didactics.

It is precisely with such issues that our contributors grapple. The importance of addressing them is difficult to

overestimate given the significance of the social sciences in Higher Education. In terms of numbers alone, given the average numbers of relevant Chairs, a country such as the UK or France could offer between thirty and fifty courses in, for example, political theory, introductions to sociology, or entrepreneurship in Higher Education annually. Our knowledge of what happens in these classrooms remains incomplete. This is particularly true in terms of the variety of outcomes and impact on students and, as touched upon in our introductory paragraphs, documentation and discussion is lacking concerning what could be regarded as best practice.

Our hope is that this issue will promote research and scholarship on the impact of teaching in the social sciences on the learning process and learning outcomes. The contributions to this issue deal with student centered teaching and learning in classroom settings. Undoubtedly, the future of Higher Education will be impacted upon by advances in digital learning (Dougherty and Andercheck 2014). For example, "MOOCs" or Massive Open Online Courses have recently generated much debate (Colbran and Gilding 2014). The Khan Academy movement (Khan 2012) offers home tutoring in the form of short explanatory video clips (*Erklärvideos*) on aspects of the social sciences including macro-economics. Explanatory video clips can be found on Youtube and similar sites, some of excellent quality. Recordings of lectures are being made available on university platforms allowing the student to determine when to view his/her professors' lecture. The implications of such changes for the study of the social sciences at University remain unclear. JSSE (2015-3) will be devoted to the impact of digital tools on education in the social sciences. Contributions could reflect on the use of, for example, e-learning (Freedman 2012), MOOCs, distance learning, international webinars, digital portfolios, instant feedback through interactive classroom response systems (CRS or clicker) (Holland, Schwart-Shea and Yim 2013).<sup>4</sup>



## **PART II: Insights into citizenship classrooms: The art of documentation and description**

The second section of this edition is a continuation of the reflections in [JSSE 2014-1](#) on the art of documenting and describing the political (social studies, citizenship, civics ...) education classroom in secondary schools. It is recommended that it be read in tandem with this edition.

### **1 The “art of seeing” and critical moments in education for active citizenship**

A particular focus is on what Aviv Cohen calls the “art of seeing” or classroom observation, a technique on which both Cohen and Maria Rönnlund, and Kuno and Ikura also report. Cohen, in his article, *Methodological aspects of documenting civics lessons in Israel*, uses it to uncover the impact of a teacher’s conceptualisation of citizenship, and indeed his understanding of his students, on the delivery of a civic education course in a socioeconomically disadvantaged secondary school in Jerusalem. Approaching this task from a grounded-theory perspective, Cohen concludes that the participant teacher’s understanding of citizenship as a concept permeates their teaching. For example, their view of a citizen as ideally a knowledgeable, respectful and discerning individual capable of political engagement when necessary impacts upon their delivery of the curriculum. Cohen’s observation of the civic education classroom in this instance and the materials used by the teacher suggest that it also impacts upon their choice of content within parameters laid down by the national curriculum and the final examination, the *Bagrut*. He argues for the need to sensitise teachers to the possibility of their conceptions of citizenship and indeed, their perceptions of their students, influencing their teaching. Of interest is also the fact that, in his PhD thesis, Cohen (2013) adds thick descriptions of two additional Israeli classrooms.

Positioning her study in the context of Article 12 of the United Nation’s *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, the “participation article”, which states that children have the right to participate in decisions which impact upon their lives, Rönnlund focuses in her contribution on the degree and nature of student participation in decision-making in secondary schools. In particular, she considers the range, depth and breadth of such participation. Range refers here to the nature of the decisions themselves, depth to the actual impact in practice of student participation in decision making and breadth to the number of students involved in such processes.

Reporting on research conducted over the course of a year in three secondary schools in Sweden involving classroom observation and observation of student council meetings, Rönnlund uses “critical moments” [*fruchtbare Momente*] in her analysis of decision-making processes to identify factors which potentially restrict the range, depth and breadth of student participation. These include a lack of communication between teachers

and students, resultant misunderstandings concerning the nature of collaborative decision-making in schools, and some dissatisfaction among the student body with the use of a representative system involving a class representative.<sup>5</sup> Rönnlund proposes several solutions in the conclusion to her contribution. These are intended to create a more socially just school and classroom culture and ultimately to strengthen democratic competencies among the students

To the western educationalist, Japanese secondary school classrooms can appear to be large or even overcrowded. This makes the culture of individuality in such classrooms all the more surprising and disturbs a western pre-conception of collectivist Asia. A strong tradition of the “art of seeing” in Japanese educational culture focuses on observing and documenting the development of the individual child. Yumiko, the star of our next contribution, being one of them. Professor Hiroyuki Kuno of *Nagoya University* and Mr. Go Ikura of the *Ministry of Education* and the *Asahi Secondary School* in Japan focus in *Investigating Society “Close-Up”* on recording and documenting the reactions of a “case-student”, Yumiko, to a unit designed to uncover the attitudes of different stakeholders towards the building of a footbridge over a major road near the school in question.<sup>6</sup>

This approach is commonly used in Japan to evaluate the impact of different teaching units. JSSE started the discussion on lesson study a decade ago (Lewis, JSSE 2004-3). Today, as the wide-ranging references to this article and data from the *World Association of Lesson Study* (WALS, [www.walsnet.org/](http://www.walsnet.org/)) and their journal *The International Journal for Lesson and Learning Studies* (*IJLLS*) indicate, it is gradually becoming more widely used internationally (Olander and Sandberg 2013). The approach permits the documentation of observations and reflections by a case-student which can complement the more overt documentation of the materials used and exercises engaged in by the learners. In other words, it helps the teacher/researcher to gain insights into the internal learning processes stimulated by a unit of teaching. As such, the lesson study approach contributes to the professionalization of the teaching profession by developing the diagnostic competencies of teachers.

Feedback of this nature can be invaluable in refining and enhancing a unit for future classes. The purpose of the teaching unit which is the focus of this study is to develop in the students an ability to view issues from multiple perspectives and to take the initiative in problem solving. As such, the teaching approach is active and student-centered with the students required to interview members of the community and local policy makers in order to uncover differing perspectives on the issue of the footbridge and attempt to find a compromise position. The cognitive thought processes of the case student are documented using diary study and a review of her utterances in class.





### **PART III: Case archive - German political education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

“One Winter, we choose flying as the theme [*Leitmotif*] for our geography classes...” Finally, in our case archive to this edition we present a project report from Nazi Germany: Adolf Reichwein’s “Human Flight” [*Der fliegende Mensch*]. This report causes us to consider the question of whether progressive forms of political education are possible, even under a totalitarian dictatorship. Adolf Reichwein is a relative unknown internationally in the field of education studies. However, in a German-speaking context, he is considered to be a classic educationalist and one of the most significant members of the international progressive education movement of the 20th century. The report *Human Flight* deals with his pedagogical practice in a country school located close to Berlin, the then centre of Nazi power in Germany. His contemporaries were fascinated both by the topic of his report, the view of the planet from “the third dimension”, as it is referred to in the report, and his explicit concern with “the art of documentation”.

In his work, he experimented with photographs and stills and can be seen as a founder of “media pedagogy” or media education as well as “museum pedagogy” or education centering on museum visits. The first commentary by Ralf Schernikau focuses on the internal structure and inner logic of the project report which has its humanities roots in the classic epoch of the Weimar Republic of Herder, Goethe and Alexander von Humboldt. The second commentary by Tilman Grammes adds contextual material, and is aimed at a non-German readership. It is intended to facilitate seminar work with the case/report in teacher education. The work of Adolf Reichwein is highly controversial, one indicator of a true classic.

This particular project report from progressive education within Nazi Germany before the beginning of the Second World War completes our series of lesson documents from German political education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which started in [JSSE 2010-3](#). Taken as a whole, the five contributions constitute an archive which could form the basis for seminar study (see box “case archive”). Comparative educational research in the field of social studies documents the local traditions of teaching and learning cultures and their respective educational narratives. Documentation is the first step in the direction of deeper understanding and research. In this sense, Joan Brodsky Schur (New York, U.S.), Kudret Gürsoy (Hamburg, Germany) and Alper Kesten (Samsun, Turkey) start to comment a lesson on human rights in Turkey for its content and methodology. We encourage all readers of JSSE to contribute similar lesson reports, which can be classified as “classical”, current or controversial. Recognising the unique opportunity provided by one of the first transcriptions of a lesson on human rights to emerge from Turkey (published in JSSE 2014-1), Alper Kesten (Samsun, Turkey), together with three of his students, Selen Kaya, İrfan Erdoğan and Şule

Egüz, Joan Brodsky Schur (New York, U.S.) and Kudret Gürsoy (Hamburg, Germany) provide us with their take on this lesson. Their insights are particularly valuable, coming as they do from very different perspectives. Extrapolating from this single case, all three focus, nonetheless, on such universals as the content and delivery of the lesson, the degree of control and direction from the teacher, national stereotyping and the need for awareness of ethnocentricity, as well as the role of teacher and student more generally. In so doing, they make a considerable contribution to the development of comparative citizenship education.

#### **Case archive**

Lesson reports from German political education in the 20th century (free to download):

##### **1) 1918-1933 Weimar Republic**

##### **Pedagogy of the League of Nations in the Weimar Republic**

How I dealt with the League of Nations with 14-year-old girls from an elementary school (8th grade) in Berlin

(Konrad Götz, 1928. Kommentar: Matthias Busch)

JSSE 2011-2:

[www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1166](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1166)

##### **2) 1933-1945 National Socialism**

##### **Human Flight [*Der fliegende Mensch*]**

(Adolf Reichwein, 1937. Kommentar: Ralf Schernikau, Tilman Grammes)

In this issue

##### **3) 1968 (FRG)**

##### **How to Deal with Party Politics at School?**

(Rudolf Engelhardt, FRG 1968. Kommentar: Horst Leps)

JSSE 2010-3:

[www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1131](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1131)

##### **4) GDR**

##### **Problem Solving in the Classroom: The Fox and the Grapes**

(Elisabeth Fuhrmann, GDR 1984. Kommentar: Tilman Grammes)

JSSE 2011-1:

[www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1152](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1152)

##### **5) Post 1989/current**

##### **The Chestnut Case: From a Single Action to a Broad Campaign**

(Ingo Lokies, FRG 1996. Kommentar: Julia Sammoray, Christian Welniak)

JSSE 2012-2:

[www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1202](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1202)



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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Here the term “didactics” implies “...a notion that captures all the knowledge that has to do with a [University] classroom, and everything happening inside it” (Menck 2000, 3). “*Didaktik* is at the centre of most school teaching and teacher education in Continental Europe, but at the same time almost unknown in the English speaking world.” (Hopmann 2007; cp. Westbury et.al. 2000) The German term *Fachdidaktik* from the continental tradition of didactics (Swedish: *Fackdidaktik*, Marton 1986) has been translated as “subject matter didactics” or, where it relates to the social sciences, “curriculum studies in the field of social sciences/civics”. The term *Hochschulfachdidaktik* used here, a composite term of *Hochschule* (Higher Education) and *Fachdidaktik*, is rare even in the German language. The European *Wergeland Center* in Oslo launched the CLEAR project (*Concept Learning for Empowerment through Analysis and Reflection* formerly known as the *Intercultural Glossary Project*) to provide an online resource for education professionals. It facilitates discussions around such key concepts, as well as methods for the study of concepts:

[www.theewc.org/content/resources/clear.project/https://www.clear-project.net/](http://www.theewc.org/content/resources/clear.project/https://www.clear-project.net/).

<sup>2</sup> The seminal work of Harvard educational psychologist, William Perry, and what has become known as the “Perry scheme” (Perry 1970, Moore 2001) of epistemological change in the beliefs of college students could provide a framework for future research on teachers and lecturers diagnostic competencies.

<sup>3</sup> Or in the words of John Dewey “We do not learn from experience ... we learn from reflecting on experience” [www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/42738.John\\_Dewey](http://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/42738.John_Dewey)

<sup>4</sup> Please see call for papers at:

[www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/announcement/view/12](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/announcement/view/12).

<sup>5</sup> For the purpose of contrast, see the concept of “class monitor”, e.g. in China, as reported by Changqing 2012.

<sup>6</sup> This case can be compared with the relatively similar topic outlined in the “Chestnut Case” (explored in JSSE 2012-2, see Case Archive which concludes this edition.) Such comparison could be used to address questions from the field of comparative cultural research around dealing with conflict in classroom discourse, avoidance of indoctrination, the impact of political culture, be it consensus-based as in Japan or conflict oriented as in Germany, on approaches to controversial topics in the classroom, etc.



**Yu-Wen Chen, Lena Masch, Kristin Finze**

## Using Experimental Methods to Investigate Discriminatory Tendencies: A Lesson Report

Using dictator games in experimental analysis, this lesson report demonstrates the process and results of a postgraduate class project in which university students were instructed to scientifically investigate and explore one of German society's most hotly-contested issues: the level of discriminatory tendencies of non-Muslims towards Muslims. The results of this class project show little or no discriminatory tendencies toward Muslims. Instead, the university students under our investigation tended to act favorably, or at the very least, fairly toward Muslims. We expect that this lesson report can demonstrate how a postgraduate course can be conducted in an innovative way, empowering students to collect primary data and finishing a small scientific project during the span of a semester.

Dieser Bericht stellt die Prozesse und Ergebnisse einer experimentellen Studie eines Postgraduierten-Kurses der Universität Greifswald dar. Wir zeigen, wie Studierende das Thema Migration innovativ untersuchen können, indem sie neben theoretischen Lerninhalten an experimentelle Methoden sowie die Primärforschung herangeführt werden. Anhand eines Diktatorspiels wurden die teilnehmenden Studenten angeleitet, ein in der Öffentlichkeit kontrovers debattiertes Thema wissenschaftlich zu untersuchen: Diskriminierende Tendenzen von Nicht-Muslimen gegenüber Muslimen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie lassen jedoch nicht auf diskriminierende Tendenzen der Studenten schließen. Stattdessen deuten sie darauf hin, dass sich die Studierenden zumindest fair gegenüber Muslimen verhalten.

### Keywords:

Lesson report, dictator games, experimental analysis, Germany, Muslims, discriminatory tendencies

### 1 Introduction

Experimental research methods have been increasingly applied across a wide range of social science disciplines, from ethnography to political science (Kittel, Morton, 2012, p. 1; Xiang, Toyota 2013). In addition, several comprehensive textbooks have been published on the manifold applications of experimental methods in political science (Morton, Williams 2010; Mutz 2011), which provide overviews about various topics that can be studied using experiments.

Although laboratory experiments are often considered the gold standard for establishing causal inference in the natural sciences, they have only occasionally been used in the social sciences, and as an ideal application, have often been regarded as hardly feasible (King et al. 1994, 125; Morton, Williams, 2010, p. 31). However, next to technological developments, due to a rising critique on

observational studies and their shortcoming to allow causal inferences, the application of experiments has been advocated since the late 1990s (Morton, Williams, 2010, 3), and some see a future for political science as an experimental research discipline (Morton, Williams 2010, p. 529). A stronger established approach of experiments can lead to careful methodological considerations that minimize current shortcomings in quantitative political science studies (Schrodt 2013) and improve scientific outcomes.

We argue that experimental methods can offer distinct advantages over other research strategies, but should only be applied after it has been tested and proved to be a favorable strategy to investigate a certain question. Thus, students need to learn about the advantages and disadvantages of experiments, and understand when it is appropriate to employ an experimental method. To date, experimental methods are rarely taught to postgraduate students in political science – almost exclusively at top-ranking American universities – and in most cases only if their lecturers had previous formal training in experimental methods (Myers 2013, p. 13; Morton, Williams 2010, p. 22).

This lesson report aims at providing practical advice on how to teach experimental research methods to students. It documents the process and results of a postgraduate class project taught at the University of Greifswald where students were instructed to design an experiment to investigate students' discriminatory tendencies of non-Muslims towards Muslims in Germany. With a construct known as the dictator game, which is most often used in experimental economics, the lecturer

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led students to measure just how much non-Muslim players are willing to donate to a Muslim firm. From research design, data collection, data analysis, and report writing, students gained hands-on experience in using an experimental method to explore the highly-contested relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in their own society. This report is written by the lecturer of this course, interestingly a non-German, and two of the participating German students who shared the learning experiences.

The pedagogical purposes of this class project will be specified in the next section. The third section of this lesson report is a summary of the literature review which the lecturer led the students to conduct before embarking on their research project. Students were asked to review literature on four theoretical models used to explain discriminatory behaviors toward immigrants, and shed light on how such models can be applied to in-group/out-group bias toward Muslims in Germany. We also reviewed studies that have used experimental analysis to gauge discrimination in ethnic and migration studies, and discuss how such methods can be applied to the research presented here. In section four, we report the concrete research question and hypothesis that the lecturer and the students agreed to work on after class discussion. In section five, we share our experience of brainstorming and finding a valid and innovative research method, design, and dataset. In section six, we present an analysis of the experimental data collected by the students and explore the implications of the findings. Finally, we conclude by discussing what the lecturer and the students have learned from this collaborative learning experience and propose recommendations for future class projects.

## 2 Pedagogical Design and Purposes

Prior to taking this module, most students had no experience with primary empirical research processes, although they had learned theories and research methods in other modules and were able to run statistical analyses of secondary data. In addition, none of the students had been previously involved in experimental methods.

The lecturer had received previous training of experimental methods at the University of Konstanz in Germany and had decided to share this method with the students at Greifswald. While preparing the seminar, the lecturer set two main learning objectives.

The first was to lead students to survey and review current social science literature that explores xenophobic attitudes in various countries and in Germany where the module is taught. There were discussions on the historical background and current development of the hotly-debated relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Germany (Rommelspacher 2004; Fetzer, Soper, 2005; Haug et al. 2009). Even Muslims who immigrated to Germany years or even decades ago are seen as outsiders by German non-Muslims.

The lecturer encouraged students to gain a comprehensive understanding of what has been scientifically done to investigate the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Germany. It is assumed that students are informed of the highly contested issues of Muslim vs. non-Muslim relations in Germany in the public debate (e.g., on TV, in newspapers). However, students might not be aware of what social scientists have and can do to study this issue.

The heart of this class project is based on questioning non-Muslim Germans living in areas where people have little or no social contact with Muslim immigrants to see the extent that they exhibit suspicion toward Muslims. Existing survey analyses indicate a higher level of ethnocentrism in the newly-formed states (*neue Länder*) of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) than in the Federal Republic of Germany, or what used to be called West Germany (Alba et al. 2004).

After the literature review and background study, the lecturer led students to discuss the pros and cons of different research methods to explore “discriminatory tendencies” and asked how they can be applied to evaluate non-Muslims’ attitudes towards Muslims in Germany. In other words, the second objective that the lecturer aspired to achieve was methodological.

Surveys have traditionally been used to investigate attitudes between in-groups and out-groups (McConahay 1982; Kinder, Sanders 1996; Pettigrew 2000; Wasmer, Koch 2003). The most commonly noted concern about surveys is that, at best, they gauge the stated opinions of respondents. However, what people say about their beliefs and actions can be very different from what they actually think or how they behave in day-to-day life.

Moreover, in light of the long-standing emphasis on egalitarian principles in Western societies, respondents might either consciously or unconsciously pay lip service to such principles, which may or may not reflect their inner-most preferences and sensibilities and is known as the principle implementation gap (Kinder, Sanders 1996, p. 92-127 & 291-294; Wasmer, Koch 2003, p. 103).

Experiments thus provide an alternative way to measure discriminatory tendencies. Ideally, experiments would control every variable. In the current case, that would mean that the results (i.e., behaviors induced by the experiment) reflect as closely as possible the genuine level of discriminatory tendencies of non-Muslim German students towards Muslims. In other words, unlike surveys, experiments should not merely measure what respondents self-report, but what their actual beliefs and behaviors are.

As “learning by doing” is the lecturer’s teaching philosophy, the lecturer instructed the students to conduct a small-scale experiment on their own, linking the project to their curiosity of the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in their immediate environment, the University of Greifswald. As part of this methodological objective, the lecturer also had to prepare students to undertake primary research, which



they have not learned in previous courses. For the experimental method, students were thus led to discuss all emerging issues, such as possible ethical concerns that might arise when recruiting participants and using forms of deceptions. The class worked together to find appropriate ways to meet these challenges.

In the following section, we present the “ground work” that the class was led to conduct before they embarked on the empirical investigation. That is, a literature review on theories of xenophobic attitudes, a background study of Muslims in Germany, as well as a review of studies that have been employed in experimental methods to investigate discrimination and trust.

### 3 Literature Review

#### 3.1 Theories on Xenophobic Attitudes

At the outset of this course, students analyzed and discussed scientific articles on discrimination and xenophobia in class. The students believed that this would provide an invaluable basis for all subsequent steps of the primary research process.

In general, there are four models for explaining discriminatory attitudes toward immigrants: competition, contact, frustration, and ideology models. Although these models are easily differentiated, they share one essential feature: their theoretical underpinnings are all based on social group theory. We will now explore the basic aspects of this theory before tying together what are in essence four types of social group theory.

Social group theory is most often utilized to elucidate identity formation. This includes not only personal identity but collective identity in regards to regions or nations. Its assumptions are based on a common idea – the identity-alterity nexus (Guillaume 2007; Roberts 2007). According to the concept of alterity, an identity can only be constructed when the self distinguishes between itself and the other: “Who we are is usually framed as a response to some ‘other’ group” (Fligstein 2009, p. 135). Hence, self-awareness, self-images, and identity can only be formed in a fluid process while the contrasting other is permanently reflected. This also holds true for the formation of social identity because “every group needs an outside perspective to be recognized” (Neumann 2007, p. 19). Due to the ongoing process of social interaction, identities can change over time. However, after a given period, collective identities settle and remain stable for the most part. This appears to be true to such an extent that they can almost be regarded as social facts (Risse 2010, 29).

A collective identity can be exclusive or inclusive. Group identities can coexist with one another as multiple identities. Every collective identity establishes an imagined community. This community is based on “the idea that a group of people accept a fundamental and consequential sameness that causes them to feel solidarity among themselves” (Fligstein 2009, 135). This includes a set of rules and norms that define

membership in the group and frame a collective world view.

The psychology of group membership is commonly applied to memberships in “large-scale social categories like nationality, class, sex, race or religion” (Turner 1982, p. 22). A dichotomous distinction is made between the in-group and the out-group. This divide is first and foremost a neutral operation that does not necessarily imply hostility toward the out-group (Brewer 1999). However, in-group-favoritism occurs consistently (Risse 2009, p. 152).

Many types of experiments, such as field and student experiments, have been conducted and have subsequently shaped the theoretical assumptions of social group psychology. By using economic incentives, experiments have shown that participants tend to favor their own group, prefer cooperating with other participants from their own group, and are more likely to be suspicious of members of the perceived out-group (Ruffle, Sosis 2006, p. 147).

The in-group/out-group distinction is often used to explain prejudices against ethnic or religious minorities because in modern nations, they typically form the out-group. Within a nation, a perceived cultural threat to the dominant nationality can amplify prejudices into discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes (McLaren 2002, p. 554). This fear is assumed to threaten either national resources or the dominant cultural way of life (Bobo 1983). Such a perceived threat strengthens the feeling of belonging within the dominant group and increases hostility toward the minority. These notions of social group theory are closely tied to the competition model. In situations of a perceived economic threat, induced perhaps through high unemployment or economic crisis, attitudes toward immigrants become more hostile. It has been argued that this perceived threat is felt more strongly by low-skilled members of the working class than those with higher socioeconomic status, as the former are more likely to compete directly on the labor market against immigrants (Alba et al., 2004).

Alternatively, the contact model argues that the number of contacts people have with immigrants is a crucial indicator of discrimination or xenophobia (Allport 1954). In this case, a higher degree of contact is associated with fewer xenophobic attitudes. Conversely, people who do not share a common living environment or any other type of contact with a particular group of immigrants are more likely to develop discriminatory attitudes toward them (Pettigrew, Tropp 2006).

A third model, the frustration model, states that given particular social and economic situations, a certain level of frustration among members of the dominant social group can be expected to lead to a rise in xenophobic attitudes toward minority groups. As a social out-group, this particular minority is blamed for the unfavorable state of the country or the state of social deprivation felt by people in the dominant group. Hence, the minority is



functionally cast in the role of scapegoat for the dominant social group.

Finally, the ideology model is strongly based on the in-group/out-group nexus, whereby the crucial difference between the in-group and the out-group is constructed around their ideologies. The ideology model is often used by populist right-wing politicians who proclaim the general beliefs and values of the in-group, and insist that the out-group are incompatible and that social integration is doomed to fail. The caveat of the ideology model is that it over-emphasizes the differences between the in-group and the out-group, negating the fact that despite their differences, there can still be common characteristics.

### 3.2 Muslims in Germany

There are a variety of immigrant groups in Germany, such as guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*), third-world refugees, and other ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*). The lecturer had planned to lead the students to focus on attitudes toward Muslim immigrants in their project because the debate in recent years about their integration into German society far outstrips any similar public debate about other immigrant groups, which has been fuelled by populist views such as Sarrazin's (2010).

We should note, however, that it is often unclear to whom the phrase 'Muslim immigrants' applies. For this study, the class decided to utilize a broad definition that includes all immigrants who are avowed members of the Islamic religion, without any reference to the strength of their commitment toward their religion. They may have a Turkish or Arabic background, they may have arrived as guest workers or refugees, and they may be second or third generation immigrants.

According to the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*), there are approximately 3.8–4.3 million Muslims in Germany (Haug et al. 2009, p. 11). That makes Islam the third largest religion in the country. The variation in concentration of the Muslim population between the old West German states and the newly formed East German states is dramatic: 98.4 percent of Muslims in Germany reside in the Western states, while only 1.6 percent reside in the newly-formed states of the East.

Muslim integration into German society is analyzed in terms of structural, cultural, and social integration, in addition to a number of other dimensions. There is ample literature on this theme (for example Hein 2012). Most of these findings can be put under the rubric of the contact model. Empirical studies attempt to analyze how strong the contact of Muslim immigrants is to other social groups in light of self-segregation in a so-called 'parallel society', which is perceived as the greatest obstacle to successful integration.

Furthermore, the competition and frustration models have gained wider acceptance by virtue of recent findings that show right-wing attitudes increasing since the start of the recent economic crisis. Right-wing and

nationalist attitudes are most often connected to in-group-favoritism and out-group-hostility. Hence, these findings have given rise to concerns that economic crisis exacerbates xenophobic attitudes toward minorities like Muslim immigrants (Decker, Brähler 2010, p. 95).

However, the most widely supported explanatory model regarding the integration debate is the ideology model. Populist right-wing politicians frequently emphasize and construct differences between Muslim immigrants and the rest of the German population. They stigmatize and generalize Muslims as being religious fundamentalists (Rohe 2011, p. 23). By doing so, they oversimplify the heterogeneity of Muslim immigrants and foster prejudice. Furthermore, superficialities, such as headscarves, are depicted as Muslim symbols with a political dimension representing anti-democratic values (Şeker 2011, p. 16).

As the foregoing demonstrates, there is theoretical and empirical support for all four explanatory models. All point to the fact that discrimination toward Muslim immigrants is likely to occur in Germany. The following sub-section shows how experiments can be used to study these topics.

### 3.3 Experimental Methods in the Study of In-Group/Out-Group Bias

The theoretical session of lectures provided an overview of various experimental methods (e.g., field, laboratory, and natural), their specific designs (e.g., economic games and Solomon four-group designs), and their applications to human behavior in social science disciplines (e.g., behavioral economics, social psychology). The lecturer led the students to design an experiment around the use of dictator games, and referred the students to previous such experiments. For instance, scholars have already used experimentation to study ethnic discrimination in Israel (Fershtman, Gneezy 2001), racial discrimination in South Africa (Burns 2006), and linguistic segmentation in Belgium (Fershtman et al. 2005), but few have used experimentation to explore ethnic discrimination in Germany (Klink, Wagner, 1999). To the best of the lecturer's knowledge, no method of experimentation specifically dedicated to investigating the schism between Muslims and non-Muslims in Germany has been utilized. However, such an approach could be fruitful for exploring these issues. As previously noted, experiments can assist us in isolating the genuine beliefs and behavior of subjects. To a certain degree, this might remedy flaws in surveys that only consist of the voluntary responses of interviewees, which at best gauge the respondents' opinions. Indeed, even during an experiment, participants may not behave according to their inner preferences, but to socially-desirable norms, particularly when they know they are being observed. This concern cannot be completely dispelled. However, while there is no foolproof social science approach to sifting out a respondent's inner and outer reactions, an experimental approach can strengthen the validity of findings. It is in





this manner that the lecturer expects the experimental approach to speak to current survey analyses.

#### 4 Research Question and Hypothesis

After the students finished the literature review, they were led to choose a research question and propose hypotheses. The class decided to have a research question that focuses on student populations: Do non-Muslim students demonstrate discriminatory tendencies toward Muslims in the newly-formed states of East Germany?

It is posited that non-Muslims in East Germany will show discriminatory tendencies toward Muslim immigrants because first of all, as various studies have shown, individuals tend to favor in-group members over out-group ones. This is true even when group affiliation is ‘artificially’ created, or even when the two groups are not in competition (Sherif et al. 1988).<sup>1</sup> Beliefs in Islam and the backgrounds of the migrants initially differentiated Muslims from non-Muslims in Germany. Historically, non-Muslim Germans have tended to perceive Muslims as members of the out-group.

According to contact theory, in areas where there are fewer social contacts with Muslim immigrants, such as in East Germany where the university is located, discrimination exhibited by non-Muslims toward Muslims is expected to be higher.

However, one has to keep in mind that university towns usually attract students from afar and in the case of Greifswald, this includes students who originate from multicultural cities such as Berlin and Hamburg. Hence, the student’s background is crucial to determine whether the contact hypothesis can be applied.

The frustration and competition models also support the hypothesis. As Alba et al. (2004) anticipate that a dire economic situation in the East (compared to the West) could have been cause for a higher level of ethnocentrism in the newly-formed German states, although other demographic variables (e.g., age) cannot be ruled out. Following the competition model, highly educated and socioeconomically well people are less likely to show discriminatory tendencies. In summation, the class posits that non-Muslims will show suspicion toward Muslims and this applies to students, even though students are less likely than other social groups to show discriminatory tendencies.

### 5 Methods and Data

#### 5.1 Solomon Four-Group Design

To explore whether non-Muslims treat Muslims differently than other groups, we used the dictator game. The game involves non-Muslim players who split a fixed amount of money, in our case two euros (10 x 20-cent euro coins), between her- or himself and a fictional Muslim partner who is a ‘passive’ player without any decision-making role. If the amount allotted to the passive player is affected by her or his Muslim immigrant

background, this would be an indication of the presence of discrimination (Fershtman, Gneezy, 2001).

To better capture the effect of discrimination against or in favor of Muslims, we used a Solomon four-group design, consisting of two experimental groups and two control groups. The first experimental group included a pre-test and a post-test of the dictator game (Table 1). In the pre-test, a non-Muslim was asked to decide how much she or he would be willing to donate to a businessman who was in need of capital to set up a firm in Hamburg.

Table 1: The Solomon four-group experiment

EG-1	Random assignment →	Pre-test →	Receive experimental treatment: briefing →	Post-test
CG-1	Random assignment →	Pre-test →		Post-test
EG-2	Random assignment →		Receive experimental treatment: briefing →	Post-test
CG-2	Random assignment →			Post-test

Source: Adopted from Carlson and Hyde (2003, 284)

After the pre-test, the non-Muslim player received an experimental treatment: a fact sheet with details about the entrepreneur and his business plan. In this fact sheet, the entrepreneur is characterized by an obviously Arabic name (i.e., Kamran Althani), a picture of an Arabic businessman, and the fact that he holds a degree in industrial engineering. In addition, the planned firm was described as an import-export company marketing fair-trade coffee products.

After the briefing (i.e., treatment), the non-Muslim player is invited to the post-test game. The same procedure that occurred in the pre-test game is repeated. The player decides how much she or he is willing to offer the passive player. The suggested monetary split is then carried out. Up to now, the entire procedure constitutes experimental group 1. Next is the first control group, conducted in the same manner as the experimental group 1, except that the active player receives no data on the passive player (i.e., no experimental treatment) (Table 1).

Both groups constitute a classic experimental design in which both the experimental and the control groups are pre-tested. The weakness of the classic design is that the players in the experimental group might be sensitized to the experimental treatments they receive. In other words, if they are not pre-tested, they could pay closer attention to the briefing data. For the purposes of controlling this interactive effect between the pre-test and the experimental treatment, the lecturer suggested to the class to use a Solomon four-group design. In essence, the Solomon four-group design adds a second experimental group that also receives the treatment, but is not pre-tested. Accordingly, in this second experimental group, there is no interaction between the pre-test and the experimental treatment. Finally, a second



control group is added that is neither pre-tested nor treated. This group is only post-tested to take account of the potential interactive effect between the control group pre-test and the control group post-test (Table 1). Overall, the Solomon four-group design adds two additional groups to boost the internal validity of the experiment.

It can be assumed that if the participant has a tendency to discriminate against Muslims, she or he would dispense less money in the post-test than the pre-test. The treatment in the experimental groups should result in a larger difference between pre- and post-test donations compared to the control group. Lastly, the average amount invested in the post-test game of the second experimental group should be less than that invested in the related control group.

## 5.2 Operation

The experiment was held at the University of Greifswald. Greifswald is located in the East German state of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania (*Mecklenburg Vorpommern*), the population of which is only 0.1 percent Muslim (Haug et al. 2009, p. 107). The possibility of playing the game with people on the street had been discussed, but was considered too time-consuming, labor- and cost-intensive, and unlikely to result in a representative sample. Hence, the class chose to play the dictator games with students at the University of Greifswald. The lecturer proposed a possible experimental design based on a dictator game set in a Solomon four-group design. The students were convinced by its clear advantage – the possibility to test the internal validity – and in a second step, were then encouraged to further plan, conduct and evaluate the experiment as a group effort. Each student contributed to different parts of the project such as the stimulus and questionnaire design or analysis, while all students participated in the data collection and analysis. The convenience sample of this study represents a relatively homogeneous group with certain characteristics (e.g., highly educated and skilled laborer), and the students hoped that they could draw inferences from their specific sample population (Kam et al. 2007, p. 420).

We recruited participants using the University's e-mail system which allowed us to send an invitation to all students of the University. In addition, we advertised the project by talking to students, for example, on their way to the canteen. We decided to apply only a very light form of deception of our research interest by advertising that a postgraduate course wants to undertake a political science study and searches for participants. We offered participants an incentive that they could win one of three Amazon vouchers to the value of 20 euros. A group of students designed the recruitment letter that informed the participants about the context, aim, and duration of the study. Each participant's informed consent was ensured prior to the experiment.

In this process, students perceived the design of the stimulus as the largest challenge. They debated intensively about the information they wanted to share with the participants, and opted for information about the company and gave the entrepreneur a specific high-skilled background to avoid typical stereotypes about low-skilled immigrants. Hence, they tried to measure latent discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims.

Due to financial and time limitations, a pilot study was not feasible. However, students undertook a small test run with a limited number of participants prior to the experiment in order to evaluate whether the experimental design needed adjustment (e.g., whether the participants understood the instructions). This pre-experimental training was vital for students to learn how to behave coherently during the experiment, and helped to minimize any 'interviewer effect' in the actual experiment. After the experiment, participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire that gauged their backgrounds. In the end, the students were able to gather a dataset that included a total of 151 participants.

The dataset contains information about the amount of money donated in the pre- and post-tests, as well as data about gender, age, education, residence, religion, and the participants' views on fair-trade and their preference for coffee to control for the use of a fictitious coffee company. Overall, the dataset contains 17 variables. A group of students entered the data into Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS), double-checked their entries, created a codebook, and distributed the dataset and codebook to the other students. Afterwards, students worked together to run an analysis and practice interpreting the results. In the end, each submitted an individual research report.

## 5.3 Debates about Limitations of the Experimental Design

In this module, students were also led to debate over the potential limits of their research design, sampling, and method. Sampling was particularly contested among the students. In the end, students agreed that conducting an experiment with students at a university in East Germany can be understood as 'theoretical sampling'. This implies that this social group is least likely to show discriminatory attitudes toward Muslims. Among all the federal states, the absolute number of foreigners who live in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania is the smallest by far, with 30,068 in 2010 according to the Federal Statistical Office (*Bundesamt für Statistik*) (2013a). Data on the number of people with immigrant backgrounds is only given as an aggregate for the newly-formed states (*neue Länder*) of the former GDR, which is dramatically lower than the number of foreigners and citizens with immigration backgrounds in the 'old states' (Federal Statistical Office 2013b).

Hence, contact with Muslim immigrants might be limited in a city like Greifswald, but students at the University of Greifswald have diverse origins from across



Germany (see Table 2). This means that the contact hypothesis does not necessarily apply to them. Moreover, it is logical that students with relatively higher levels of education would be the least likely societal group to develop discriminatory attitudes. If a lack of trust toward Muslim immigrants is found among students in East Germany, then it is very likely that we will find even higher levels of suspicion in other East German social groups.

Numerous studies have been based on student samples within the social sciences, especially those based on psychological research (King et al. 1994, p. 125; Henrich 2010). Their predominant goal is to establish internal validity; therefore, external validity is only of secondary concern to them. However, student convenience samples can pose a threat to the internal validity because students have very different characteristics than the average person (Hooghe et al. 2010, 85). For instance, experiments in international relations showed in comparison to military elites, students apply different decision making strategies (Mintz et al. 2006, 765). Therefore, concerns about the internal validity are addressed prior to the limited external validity, which is often regarded as the weakness of experiments (McDermott 2002, p. 334).

Because student samples are highly contested, the research question and objective are crucial for determining whether students are an appropriate sampling base (Kam et al. 2007, p. 416). According to Kam et al. (2007), three cases exist in which student samples are appropriate: first, students are the underlying population; second, no reason indicates that students differ from non-students regarding the subject matter; and third, student samples can provide a critical test for the research hypothesis (Kam et al. 2007, 420-421). The latter reason is the one on which we build the case for students as a ‘theoretical sample’.

Besides theoretical implications, a student sample offers another advantage over other convenient sample populations – it facilitates experimental realism (Druckman, Kam 2011, p. 51). In contrast to mundane realism, experimental realism is necessary to generate a situation in which participants show their true intentions because they act without concerns of social desirability. This is particularly relevant for economic games such as our dictator game in which monetary transfers are made. For students, experimental realism can be generated by offering significantly lower amounts of money compared to other social groups (Druckman, Kam 2011, p. 51; Guala 2005, 33-34; Friedman, Sunder 1994, p. 39-40). Hence, the students decided to apply the idea of theoretical sampling to our study.

It is also worth noting that the class was constrained by lack of finances. Thus, it was only possible to use a convenience sample. Discussing the issues around a suitable sampling frame, students learned that drawbacks are inherent in every research method, and even “experiments are not a panacea for all

methodological concerns” (McDermott 2002, p. 340). Therefore, students were advised to carefully reflect possible threats to internal and external validity, when designing an experiment.<sup>2</sup> One way to achieve a higher level of external validity could be obtained by cross-validations had we the resources. We will mention this point again at the end of this lesson report.

The class spent a significant amount of time debating the inferences that could be obtained from our student sample and analyzing feasible alternatives, such as a convenience sample with the inhabitants of the city, Greifswald, while bearing the impact on other biases in mind. Playing the game on the street could also introduce a selection bias, because the working population might be less likely to be found on the streets during the day. Hence, it is extremely difficult to obtain a sample which is representative for the whole population when faced with limited resources. However, it remains interesting to lead students to explore how residents in a city of few Muslims would react to and treat a Muslim in the experiment, particularly in comparison to a student sample as we theorized the possibility of a heterogeneous treatment effect. The outcome could be very different from the behavior of students, as we suspected a higher impact of the contact and frustration hypotheses. Hence, our findings are in a sense likely to underestimate the impact of discriminatory tendencies that would occur in the general population. Nevertheless, non-responsive-rates can be high when recruiting non-student participants for experimental studies.

After considering and debating the aforementioned issues, the students decided that they believed in the value of a student sample and opted unanimously to proceed to use the student sample to test their hypotheses (Kam et al. 2007, p. 420; Flyvbjerg 2006, p. 230).

Table 2: Greifswald student population in Summer 2010, when the experiment was conducted

Categories	Numbers	Percentages
German students from new states	7129	61.14
German students from old states	2871	24.62
German students from Berlin	1091	9.36
Foreign students	569	4.88
Total number	11660	100

Source: [www.uni-greifswald.de/informieren/zahlen/studierende.html](http://www.uni-greifswald.de/informieren/zahlen/studierende.html) (accessed 4 November 2013)

## 6 Analysis and Discussion

### 6.1 Descriptive Analysis of the Participants

Eighty-two participants (54.3 percent) were female, whereas 69 participants (45.7 percent) were male. The vast majority (140 participants, or 92.7 percent) reported Greifswald as their current residence. About 143 participants (94.7 percent) were born in Germany and 145 participants (96 percent) were German citizens, while five (3.3 percent) were foreigners and one (0.7



percent) had dual citizenship. In addition, only 12 participants (7.9 percent) had an immigrant background.

The low percentage of students with immigrant backgrounds reflects first of all, that students with immigrant backgrounds are underrepresented at the University. Second, fewer people with immigrant backgrounds live in the newly-formed German states. Forty three participants (28 percent) reported that they were from West Germany, while 97 (64.2 percent) grew up in East Germany. Moreover, the majority (87 participants, 57.6 percent) had no religious affiliation, followed by Evangelical Christian students which comprised almost one-third (47 participants, 31.1 percent) and eight participants (5.3 percent) who were Catholic. Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and other religious affiliations were very poorly represented, making up only 1.3 to 2 percent of the participants. The high percentage of atheists is typical for this newly-formed German state, and indicates the enduring influence of the communist GDR. A cross tabulation of religion and the German state of origin suggests that all atheist students are from the *neue Länder*.

Most of the students were unfamiliar with taking part in empirical studies, with 135 participants responding that they had never participated in such a procedure (89.4 percent). Therefore, most participants were less likely to strategically contaminate our experimental result.

Furthermore, a number of descriptive statistics were assessed to account for the design of the treatment. About one-fifth (29 participants, 19 percent) opposed fair-trade, 6 participants (4 percent) had no opinion on fair-trade; while the vast majority favored fair-trade (116 participants, 77 percent). In addition, 53 participants (35.1 percent) disliked coffee, whereas 98 participants (64.9 percent) liked coffee. We will discuss whether these variables affected the outcome of our experiment in the next two sub-sections.

## 6.2 Experimental Outcome

We expected that the average post-test values across the experimental groups would be lower than the average post-test values across the control groups. The results contradict this expectation (Table 3) and indicate an opposite effect with mean post-test values of €1.06 and €0.98 for the experimental groups and only €0.74 and €0.85 for the control groups. After receiving the treatment, the average donation increased by approximately 30 cents to €1. This implies that our treatment – the passive player’s Muslim immigrant background – had a positive effect on post-test values. As posited, no difference between the pre- and post-test values was observed in control group I, which ensures internal validity of the experiment.

Due to these unexpected findings, we discussed methodological shortcomings in class and the students were encouraged to undertake further statistical analysis individually in order to investigate these counterintuitive

findings. Students undertook one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and regression analysis, which found the difference between the experimental and control groups to be statistically significant (Table 4). Students who received prior statistical training presented the results to their fellow classmates and explained their interpretation.

Table 3: Descriptive pre- and post-test values

Items	Groups	N	Mean	S.D.
EG-1	Pre-test	41	0.72	0.49
	Post-test	41	1.06	0.52
	Difference	41	0.33	0.48
CG-1	Pre-test	38	0.77	0.56
	Post-test	38	0.74	0.55
	Difference	38	0.00	0.16
EG-2	Post-test	39	0.98	0.57
CG-2	Post-test	33	0.85	0.63

Table 4: Regression Analysis of difference between pre- and post-test

Variables	Coefficient
Treatment	0.324** (0.083)
Age	-0.008 (0.0145)
Gender	0.066 (0.087)
Fair-Trade	0.050 (0.044)
Constant	15.425 (28.754)
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.158
F	4.66
N	79

Note: Standard error in parentheses, \*\*p<0.01

In addition, students tried to explain the unexpected outcome by accounting for treatment groups and participants’ characteristics such as age, gender, and attitudes towards fair-trade (Table 4). Recalling the previous sub-section, there was no stark variation among participants in terms of age, nationality, current residence, or place of origin. As a result, these variables had no significant impact on the difference between pre- and post-test values. Because these variables showed an insignificant impact and the treatment assignment was the only significant factor, the students had lively debates about the theoretical assumptions, stimuli design, and questionnaire design as possible pitfalls.

The result rejects the hypothesis, but is in line with the theoretical sampling of the study: discriminatory attitudes were not detected among students in East Germany. As mentioned earlier, discriminatory attitudes



are least likely among our sample group. Hence, detecting discrimination would have been cause for great concern, whereas our finding confirms the assumption that students are less likely to discriminate against Muslims. This outcome also offers the positive prospect that students are unlikely to be negatively influenced by populist views, which were raised throughout Germany's immigration debate. This confirms previous findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests the importance of education as the best way of preventing discriminatory attitudes.

### 6.3 Possible Noises

Due to the opposite outcome of what the students hypothesized, they were strongly engaged in a debate about possible pitfalls and threats to the internal validity that could have biased the results. The following issues were discussed.

The aforementioned descriptive analysis of the participants' attitudes toward coffee and fair trade shows that players lean more toward favoring them. Even though the regression analysis indicated that attitudes towards fair-trade had no direct impact on the outcome, one can speculate that detailed information (i.e., the treatment) increases the general tendency to give more money to the businessman.

Future experiments should have a control group in which the same information is presented, but without the photo and name of the entrepreneur. By doing so, participants will be more likely to imagine a similar entrepreneur but who belongs to the dominant social group. In addition, a third set of treatment and control groups could be introduced to present a different type of businessman and apply a typical cliché of the low-skilled entrepreneur. Moreover, a fourth possibility is to give only the names of the entrepreneurs and leave out any additional information about the business. Hence, those additional experimental and control groups are highly suitable to narrow down the causal link.

Moreover, it is worth noting that in the 79 pre-tests, the majority (23 participants, 29 percent) chose to split the two euros equally. In the 151 post-tests, the majority (44 participants, 29 percent) also chose one euro for her- or himself and one euro as a donation to the businessman in Hamburg. This result could be a product of the Hawthorne effect: knowing they were being observed, the participants opted to give equal amounts of money to demonstrate fairness. The concern for the principal implementation gap is not only evident in self-reported surveys but also evident in experimental analysis. It may have been preferable for the final answer in the post-test (i.e., the amount of money the participant wishes to donate) to be given during the self-administered questionnaire in a sealed envelope to reduce the interviewer effect (Bryman 2008, p. 218), rather than having participants openly express their donation amounts, as was done in the current case.

## 7 Conclusion: What We Have Learned from This Class Project

### 7.1 Academic Lesson

We expected students to exhibit more suspicion of Muslim immigrants, but found that they appear to exhibit no discriminatory behaviors toward Muslims. By and large, they act favorably or at least fairly toward Muslims. Hence, the findings rejected our stated research hypothesis and our theoretical assumptions about the student sample. Although the generalizability of the results is limited, students might, indeed, be less likely to show discriminatory tendencies. This leads us to further assume that the magnitude of discriminatory tendencies varies among social groups in Germany and is not distributed equally throughout the whole population.

Further investigation and experimentation into German attitudes toward Muslims is strongly recommended. The question of what constitutes a better method for investigations remains an intriguing one. As we noted, surveys, particularly when people are directly asked for their opinions, are prone to bias, as the issue of social desirability enters into the equation. Furthermore, they can only be used to establish correlations – not causality. In order to establish a strong causal link, there is great merit in adding the element of experimentation, as we suggest has been demonstrated here. While the internal validity of this type of method may be high, greater costs and a lack of access to specific social groups to achieve a representative sample often make experiments difficult to introduce.

Our investigation suggests that future survey research studies into in-group/out-group bias would greatly benefit from incorporating an experimental element. With the advent of the Internet and improved online surveying, there has been growing interest in survey experiments as part of research design (Gaines et al. 2007; Mutz 2011; Sniderman 2011). The design of survey experiments consists mainly of a survey, with an experimental treatment (e.g., the biographical sketch of the businessman we used) added to the mix. These surveys can be easily conducted online and combine the advantages of both research designs, which is establishing high internal as well as external validity. This technique is being increasingly used in the fields of political science and sociology, and has even been applied to the study of attitudes surrounding the issue of immigration in the United States (USA) (Hainmueller, Hiscox 2010). Thus, such online survey experiments are recommended for future investigations into discriminatory behaviors toward Muslim immigrants in Germany, particularly because they can easily be conducted as part of a postgraduate course as described by Kam (2013). Due to budget constraints, such survey experiments can be undertaken with student convenience samples using university email systems as a recruiting tool, and software such as Qualtrics, Survey Monkey and LimeSurvey can be used as free demonstration copy in an experiment with a smaller



scope (Kam 2013, 9). To achieve a convenience sample that is not solely based on students, Amazon's Mechanical Turk has been used in postgraduate courses and recent studies (Kam 2013, 9; Berinsky et al. 2012). However, its application is limited to the USA and requires financial resources.<sup>3</sup>

Another recent development to achieve a wider convenience sample is the use of Facebook to advertise a study (Samuels, Zucco, 2013). This approach can be a relatively affordable means to recruit participants with various backgrounds and allows stratifying the sample (Samuels, Zucco, 2013, p. 12). Furthermore, free software (z-Tree) has been developed to conduct computer-assisted economic experiments more easily (Fischbacher 2007). Hence, technological developments will continue to facilitate the use of experiments in social sciences; therefore, students need methodological training in experimental research to adequately employ these tools.

## 7.2 Pedagogical Lesson

The lecturer assessed whether the two learning objectives were met primarily by the research papers that each student submitted at the end of the module. The lecturer was delighted to find that each student presented a well-structured scientific report. They recounted in detail what they had learned in the literature review, what they did in the experiment to collect the data, and further, offered statistical analysis of the data and commented on their findings. Each student also reflected on the limits of the project and indicated room for improvement. Due to the hands-on approach and active involvement, the students were empowered to take responsibility for the project and conducted the experiment with a high level of motivation. Moreover, they were encouraged to collaborate in the publication of the results, which is increasingly relevant for postgraduate students who aspire to a career in academia.

It should also be mentioned that the lecturer had considered the students' prior experience of this subject when designing the module. From the process of designing the experiment to actually carrying it out, the lecturer observed that students were highly engaged in their project which showed that they had a sound perception of their learning situation. Encouraging the students to submit a fully-developed research paper also allowed the students to reconstruct and recount their learning experiences. Overall, the lecturer believed that the two main learning objectives were met.

Given the limited time and financial resources of this class, the learning experience for students was comprehensive. Doing their own project improved the students' ability to understand and to analyze other scientific articles, methods, and research projects. Students believe that they learned a great deal about experimental methods in this module. Furthermore, the project improved their knowledge of the relationships

between Muslim and non-Muslims in Germany and how they can answer questions in an empirical scientific manner. Involving students in all stages of a research project also increases their engagement and motivation. Because students had to consider and conquer each step from the conceptual design, data collection to the analysis in collaboration with their classmates, they were exposed to a wide range of possible pitfalls. Hence, this research experience has well-equipped the students for any kind of primary data analysis, which could include a thesis project or even a career as empirical social scientists.

As for areas for improvement, the students and the lecturer agree that it might be better to have two modules in the future. The first would focus on teaching the theoretical underpinnings of the project, thus paving the way for a subsequent research seminar that would focus on planning and running the experiment. This would give students more time to learn and develop. In addition, this could enable the class to conduct a second experiment as cross-validation with students from another university or a different convenience sample that is not based on students.

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#### **Endnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> We are aware that some recent studies have presented counter-evidence to in-group favoritism. For instance, Güth et al. (2005) found no significant signs of in-group favoritism in their German subjects. Yet, there are quantitatively more findings in support of the in-group favoritism theory.

<sup>2</sup> Various possible threats to internal validity and external validity as mentioned in academic textbooks (see Bryman 2008, 38-39) were considered. However, due to the space limitations of this lesson report, we do not elaborate further.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore, we do not recommend it for universities which cannot offer financial grants to students. In the above mentioned case, each student received a research fund of \$220 to collect data using Mturk at Vanderbilt University (Kam 2013, 9).

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Veronica Crosbie

## Cosmopolitan Capabilities in the HE Language Classroom

This study, concerning the development of cosmopolitan citizenship, draws on theories of human development and capabilities (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2000) from a social justice perspective, where individual wellbeing is articulated as having the freedom to live a life of one's choosing. In the context of an English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classroom this involves paying attention to pedagogical strategies, power dynamics and curriculum content as a means of developing valued beings and doings (or capabilities and functionings as they are described in the literature). Sample activities are presented and evaluated to see to what extent they achieve the desired end. These include critical pedagogical interventions, students' artefacts and extracts from focus group interviews, class reports and reflective journals. Results from the textual data offer research evidence of successful curriculum change, demonstrating that the learning that takes place there can make a difference: in terms of the learners' identity development, capability enhancement and cosmopolitan citizenship.

### Keywords:

Capabilities, cosmopolitan citizenship, critical pedagogy, globalisation

### 1 Introduction

In this paper I present the workings of an English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) class in an institute of higher education in Ireland, demonstrating pedagogical approaches that are designed to assist learners to develop the awareness, knowledge and attitudes associated with cosmopolitan citizenship. These pedagogies concern tolerance, respect, social justice, interculturality and human capabilities, and focus on quality of life issues such as democracy, participatory freedoms and agency. Using a critical participatory action research (CPAR) approach, I see to what extent the learning that takes place there can make a difference: in terms of the learners' identity development, capability enhancement and agency.

Critical pedagogy is central to this case study, in which the classroom, according to Pennycook (2001, 138), is viewed as:

...a microcosm of the larger social and cultural world, reflecting, reproducing, and changing that world (...) but also as a place in which social relations are played out and therefore a context in which we need to directly address questions of social power.

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Linked to the notion of critical pedagogy in this study is one espousing a cosmopolitan world-view with a philosophy that favours global social justice. In Appiah's (2006, 168) words, cosmopolitanism means "intelligence and curiosity as well as engagement" with global social issues, where "contamination is seen as a counter-ideal to cultural purity" (111). Cosmopolitanism posits a particular notion of global citizenship: as a means of "building an ethically sound and politically robust conception of the proper basis of political community, and of the relations among communities" (Held 2005, 10). Building on this, Papastergiadis (2012) points out that there are no records that prove the existence of a cosmopolitan society; however, through the ages, "the concept of cosmopolitanism has continually surfaced as a term to express the basic idea of human unity and a harmonious form of universal governance" (Papastergiadis 2012, 81).

Nussbaum (2002a) indicates that there are three arguments to put forward in favour of education for cosmopolitan citizenship: a) the study of humanity is of value for the development of self-knowledge; b) a focus on world citizenship acts as a counterfoil to partisanship, e.g. allegiances to local factions; and c) a *kosmou politês* stance is intrinsically valuable, recognising what is fundamental to human beings, namely, "their aspirations to justice and goodness and their capacities for reasoning in this connection" (Nussbaum 2002b, 8). In her vision of an ethically sound educational programme that fosters cosmopolitanism, she posits three central capabilities to realise this goal. These are: 1) critical examination; 2) affiliation, also referred to as global citizenship; and 3) narrative imagination. The first capability concerns cognition and critical thinking, the second relates to the ties that bind us to fellow humans, and the third involves the ability to understand and engage with other ways of



being in a more visceral manner, through the process of engaging with the arts, including literature, poetry, cinema, art and theatre.

In the Irish context, citizenship education is included in formal learning curricula at primary and secondary level, in the case of the former through the subject called 'Social, Personal and Health Education' (SPHE), and in the latter through 'Civic, Social and Political Education' (CSPE). While educators welcome the addition of these programmes, criticisms have been levelled at the way in which they are taught. For the most part, citizenship education is learnt as a discrete subject and is not incorporated in a student-centred curriculum (McSharry 2008); it is also accorded the status of a marginalised subject (Jeffers 2008; Bryan and Bracken 2012).

When students move from second to third level education, they no longer experience a curriculum that is planned centrally by a state body. Nor do they study a module or programme that is taught to every student across the university campus. Their curriculum is designed around the aims and objectives of the specific discipline they have chosen; it is, therefore, quite possible that they may never be expected to contemplate issues such as citizenship values, agency or human rights agendas unless a particular lecturer chooses to present her course drawing on such frameworks. On the other hand, in a survey of civic engagement activities in Institutes of Higher Education (HEIs) in Ireland, there is evidence of "moderate to substantial acknowledgement" of civic engagement as reported by 75% of institutions surveyed (Lyons and McIlrath 2011, 16). Civic engagement activities are understood to include: service learning, community engaged research, volunteering and community-campus partnerships. While specific examples are cited across the board from the different HEIs participating in the survey, again, as in the case of primary and secondary level education, these activities appear to take place "over and above" the normal requirements (e.g. community-based teaching practice in Sligo, the Uaneen module in DCU (Ibid, 21)). Many of the activities focus on local or national contexts, appearing to ignore the global dimension. The case study presented here explores the workings of a HEI classroom, in which this dimension is foregrounded.

A construct that is central to this study based on an undergraduate language classroom is learner identity. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research has been enriched by the addition of social psychological, post-structural and critical dimensions, which have transformed our understanding of the identities of language learners, from that of being part of the traditional dyad of *native* versus *non-native speaker* to a scenario that situates learners in a power imbued social context in which language and cultural difference is negotiated (Block 2007, Norton 2000), and from an understanding of the language learning process as residing primarily in the cognitive, or psycholinguistic

domain, to one where the sociocultural perspective takes central position (Swain and Deters 2007). Accounts of identity development in an educational context aspire to the notion of the enhancement of human possibility (Norton 2000). Here we can see a strong link with the capabilities approach and its focus on the centrality of education as an enabler of other capabilities. According to Leach and Moon (2008), teachers who adopt empowering roles raise students' awareness of future possibilities and see the importance of supporting and building learners' self-esteem and identities.

Current understandings of identity construction (Block 2007; Norton 2000; Pennycook 2001) describe the range of variables that affect and shape identities. These include gender, ethnicity, nationality, language, age and class; all characteristics that play a major or minor role in the individual's life depending on the context and discourse settings the individual finds herself in and the identity attributes that are called into play. As discussed, education plays an important role in identity formation and it was with this notion in mind that I engaged in the action research documented in this study.

In the next section, I describe the context of the case and summarize its key features. This is followed by a brief overview of the methodological approach adopted. I then discuss the learners' engagement with the theme of globalisation and provide sample activities, followed by a discussion of findings from the study. This is complemented by a set of questions for further discussion.

## 2 Case description

The study was conducted in the academic year 2005-2006 in the University of Dublin (UD)<sup>1</sup>. UD maintains strong links with industry and commerce and modules offered tend to be applied in nature, that is, they deal with a subject in relation to how it might inform learners' future careers. In the HEI sector internationally, as well as in Ireland, an overarching focus on funding, budget allocations and strategic plans as a means to enhance competition paves the way for the rhetoric of the marketplace to embed itself in institutional structures. It is in the context of this new-managerial environment that I attempt, through pedago-gical intervention, to create a dialogue in favour of a values-led society that looks to humanistic concerns as an answer to the neo-liberal agenda, a society based on the concept of cosmopolitanism, with a vision of a "peaceful co-existence of peoples" (Cousin 2006).

### 2.1 The module

The module of learning, ENG06 *English and Globalisation*, was originally designed for international students studying Business, and included learning aims such as CV writing, preparing for interviews, and report writing. As module coordinator, I was in the position to make changes to the course content and learning outcomes and I chose to redesign the module, placing an



emphasis on critical pedagogy and globalisation over a more instrumental, skills focused approach. The teaching practice thus shifted from a single focus on skill acquisition to one that used the target language to teach content. This way of teaching is in keeping with the pedagogical approach known as *Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)* (Coyle 2007).

The course content, globalisation, was framed by an epistemology founded on social justice. The learners were called on to be active agents, both at the micro level of the classroom, negotiating syllabus content, designing and delivering classroom inputs and conducting self- and peer evaluation on an ongoing basis, as well as at the macro level of contemplating their differing roles in society, both at local and global level.

The module aims were adapted to include the items listed in Figure 1 below:

- To develop a deeper understanding of processes and issues concerning globalisation;
- To develop fluency and accuracy in the four language skill domains of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing in the context of the topics: a) globalisation, b) language and intercultural learning;
- To foster group work by identifying common goals and working towards individual & group aims;
- To work with an electronic version of the European Language Portfolio (LOLIPOP) and thus to assist learner autonomy by conducting self-assessment and goal setting exercises, as well as reflecting on the language and intercultural learning process.

Figure 1: Revised module aims

The associated learning outcomes, according to the module descriptor, were similarly adapted as per Figure 2:

- To be aware of motivating and organisational factors that affect learning
- To be an efficient manager of own learning
- To be able to comprehend complex scenarios relating to globalisation
- To be able to express ideas in a complex manner in speech and writing
- To be able to plan, develop and execute an interactive session on a topic related to globalisation
- To be able to learn from and assist peers through collaborative teaching and learning

Figure 2: Revised module learning outcomes

### The module assessment tasks

The mode of assessment of the module was continuous in nature rather than by formal written exam. In the year when the study was conducted, the assessment was divided into three components: a) critical peer-teaching, b) written reports, and c) group oral discussion. These assessment activities took place in the latter half of the semester, with the oral component scheduled for the week after the end of the semester (Fig 3).

#### ASSESSMENT DETAILS

**Task 1: 45' Interactive group session 40%**  
In groups of 3-4 you will plan and conduct an interactive session on a topic of your choice related to the theme 'Globalisation'.

As part of this session, you can choose to work with the following media: PowerPoint, Overhead slides, blackboard, videorecorder, taperecorder, internet; and choose from the following activities: presentation; jigsaw reading; vocabulary tasks - crossword puzzle, hangman, wordwebs, collocation, lexical sets, cloze test; class discussion; debates; questionnaire; worksheets... comprehension questions, true/false, multiple choice, test your students, draw pictures, design posters, role play, etc.

Your session will be assessed according to the following criteria:

- content
- relevance
- clarity
- interactivity
- entertainment
- individual contribution\*
- use of English\*
- body language, ability to communicate\*

Asterisk (\*) denotes individual criteria

Assessment load: 40% (20% group; 20% individual)

**Task 2: Reports 40%**

Each group will write 4 reflective reports, one as a collective group and the others on an individual basis:

a) Group report: reflective assessment of own interactive session (as teachers) 25%

Group of 4 students: 2,000 words; Group of 3 students: 1.500 words

b) 3 individual reports: reflective assessment of three other sessions which you have participated in (as a learner)

250 words for each individual report; each worth 5%  
Each report will be graded according to the following criteria:

- Content
- Clarity
- Use of English
- Ability to critically reflect

Task 3: Oral reflection on learning 20%  
You will be expected, in groups of three, to reflect on the learning that is taking place throughout the semester for module EN103. This will include reflections on the following:

- Globalisation
- Intercultural competence
- Use of LOLIPOP and learner autonomy
- Working in groups
- Planning and giving class presentations
- Impact of learning on self
- Other
- 

Criteria of assessment for the oral component include ability to summarize and reflect on learning as well as to engage with interlocutors through the medium of English.

Figure 3: Assessment details

When I say that this approach is a move away from a 'skills-focused' approach, I should add that this does not mean that skills were no longer part of the learning agenda, quite the opposite. Skill development such as researching, critical thinking, presenting, active listening and team building, which one might find on any list of transferable skills associated with career orientation, were embedded in the teaching and learning agenda. However, the students also engaged in activities associated with capability development such as critical examination, affiliation and narrative imagination; the three capabilities that Nussbaum (2006b) considers to be central to cosmopolitan learning in higher education.

## 2.2 The students

The module was available as an English language option to international students and was offered as a core module for students from Nishi University<sup>2</sup>, Japan, who spend an academic year in UD as part of their degree programme. The module ran in the spring semester over a period of 12 weeks and comprised three hours of face-to-face teaching per week in addition to independent study time. In the academic year when the study was conducted, the enrolment for the module was 29 students, with a breakdown of nationalities as follows (Figure 4):

Austrian	1
French	6
German	1
Japanese	15
Nigerian	1
Spanish	5

Figure 4: Students by nationality

The cohort comprised a gender ratio of 21 females to 8 males with an age range of 19-25. The students were drawn from different academic disciplines including Anthropology, Business, Communications, Law, Linguistics and Literature. The fact that globalisation, as a theme, is arguably salient to all academic disciplines meant that the course content operated as a unifying force in this multicultural group in addition to the other strands of the module, i.e. learner autonomy and the English language.

## 3 Methodology

The research inquiry at the centre of this study, based on a critical theory perspective, could be viewed as a quest for social transformation in that it begins with a language-learning classroom in which students are encouraged to deal with cosmopolitan ideals, giving rise to a possible scenario where engagement with the world is shaped by social justice. It is an approach that is qualitative in nature and is underpinned by a constructionist epistemology (Crotty 1998). It can be viewed as insider-practitioner research or, equally, as a form of *interrupted* critical participatory action research, in that one particular cycle in an action research model is foregrounded. Figure 5 depicts the different stages that formed the action research cycle in the period in question. These include: reviewing the module as it stood, with its skills-based focus; working with new sets of ideas informed by research; making plans for change, including the addition of critical and participative elements; implementing the changes; monitoring developments and collecting textual evidence; reflecting on practice and textual evidence in the light of further research; preparing transcripts and reflecting further on the process, with a view to making modifications for the next cycle.

The overarching research question that I used for the study asked: "In what ways can the language classroom be seen to contribute to the formation of learners' cosmopolitan and learning identities, which affect their capability to live and act in the world?" This question was supported by a set of ancillary questions dealing with themes related to capabilities, cosmopolitan identity, autonomy and agency, practitioner identity formation and curricular considerations (Figure 6)



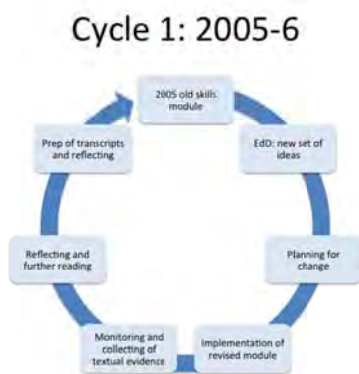


Figure 5: Action research cycle

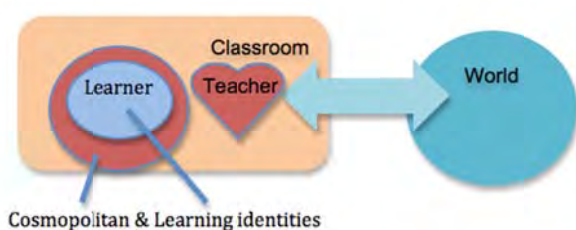


Figure 6: Research question conceptual frame

Research was conducted over the course of the semester. It comprised a mixture of texts, including a mixture of: focus group inter-views, classroom observations, students' reflective reports, end of semester oral examinations, learning artefacts, presentations and homework assignments.

My role as practitioner researcher meant that I was with the students consistently throughout the semester and had opportunities to observe classroom practice when the spotlight was not directly on me. As the nature of the pedagogical practice was task based for the most part, this gave me many opportunities to observe how the students interacted with each other and went about their work. My practice was to observe and later write up field notes. As I got to know the students reasonably well as the semester progressed, this made the task easier. However, my perceptions of what was going on for the students would never have been enough through observation alone. The pooling together of other methods such as the focus groups, orals, reports, journals and artefacts all helped me to create a *bricolage* of senses, ideas and meanings.

During the action research cycle outlined above, a lot was happening: some, all at the same time. For example, planning, reviewing, revising (on an on-going basis, especially as I had made a complete change to the module), teaching, observing, assessing, collaborating, interviewing, discussing, creating, collecting, reading, evaluating, mentoring, and catching my breath to go teach another class.

As the semester progressed, I monitored events, noting any rich points of learning that were arising and the culture that was developing in this particular community of practice. However, I allowed some time to lapse before I began to systematically work with the material and do a textual analysis. In the meantime, I set to work on researching the theoretical constructs underpinning this study and only came back to do a full write-up four years later. During this time, I had taught the same module three times over, on each occasion gathering fresh insights, modifying my practice and working in a manner conducive to a typical action research spiral.

As I was focusing on the original cohort exclusively for this research, I realised that these other iterations would have to be left to the side; however, the experiential knowledge I had gained through these subsequent years helped to filter the analysis to some extent. The distance also helped me to make the familiar feel strange and allowed, I would argue, for a more dispassionate interpretation of the texts.

At first view, it all appeared to be quite banal and as I would have expected: no eureka moments in sight. On closer examination, and especially through the lens of theories and writers I was engaging with, the texts soon revealed hidden details that I had previously been blind to. For example, until I had read Leach and Moon's (2008) account of pedagogy that, like art, should shock us out of our everyday comfortable lives, I had not noticed the amount of times students used the very word "shock" in their peer assessment reports, for example with regard to the session on child labour.

In advance of carrying out my first action research cycle, I followed ethical guidelines laid down by the University for dealing with human subjects. This included the construction of a Plain Language Statement and a consent form for participants to sign. While my research would not be classified as "high risk", on the other hand, my dual role of teacher and researcher added a layer of complication that needed to be acknowledged, especially given the inherent power dynamics of the situation (Crosbie 2013). I was aware that as their teacher, I would have to grade the students at the end of the semester; I therefore had to be mindful of potential bias creeping in from either side.

In addition to the above, it is important to emphasise the fact that the study is to be viewed as *intrinsically* ethical, in both its conception and design. Ethical discussions are a substantive element of the work, and are not reducible to simple legislative ethics statements. Examples of this ethical perspective can be seen in the choice of method used (critical participatory action research), in the module design and engagement with and between learners, and in the theoretical constructs chosen to investigate the study.

#### 4 Course Design

When asked about their previous knowledge of globalisation, many of the students mentioned that they



had already studied the subject, both in Ireland and in their home countries. However, they often qualified their statements by expressing a level of dissatisfaction with their studies. They said that they had only looked at surface issues, that they knew the 'vocabulary' of globalisation but not the reality behind the words. Some mentioned that they had studied globalisation from a particular angle in the past, for example, looking at the economic context in relation to transnational companies in a business context, or the impact of globalisation from a Japanese perspective. In such cases, wider views encapsulating social, cultural and political dimensions had not been addressed. When analysing focus group interviews and oral exam transcripts on the subject, four dominant themes emerged: a) unexamined positive connotations; b) living with the ubiquity of globalisation without having expertise on the subject; c) the impact of globalisation on national and local culture; and d) the experience of studying globalisation in a multicultural environment away from home.

#### 4.1 Tutor-led topics and activities

In the *Globalisation* module, I wanted to theorise concepts of cosmopolitanism with the students: to make them aware of personal, familial and local allegiances and juxtapose them with national and global ones; in so doing, observing threads of critical consciousness and agency, in a Freirean sense, and how these could bind people together through a vision of social justice. This was addressed by working on material in the students' immediate environment, such as postcards, newspaper reports, *Fairtrade Fortnight* activities, personal drawings related to individual and national themes, videos concerned with fair versus free trade (e.g. The Dollar a Day Dress, BBC), as well as formal lecture inputs concerning social, political and economic aspects of globalisation. Where possible, the students were encouraged to be active and agentic, for example concerning consumer patterns of behaviour, and they were expected to work in multicultural groups in different formations throughout the semester, sharing and exploring themes cross-culturally and through the target language, English.

#### 4.2 Student-led topics and activities

A key aspect of the module, which acted as a complement to the study of globalisation *per se*, was the pedagogical approach adopted whereby the students taught each other in peer-teaching mode. This was done in two steps: a) a set of short group presentations on global bodies, approximately fifteen minutes each; and b) a longer, interactive session lasting forty-five to fifty minutes, with a different group cohort focusing on an aspect of globalisation of the students' own choosing. The first set of presentations did not form part of the assessment but was used, rather, as a means of giving formative feedback. The students were encouraged to develop critical lateral thinking by following de Bono's

(2009) model, highlighting a) positive, b) negative and c) interesting points related to their chosen topic.

#### 4.3 Short peer-presentations

The short peer-presentations were designed with a number of aims in mind: to get the students used to working with each other in collaborative groups; to study, in some depth, major global bodies that have an influence on the balance of power; and to give them the opportunity to present in English in front of their peers. They brainstormed global bodies and came up with a list that included: Amnesty International, G8, International Monetary Fund, UNESCO, UNICEF, United Nations, World Bank and World Economic Forum.

I have selected one presentation as an example of best practice: the case of the United Nations. In it, it is clear that the peer-teachers had taken on board the key instructions: to be informative, interactive and critical. In the following sample slides, they presented their information in quiz mode (Figure 7):



Figure 7: Short peer-presentation: United Nations (1)

The students enjoyed this interactive mode and gave answers to the questions and cloze test without hesitation. The peer-teachers had done research into some of the problems that are associated with the UN, such as the issue of the exclusive nature of the power of the veto or the influence of lobbies on decision-making



bodies, and they presented them for the class to consider (Figure 8).

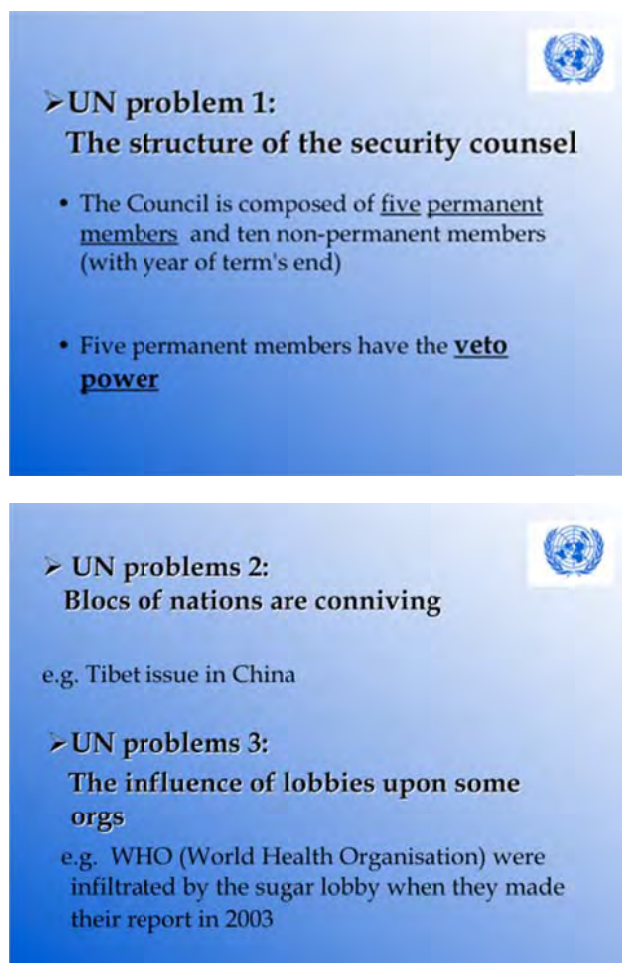


Figure 8: Short peer-presentation: United Nations (2)

In the feedback sessions, we looked at ways to improve presentation skills, being especially mindful of the receivers of the message, the power of visuals and the use of the face-to-face encounter as a powerful conduit of “intersubjective interchange” (Bruner 1999:12).

In a journal reflection during the semester, Mayuko wrote about her experience of doing research for her group presentation on the International Monetary Fund (IMF). She mentions that, previously in Japan, she had studied the IMF but only on a surface level. She wrote:

“Before I started my research I had never even thought that there were objections [to the IMF]... [In Japan] I’ve just learned the surface of a large amount of things so I’ve not understood deeply even one thing...so it was very hard to read a lot of information and understand them but I was grateful that I could have a chance to study about a thing deeply. I don’t think I’ll forget about the IMF.”

(Student Reflection, 15 March 06)

#### 4.4 Long peer-presentations

Preparation for the full-length critical peer-teaching sessions involved a re-grouping of students, again

making sure that each group was composed of different nationalities, as well as a new selection of topics to teach. A list of possible topics was drawn up through brainstorming and the students were asked to go away and think about what they would like to work with. In the next class, topic choices were finalised and the groups set about preparing for their sessions. We had discussions on what makes a class interesting, how to involve everyone, what level to pitch the material at, and how to make the exchange of ideas and information both informative and entertaining. It transpired, through texts collected throughout this study, that most students were accustomed to a pedagogical environment where rote learning or, at most, “learning from didactic exposure” (Bruner 1999:9) was the norm, both in Asian countries and throughout Europe. In one of the focus group interviews, Sebastian said he had welcomed the opportunity to have a say in what would be learned in the module, rather than following a prescribed syllabus, as per usual:

**Sebastian:** It was really interesting to reflect, just to reflect on some background and on some topics like ethnicity and so on. And I think it was good that there was no fixed topics that were provided [or] input, [or that] we had to learn something and we had, ... yeah, really to learn and to give it in the end by an exam. But [instead] we had just to reflect on something and to think about it ... I think it’s a good approach to learn something and to deal with some topics.

(Focus Group 2a: 2)

Before the students commenced the peer-teaching, they were shown a set of criteria that would be used to assess their sessions and each group scheduled a tutorial with me to discuss lesson plans. Many groups displayed a high level of creativity in their work and ideas. As well as the ubiquitous quizzes and close-tests, they conducted mini surveys, made short vox-pop videos, used films for didactic exposure (for example *Supersize Me* and *Salaam Bombay*), deconstructed images and text and built up a narrative tension in their presentations through songs, images, role-plays and debates.

Eight groups were created for the longer peer-presentations. These were based on ethnic and gender criteria to achieve as much group diversity as possible. The students chose the following themes: Child Labour, Drugs, Ethnicity, Fairtrade, McDonaldisation, Sport, Transport, and World Music. I have chosen three topics to discuss briefly here: Child Labour, Fairtrade and McDonaldisation. These were the sessions that were most popular, according to the peer assessment reports.

##### 4.4.1 Child labour

The peer-teaching session on child labour was perhaps one of the most profound of all the classes taught, and acknowledged as such by many students in their peer-assessment reports, e.g. “I believe this was the most



shocking and unforgettable presentation given by the class” (Harumi), “Today’s presentation on Child Labour was the most interesting one so far I think. Mayuko, Airi and César managed [...] to fascinate the whole class” (Sebastian).

As a witness to this “rude reality” (Laurent) session, I watched how skilfully the student teachers drew connections between the topic and the students’ lives, making them feel empathetic and connected to the young children they portrayed. At times there was a palpable hush in the room, and many students appeared to be brought close to tears as they witnessed the lives of these vulnerable children.

They drew first on their peers’ knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon, guided by prompt questions, and then juxtaposed the students’ life experiences with those of the children, victims of globalisation and inequities in society. The following PowerPoint slides, taken from their presentation, are examples of this mode of pedagogical enquiry (See Figure 9 below), where a connection is being sought between the learners and the knowledge being constructed.

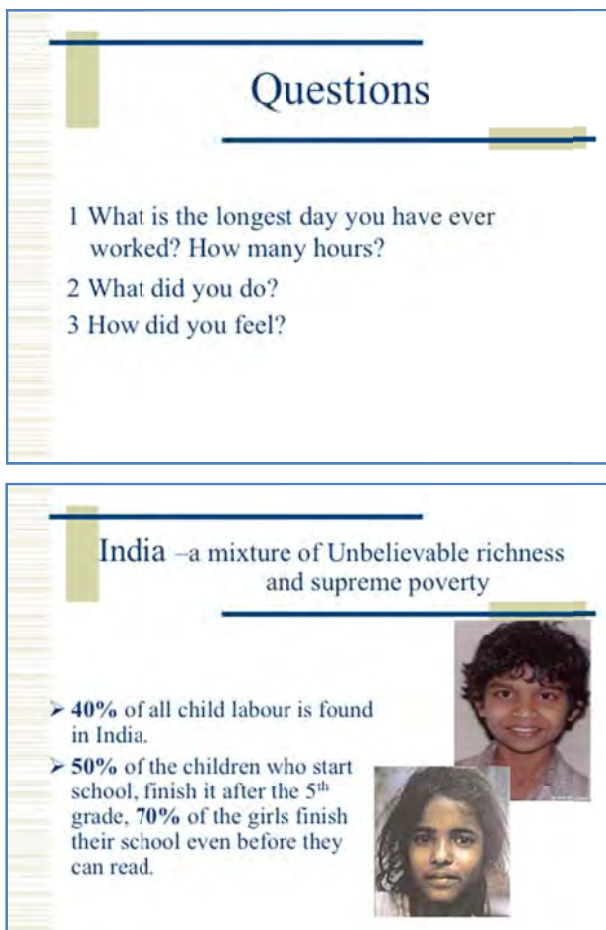


Figure 9: Child labour peer-presentation

In the course of their session, they presented extracts from the film *Salaam Bombay* (Nair 1988), together with a worksheet with pre/ while/ post-viewing activities, as well as presenting facts and figures on the subject and

outlining agencies at work to combat child poverty. César, one of the peer-teachers, had a friend who worked for an Irish Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), called Trócaire.<sup>3</sup> He taped an interview with him, which he played back to the class. The timetabling of the Child Labour session coincided, fortuitously, with a Lenten campaign being widely promoted in Ireland at the time to combat child poverty. The peer-teachers drew on this to show that what was being discussed in the classroom was also being debated in society in Ireland. The closing activity was taken from the Lenten appeal, where students were shown that they could take action themselves to alleviate the suffering of victims of child labour by filling in a “dream card” which would be sent to a targeted group of children. See Figure 10 below.

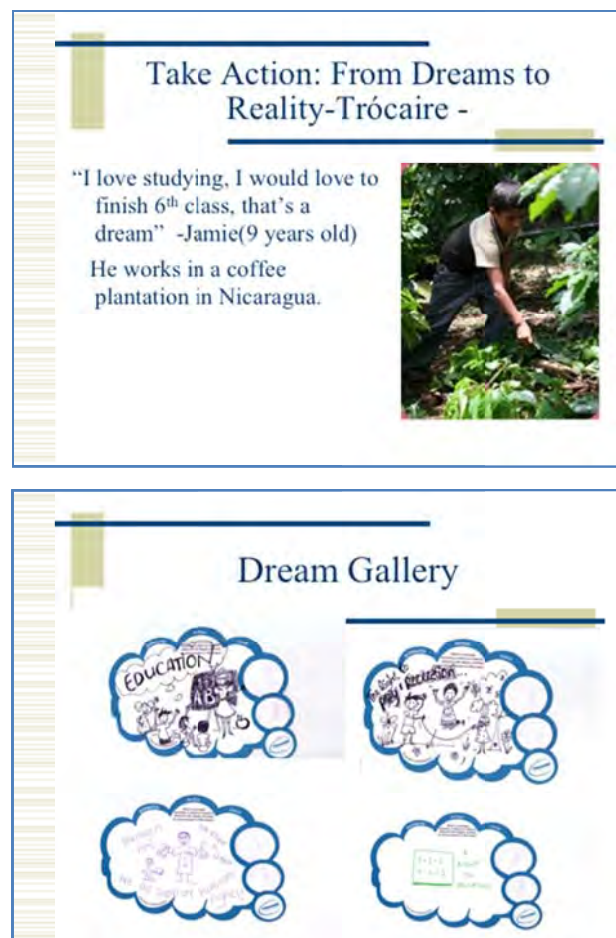


Figure 10: Extract from child labour peer-teaching presentation

Over the course of the focus group interviews and orals, students often spoke about this lesson on Child Labour. It was also positively evaluated in the individual peer-assessment reports. Harumi’s report, represented in full below, reflects well the feedback from peers on the session:

**Child Labour**

I believe this was the most shocking and unforgettable presentation given by the class. Although the topic itself was sensational enough, [...] the way that they presented the topic, alone, was special. They expressed the points clearly and

concisely. Although at the beginning they couldn't show us their movie, they recovered from this shock quickly and the rest of the speech was quite smooth.

Most astonishing was, I think, the case studies they presented in the middle of their presentation. Rather than listening to some statistics or graphs, it is much more effective to express a point with examples of real children's situations.

Their photographs on screen were also effective visually and especially informed us of the fact that, despite our differences we all share the same earth and are not only paper statistics.

Another aspect of their presentation that I found notable was their ability to make the topic tangible. This was achieved through examples that stimulated thought. For instance, their discussion of coffee prices revealing the minimum benefit gained by the producers, who only earned 5% of the final sale price.

And finally, they provided picture-drawing activities where we were encouraged to draw our own feeling and impressions to hopefully provide these children with a message of solidarity. These pictures will be sent to the children by UNICEF.

As a conclusion the presentation was comprehensible.  
(Harumi, Individual Peer-assessment report)

The Child labour presentation can be seen as an example of a "disruptive" pedagogy, which Schwabenland (2009) describes as:

... a metaphorical device, using associative, metaphoric or poetic logic to promote the possibility of transformations in students' underlying belief systems through creating a rupture in the hitherto taken-for-granted in which wonder and empathy may be experienced and new perspectives considered.  
(Schwabenland 2009: 305)

It thus draws on emotional capabilities, the other side of the coin of rationality. These capabilities are often neglected in education, especially at the level of higher education. We are exhorted to develop critical thinking skills but seldom emotions or emotional resilience (exceptions include Nussbaum 2010; Walker 2006). The students in this study often describe their learning from an emotional perspective: how course content, working in groups or doing a peer-teaching session made them *feel*. For example, in relation to the peer-teaching sessions, Moe says: "but this time we really cared about how people react and how people would think about this topic..." (Focus group 2a: 4). In the context of pedagogical power, these emotions are vital (c.f. Freire 2005; Leach and Moon 2008; Walker 2004, 2007).

#### 4.4.2 Fairtrade

The Fairtrade peer-teaching session was also very popular with the students, partly because it linked well with and built on class discussions that had taken place during the first half of semester, e.g. Dollar a Day Dress and Fairtrade Fortnight, and also because the students took a lot of care and attention, once again, to make the connection between the theme and students' lives. They used a quiz methodology for constructing knowledge

(Figure. 11), and the students themselves created many of the artefacts (Figure. 12).

**Question 3 of 7**

3) Who said: "before you have finished your breakfast this morning, you will have relied on half the world".

- a) Martin Luther King
- b) Woody Allen
- c) Winston Churchill
- d) Margaret Beckett

**Answer 3**

- a) Martin Luther King
- Cornflakes, orange juice, coffee, bananas are likely to have been sourced from developing farmers
- most of them are exploited by the unfair power balance in the world trade.

Figure 11: Extract from Fairtrade Peer-teaching Presentation (1)

They created a video where they interviewed a number of students on campus about their awareness and knowledge of the Fairtrade movement, asking the same set of questions to each informant (Figure. 13). The video was very professional with captions, soundtrack and humour and the students appeared to be captivated by it, as was I.

**How do you recognize Fair Trade products?**

Question: Which coffee is the Fair Trade product?

- A 
- B 



Figure 12: Extract from Fairtrade Peer-teaching Presentation (2)

Some extracts from the peer-assessment reports consolidate these comments on the Fairtrade session, as follow:

From the beginning of this course I have been interested in the relatively new concept, Fairtrade. It was the first time I heard about Fairtrade and I did not know much about the system of Fairtrade. So, the presentation was really helpful for me to understand the condition of the third world and why Fairtrade is important. Besides, I could connect the presentation with what I have known about Fairtrade.

(Makiko)

The first point is having used a lot of quiz as activities. It worked well to wake up attention of class and make them have an interest in the next speech they would continue (...) As the second point, I would like to respect their cheerful attitude to deal with this problem. They could be too serious or too virtuous as explaining the subject. But they explained them as a very fun and attractive movement to participate it. It is very difficult thing to do this, but they did and made me visit the shop they introduced. I think this commercial power is the most successful point of their presentation.

(Harumi)

Maybe, this is the most interesting topic and, at the same time, it is the most related to the globalization of all the session[s], which I attended, because I think that the Fairtrade is one of the few good fruit given by the globalisation.... The group... knew to present the topic in an entertaining way which is not easy because it is a weighty topic...they made a film where appeared several international [UD] students who were interviewed about their knowledge of the Fairtrade.

(Jaime)

In their Group Report, the peer-teachers of Fairtrade, Aiko, Mai and Nicole, said that they were drawn to the subject because "it seemed to be a very interesting way to fight poverty because it is fundamentally different from ready-made solutions such as charity or aid". They wanted to know more about how it worked, how much potential for development there was and how they might get involved, and to share this information with their peers. In this they were successful. At the end of their session, the team handed out Fairtrade biscuits to everyone, which the students commented on favourably in their peer-assessments.

#### 4.4.3 McDonaldisation

The final session I discuss here deals with the phenomenon, "McDonaldisation", chosen by Jaime, Charlene and Makiko because of its direct connection with globalisation, the fact that it is a very familiar brand, and also because it is controversial, having engendered much debate across the globe (McDonaldisation Group Report). This group also successfully incorporated their own texts (Figure. 14) into the session, in this case by interviewing students on campus about their experience of McDonald's, collating and converting the texts into pie charts and graphs and, before presenting each piece of information, soliciting a response from the class, thus making all the students active contributors to the session. It worked well, as the peer-assessment reports attest:

The beginning of the presentation was the best part. The class was questioned on its McDonald's habits. Questions were relevant and Camembert graphic illustrated clearly answers. Also the questionnaire was supported by students' interview.

(Yves)

I liked the idea of the interview, it kept the whole session alive.

(Brigitte)

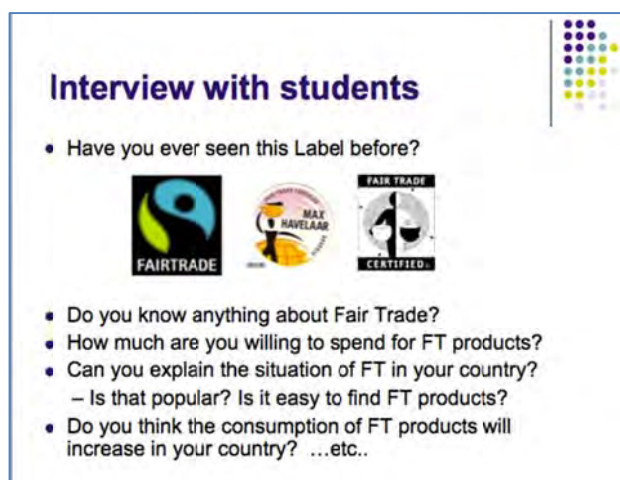




Figure 13: Extract from Fairtrade Peer-teaching Presentations (L: PowerPoint slide; R: Screenshot from video)

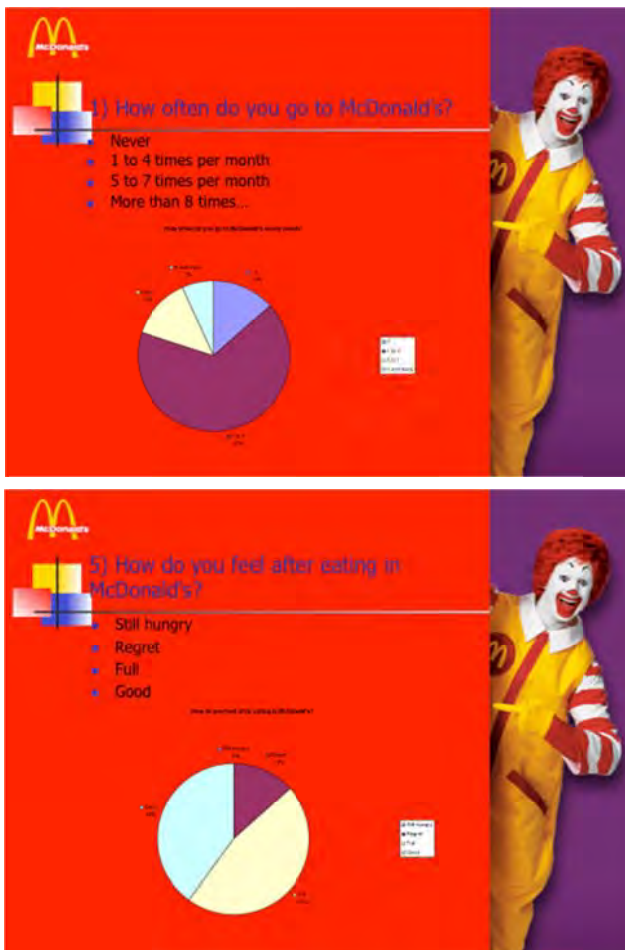


Figure 14: Extract from McDonaldisation Peer-teaching presentation

The students then introduced some detailed core theories concerning the process of rationalisation, teaching their peers about the four unique

characteristics of McDonaldisation, namely, efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. They crafted the lesson plan well, having each part linked to the next, as is evidenced in their detailed notes (Figure. 15)

PART 3.

This is the part of the theory: explanation of McDonaldization by George Ritzer and Socialization. We will do some games like gaps in the words

E \_\_\_\_ (efficiency)    P \_\_\_\_ (Predictability)  
 C \_\_\_\_ (Calculability)    C \_\_\_\_ (Control or substitution)

Advantages and disadvantages, playing the video supersize me. About 15 minutes.

Link this part with globalization and the tendency to eat healthy food and how an American problem (obesity) is spreading all around the world, because we want to explain the globalization and localization in part 4.

Figure 15: Extract from Students' McDonaldisation Lesson Plan

In the final section of the plan, they displayed McDonald's products from different parts of the world, making sure that all the nationalities in the class were represented. Again, many students appreciated this, as commented on in their peer-assessment reports.

#### 4.5 Some observations on the peer-teaching sessions

Throughout the focus group sessions and orals, the students made many positive references to the peer-teaching. They discussed the difference between the first and second presentations, noting that many students had heeded the formative feedback from the first presentation and had improved their skills on the second attempt. They also talked about being, on the one hand, apprehensive about accomplishing such a task as teaching a whole class for 50 minutes, but on the other about the satisfaction gained from really trying to motivate and teach their peers:

*Lola:* It was very different between the first presentation and the other ones. You could see the same people act in a very different way. Much better like they were trying to involve the lesson and I think that's very valuable.

(Focus Group 2a: 4)

They also talked in the same vein about the importance of getting their message across to their listeners so that

they would really think about the issues. Moe describes this sentiment thus:

**Moe:** Yeah, like, normally, if we have to give some presentations like normally we have five or ten minutes, if it's so long, we just think "Oh I have to do that five minutes talking and I have script and if I finished, it's finished. That's all." But this time we really cared about how people react and how people would think about this topic.

(Focus Group 2a: 4)

The picture painted thus far is one of successful teaching, mindful and motivated students, and positive outcomes for the sessions. While this is, to a large extent, true, there were problems and some criticism levelled at these sessions. For example, many of the presenters, in their desire to entertain, had relied heavily on multimedia activities and many of them encountered problems with the technology, which often left the class at a loss while they were being fixed. There were also problems with some of the presenters' level of English or heavily accented speech, which acted as a barrier to understanding. It was also noted that some teachers were tied to their pages and did not sufficiently engage the class, or that the PowerPoint presentations were too long. Some of the groups did not work in a cohesive manner, for example some of the group members chose to prepare their segment alone, rather than in close cooperation with the group, which caused some anxiety. Some unease was also expressed in Focus group interviews and orals concerning the fact that being taught by peers was perhaps not as valuable as being taught by a professional teacher with research knowledge and training:

**Aleks:** *Airi, you mentioned that because you taught one another you found it not always good. Is that right?*

**Airi:** Yes, that's right. Not always good. Because students cannot be right you know - teachers as well. But people can't be perfect so it was sometimes boring or sometimes sleepy. [Laughter] But totally was good, I think. The topics were really interesting.

(Focus Group 2a: 2)

Others mentioned that perhaps the peer-teachers benefited more than those being taught. They mentioned the value of preparing for the peer-teaching sessions: working closely and deeply on a topic, discussing and sharing ideas with one another and planning how best to entertain their classmates.

As mentioned above, I selected the three most successful peer-teaching sessions for exemplification, not so much to give the impression that everything worked perfectly, but rather to show the potential of this pedagogical practice. I have taught this module on four successive occasions since the texts for this study were

collected and, according to the principles of action research, have sought to improve the peer-teaching support incrementally with each iteration. For example: a) students are given advice on how to prepare for technical hitches, also the advent of YouTube and its ease of access have made many of these issues disappear; b) students are now taught to use PowerPoint slides as a separate and distinct visual support, rather than as a bulleted imitation of the key points; c) more effort is placed on the development of group harmony and team-building in preparation for the peer-teaching sessions.

## 5 Capabilities for the cosmopolitan classroom

As mentioned above, I had set out to teach the module with cosmopolitan citizenship in mind, moving from a more vocational approach to one that focused on globalisation, social justice and intercultural communication through the medium of English. In the case of the latter, this involved developing reflexivity and understanding of the self, including values, attitudes and practices that had hitherto not been consciously examined; in addition to being exposed to and critically engaging with cultural others, both at the level of classroom contact in this multicultural environment as well as through the literature and pedagogical artefacts. This approach towards interculturality eschews essentialist practices as proposed by the Hofstede school of thought (c.f. Holmes' (2014) critique) in favour of ones that echo Kramsch's (2006) notion of symbolic competence. I was thus interested, from an action research perspective, to see how the new syllabus had been received and valued and whether the cosmopolitan citizenship aims had been recognised and truly embraced. As citizenship entails participation, voice and agency, I also looked for evidence of these features in the students' work and reflections, both written and articulated through the interviews and oral exams. And, finally, in order to see whether these features had become truly embedded rather than appearing as surface knowledge, I looked for identity shifts and ontological perspectives in the texts. The three central capabilities are inextricably linked, with each affecting the others in demonstrable ways.

Much of the course content of module ENG06 related directly to cosmopolitanism, which, to paraphrase Held's (2005) interpretation of the concept, involves the development of an ethically sound and politically robust system for the governance of communities at both local and international level. As mentioned elsewhere, this focus on ethics and social justice corresponds with one of the central tenets of the capabilities approach: ethical individualism. There is therefore, as has been argued, a direct link and compatibility between the two constructs.

If the action research study is analysed from a cosmopolitan perspective, it can be said that the aim of the module to develop a deeper understanding of globalisation from a social justice perspective was



achieved to a certain extent based on the evidence of active knowledge co-construction, social arrangements in the classroom and reflections on learning that took place, both at individual level and as focused group work.

Many students reported having developed a greater awareness of global issues and a desire to effect change, albeit in small ways. They commented frequently on the fact that through the intercultural group work and extended task-based learning they were able to recognise and apply theory to practice in their own lives, thus developing many of the features of a cosmopolitan outlook.

This outlook was expressed in relation to new insights on themselves as individuals with reference to ethnic identity, personal attributes and modes of behaviour. Expanding outwards from themselves, they acknowledged the intensive intercultural group work in the classroom as having a big impact on them, opening their eyes and minds to new ways of thinking and acting. Through engagement with the course materials they spoke of adopting new dispositions with regard to people, events and structures at local, national and global levels. This awareness translated into desire for action and in some cases actual agency by, for example, changing consumer patterns of behaviour.

These perspectives are illustrated by opinions voiced in the focus group interviews and orals. Below is a sample of comments representing these nascent cosmopolitan dispositions, taken from one of the end of semester focus group sessions:

**Makiko:** I strongly felt so, as Aiko said, [concerning] the video about globalisation and some foreign people in poverty. When we're living normally we don't maybe recognise that people really exist [...] that particular area in the world but all the things we learn[ed] in that module were very impressive for me, like to know the world situation, the world problem, or the other current situation as well. I'm not sure what can I do for such kind of people. What should I do in the future but it totally changed my view, through that module. I can see, as I said before, when we travel [...] we can see all the same things in the city and if I didn't learn such kind of things like [that] globalisation is really happening in the world, maybe [I wouldn't have] recognised it, even [though] I'm living here. So that's a kind of shame. I really appreciate it for that.

**Aleks:** *Thank you Makiko.*

**Aiko:** Before the presentation I didn't care that there were a lot of McDonald's all over the world. But after the presentation, if I go to McDonald's I contribute to McDonaldisation. And there was the child labour: about the presentation on child labour, our shoes are made by child labour and it's a pity but I couldn't help it but I don't know how to help. It's a big problem of globalisation.

**Makiko:** But we have to think about what can we do [...]. And the kind of awareness: [of] thinking not only

[about] our future but the other peoples' like in that kind of situation. So it's really changed my thinking.

[...]

(Focus Group 2b, 7-8)

These articulations can be seen to correlate with Nussbaum's four arguments for cosmopolitan education insofar as the students refer to new insights gained about themselves and their understanding of the world. While they do not profess to having made progress in solving problems that demand international cooperation, at least they are actively thinking about it. They show evidence of recognising tangible moral obligations to fellow citizens at a global level, and have begun, through their learning throughout the module, to develop robust arguments that they are willing to defend.

## 6 Conclusion

Research on cosmopolitanism indicated that it is an unfinished project that has endured for centuries, with an aim to build ethically sound, sustainable communities that coexist in a principled manner based on democratic equality. Many of the tenets of this approach complement theories of interculturality, the difference here being one of a focus on civic duties and agency and on a linking of the different spheres of social influence from local, through national to global. The implications for higher education lie in a desire to have students critically engage with their social worlds, being able to critique different social discourses and practices and to envision a life of flourishing based on notions of hospitality and social translation; challenging, partial and provisional though these may be. If cosmopolitanism is deemed unfinished business, it begs a set of questions that can be explored further. These include: a) to what extent are the different terms such as 'global', 'international' and 'cosmopolitan' interchangeable or do they each offer unique and disparate perspectives? b) Is it possible or desirable to measure a cosmopolitan disposition? c) What does an ideal cosmopolitan disposition look like? d) Does a student need to possess certain personality traits or characteristics in order to be able to develop a cosmopolitan mind-set?

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Pseudonym

<sup>2</sup> Pseudonym

<sup>3</sup> Trócaire (Irish for 'Compassion') is the official overseas aid body for the Catholic Church in Ireland.

Klarissa Lueg, Rainer Lueg

## From Teacher-Centered Instruction to Peer Tutoring in the Heterogeneous International Classroom: A Danish Case of Instructional Change

This case study documents a seminar redesign from a teacher-centered instruction format to collaborative 'reciprocal peer tutoring' (RPT) at Aarhus University, Denmark. Departing from concepts by Bourdieu and Vertovec, we argue that teaching concepts should meet the needs of students within Higher Education (HE). Our student sample is diverse, international and multilingual, comprising different cultural expectations and knowledge standards. At the same time, the Danish HE tradition, with its low degree of formality and an affinity for collaborative learning, allows for non-traditional instruction styles to accommodate this heterogeneity. The object of our documentation is thus a seminar, before and after didactic restructuring, in a Danish setting.

We document both the in-classroom methods of instruction before and after the implementation of RPT and the methods and instruments used to monitor this change. To do so, we provide insight into student group reports, students' learning reports, a lesson timetable, seminar evaluations, focus group interviews, teacher-student communication and course descriptions.

Our study contributes on several levels: first, we provide course responsible lecturers with a detailed insight into how a seminar redesign to RPT may be achieved. Second, we provide a basis for introducing such change by documenting the positive assessment as an outcome of the monitoring. We thereby address diversity and in-classroom heterogeneity on a didactic level.

### Keywords:

Reciprocal Peer Tutoring; Bourdieu; course design; Denmark; seminar redesign, instruction; case study, heterogeneity, diversity, internationalization, Higher Education management

### List of abbreviations:

AAU	Aalborg University
AU	Aarhus University
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DUT	Dansk Universitetspædagogisk Tidsskrift
EMI	English as medium of instruction
FoMAR	Foundations of Management Accounting Research
HE	Higher Education
RPT	Reciprocal peer tutoring

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Motivation of this paper

Non-traditional and learner-oriented didactic concepts in HE have been subjects of a number of publications, research projects and debates across disciplines (Braxton

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et al. 2000; Grammes 2009). As a practical contribution to this debate, this paper describes how to turn a teacher-led seminar into reciprocal peer tutoring (RPT). The expressed need for a new teaching-learning paradigm partly originated from educational expansion, which led to heterogeneity among students due to their social backgrounds and related learning preferences (Bank et al. 2011; Isserstedt et al. 2010; Lueg 2011; Trow 2000). The learner orientation emphasizes pedagogical and didactic concerns and has suggested a variety of new methods of instruction. Whereas the learner orientation originally focused on schools (Drinck 2011), it has also given thought-provoking impulses for learning effectiveness in HE. Contemporary student bodies are less pre-adapted to unidirectional teaching styles (Altbach et al. 2009). Group work approaches have proven to be fruitful in leveling the playing field for new student groups (Schoenecker et al. 1997).

A further need to reconsider traditional teaching concepts and policies is rooted in HE-internationalization (Britez et al. 2010; Luring et al. 2010; Lueg et al. 2014; Petersen et al. 2012; Rami M. Ayoubi et al. 2007; Shaw et al. 2009; Tange 2010): exchange students, single subject students, or incoming full-program students are now represented in many classrooms. First, this implies that today's teaching concepts cannot address an idealized 'standard student' (for a discussion of 'normality' s. Bank et al. 2011) with one homogenous mother tongue and domestic language (Alexander 2008; Coleman 2006; Costa et al. 2012; Wächter et al. 2008). Second, HE





teachers face multiple—even opposing—cultural understandings of quality learning. Third, students differ in their acknowledgement of “knowledge” as well as in their traditions of forming and expressing opinions (Wadsholt 2013). Fourth, they might reflect the social (and gendered) selection mechanisms of their domestic cultures (Morris 2013).

On several layers, students are thus unequally distant from the educational and didactic policies of HE institutions (Bourdieu et al. 1977). However, studies accounting for this heterogeneity in the field of HE didactics remain scarce, especially with regard to the mass degree programs of economics and business (Bank et al. 2011; Birke et al. 2011). New learning styles responding to sociocultural heterogeneity, such as problem-based learning (Allen et al. 2011; Singaram et al. 2011) appear to be most highly represented in medical education (Das Carlo et al. 2003) and engineering (Quinn et al. 2008). However, educational sciences and teacher-training seminars that integrate student research projects into seminar structures are also quite established (Fichten 2010; Roters et al. 2009; Schneider et al. 2004). Equally, such theory-practice-traditions may be found in social work studies (Müller 2009). Student training research projects are especially popular at German universities and are found across faculties, including the social sciences (Huber et al. 2009). This national tradition, which differs from the approach at Danish universities, may be explained by the claim that “research-oriented learning is part of academic studies” (Huber 2004: 31, translated from the original German, K.L./R.L) and more a leitmotiv of education than a question of didactics (Wildt 2002). Such research-integrating concepts are applicable for a case study approach to business and the social sciences as well (McMay et al. 2013). However, in such settings of business education, where a fundamental understanding of scientific theory is the learning outcome, the concept of RPT is most suitable. RPT is supervised and framed by the lecturer but leaves the choice of learning style to each small group of students. We argue that RPT is well suited to engaging a multi-diverse student body in a business and social science context. Documentation on its application and how it can be systematically implemented is scarce. Useful guidelines on how to implement research-oriented teaching exist (Arens et al. 2006; Bolland 2001) but do not focus on RPT. The aim of this article is thus both to document the successful remodeling of a large MSc seminar from teacher-centered instruction to RPT and to guide through the reproduction of such a change process. Our change implementation was constructed as a quasi-experiment over two years. We employed several teaching methods and instruments to monitor the didactic change process. We thereby provide a) a guideline for further implementation. Because a change process from traditional teaching to RPT is time-consuming and lecturers in Denmark and other countries are bound to a

certain “teaching budget,” we also wish to provide b) initial arguments for HE administrators, course responsables, and lecturers to introduce and master RPT.

## 1.2 Choice of the Danish setting

We document the remodeling of the didactic structure of a seminar into the form of RPT in a Master’s program in Management Accounting & Control at Aarhus University, Denmark. To our knowledge, the described seminar is the only one in this program offering a consequent RPT structure. The Danish context is an ideal setting for such didactic transformation, as social student diversity is high: HE degrees are widespread, and the government promotes further increases (Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation 2012). Consequently, the socio-cultural background of the student body at the eight Danish universities is quite diverse and will be even more so in the future. In addition, linguistic and cultural diversity at Danish universities is increasing, as their high international ranking positions attract international students (Williams et al. 2012). Correspondingly, Aarhus University lists the internationalization of education, the support of incoming and outgoing student mobility, and the internationalization of research as core activities in its “Internationalisation strategy” (AU 2012). Danish universities offer a total of 145 English-language Master’s programs as well as 60 Bachelor’s programs (The Danish Agency for Universities and Internationalisation 2012). This evolution is didactically accompanied by, e.g., educational programs for teaching staff with classes on “Teaching in English in the Multicultural Classroom” (CUL 2013b). In this way, the Danish University setting reflects the interwoven dimensions of linguistic, cultural and social heterogeneity. Learner-oriented didactics—especially in problem-based learning and project-group learning—have a strong tradition in Denmark (Fink 1999; Jenkins et al. 2003; Kolmos et al. 2004) and have developed into a “Danish model of project work” (Kolmos 1996). Pioneering work has been conducted by the University of Aalborg which has brought the Aalborg problem-based learning model to life (Kolmos et al. 2004) and declares it an integrative part of its educational policy (AAU 2011, 2013). A large body of literature is available on the benefits of several forms of both cooperative learning (Fibiger 2005; Herrmann 2013). Most relevant for the documentation is the clearly observable recent shift of research to the discussion of peer and project learning for a changing and rapidly increasingly multicultural (super-diverse) student body (Lauridsen et al. 2012; Lauridsen et al. 2013a). On the one hand, peer learning, flat hierarchies and “the axiomatic assumption of Danish cultural homogeneity” (Jenkins 2012, 100) are constants in the traditionally constructed Danishness. On the other hand, and seemingly paradoxically, a rapid internationalization and thereby the intake of more heterogeneous student groups and the tendency to offer full English as a medium of instruction programs may be regarded as being specifically “Danish” in the European



HE landscape as well (for an overview of EMI programs and their relevance s. Lueg et al. 2014). Recent government attempts to emphasize project and group orientation at Danish universities (The Danish Agency for Universities and Internationalisation 2012) in order to attract incoming students serve as an example of educational nation branding, such as the website [studyindenmark.dk](http://studyindenmark.dk) (The Danish Agency for Universities and Internationalisation 2012). The website quotes students on what they perceive to be special about the Danish system. Most quotes selected from international students have a focus on the flat hierarchies, peer and group and project learning, and more network-oriented than teacher-oriented learning. Therefore, these characteristics belong to the self-perception of distinctive 'Danishness' in the HE landscape. 'National' lesson study in Denmark in general is strong. Several Danish language publications on education deal with the 'how' of applying specific didactics. Examples are the recent edition "Good teaching and supervision – how?" by Dansk Universitetspædagogisk Tidsskrift (DUT 2013) and documentations of educational experiments in Denmark (Dupont 2012). This focus is also emphasized by the mandatory pedagogical education for research staff with teaching obligations from the PhD level and up. Before applying for tenure, every junior staff member must complete an educational program for Assistant Professors (150 work hours) that combines professional on-the-job training with insights into recent theory (Krogh 2006). Furthermore, programs on university pedagogy are (some of them mandatory) offered to senior staff (CUL 2013a; AAU Learning Lab 2013). Classes such as the previously mentioned "Teaching English in the multicultural classroom" appear to meet the recent discussion on problems emerging from student-lecturer mismatches and different sociocultural expectations and backgrounds (Szukala 2012). However, we could not identify a documentation of the implementation of a new learning form in an already existing seminar. Therefore, our documentation closes a research gap and is largely directly relevant for HE lecturers by providing a model of changing traditional large classroom lectures to RPT. Meanwhile, we provide managerial arguments for this change such as a more efficient use of staff resources.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the theoretical backgrounds of this study. Section 3 explains our methodology. Section 4 explicates the sites of change in our remodeling experiment, and section 5 documents the monitoring process in a step-by-step fashion. We close with a final discussion paying attention to the limitations of our experiment, its documentation and its applicability to different HE settings.

## 2 Theoretical background

In the following, we will briefly outline the theoretical motivation for the application of RPT before outlining the

characteristics of RPT itself. Because the focus of this paper is on documenting the switch to RPT, we will abstain from elaborating on a theory-guided protocol of our quasi experiment. This treatment is intended to provide a first insight into overarching theoretical concepts that motivate changes in HE instruction as well as into the relevance and context of RPT.

### 2.1 Diversity

The theories we refer to are provided by Pierre Bourdieu's observations on social origin and HE (Bourdieu et al. 1977) as well as Steven Vertovec's concept of "super-diversity" (Vertovec 2007). The discussion of didactic challenges and changes partly stems from research on social inequality in HE due to different "doxical" correspondence between habitus and HE institutions (Bourdieu et al. 1977). However, although research on social inequality in access to HE is quite common (Boliver 2011; Hillmert et al. 2003; Reimer et al. 2011), attempts to convert research results and theoretical insights on capital asymmetries into concrete teaching practices remain scarce (for a discussion s. Lueg 2011). In short, Bourdieu's work demonstrates that HE institutions have a recruiting bias in favor of the established social strata and, for that matter, reproduce unequal social chances (Bourdieu et al. 1977, 200). In this way, he sheds light on the different cultural distances to educational institutions and resulting difficulties for heterogeneous student bodies to follow and comprehend teaching content (Bourdieu 1997, 47; Bourdieu et al. 1977; Bourdieu et al. 1994). Class-specific success and failure are predicated on Bourdieu's (1997, 46) general definitions of capital. Three types of capital—economic, cultural and social—constitute distinctions between students: economic capital comprises physical assets that may be converted into cash. Social capital includes the possession of a network or a social group membership. Cultural capital is classified into three forms. The embodied form is acquired within the family, covers competences and knowledge and is—given a doxical accordance—perceived and awarded as "legitimate competence" in HE (Bourdieu 1977, 49). Two more forms are objectified cultural capital (i.e., books, instruments), and the institutionalized form (i.e., documents or credentials from authorized institutions) (Bourdieu 1997, 47). The different endowment of different social strata with legitimate capital is reflected by the habitus, a "sense of one's place" (Bourdieu 1984, 471) that determines whether an agent feels comfortable with rules and practices within HE. Heterogeneity in habitus and the didactic failure to account for it may lead to drop-out and self-exclusion (Bourdieu et al. 1977, 42 and 154). These findings are supported by the insights of Raymond Boudon, who has equally criticized the French system of HE as stratified and "elitist" (Boudon 1977, 115) However, it is important to note that a simple quantitative increase of HE enrollments and graduations to 60% of each year, as the



Danish government suggests and pursues in its recent HE strategy (Ministeriet for Forskning 2013), might not automatically lead to equality of chance. The aggregation paradox that Boudon uncovered in the early 70s (Boudon 1973) notes that the social expansion of HE may only lead to status devaluation of the previous distinctive HE certificates and programs. Given this paradox, which resembles Bourdieu's later description of distinction and field fights, we advocate that the mindful management of HE expansion at the micro-level of didactics might at least counteract further student segregation and stratification. Therefore, both a Bourdieusian and a Boudonian perspective motivates searching for teaching forms that correspond with agents from a variety of social milieus.

Departing originally from a cultural perspective, Steven Vertovec uses the notion of "Super-diversity" (Vertovec 2007, 1024) to explain social complexity and to develop a multi-dimensional perspective to sociocultural diversity. His perspective may help not only to understand the diverse needs of agents from different social backgrounds but also to comprehend patterns of diversity with regards to "small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants" (Vertovec 2007, 1024) with "discrete gender and age profiles" (Vertovec 2007, 1025). This multi-level approach to diversity has been observed by Umut Erel in the case of three female immigrants with varying in-group statuses, different prerequisites of social and cultural capital (Erel 2010). Experiences of non-domestic agents or groups may, due to internal stratification and diversification, not be categorically considered homogeneous (Ferreira et al. 2012). Research into the cultural aspects of migration and stratification has noted that migration groups must not simply be subordinated under prevailing stratification models and that sociocultural and sociostructural dimensions must be analytically distinguished (for the German instead of the British society s. Geißler 1992; Geißler 2004: 288). Discussing the policy implications of this concept, Vertovec suggests—not drawing on HE situations or even didactics in particular—to enforce regular contact between different agents to foster mutual understanding. However, he notes that the simple concept of "contact" may "entrench group animosities, fears and competition." (Vertovec 2007, 1045). This phenomenon implies that in the field of HE instruction, simply assembling students for group work not only is too superficial but also may be counterproductive. In his concept and discussion, we find value for the development of a learner-oriented and diversity-sensitive classroom approach. Although we admit that complex concepts such as sociocultural heritage and super-diversity are difficult to account for in classroom situations, we see the concept of RPT as an appropriate didactic answer to the theories introduced (De Backer et al. 2012; Falchikov 2001; Fantuzzo et al. 1989; King 1997;

Roscoe et al. 2008; Topping 2005). As noted earlier, instead we will not systematically apply categories from the guiding theories to test the appropriateness of RPT but instead focus on documenting how we implemented the change.

## 2.2 Reciprocal Peer Tutoring

RPT means collaborative, small-group learning in which students take turns in assuming the roles of tutors and tutees. In this way, they replace the teacher as the main source of information during the seminar (King 1997). Tutors use scaffolds (instructions and abstract templates) from the teacher to prepare their content before class (De Backer et al. 2012; Falchikov 2001; Roscoe et al. 2008; Topping 2005). After the students' tasks and the classes' goals have been explained, tutees discuss the presented content following a suggested question-and-answering process (King 1997). The teacher closely guides this process among tutors and tutees by providing guiding questions for the presentation and the discussion beforehand, which ensures that the most important aspects of the content are covered. Following Vertovec's and Bourdieu's logic, agents differ in their preferred learning styles, e.g., the degrees of verbalizing problems and explanations, practical trial and error applications, and learning times and surroundings (Riding et al. 1998; Sadler-Smith et al. 1999). Accounting for these student characteristics in traditional teaching situations would mean an impossible hurdle for the lecturer. Project and group orientation thereby triggers "we-hood" by "virtue of a shared task" (Eriksen 1995, 427) and not only by enforced contact as described by Vertovec (see earlier). It is thus carefully handing down learning-responsibility to the student body. This group cohesion (Eriksen 1995, 427) is one of the strong reasons for favoring group work over traditional unidirectional teaching whenever possible: Shared tasks and values will lead to a stronger feeling of responsibility to provide a contribution and live up to group expectations, which fosters higher learning performance (Johnson et al. 2007; Roseth et al. 2008; Schwartz 1995; Slavin 1983; Springer et al. 1999). The several diverse levels of prior knowledge may be addressed and aligned in peer discussion and may further contribute to the course contents (King 1997; Reder 1980; Riese et al. 2011). Problems with English as a medium of instruction (EMI) may be addressed by mutual interpretation help. RPT provides a broader variety of roles and thereby learning opportunities for the students: the tutees will develop their learning skills by asking questions and contrasting their own reading experiences (Anderson et al. 2001; Graesser et al. 1994; Ismail et al. 2005; Palinscar et al. 1984; Webb et al. 2003). In RPT, knowledge is not a stable construct. It is meant to be changed over the duration of the entire class through the reconsideration of previous concepts as new literature sources and tasks arise (Cohen et al. 1982; King 1998; Rohrbeck et al. 2003). RPT is thus especially recommended for larger classes, where groups



have time for this socio-behavioral and cognitive development.

### 3 Methodology

#### 3.1 Context of the given case study

The focus of this article is how our RPT implementation may serve as a modifiable blueprint for similar settings. Our research site is a seminar offered at the Department of Economics and Business at Aarhus University, Denmark. The seminar Business Models is taught in English and mandatory for all students enrolled in the Master of Science in Management Accounting & Control. The student group is balanced in terms of sex (43% females in 2011; 44% females in 2012) and age (26.0 years with 4.0-year standard deviation in 2011; 26.2 years with 3.8-year standard deviation in 2012). The student group is internationally diverse with an intake of exchange students, single-subject students or incoming full program students (17% were not Danish in 2011; 31% were not Danish in 2012). Documenting a seminar redesign from 2010/2011 to 2011/2012, we illustrate which concepts we implemented and how the change was perceived by students and faculty.

The seminar is an instructional extension and a knowledge application of the prerequisite course Foundations of Management Accounting Research (FoMAR), which focuses on the philosophy of science. The course description of FoMAR lists the main topics of the course as follows:

- Construction of valid arguments
- Science and scientific knowledge
- Three categories of managements accounting research: mainstream, interpretive, and critical (Ontology, epistemology, and methodology)
- Subjective versus objective approaches to social science
- Evaluation criteria when conducting research
- Planning of research activities and design

Together, the two courses are supposed to prepare the students for their MSc thesis. Specifically, they should gain the capability to apply theory of science and to motivate and reflect its relevance for a field project centered on the notion of business models. On the basis of FoMAR, students should demonstrate their ability to put their research skills to use. The assignment in Business Models consists of a self-conducted case study. The conceptual and theoretical parts of this case study are supposed to be inspired by the in-classroom group work. Finally, students must defend their findings in an oral exam with two examiners (one faculty member, one external practitioner).

#### 3.2 Data collection and documentation

We collected the data between April 2011 and July 2012 for the two academic years of 2010/2011 (2011) and 2011/2012 (2012). We used the sources listed below. For

legal reasons, privacy protection, and further research purposes, it is not possible to expose all documents. However, we provide excerpts or anonymous quotes whenever possible. In the following sections, we will refer to a number of documents we believe to be useful in reproducing the structural change. We refer to two course descriptions (the one for the initial course and the altered one in 2012) and elaborate on the changes made (4.4). We also provide insight into the course's status quo in 2011 by providing selected and anonymous excerpts from the final research reports (4.1). To document the concrete in-class method of instruction during the RPT process, we show the full text of the lecturer's written instructions to the students (4.3) and depict two posters resulting from the students' group work as showcases (Figure 1 and Figure 2). To document the concept as realistically as possible, we also show a timetable of the first 135-minute class (Figure 3) For monitoring purposes, we select answers provided by two student focus groups. Focus Group 1 was surveyed with an online questionnaire (Table 1), and Focus Group 2 volunteered for face-to-face interviews (5.2). Furthermore, we present how students self-reported on their research progress by displaying an exemplary one-page project manager (Figure 4). Finally, we draw on standardized student seminar evaluations (Table 2) as well as the components we consider useful in the feedback by coworkers (5.4) and external censors (5.5).

### 4 Redesigning a seminar from teacher-centered instruction to Reciprocal Peer Tutoring

#### 4.1 The traditional teaching: observations that led to change

Despite the introducing seminar FoMAR, some students revealed a lack of understanding of scientific notions such as 'model' or 'theory'. They also failed to put definitions and approaches into perspective. Instead, they tended to use—unknowingly—somewhat positivistic approaches and a superficial, practice-oriented rhetoric, which appeared to be deduced from text books or non-academic websites. On top, problems with academic English hindered comprehensibility:

"This report unique and valuable in that it integrates the resource based view theory of the firm with the elements of a small consulting firm's business model, to analyze the importance of their linkage, in ensuring that small consulting firm's business models are not affected by changing market conditions."

[student group report, 2011]

"The type of research used in this project is an interpretive perspective, which assumes that facts need to be put into a social context (Ryan, Scapens, Theobald, 2002). This means that the human actions in [company, the authors] are very important as they influence changes in the social context."

[student group report, 2011]



In the final oral examinations, we detected broad knowledge asymmetries: some students were barely able to summarize their own report. Other course participants—mostly those who were observed to be active in class discussions—showed the ability to substantially exceed the level of analysis. The latter observation corroborated our assumption that students who are culturally pre-adapted to academic traditions and academic language also have an advantage in the exams (Baudelot 1994; Bourdieu et al. 1994). Such a variance of understanding could not be tolerated in a group that had the same education beforehand. We further observed that there was almost no exchange between international students and Danes, mainly due to restraint from the domestic students. When group work was occasionally assigned, Danish was chosen as the medium of communication, thereby excluding the internationals and hindering knowledge mediation. This classroom problem has gained much attention in academic staff discussions and has recently led to first publications and research projects on this particular topic (Lauridsen et al. 2013b). Given the high level of English proficiency in Denmark (Commission 2006) and the strongly enforced HE internationalization process (Carsten Nielsen 2011), the reluctance to mingle with internationals and to actually speak the language appears to represent a puzzle. The difficulty of initiating group work might be explained, again, by drawing on Jenkin's idea of the constructed homogeneity in being Danish (Jenkins 2012) and a strong perception of national belonging that draws a cultural line between course participants. This issue did not arise in the initial student evaluations of the 2011 seminar but was observed in the following year by students in Focus Group 2 (2012):

"Exchange students in the group are very positive. They force the rest of the group to speak English, which makes it easier to discuss English articles."

"Also, it was good to meet exchange students because they generally approach discussions differently than Danes. Other courses account for these issues too little."

We addressed the two challenges of lack of scientific/academic standards and student fragmentation into either homogeneous groups or groups with language-fostered knowledge asymmetries by fundamentally redesigning the seminar (also see e.g., Flannery et al. 2010; Ross et al. 2011). We document the changes in the following.

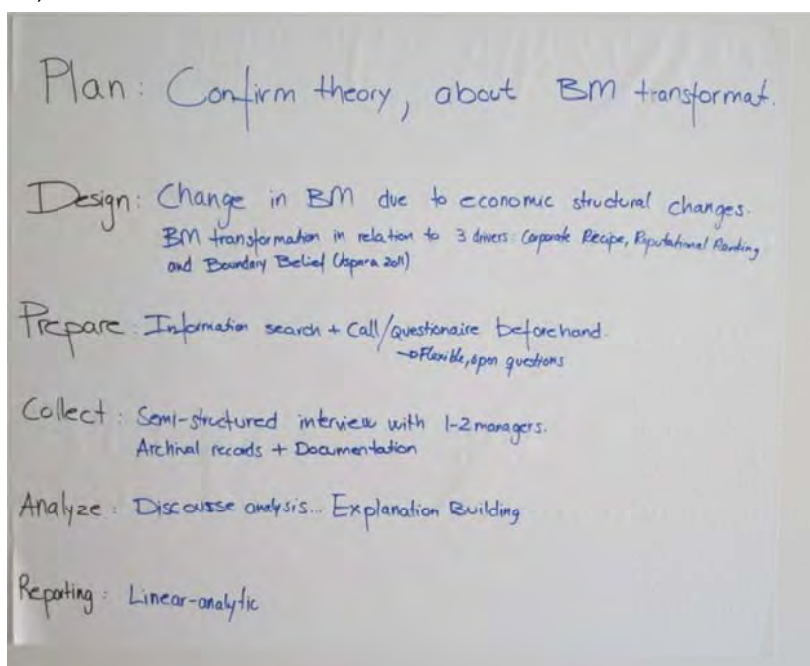
#### 4.2 Redesigning the learning form: group work and peer tutoring

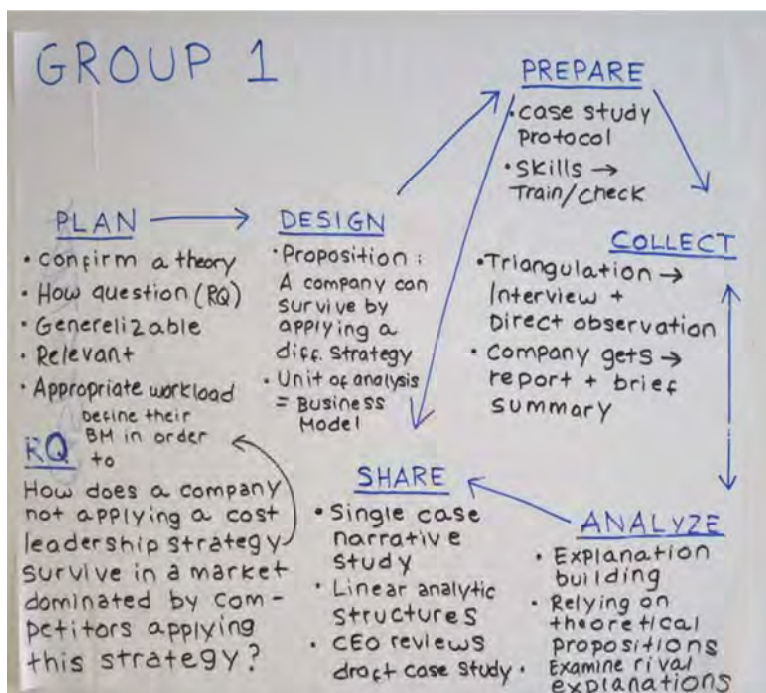
We transformed four of the five teacher-led classes (135 minutes each) into RPT to

expose students to a debating situation to foster discussion of social scientific approaches and theory schools, and to set incentives for the to prepare texts before class.

In every class, and throughout the seminar in total, every group was asked to work on the same articles. We assigned one member per group to one (set of) article(s); this 'expert' had a designated amount of time to tutor peers on the content of these articles. We provided every one of these expert tutors with a scaffold of guiding questions to be answered because guided RPT consistently shows learning outcomes to be superior to unguided RPT (Cho et al., 2011; Cohen, 1994; King, 1997; Slavin, 1986; Winters et al., 2011, p. 407; Yew et al., 2012). This treatment ensured fairly similar coverage of the topic among all groups. The lecturer gave only a short introduction and connected the class contents and references to the final report and oral exam. The lecturer visited the groups and intervened only to clarify questions posed to him and to ensure that the time schedule of each expert's discussion was adhered to. Students were required to synthesize their discussions and present a result-oriented learning report 25 minutes before the end of each class.

This class-specific learning report took the form of a large poster that had to be placed on the wall. One group member remained with the poster, whereas the others visited the other groups and discussed the differences of their results. In this way, we enabled communication, avoided fragmentation and ensured knowledge diffusion across groups. The requirements for the poster were to capture in a few points or representations what the students had done, and, second, to foster follow-up communication. Two exemplary posters (learning reports) are depicted in and figure 1 (below) and 2 (next page):





work their way towards definitions instead of simply giving them a textbook. Furthermore, students should learn to systematically challenge ‘facts’ in peer discussions and to find inter-subjective negotiated solutions. Students were required to take turns being tutors on some articles while being tutored by their peers on other articles. The students were informed about the instruction details in good time before the seminar and once again only a few days before with this message (excerpt):

“Due to my experience from 1 year ago, I will do very little ‘ex-cathedra teaching’ that you are probably quite accustomed to. Instead, we will do ‘reciprocal peer tutoring’. For this, you have already been assigned to a group (1-16), in which you will be the “expert” on a certain topic (A-D). As an expert, you are expected to have read the articles and book

chapters that I have assigned to you via [University’s online tool, the authors]. During class, your group will discuss a topic from the perspectives A-D, and every member of the group has to contribute their knowledge and is thereby responsible for about 20 minutes of the content of the lecture. I want to help you to use your time as effectively as possible. Ideally, your output of every lecture should be the basis for a chapter in your final report.”

[lecturer’s mail to students, 2012]

The two displayed learning reports stem from a class that conveyed how to design an academic case study in six steps according to Yin (2009). Both of the displayed learning reports demonstrate that the student groups achieved an understanding of how they intend to design their case studies with their partner companies. The reports also reached a level of abstraction from the Yin book that allowed them to pose their own research questions. In this way, both groups of students are also able to verbalize that their case studies are not critical or exploratory but illustrative and confirmatory. In addition, they are able to differentiate between rather similar concepts, i.e., strategy and business models. Therefore, both learning reports would reflect a more than satisfactory achievement for a 135-minute class. However, we are able to observe how the second group (Figure 2) has advanced far beyond this, through intensive group discussions of the RPT: the arrows indicate that the group began to build a time schedule of how and when the case studies needed to be conducted. In addition, they discussed how they wish to cooperate with each other (“Appropriate workload”) and with their partner company (“Company gets → report + brief summary”; “CEO reviews draft + case study”) as well as the division of labor, and skills to acquire, e.g., for the interviews (“Skills → Train/check”). Departing from the experience with the previous seminar, we conclude that these outcomes exceed the outcomes of the teacher-centered classes.

#### 4.3 An example lesson

As an example of the first class, we provided each group member with different articles that contained different—and partly opposing—conceptualizations of ‘business models’ (for the task description, see lecturer’s mail to students below). The objective was to make them

The first class’s task was to determine the most suitable definition of a business model for their specific case. First, this task demanded a substantial amount of reflection because the conflicting conceptualizations could only be satisfactorily resolved by analyzing the definitions’ ontologies (Ozdemir 2013). Second, we intentionally chose a business model definition stemming from the academic press (e.g., *Journal of Management*) vs. the popular business press (e.g., *Harvard Business Review*) or one that was written from the perspective of business administration vs. engineering. In this way, and by providing conflicting definitions, we deliberately created disagreement in the approaches to the case studies. As described by Sharon and Erickson (2010), conflicting definitions and potential ways to managed the given case lead the students to engage in discussion and to refer to previous class contents, resulting in a more coherent theoretical understanding.

“In our first session, we will try to synthesize what a ‘business model’ is. The outcome of this class will be that you have a preliminary definition for your case study that builds on the opinion-leading literature in this field. After a short introduction from me, you will split up into your groups. Then, you will take turns, and every expert discusses for 20 minutes with the others

how her/his articles define business models. You will have to synthesize these findings and come up with your theory-based, preliminary definition of a business model. You have to be able to transfer this theoretical knowledge by defining what the business model of [company, the authors] is (in one sentence). You will then put your findings on a poster and discuss them 1:1 with members of other groups. Then the lecture is closed.”

[lecturer’s mail to students, 2012]

Figure 3 (see table below) gives an overview of the time schedule of this first 135-minute class.

In the aftermath of these sessions, one student from Focus Group 1 notes, “My discussion skills have been strengthened a bit” (Mine evne at diskutere er blevet forstærket en smule, translated by the authors). We succeeded in engaging all students also through establishing EMI, as responsibilities were evenly distributed and mutual discussion and understanding were crucial for knowledge development. Therefore, passive free riding or language-related power games were limited. This treatment is beneficial not only for the international students but also for the improvement of general English capabilities, the use of academic English and the application of English terminology specific to business studies. One of the Danish respondents in Focus Group 1 notes that “you will improve your English when participating in the class”. Further comments show that both profound discussants and students who like to reassure themselves and would perhaps hesitate to engage in a discussion with a teacher stand to benefit from this situation:

“I think my discussion skills improved somewhat, as I am usually very stubborn, when I have an opinion.”

“A face-to-face conversation with other colleagues gives the opportunity to ask more informal questions and dig deeper into certain issues. Gained new

perspectives.”

“In normal classes it is primarily the teacher how [sic] does the talking - but in this way you activate the students! That is great.”

“Usually there is virtually no space for discussion when teacher-led style is applied. Very much enjoyed it, as it was one of my expectations of studying at a business school.”

#### 4.4 Redesigning the course description

When the course Business Models was restructured from rather traditional classroom teaching to RPT, the course description had to be changed for both accreditation and student information purposes. We compare both documents in full in Appendix 2 and discuss their main differences in the following.

The main change—captured by the course descriptions (cf. Appendix 2)—was first to shift the focus from what the lecturer *taught* in the traditional class to the skills the students were intended to acquire (*learn*) during RPT. The new course description reflects this by addressing the students’ qualifications rather than describing concepts and organizations in the field. In addition, our “*main topics*” covered are now substantially shorter, whereas the description of our “*qualifications and competences*” have significantly increased. Additionally, the new course description promises several qualifications that are based not on explicit knowledge but on incorporated skills, such as *project management* or better self-management (“*independently identify*”). Examples of this shift are in bold (Appendix 2). Second, by shifting the focus from formulations about definition-oriented learning to positioning the class as to its importance for the scientific and academic writing development process (“business models” were now referred to as a “*leitmotif*”), the course made way for a more discursive didactic format. It was stressed that the “*course is a practical application of the pre-requisite*

Time	Topic
16:15 - 16:25	Introduction
16:25 - 16:35	Go to your group tables Introduce yourself to the other group members Elect a group leader if not yet done
16:35 - 16:55	<b>Expert A explains</b> the articles assigned to her/him to the other group members along the two proposed questions <b>(the others take notes)</b> : - How do the authors define “business models”? Which concepts from business or economics do they resemble? Discuss especially the difference to a strategy! - What does the concept of these specific authors not include? How does it differ from the definitions of the other articles?
16:55 - 17:15	Expert B
17:15 - 17:25	Break
17:25 - 17:45	Expert C
17:45 - 18:05	Expert D
18:05 - 18:20	Break
18:20 - 18:40	Based on the notes you just took, come up with the preliminary <b>definition</b> of a business model that could be used in a report. The definition should be formulated as if you wrote an academic paper and should have less than <b>300 words</b> including citations (Author, Date). <b>Write it on your poster.</b>
18:40 - 18:45	Given your definition, explain the business model of [ <i>company name</i> ] in one sentence. <b>Write it on your poster.</b>
18:45 - 19:00	Put your poster on the wall and leave one group member there. Go to the other groups’ posters and discuss how their definitions differ from yours.
19:00	End



course FoMAR (or any other course on research methods).” One of the main topics of the class is described as “*The role of theory for understanding business models: moving from ‘describing’ to ‘reflecting’*” (course description 2012, see Appendix 2). A direct comparison of the dominant wording of the two course descriptions reveals the multi-structural and relational progress after the implemented change. The original version of the course description contained mainly static verbs such as *provide, following, describe, understand, be clear, obtain or outline* in relation to the concepts. In contrast, the new course description demands *extended abstraction* from students, i.e., to transfer incorporated skills and knowledge to new, unfamiliar situations. Newly added active words include *reflect, extend, synthesize, hypothesize or critically reflect on the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the concepts*.

Third, the constructive alignment between learning with RPT and the exam has been strengthened. The old course description focused very much on the actions of “*organizations*” in the field as well as “*tools*” to analyze Business Models. The new course description uses the discussions in RPT to concentrate students’ efforts on the skills and qualifications required in the oral exam. Most importantly, these skills would include the ability to discuss with the examiners the interplay of theory and practice. As described in the assessment criteria in the course description (see Appendix 2), this ability includes providing a solution to constructive controversy with the examiners through critical reflection. In this way, students train these required discussion and presentation skills in every class instead of listening to a lecture.

Fourth, we now emphasize that this course is an extension of the course FoMAR from the previous semester in order to emphasize the theory of science foundation.

#### 4.5 Peer control on readings, attendance and progress

The format change to RPT automatically implements a social control that forces all group members to prepare. In contrast to other European HE policies, most seminars in a Danish setting do not have compulsory attendance. Lecturers are not allowed to change that policy independently. Therefore, students may avoid the seminar if they did not prepare their readings. The RPT-restructure in 2012 generated a new form of social

control for students to read the assigned material (Topping 2005): in case students did not prepare their respective parts, groups were not able to obtain the necessary information during the class in due time, and the members had to take on extra work at home. In this way, we implemented quasi-mandatory attendance and reading. This strategy was found to be fruitful. The comments from Focus Group 1 show that

students prepared: “*much better, since others were dependent on me knowing my part*” (Meget bedre, da andre var afhængige af, at jeg kunne mit stof”, translated by the authors).

“[...] the students feel guilty if they aren't prepared and therefore the student is making a bigger effort to understand the theory.”

“[...] you are responsible for the learning of the whole group instead of only concerning your own learning.”

“You are forced to contribute a lot more instead of the one-way teacher-led way. Otherwise no one will learn anything.”

Furthermore, we implemented a process control by asking group leaders to hand in monthly reports on their progress in form of a “*one-page project manager*” (Campbell et al. 2013). These reports were discussed during regular monthly meetings with the lecturer. The format of the progress report was predetermined in form of an Excel spreadsheet to enhance comparability. Because the lecturer had to supervise between 15 and 20 groups, these reports helped to identify groups that were running into trouble. An example report is depicted in figure 4 (next page).

The core idea of the progress report is to visualize the tasks of the group members both to the group and to the lecturer. After filling out the personal and project information, students are required to list the tasks they must master before submitting their report (“*Major tasks*”). It was of the utmost importance that these tasks related to ‘end products’ and not to processes. In the given example, we see that step has been followed fairly well. Task 1 is stated as being “*Finding a [partner] company [for the case study report]*”, which is better than describing the pure process (e.g., scanning or looking for a company).





Group	Project Leader: <i>student name</i> (EMAILADDRESS@asb.dk)		Project: How does [company name] show that they earn money continuously with respect to stakeholders																									
6	Project Objective: Report for exam		Date: 1-May-12																									
Objectives	Major Tasks (inc. end-products)	Project completed by:					Owner / priority																					
	1 Finding a company	●							A	A	A	A	A															
	2 Finding a research question	●							A	A	A	A	A															
●	3 Visit company for a presentation of their company and 1. interview	●							A	A	A	A	A															
●	4 Finding literature on how to conduct 2. interview		●								A	A																
●	5 Define our own assumptions/framework of what a business model is		●						A	A	A	A	A															
●	6 Writing the research section				→	●					A	A																
●	7 Write the assumptions and framework sections				→	●					A																	
●	8 Designing 2. interview				→	●					A	A	A															
	9 Transcribe the 1. interview (POSTPONED)							→	○				A															
●	10 Executing 2. interview									●			A															
	11 Write the introduction section (POSTPONED)							○					A															
●	12 Find literature based upon the 9 block of the framework									●			A															
○	13 Profil og value proposition												A															
○	14 Cost structure + Revenue Model												B															
○	15 Target Customer, relationship												B															
○	16 Core competencies + partner network												A															
○	17 Distribution, value configuration												A															
	18 Standardise language in project (not assigned yet)												B															
	19 Standardise recommendation (not assigned yet)												B															
○	20 Friendly reviewers feedback												A															
○	21 Proofread												B															
	22 Transcribing 2nd interview (Only if time)												A															
	23 Project delivery												A															
○	A Quality of group meetings - Increasing -												N/A															
○	B Communication with companies																											
○	C Communication with external parties																											
	D																											
	E																											
Previous literature integrated Empirical data analyzed Friendly reviewed paper writing	Major tasks		week 7	week 8	week 9	week 10	week 11	week 12	week 13	week 14	week 15	week 16	week 17	week 18	week 19	week 20	week 21	week 22										
	Objectives																											
	Target dates																											
	Budget																											
	Summary & forecasts		(very tight)																									
Status: Different tasks are distributed and we now have 10 days to write and B priority have 3 days to correct																						<b>OVERALL STATUS</b> (very tight)						
We have problems in finding out how we write in the same language and in the same style																												
As nobody have asked to deliver their chapter later than the deadline we are still on time (no forecasted delays)																												
[student name] is looking for an external party to proofread the project																												

- Dependent on critical path
- Planned
- Completed
- As planned
- Behind plan / over budget but recoverable
- Behind plan / over budget and NOT recoverable

However, the students could have included the actual outcome, e.g., by stating “Confidential agreement with partner company has been signed”. Each of these tasks has to correspond to an objective they set for themselves (“Objectives”); if this match could not be made, students were asked to reconsider the task they wanted to execute. The groups then decide on a weekly time schedule (“Target dates”). They add empty circles for the weeks they plan to work on this task. The empty circles are replaced by a full circle when the task has been mastered in that week. If the task is completed earlier than planned, the excess circles are removed again. In the displayed example, students were in week 18 and still had 4 weeks to submit their project. It is crucial for the students to understand the ‘critical paths’ in their planning. In the displayed example, the students have decided that the follow up-interviews only makes sense after the first interviews from the case study have been transcribed—as we see, this milestone was missed. Some of the tasks were ongoing and had no definite date. In

the given example, “[Ensuring] Quality of the group meetings” and “Communication with companies” were tasks that the students wished to focus on. They rated the latter one well (‘green’). They also indicated that their group meetings started with frictions (‘yellow’) but improved in the most recent two weeks. Students should also fill out which student was in charge (“Owner / priority”). In this example, we see that the students did not perform this task well. Many of the tasks were owned by all group members and largely had top priority. Again, this observation may be made predominantly in all Danish groups. Here, the habit of establishing homogeneity and sameness fosters harmonic group work but often compromises prioritization and effectiveness. This phenomenon might be interwoven with the reluctance of mingling with foreigners or using English as a lingua franca: despite all internationalism, the “other” might be perceived as a threat to harmony and the constructed homogeneity. Another part of the report is the “Budget”, which should



indicate how much time each student is going to invest in this project and how each member perceives the time already spent. In our example, we see that the students did not agree on plan budgets for their time. The last—and maybe most important—part of the report is the status update. Students should write free text to the lecturer on how the project is going. In doing so, we created free space for students to report any content in their own style. We thus prevented alienation through over-quantification (circles, timeline, budgets...). In the given example, students were signaling to the lecturer that they will have no problems meeting the final deadline. They are very specific in noting the problems that they were facing (aligning the language in their report). They also provide future outlook of their activities (finding a proofreader). Finally, students gave their overall assessment of the project (“Overall status”). In the given example, students were still confident as to meeting the submission deadline, even though they experienced some time budgeting issues.

The monthly report had several advantages. The students had to make decisions on who takes on which tasks by when and thus were required to assign concrete responsibilities. From the perspective of the lecturer, failure to hand in these reports (on time) immediately signaled that the groups were not well managed; this was an indicator of reacting to problems much earlier than in the previous course. In addition, the lecturer had a quick overview of where the project was; the two most critical points were completing the interviews and sending a first draft for friendly review to some fellow students. Another issue was that the students needed to be reminded to give feedback to their partner company.

## 5 Monitoring the change

### 5.1 Student Focus Group 1: a survey

#	Question	Min	Max	Mean	S.D.	Correlations											
						Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	G	A			
Q1	Relative learning outcome	1	5	3.5	1.042	1											
Q2	Relative preparation time	2	5	4.2	0.747	<b>0.377 *</b>	1										
Q3	Relative class contribution	1	5	4.3	0.988	0.084	0.257	1									
Q4	Relative recapitulation time	1	5	3.3	1.015	0.000	0.121	-0.083	1								
Q5	Relative reflectiveness	1	5	3.7	0.980	0.068	0.157	0.085	-0.065	1							
Q6	Superiority RPT	1	5	3.5	0.860	<b>0.769 ***</b>	<b>0.519 **</b>	0.235	-0.029	0.234	1						
Q7	Increase of RPT	1	5	3.0	1.326	0.237	0.145	0.034	-0.198	0.179	<b>0.437 *</b>	1					
G	Gender	0	1	0.33	0.479	0.000	0.128	0.291	0.165	0.122	0.028	0.018	1				
A	Age	22	36	24.9	2.510	0.152	0.156	0.124	0.187	-0.067	0.150	0.185	0.115	1			

n = 30. \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001 (two-tailed).

Q1 - How do you assess your learning outcomes (understanding of the subject) due to peer teaching compared to teacher-led instruction?; Q2 - How much time did you invest in the preparation of the classes compared to teacher-led instruction?; Q3 - How much did you contribute to the discussion in class compared to teacher-led instruction?; Q4 - How much time did you invest in recapitulating the classes compared to teacher-led instruction? Q5 - How mentally active (e.g. thinking, reflecting) were you in class compared to teacher-led instruction? Q6 - Overall, how does peer teaching compare to teacher-led instruction?; Q7 - Are you in favor of more peer-teaching during the Master program?

**Table 1**

To understand the students’ assessment of RPT, we established student ‘focus groups’ in 2012 (Concannon et al. 2005; De Rijdt et al. 2012; Love et al. 2006). To the first focus group, we administered a survey. We sent out

an online questionnaire via the local online teaching platform with seven questions on 5-point Likert scales (1 = completely disagree; 5 = completely agree), a section for the students’ gender and age, as well as an option to provide general comments and explanations for all scaled questions. A total of 30 students responded positively to this invitation (response rate = 47%). Table 1 summarizes the survey questions in full, the descriptive statistics of all items, and the correlation of these items.

We observe no differences in the answers relating to participants’ gender or age. On average, respondents evaluate RPT as being as good as or better than teacher-led instruction in other subjects (values of 3.0 or higher). However, it is important to note that standard deviations are relatively high, especially for question 7, which asks whether students would prefer more RPT. Therefore, RPT is a controversial topic (De Rijdt et al. 2012; Schmidt et al. 1994). Still, the reasons behind this controversy—the students criticize the intended factor of mutual control—has to be assessed. As one student notes:

“Downside is that all group members need to be well prepared and mentally ready for the group thing. If not, it will affect your learning. Notes are not as good as normal, as you cannot prepare your own notes for all the texts.”

Looking at the correlations of the questions yields further insights: students who feel that they achieved higher learning outcomes (Q1) also appear to acknowledge that their higher-learning outcome (Q6) is related to situational conceptual superiority over teacher-led instruction ( $\beta = 0.769$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ).

We discuss critical remarks on dependency on others in section 6. In total, the first focus group may be recommended for monitoring purposes, and the

questions captured in table 1 may serve as a template.

### 5.2 Student Focus Group 2: semi-structured face-to-face interviews

As a second focus group, we invited all students for personal interviews. We offered this as an option to the



focus group that had already answered the survey. We recommend providing a second contact person who has no course responsibilities to avoid agency-conflicts and biases.

Only five students responded positively to our invitation for personal interviews (response rate = 8%). The themes covered by the semi-structured interview were as follows:

The student's overall assessment of peer tutoring/The perceived cooperation level of fellow students/The perceived role of the lecturer/The learning process/The learning outcomes/The workload/The role of social skills

We analyzed the students' responses by conducting thematic analysis (Braun et al. 2006; Guest et al. 2012), a qualitative "method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun et al. 2006: 79). The seven pre-structured interview themes became our categories and thus allowed for direct and structured detection and comparison of the students' own ideas and emphases. Within these categories, two interrelated themes co-occurred that related to 1) the random group composition and 2) the level of effort in class. As to the random group composition, students criticized that they had to work with less ambitious or skilled group members, as they were not allowed to pick their 'favorite' fellow groups members. Accommodating for this might be problematic, as an intention of random group composition is to let the less equipped or marginalized students benefit from the more equipped students. At this point, we also note that Focus Group 2 consisted of students whom we perceived as being above average in terms of participation and ambition during the lecture. This group also exhibited great self-confidence and control during the interviews. Their criticism must be seen through this lens but taken seriously. Some concrete suggestions by the students on to how to encounter these problems were that the guiding questions provided by the teacher could be more directive. Furthermore, formatted, written article presentations should be uploaded by the tutoring student a week before the actual class. Despite the students' discomfort with the random group composition, they expressed appreciation of engaging in content-related exchange with international students, thereby being forced to speak English and to approach topics from diverse perspectives.

Important for the functioning of the change and the further development of the class were opinions that some students felt insecure during RPT and wished that the teacher would have defined criteria for the students' in-group-presentations to ensure equal quality. Furthermore, they expressed the wish for more teacher-student discussion, especially asking for more time with the lecturer during the group work:

"Lecturer could have made time plan when he comes to the group and spend a minimum time there have

intervened more in their discussion to provide reassurance."

The interviews convey that students are on the one hand appreciating RPT because they feel that they are treated at eye-level and that their discussion skills are used. However, they are also critical about RPT, as they find it more demanding than simply taking notes during traditional teaching. In addition, we detect a discomfort with the increased uncertainty surrounding the fellow students being in charge.

### 5.3 Students' seminar evaluations: a survey

We compared several means of the seminar evaluations of the 2011 teacher-led format to the 2012 RPT format using a T-test. The two sets of evaluations are comparable because the same teacher instructed the two classes in the same program at the same university. The evaluations comprise items that are standard at Aarhus University and on which the lecturers have no influence. For HE lecturers, whose institutions do not provide such an evaluation, we recommend keeping voluntary track of student assessments for their own development or for research purposes. We selected items relating to general information (e.g., "how many hours do you spend studying per week?"), the context (e.g., perceived contribution of the lecturer to the students' learning experience), a peer-related assessment (on the fellow students and the students' own contribution) and the learning outcome and benefit from the subject. Table 2 shows the result of the two evaluations and provides an overview of additional categories.

Compared to 2011, students do not report increases in their total workload, the time invested in the subject, or the number of classes they attended (gen1, gen2 and gen3). It is still positive to notice that the standard deviations decreased a bit, meaning that the low-effort students increased their minimum contribution to this class, whereas the ambitious students achieved their goals with fewer hours. This task supports our assumption and the remarks made by some students that the workload was better distributed. The increased workload in the beginning of the semester reduced the effort that students had to invest at the end of the semester, e.g., the preparation of the exam or finding suitable literature for their reports.

Quite to the contrary, students perceive substantial and significant improvements in their qualitative contribution to the seminar (input 1 and input 3). The perceived contribution of fellow students increases as well, but the change is not significant.

Relating to the context of the lectures, we observe that the framework surrounding the lecture (*stud2*) was not assessed as being better in 2012, indicating that there is no general bias among the students in 2012 leading them to provide better evaluations. However, we observe



<i>ID</i>	Questionnaire item	<u>2011</u> Mean	<u>2012</u> Mean	Change	p-value
<b>General</b>					
<i>gen1</i>	On average, how many hours a week do you spend studying? (Preparation, participation, group work etc. for all your classes)	29.57	31.35	1.79	n.s.
<i>gen2</i>	How many hours do you spend on average per week on this subject? (including instructional classes if the subject includes this activity)	6.26	7.59	1.33	n.s.
<i>gen3</i>	How many of the latest 4 classes did you attend?	3.78	3.88	0.10	n.s.
<b>Context</b>					
<i>stud1</i>	Student's qualifications to study the subject	3.55	4.12	0.56	**
<i>stud2</i>	The framework surrounding the lectures	3.13	3.46	0.33	n.s.
<i>stud3</i>	Aims of the subject and the lectures	3.30	4.27	0.97	***
<i>stud4</i>	Suitability/quality of content	3.30	4.09	0.78	**
<i>stud5</i>	The lecturer's contribution to the learning process	3.74	4.44	0.70	***
<i>stud6</i>	Student's contribution to the learning process	3.33	4.06	0.73	**
<b><i>input0</i></b>	<b>Contribution to the learning process (average)</b>	<b>3.28</b>	<b>4.20</b>	<b>0.92</b>	<b>***</b>
<i>input1</i>	Your own contribution towards maximising your benefit from the subject	3.43	4.29	0.86	***
<i>input2</i>	Fellow students' contribution towards maximising your benefit from the lectures	3.22	3.82	0.61	n.s.
<i>input3</i>	If a person who know you really well should describe your efforts in the subject, they would be described as	3.17	4.47	1.30	***
<b><i>out0</i></b>	<b>Learning outcome and benefit from the subject (average)</b>	<b>3.04</b>	<b>4.08</b>	<b>1.04</b>	<b>***</b>
<i>out1</i>	The contribution of the lectures to knowledge and comprehension	3.04	4.35	1.31	***
<i>out2</i>	The contribution of the lectures to making you able to analyse and solve tasks and problems within the subject field	3.09	4.06	0.97	***
<i>out3</i>	The contribution of the lectures to seeing new perspectives in this subject	3.26	4.18	0.92	**
<i>out4</i>	The contribution of the lectures to seeing new perspectives in the curriculum as a whole	2.87	3.65	0.78	n.s.
<i>out5</i>	The applicability of the subject in practice	3.17	4.24	1.06	**
<i>out6</i>	Your total benefit from the subject	2.96	4.06	1.10	**
<i>out8</i>	Your benefit from this subject, compared to your other subjects	2.87	4.00	1.13	***

\* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001 (two tailed, equal variances assumed).

Response rates (RR): RR 2011 = 48% (n=23 of 48); RR 2012 = 27% (17 of 64).

The items stud1-stud7 are the summaries (means) of larger groups of questions. These items are measured by a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 5 = "strongly agree" or 1 = "completely dissatisfactory" to 5 = "completely satisfactory".

significant differences on the 5-point Likert scale in that the students feel substantially (0.56 - 0.97) higher qualified (*stud1*). The students also believe that they contributed more (*stud5*) and find the course better aligned with the program (*stud3-4*). Most interestingly, they feel that the lecturer has contributed substantially more to their learning process (*stud5* improved by 0.7 on a 5-point scale) even though the amount of active lecturing was reduced drastically: in the 135 minute sessions in 2010/2011, the lecturer spoke for approximately 120 minutes each session. In 2011/2012, this time was reduced to only 10 minutes (not including the time spent talking to individual groups during RPT)! This finding is encouraging for lecturers who are afraid of

letting go of control of the lecture.

The largest improvement (1.04 points of the 5-point Likert scale for output0) is in the students' assessment of their own learning outcome (key competencies). Despite our small dataset, this change is highly significant at the 0.1% level. In conclusion, the student evaluations point to a substantial improvement of the seminar and their learning outcomes.

#### 5.4 Faculty observations: peer evaluation

The lecturer decided to ask for peer-review of the changed seminar by two senior faculty members. Each of the faculty members visited one of the classes, and the evaluations were uniformly positive. The Danish context

easily allows for voluntarily yet professionalized faculty peer review, as researchers working at the established pedagogical centers and networks offer mentoring and pedagogical guidance as a service (Lauridsen 2013). Agency conflicts do not pose a threat, as the university hierarchy is not built around 'chairs', and every researcher/teacher represents his own independent unit. However, to further prevent dependence and agency conflicts, we recommend that senior faculty members be peer-reviewed by other senior faculty members. In particular, pre-tenure junior staff should connect peer review to educational teacher training or to an appointed pedagogical supervisor. In universities/countries where there is no such policy, supervision networks could be installed (see limitations). The evaluations to the lecturer comprised approximately two standard pages of written text and contained comments on the following categories:

- course concept, perceived student understanding of the course's structure, students' security level, guidance/intervention by the teacher, activity level of the groups, prepared material by the students (notes, highlighted texts, full papers), note-taking by students in groups, quality and quantity of poster-discussions.

### 5.5 Examiner feedback: after the exam

In Denmark, most seminar papers and exams are graded in cooperation with external examiners to assure inter-subjectivity and/or a link to organizational practice. Given the relatively low teacher-student power distance in Denmark, this technique may be regarded as a useful precaution to prevent teacher bias. The external examiners' tasks are neatly regulated and comprise the restriction that examiners and students must not know each other (AU 2014). In our case, the same three external lecturers evaluated the students both in 2011 and 2012, making way for useful feedback on the students' performance after the remodeling of the course. The external examiners provided feedback implying that the quality of the papers as well as the reflectiveness of the students in the oral exams had increased. This direct comparison of the exam performance quality of the students in the two courses in question is recommended, if possible, for assessing the effect of the implementations (Chi et al. 1994; Yew et al. 2012).

## 6 Discussion

This paper provides a documentation of a seminar change process from teacher-centered teaching to reciprocal peer tutoring. To do so, we documented a mixed-method quasi-experiment over two years in a Master's seminar in a Danish setting. The redesign was intended to answer the changes in higher education by heterogeneity (Lueg 2011) and what has previously been described as the "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007) of the student body. Consistent with previous studies (De

Backer et al. 2012), the redesign from a teacher-led format toward RPT had a mostly positive reception among students, faculty and external examiners. In total, the introduced approach to learning content is more accessible to the broader spectrum of students at contemporary universities because many have problems transferring abstract concepts from a teacher-centered lecture. This approach strengthens group work skills and knowledge mediation among all lines of diversity, and the mutual social dependence allowed by this structure leads to qualitatively better and more reliable preparation as well as stable attendance.

However, we note limitations of our work and drawbacks of the change implementation. The students criticized unwanted effects of the randomly composed groups, such as free riding and dependence among students perceived as being less capable. We thus conclude that the changes introduced have proven to be mostly helpful for the weaker students but that additional steps must be taken to guarantee progress and security for ambitious and advanced students. To ensure this treatment, we first recommend building on our observation that ambitious students developed advanced feedback and questioning techniques to gain more from the other tutors (De Backer et al. 2012; Falchikov 2001; King 1997). Second, we suggest that teachers offer slightly more guidance and implement simple control instruments such as obligations to hand in outlines of one's work a week before the RPT lesson or a continuous process validation report made by each student. Despite these legitimate concerns, we note that confusion in the first encounter with RPT must be considered part of the learning progress towards autonomous learning in business and the social sciences (Mazur 1997) as well as towards overcoming textbook-orientation and positivistic definition dependence.

We contribute to practice in higher education first by providing a template for introducing change. We also provide arguments for the introduction of a full RPT concept, even in seminar forms, that seemingly work well without any type of group work. We thus demonstrate that even a traditional top-down lecture may be beneficially adapted into an RPT module. This documentation may prove especially useful in settings where syllabi are constructed around textbooks and where lecturers only have limited time to invest in such a change. Changing a class into RPT demands a mainly research article-based course construction and heavy planning. Our study provides a detailed guideline and benchmark for the redesign of a seminar as well as for course responsables who have limited time, e.g., for junior staff before tenure. On the practical side, we see special benefits for junior staff, as the observed quality increase in research orientation of the students may lead to better connectivity between the lecturer's own research foci and the students' reports. On an important side note, to facilitate change implementation, our study demonstrates that RPT may even be applied in groups of



almost 70 students, which shows that collaborative forms of learning are by no means cost-ineffective for university management (King 1997; Opdecam et al. 2012; Sand-Jecklin 2007; Topping 2005).

We recommend embedding the use of this documentation into teacher education seminars for the further improvement and discussion of adaption options to the specific country's, university's, and discipline's surroundings and requirements. Even if some of the steps or preconditions in the outlined scenario are not applicable in other settings, we thus provide a basis for discussion in teacher training or assistant professor education. Further research and discussion could, for instance, center on the question whether the outcomes will be different in other social science disciplines, where discursive group work, multidisciplinary method and theory approaches and constructive controversy have a longer tradition.

We note that it is of greater importance to provide all monitoring and implementation material bilingually to foster participation and understanding in the multicultural classroom. Because most Danish universities provide these materials—such as the standardized evaluations—we are aware that this part might be more time-consuming were implemented in different settings but intend to provide inspiration for construction of such evaluations. We are also well aware that a systematic pedagogical training is not a standard part of university staff education in Europe. Therefore, the political and organizational conditions for reflecting, implementing and facilitating such a change together with coworkers, pedagogical supervisors and senior staff may be less advantageous. In contrast, the 'Danish' problem of lack of attendance and thus our focus on implementing a system of mutual control by RPT might be less interesting in national traditions of compulsory seminar attendance. We presume that researchers and teachers might even encounter disapproving student and even fellow researcher reactions to RPT in cultural settings other than Scandinavia (for a critical discussion s. Grammes 2009). University traditions with high power distance might be settings in which the professor, by applying eye-level teaching styles (that are usually associated with graduate assistants or tutors), risks losing authority due to relinquishing the role of the "in control" and "knowledgeable" expert (Kendall et al. 2012, 187). Therefore, the qualities of the Danish setting, which is in large parts comfortably suitable for changes towards a less teacher-centered approach, might not allow for exact reproduction in different national traditions. One possibility of addressing this risk this would be to take control in different manners, such as, for instance, providing a more instructive task frame or requiring more demanding and time-sensitive output from students and groups. In settings where there are enough resources, the entire class could be accompanied by student tutors, who take on a consulting role in the groups.

Therefore, future research could repeat our experiment or simply alter case-relevant components of implementation or monitoring in a context that is different from ours as well as investigate programs in other disciplines. We intended to provide a documentation of a revelatory case study of a best-practice example. Despite the limitations in our research and in the global applicability of our documentation, we hope to inspire higher education lecturers and course responsables to give RPT more consideration.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: List of articles the students had to prepare per session including scaffold of guiding questions

**Session 1** dealt with Business Models (Casadesus-Masanell et al. 2010; Chesbrough 2010; Chesbrough et al. 2002; Johnson et al. 2008; Magretta 2002; Osterwalder et al. 2005; Seddon et al. 2004; Teece 2010; Tikkanen et al. 2005; Zott et al. 2007, 2008; Zott et al.

2011).

Guiding questions:

\* How do the authors define “business models”? Which concepts from business or economics do they resemble? Discuss especially the difference to a strategy!

\* What does the concept of these specific authors not include? How does it differ from the definitions of the other articles?

**Session 2** dealt with theory in a case study (Eisenhardt 1989; Hopwood 2002; Ittner et al. 2002; Ittner et al. 2001; Llewellyn 2003; Luft et al. 2002; Lukka et al. 2010; Malmi et al. 2009; Modell 2009; Zimmerman 2001).

Guiding questions:

1. expert: Read Llewellyn (2003): What counts as “theory” in qualitative management and accounting research? What are her five levels of theorizing?

2. expert: Read Eisenhardt (1989): How can you use a case study to create theory?

3. expert: Skim Ittner & Larcker (2001) and read Zimmerman (2001) and Ittner & Larcker (2002). What does Zimmerman (2001) criticize, and how do Ittner & Larcker (2002) address his concerns?

4. expert: Read Zimmerman (2001) and the replies from Hopwood (2002), Luft & Shields (2002) and Malmi & Granlund (2009). How do they address Zimmerman’s (2001) concerns?

5. expert: Read Modell (2009) and Lukka & Modell (2010): When can single case studies like yours be valid?

**Session 3** dealt with academic writing (Anderson 1995; Aspara et al. 2013; Booth et al. 2008; Cobb et al. 1995; Kennedy et al. 2008; Nor-Aziah et al. 2007). Guiding questions:

- What is the research question of the case study?
- How did the authors structure the abstract and the introduction (e.g., can you identify different subsections)? Compare them to the guidelines in Booth, Colomb & Williams (2008), chapter 16.
- How does the article link theory to the case?
- Can the authors’ arguments and their validation convince you of their conclusions? Do they answer their research question?

**Session 4** dealt with methodology (Ryan et al. 2002; Yin 2009).

Guiding questions:

- Think about a specific company: What would these six steps look like for your investigation?

**Session 5** dealt with project management (Campbell 2010) and was teacher-led



## Appendix 2: Comparison of course descriptions for Business Models from 2010/2011 to 2011/2012

### Changes made by the authors to the original documents:

- Differences in the verbs describing the students' qualifications and competences are underlined.
- Shift in foci are in bold

2010/2011	2011/2012
<b>BACKGROUND AND RELATIONS TO OTHER COURSES</b>	
<p>Business Models in the high technological and research oriented innovation environment – from project to organisation. The objective is to <u>provide</u> the students with tools, which will enable them to identify an <b>organisation's</b> current situation. With this identification, the student should be able to <u>define</u> future-oriented solutions with growth opportunities, <u>following</u> implementation of strategy and reporting tools. The theoretical aim is for the student to acquire knowledge and competences within different <b>business models and reporting tools</b>. Subsequently, the student will through a case study attain practical skills in order to <u>analyse and evaluate</u> the livelihood and future possibilities of a specific organisation's using the business models concepts.</p>	<p>Drawing on the specific topic of “Business Models” as a leitmotif, this course is a practical application of the pre-requisite course “Foundations of Research” (or any other course on research methods). The goal of the course is to enable students to <u>plan, investigate and compose</u> a <b>group-report</b> on a Business Model in practice, and to <u>reflect</u> on their findings individually in an <b>expert conversation</b>. Proficiency of these capabilities matters for both project-related work in a <b>professional career</b> as well as for writing a stringent <b>Master thesis</b>.</p>
<b>MAIN TOPICS</b>	
<p>The business potential, and the understanding of this, is crucial to be able to <u>manage</u> high technological and research-oriented ideas from the <b>innovation</b> environments towards substantial source of income, thereby creating growth and new work places in the business world. It is therefore crucial in the innovation and development phase to <u>consider</u> how the project is moving from idea to commercialization. In other words, what should the business model look like? The central issue is to identify a business model and <u>understand</u> how to <u>describe</u> such a model in order to make it useful with objective results and trustworthiness.</p> <p>Research has shown that the commercialization process is the most crucial part of an organisation's existence. A large part of the self-employed pioneers within the innovation environment is typically a highly specialized person with natural science or IT technology as background – often without any business-related competences.</p> <p>Dealing with <b>high technological projects</b> the income is based in the future. This is due to the long development phase prior to commercialization. Development costs include material costs, salaries and time. Consequently, this specific type of companies need external financing in the development and introduction face. This external financing can be achieved in the following ways: Financing from the bank; Aid and/or support from public authorities and other funds; Venture capital.</p> <p>It is critical for the entrepreneur to describe the logic that couples the idea to the future income in order to obtain this <b>external financing</b>. In this case it is important <u>to be clear</u> on how the business model is compound. This description and identification is also usable in the commercialization process. Moreover, it can be used as a tool for legitimation and development.</p> <p>Some high technological and research oriented organisations are able to obtain venture capital from innovation funds, “business angels” or other venture organisations. In this case, the organisation will be asked to develop a business plan. A business plan can be the first step towards visualisation of the organisation's business model. The business model goes one step further since it is focused on explaining value creation and how this is supported by specific indicators.</p>	<p>In order to successfully complete these tasks, the course covers at least the following main topics:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Business Models:</b> comparative understanding of different state-of-the-art definitions in leading practitioner publications and academic journals.</li> <li>2. The role of <b>theory</b> for understanding business models: moving from “describing” to “reflecting”.</li> <li>3. <b>Academic writing:</b> turning a single case study into a convincing “story” with implications of broader or more general case studies: a systematic approach to rigorous research and credible conclusions.</li> <li>4. <b>Project management:</b> managing oneself and the team to conduct projects that have clear outcomes.</li> </ol>



<p>The business model approach is thereby a performance measurement based approach to reduce agency cost. This is done through an external sufficient communication about the organisation's <b>value creation</b>, strategy and future goals. Such an approach will assist the organisation in answering the following questions: <u>How can we get started with the analysis?</u> How can appropriate performance measurements be <u>obtained</u> for an organisation that may not be making a profit? How do you <u>outline</u> the strategic and operational risks?</p>	
<p><b>INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES: QUALIFICATIONS AND COMPETENCES</b></p>	
<p>The organization project <b>builds a bridge</b> between the student in a higher commercially oriented institution and the knowledge based <b>organizations</b>. Simultaneously, a more permanent bridge will be created between the business related research environment and the innovation oriented organizations. During the project, the students will <u>obtain knowledge</u> and <u>analytical skills</u> in order to <u>create value</u> for the <b>organizations</b> through a business model. Furthermore, the students will get the possibility to <u>use</u> several theoretical tools to <u>analyze</u> business models and to <u>understand</u> the assumptions for value creation in this specific type of organizations. The output will be a <b>report</b> of an analysis of the organization's business model, which the organization can use for itself and its financing sources.</p>	<p>Upon successful completion of the course, students will have acquired the following qualifications and competences:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students will be able to <u>reflect</u> on the <b>context-specific</b> definitions of the concept of <b>Business Models</b>. They will also have the competence to <u>extend, synthesize, associate and adapt</u> the concept to the case-specific situation of their cooperating organization. Students will possess the ability to <u>challenge</u> the Business Model they encountered in their case study. They will also be able to <u>discriminate</u> the concept of Business Models from related concepts like “strategies” or “business plans” both on a theoretical and applied level.</li> <li>2. Students will demonstrate the ability to <u>associate theoretical knowledge</u> with a practical context and then to <u>hypothesize on the generalizability</u> of the case. They will be able to <u>critically question</u> the role of theory in their case as well as their results, their own conclusions and points of view on the case.</li> <li>3. Students will be able to <u>independently identify and acquire relevant information</u> for their investigations and to compose a concise group <b>report</b> on their work. They will be able to individually <u>debate</u> their results with an <b>expert committee</b>. This way, students will be prepared to write a rigorous <b>master thesis</b>.</li> <li>4. Students will be able to <u>independently identify and address</u> the critical issues organizations have when applying a business model, and to <u>formulate a research question</u> guiding their project. They will be able to select and conduct the relevant analyses to convincingly support their argumentation (“story line”) on the case. This prepares the students for similar <b>future tasks</b> they will encounter as management accountants, analysts, consultants, top executive assistants, or entrepreneurs.</li> <li>5. Students will be <u>proficient in project management</u>, i.e. the abilities to successfully <u>plan, conduct, control and report</u> on a project. They will have learnt to <u>undertake independent research</u>—that is aligned with <b>group objectives</b>—to demonstrate <b>practical and thought leadership</b> within their field. They are proficient in using all group members as specialists in one topical area in order to profit from “peer learning”.</li> </ol>
<p><b>FORMS OF INSTRUCTION, COMMENTS ON TEACHING</b></p>	
<p>Classroom teaching, group work and practical dialogue.</p> <p>The students will be working in groups of 4-6 students. Each group has to <u>analyze</u> an organization from the innovation environment. In the starting phase, the students will attend several preparing lessons. Subsequently, the data collection will take place along with the organizations. During the project, a problem statement and a <b>mid-term evaluation</b> have to be verified in order to proceed with the project.</p>	<p>Classroom teaching, group work, practical dialogue, individual <b>group meetings</b>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The course starts with classroom teaching and group work where students are familiarized with the latest academic concepts and findings. Students are responsible for <u>taking an active role in discussing</u> the concepts with their peers (“<b>peer learning</b>”).</li> <li>• The rest of the semester concentrates on group work where students will cooperate in a practical dialogue with an organization and conduct a case study on the organization’s Business Model.</li> <li>• At the same time, students will have the opportunity to discuss their progress in <b>individual group</b> meetings with the course instructor.</li> </ul>



### ASSESSMENT: TAKE-HOME ASSIGNMENT

Groups of 4-5 students will be **arranged by teacher**. This is due to the fact that it is necessary with group mix with various backgrounds which is part of the learning process.

The groups must find a company and use this **company** in the group assignment.

This assignment is to be **handed in** during the semester. The papers will be the starting point for an individual, oral exam. The grade will be based on the oral examination.

Groups of 4 students will be **arranged by the course instructor**. It is explicitly intended that students have to cope with the various backgrounds of the group members as part of the learning process and as a preparation for teamwork in their later career. If required by special circumstances, students are allowed to work on an assignment in smaller groups; the standards are nevertheless equal for all assignments.

The groups must find a **company** that cooperates with them on writing the assignment. The specific research question of the assignment depends on the individual context of the company and must be determined by the group.

The assignment is to be **handed in** during the second half of the semester. The exam constitutes the major part of the students' final grade and must be defended in the oral examination.

### EXAM FORM [unchanged]

**Exam:** Individual, 20 minute oral examination based on the group paper (20-25 pages).

**Re-Exam:** Individual, 20 minute oral examination based on individual paper. One week before the oral examination, a topic is uploaded via CampusNet. Based on this topic the student must prepare an individual synopsis between 4 and 6 pages. The synopsis constitutes the major part of the student's final grade must be defended in the oral examination.

### EVALUATION OF LEARNING OUTCOME: ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

Grade 12: The student has obtained outstanding knowledge about fundamental **concepts and tools** of performance management and outstanding analytical and judgmental skills related to the construction, implementation and use of performance management **models** in a multinational company.

Grade 2: The student has obtained basic knowledge about fundamental concepts and tools of performance management and basic analytical and judgmental skills related to the construction, implementation and use of performance management models in a **multinational company**.

Grade 12: The student demonstrates outstanding analytical and judgmental skills in assessing the **concepts beyond the initial coverage** in the beginning of the semester. The student can critically reflect on the **ontological and epistemological assumptions** of the concepts as well as on the self-conducted **case study**. The student convincingly hypothesizes on the **generalizability** of the case as well as on **related future developments**.

Grade 02: The student has obtained basic knowledge on the concept of Business Models as presented in the beginning of the semester. The student is able to describe the application of a business model in practice and to convincingly argue the basic storyline outlined in the **group report**.



## Linda Murstedt, Maria Jansson, Maria Wendt, and Cecilia Åse

### Liberal Liability: Students' Understanding of a Gender Perspective in Social Science

Research has shown that teaching gender theories tends to be an educational challenge and elicits student resistance. However, little is known about students' learning processes in social science. This study aims to explore these learning processes by drawing on feminist pedagogy and conceptual change theory. The results show that when students are asked to perform analysis from a structural gender perspective, they recurrently introduce other explanatory frameworks based on non-structural understandings. The students' learning processes involve reformulating questions and making interpretations based on liberal understandings of power, freedom of choice and equality. We argue that this process is due to the hegemonic position of the liberal paradigm as well as to the dominant ideas about science. Clarifying the underlying presumptions of a liberal perspective and a structural perspective may help students to recognise applied premises and enable them to distinguish relevant explanations.

#### Keywords:

gender, higher education, conceptual change, liberalism, political science, feminism

#### 1 Introduction

What do university students do when asked to engage in a gender perspective in an educational setting? Several studies have addressed how students react to and grapple with course content that employs a gender and power perspective or that stems from a feminist approach. Many of these studies call attention to students' resistance and reluctance to acknowledge a structural gender perspective as a legitimate field of knowledge (Webber 2005; Langan, Davidson 2005; Sánchez-Casal 2002; Sasaki 2002; Keränen 1993). Studies have focused on how gender structures and knowledge production are intertwined, and an important goal has been the introduction of more inclusive teaching practices (Jansson et al. 2008; Jansson et al. 2009; Maher, Tetreault 2001). In these studies, student resistance is often theorised as the result of the gender order. In this article, however, we argue that resistance can also be contextualised and interpreted as part of a learning process. By combining insights from feminist educational studies and conceptual change theory, we highlight the complexities involved when students approach a structural gender perspective. An important focus within the educational studies field of conceptual change has

been the impact of taken-for-granted ideas and students' prior knowledge on the learning processes (for a bibliography, see Duit 2009). In this study, the conceptual change perspective provides a focus on student learning and enables a more profound understanding of the conceptions and taken-for-granted ideas that are involved when students learn to apply theoretical perspectives. This study contributes to the field of conceptual change in social science. As Lundholm and Davies (2013) state this area of knowledge is meagre in comparison with research on conceptual change in natural science. We will show how established liberal conceptions as well as mainstream ideas about science inform students' readiness to make use of a structural gender perspective.

The overarching purpose of this study is to explore the learning processes that take place when students are required to problematize gender and power relations by using a structural gender perspective in their analytical work. More specifically, we pose the following questions: When and how can students make use of a structural gender perspective in their interpretations? What challenges do they encounter in their learning? When and how are their analyses diverted from a structural gender perspective?

#### 2 Theoretical Considerations

Feminist studies of education and instruction as well as studies of conceptual change have examined gender in learning situations. A common interest has been to explore how gendered experiences affect approaches to science. Accordingly, both fields discuss the ways that learning strategies differ between women and men (Clinchy 2002; Bunce, Gabel 2002; Scantlebury, Martin 2010). However, there are differences in perspective. Whereas conceptual change research investigates the individual's learning processes and development of knowledge, feminist educational studies are primarily

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concerned with how gendered structures influence knowledge production and condition student learning. For example, feminist epistemological studies have shown that what is regarded as scientific is bound to male experiences and constructions of masculinity (Smith 1987; Harding 1986; Lloyd 1993). Furthermore, a number of studies have examined how this connection with male experiences affects women in the academy with regard to issues of female subjectivity and identity formation (Davies et al. 2001; Hughes 2001; Erwin, Maurutto 1998). In this line of research, Danielsson (2012) calls attention to how the male bias of the physics discipline as well as expectations and gender norms affect female physics students and shape women's learning experiences. Regarding the social sciences the gender perspective continues to be marginalized in the curriculum (Oechsle 2005; cf. Keränen 1993). When it comes to political science more specifically, this discipline "has remained immunized against feminist perspectives for longer than other social sciences" (Oechsle, Wetterau 2005, 6).

When a structural gender perspective constitutes the learning content, as in the present study, specific learning challenges are actualised. Studies that discuss students' encounters with feminist theory emphasise different aspects of resistance in the classroom. On a general level, the connection between science and masculinity obstructs a gender perspective (Rich 1979; Howie, Tauchert 2002). Furthermore, researchers have discussed how this perspective challenges students' identities and their position in power structures. As Titus (2000) notes, men may resist acknowledging their privileged position, whereas women do not want to identify themselves as victims (cf. Good, Moss-Racusin 2010; Carse, De Bruin 2002; Moeller 2002). Moreover, social barriers in the classroom hinder the acknowledgment of hierarchies and differences between women and men. A pleasant and consensual atmosphere is threatened when the possibility of identifying privileges and inequalities among the students is actualised (Morrison et al. 2005). These different dimensions of resistance are, of course, interconnected. Furthermore, resistance against a structural gender perspective is neither expressed at random nor manifested haphazardly. Rather, it is systematic and often grounded in common-sense versions of a positivist view of science and liberal understandings of the world. Hence, in the present study, we focus on resistance as part of the learning process of a structural gender perspective.

Within conceptual change theory, scholars note that people use a different explanatory framework within everyday settings compared to the framework they may use at a physics seminar (Solomon 1983; Driver et al. 1994). Frameworks are defined in relation to conceptual contexts. A major debate within conceptual change research is whether lay knowledge, often discussed in terms of common sense, hinders conceptual change and

therefore must be abandoned (Posner et al. 1982; Strike, Posner 1992) or whether learning can be understood as a problem of contextualisation, i.e., to determine the contexts in which different explanatory frameworks are adequate (Caravita, Halldén 1994; Halldén 1999). Consistent with the latter line of reasoning, we note that students tend to shift from a structural gender perspective to more established theoretical perspectives. These cannot be viewed as common sense in terms of lay knowledge; rather, they must be viewed as competing theoretical and scientific paradigms.

Although the majority of studies within conceptual change research focus on learning in the domain of natural science, a number of studies have examined the process of learning political concepts by focusing on children's conceptual development (Helwig 1998; Berti, Benesso 1998; Berti, Vanni 2000; Berti, Andriolo 2001). Investigations of children's and adults' conceptions of gender have shown that children and, to some extent, adults have essentialist beliefs (Gelman et al. 1986; Gelman et al. 2004; Taylor 1996; Taylor et al. 2009; Prentice, Miller 2006). In contrast to these studies, this article does not explore students' understanding of gender categories. Rather, we focus on what students do when they apply a gender perspective in which structures of gender and sexuality are viewed as closely connected to power.

Our analytical perspective is based on conceptual change theory, specifically the idea of alternative frameworks. This line of reasoning proposes that students may interpret tasks and questions differently depending on their prior knowledge and their interpretation of the situation (Caravita, Halldén 1994; Driver et al. 1994; Halldén 1999; Larsson, Halldén 2010; Solomon 1983). Ola Halldén (1999) draws attention to the risk of jumping to conclusions when determining what students do not understand. A student who gives an answer different from the answer intended by the teacher does not necessarily demonstrate that s/he does not understand. Instead, the student may be interpreting the situation differently and consequently may be answering the question from within a different framework. This approach may suggest a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics involved when students use gender as an analytical tool.

Using insight from conceptual change theory, this article will focus on understanding what students are *doing* when they engage with learning content (Halldén et al. 2007) that involves a structural gender perspective. By examining the questions students pose and answer in their discussions and how they use comparisons and counter-examples, we are able to discern students' alternative frameworks that are actualised when they approach an assignment (Driver, Easley 1978). We argue that conceptions that may be interpreted in terms of resistance and misconceptions vis-à-vis a structural gender perspective may be interpreted from a learning



perspective as adequate conceptualisations because they stem from an alternative framework.

### 3 Material and Methods

In this study, aspects of the learning processes are analysed based on material produced by students attending a first-year university course in political science in a Swedish University during spring term 2008. The data consist of audio recordings from the students' group discussions during a seminar with the theme "Gender and media". This study includes 14 students (6 women, 8 men) divided into four groups. This small sample of students and our qualitative approach do not allow us to make generalising claims. However, in our experience of several years of teaching this course, this group of students does not seem to deviate from previous (or subsequent) groups we have met in terms of group composition or in their ways of reasoning and handling the structural gender perspective. However, one difference is that male students are somewhat overrepresented in our sample. Generally, we see a majority of female students in these courses, which are offered as part of a teacher programme. This specific course was taught over a period of five weeks<sup>1</sup>. A central aspect of the course was the presentation of a perspective that problematizes gender *inter alia* in relation to the construction of the nation. Consequently, literature and lectures addressing these topics were introduced.

The group discussions analysed in this study addressed three different course readings that problematize questions of gender representations in the media. In "Den politiska föreställningen" [The Political Performance], which discusses Swedish political leaders in the media, Tom Olsson (2000) underlines the historical connections between masculinity and political leadership. In "Women Framed: The Gendered Turn in Mediated Politics", Karen Ross (2004) discusses how female politicians are represented as deviations from the norm. In "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: Lesbian and Gay People in the Media", Larry Gross (1996) focuses on how homosexuals are stereotyped in media representations. All of these texts depart from a structuralist theoretical perspective and analyse media as a site where different identities are reproduced in ways that uphold societal inequalities.

Before the discussions, the students were instructed to read the course readings and also to read four newspaper articles, each covering a portrayal of a leader of a party in the Swedish parliament. This series of interviews was published in Dagens Nyheter ("Daily News"), the largest morning paper in Sweden, in May 2006 and was part of the media coverage of the campaign for the parliamentary elections in September. The newspaper articles included pictures of the four politicians. The male Prime Minister, Göran Persson, is photographed standing in the forest, hugging a tree, illustrating the news article's attention to the

environmental focus within the social democratic party<sup>2</sup>. The male leader of the left party, Lars Ohly, is portrayed violently cheering on his favourite soccer team. Maria Wetterstrand, spokesperson of the Green Party, is seen sitting in a sandbox with her child. Finally, one picture shows Maud Olofsson, female leader of the Centre Party, leaning back in a chair with headphones on and her eyes closed, enjoying music.

The students were instructed to begin with these articles and discuss how different structures of power became salient in the media material. The assignment demanded that the students apply elements and concepts from the course readings to the newspaper material. The questions were formulated in explicit relation to the course readings presented above and were centred on issues of how the female politicians were described and whether the "patriarchal order" and norms regarding heterosexuality and the nuclear family were reproduced or challenged. These questions asked the students to adopt a critical gender perspective when analysing the news items.

As noted earlier, the analyses of the material are based on insights from conceptual change, especially the alternative frameworks theory. Hence, we examined the recordings by focusing on what the students are actually *doing* (cf. Halldén 1999; Halldén et al. 2007), such as comparing or using irony to question the validity of the perspective. We also considered *what questions they are posing and answering*. By investigating the conceptions the students give voice to, we are able to identify *alternative frameworks*. For example, students actualise competing theoretical formulations of democracy, justice and power or scientific assumptions stemming from other scientific paradigms, such as positivist ideas about testing.

The empirical section is divided into four parts based on different "doings" of the students, which are generated from recurring patterns of actions in the material. The first part focuses on how students make use of *comparisons*, whereas the second focuses on how students grapple with acknowledging power inequalities and hold on to the idea of equilibrium, a section we call *retaining balance*. The third section considers how students use *disclaimers* toward their own structural gender analyses. Finally, the fourth section, *retaining innocence*, shows how students use liberal notions of power and how this complicates their ability to apply a structural perspective.

## 4 Results

### 4.1 Comparisons

In their discussions, the students frequently make use of comparisons. The most common is a comparison between how women and men are described in the media material. Another type of comparison occurs when students change the gender of the politicians to test how language is gendered by changing "he" to "she" and vice versa. We call this latter type of comparison



“reversal”. The comparisons often enable the students make use of a gender perspective, but they may also lead to a discussion in which the students lose sight of the gender perspective.

The simple manoeuvre of comparing leads students to conclude that women are described as more passive and vulnerable, whereas men are presented as potent actors. Here, the students begin to pinpoint gendered differences and successfully employ the structural perspective. One group compares the pictures of the politicians. A male politician is portrayed at a football game, and a female politician is shown in the park with her child. The group (3) comes up with alternative ideas as they question how the political leaders could be pictured, such as why women are not portrayed delivering political speeches or working out in the gym. This comparing exercise opens the door for a gender analysis that criticises the connection between women and passivity and men and activity.

Comparison can also enable students to pinpoint the use of different words and adjectives in relation to men and women. In the following scenario, the students in this group (2) distinguish even the minutiae regarding how women and men are addressed.

Maria: Yes. But then I think – what is the difference (...) But it feels like ... you know, Maria Wetterstrand is described somewhere in the article – I don’t remember in what part – that she has a cocky approach. Little cocky, little new, little exciting like that. While Lars Ohly – he is tough.

(...)

Erika: ‘Tough’ stands more for – it is something constant. ‘Cocky’ – then you’re on one level and supposed to get up to another.

(...)

Maria: ‘Cocky’ I think is more non-serious; just a bit new and cocky.

Erika: She hasn’t learned how to play yet, but “You only cackle here since you are a newcomer here. Now when the big established guys are coming, then it will be rough against the sideboards”, so to say...

In this example, the comparison of how the media use different words to describe men and women allows the students to position the media material within a broader societal structure.

Reversal works similarly, but it has a different dynamic because it allows the students to switch the male and female politicians in a way that makes gender stereotypes salient. For example, group 3 tests the sound of a sentence describing the male prime minister passing on used baby clothes to the minister of finance (who is also male). Reversal is used to problematize details in the wording of the articles. The students ask themselves, “Would the prime minister be described as ‘quick-spoken?’” [‘snabb-käftad’ in Swedish]. Most likely not, they lament. The act of comparing is an established

scientific method, and the students recognise this. Consequently, comparing grants the exercise scientific legitimacy and the use of a gender perspective may consequently seem less biased.

Comparison is closely connected to finding differences. Although these differences often seem to be fruitful because they address the workings of the gender structure, they also cause the discussion to move away from gender and from a structural perspective. In the excerpt from group 3’s discussion below, the age of the politicians and other individual personality traits are placed in opposition to the gender analysis.

Johan: But, does it have more to do with personalities than with gender?

Hanna: No, but it feels very typical that it is a woman that is sitting in the sandbox.

Peter: But, it is difficult anyway, because they are in different generations and also different life situations. And that is why it is difficult to know, like in the picture of Maud Olofsson ... I could have pictured Persson instead. Like a picture where he sits and relaxes after a meeting. I mean, it is not as obvious. And the question is, if it couldn’t be a picture of Ohly if he had kids, you know, that were younger. I don’t know, maybe he has.

Hanna: Doesn’t he have a fairly young kid?

Johan: I think they are teenagers.

Hanna: Was there not anyone that was a bit younger? Maybe not.

The first line in the scenario is open to interpretation on an individual level. However, Hanna argues that it is typical to place a woman in the sandbox. Thus, she states that this can be viewed as part of a gender structure.

At this point, Peter introduces generational difference as an option. In doing so, he questions the possibility of using this material to analyse gender structures because there may be underlying variables that explain the difference, such as age. His argument also implies that if this underlying variable were considered there would be no gender difference. If Lars Ohly had been younger and had small children, he too could have been placed in a sandbox. Hence, if age were controlled for, there would be no gender difference and, accordingly, no gender structure. Our interpretation is that Peter uses a framework in which science equals processes of testing and falsification. In this case, ideas of how to practise science become an obstacle in pursuing the task of creating a structural gender analysis of the media material.

In several groups, gender is rendered invisible as students move away from discussing women and men and begin comparing age and ideological differences between the politicians. The patterns that they discern are explained as a result not of gender but of generation and party politics (group 2; group 3). In the search for other explanations, group 4 asks whether the articles



were all written by the same journalist and whether the journalists are men or women. When they conclude that it is not the same journalist and that a woman has written what they perceive as the most stereotyping portrait, this discussion comes to an end, and they begin to discuss how much time they have left and whether they are allowed to take a break. Two things can be noted in their reasoning. First, the explanatory framework is on an individual level, i.e., the gender of the journalists. Second, the logic of their reasoning is that if a women journalist reproduces gender inequality, this cannot be interpreted as an example of a patriarchal structure. Reaching this conclusion, the members of the group seem to have reached a consensus on an individual-centred framework, and the gender perspective disappears.

#### 4.2 Retaining Balance

In their discussions, the students rely on an unarticulated idea of societal equilibrium. Normality is characterised by balance, and deviation must be explained.

The idea of balance is clearly illustrated in the following scenario. In the preceding discussion, the students reached several conclusions as to how gender is constructed in the material. However, Erika and Maria (group 2) conclude that the descriptions do not constitute a democratic problem because all politicians are treated in a similar way.

Maria: So, I think ... I can't see any democratic problem here with these articles. I really can't.

Erika: No.

Maria: Except for Maria Wetterstrand, which I think is a little too much, you know?

Erika: Yes.

Maria: But otherwise, I think they also soften up Ohly very much.

Erika: Mhm. So basically, they are somewhat ideal or somewhat good.

Maria: Yes, they have really gone in for "now it is the leaders that are supposed to get... they should get the same kind of coverage".

In this scenario, the students seem to argue from an understanding in which democracy is the same as non-discrimination or equal treatment. Although the task was designed to encourage students to talk about power structures in relation to democratic ideals, the more liberal understanding of equal treatment as the heart of democratic virtues seems to be the students' immediate frame of reference. Because both women and men can be described similarly manner, there is no problem. The structural perspective is deemed irrelevant because Ohly (male) also "gets softened up" and is thereby described as feminine, which, according to the students' reasoning, balances and outweighs the feminine description of Wetterstrand (female). Hence, the desirable goal is a

type of equal treatment in which the leaders "get the same sort of reports", as Maria says.

Another example of how the discussion can turn into an issue of individual discrimination rather than an issue of structural norms can be found in the group discussions addressing hetero-normativity. The students seem to have problems analysing this issue because there are no homosexuals amongst the politicians, and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) issues are not discussed in the articles. As Björn (group 4) argues, "It is a bit difficult to see this here...I mean, none of the texts mentions any LGBT-questions". He continues,

Björn: (...) if one knew that Maria Wetterstrand was gay. Then, it would be, if they don't mention it, then, it could be a question of making it invisible, for example. Or if they had brought up some negative points about it, then it could have been stigmatising.

Björn's approach presumes that there is no way of identifying a structure if no one in the material represents a deviation from the norm. He also seems to change the question of hetero-normativity into a question of discrimination based on sexual orientation. Because no one is discriminated against on these grounds, it is not possible to analyse this as a structure.

In the students' discussions, liberal ideals of equal treatment and the individual as the prime political subject seem to actualise specific understandings of what social science is and how it should be performed. In this frame of reference, the notion of gender as a variable is central. In the scenario below, the discussion is concerned with the different attributes that are given women and men in the material. Peter (group 3) explicitly addresses what he perceives as a problem in that social science cannot use controlled experiments.

Peter: I just think it is damn difficult to know, because...it is, as always in regard to social science, that you can't have a closed experiment, you know, where you test under the same conditions, same age and so on. So it is damn difficult. But, just to what extent she appears to be ... something that sticks out, you know. The absence of that could also be interpreted as stereotyped, I mean.

In the quote above, gender is viewed as one of many possible variables, and the only way to determine which variable carries explanatory force is to perform an experiment in which the conditions are controlled, which is difficult to arrange in social science. The reasoning regarding variables is founded on scientific ideas where the point of departure is that deviation from the expected outcome (that is, equilibrium) must be explained.

Another example of how gender as a variable is introduced in the discussions is found in the discussion between Peter, Hanna and Johan (previously reported).



Hanna's view is that portraying Wetterstrand in the sandbox represents a female stereotype. However, Hanna's interpretation is overruled by Peter's variable paradigm when he introduces age as a possible explanation. At this point, Hanna is forced to enter Peter's framework to argue for a structural interpretation by using an individual-centred argument. Hence, she proposes that Ohly has young children as well. The only way her structural interpretation now can be legitimised when Peter's framework has gained the status of interpretative prerogative is if Ohly actually has young children, which would make it reasonable to put him in the sandbox as well.

The issue is no longer how the picture of Maria Wetterstrand can be interpreted as an example of a broader gender structure but rather the "fact" that she is the only one who has young children. Therefore, it makes sense that she is pictured in such a context. In this sense, the structural perspective can be rejected by easily checked "facts". Hanna's dilemma is that she is caught in a situation in which the structural question she asked is replaced by a question of individual personality and family situation.

A shift to an explanatory framework that does not acknowledge structures is a common feature of the discussions. It is striking that students accept this shift even if they have just performed a structural analysis. One way of interpreting this is that the students simply do not understand the difference between the explanatory frameworks; therefore, they do not object to the change. However, the reverse does not occur. When an explicitly individual-oriented perspective is established, a change to a more structural perspective does not occur in the discussions. We are inclined to think that this is due to the dominance of liberal and mainstream scientific ideas that are conceptualised in terms of neutrality and non-discrimination, experiments, testing and causality. Our interpretation is that the students' method of abandoning a structural perspective is related to the widely accepted idea of equilibrium; that is, eventual structures appear to be an anomaly that must be explained rather than taken as a point of departure for analytical work.

### 4.3 Disclaimer

In the student discussions, what we call "disclaimers" are frequent phenomena. Disclaimers are phrases that undermine the analyses one has just made or is about to make, such as "this might be overinterpreting, but..." Disclaimers take different forms; they may explicitly question the validity of the analysis or, more implicitly, may be presented as a joke or an ironic comment. A disclaimer can function to enable analysis as well as to end to the discussion of a certain issue.

In the scenario below, Hanna's (group 3) goal appears to be to pinpoint the unnoticed use of words that can reveal gender patterns.

Hanna: But, I was thinking more like... what I was fishing for when I said what I said before, it was, you know, if there were any small... because here like it is so clear that you... I don't know, sometimes, in some texts, you read, it can be pretty clear. But they are trying to hide little words that are like, that you can trace to...

Johan: I think maybe there is. Then, there is always the risk of overinterpretation. "But, Maria Wetterstrand sounds pretty cocky" it says in one place. Would you write like that about a male politician? I don't know. Like, it is maybe like cocky and directness are a given – a part of – but when she then... but I don't know, it could be to overinterpret, you know

Hanna: No, but I too reacted a bit to that: cocky. But, at the same time..., other stuff that they...well, yea. I don't know how to really interpret it.

In the above quote, Johan simultaneously agrees with Hanna's analysis and safeguards himself from taking responsibility for the underlying structural perspective. He both begins and ends by explicitly talking about the "risk of overinterpretation". Between these two disclaimers, he produces a structural analysis that notes the taken-for-granted gender norms that accompany media representations of male and female politicians. Through the use of disclaimers, Johan appears both to insert doubt regarding the validity of his own analysis and to question the structural gender perspective. We note that despite the presence of this doubt and ambivalence, the structural interpretation has been explicitly verbalised and is thereby given legitimacy as a possible way of analysing the media material.

We have also identified disclaimers that function as a way to dismiss an analysis. In the following scenario, the students (group 4) are discussing how the concept of male/female is connected to active/passive and strength/vulnerability. However, this analysis ends when Erik introduces the risk of the discussion becoming "forced".

Gustav: She [Maud Olofsson] wants to close her eyes. She is really fragile. While the alpha male here [Ohly], he is really active.

Björn: Yes, exactly. It is really a war picture, you know.

Erik: It can become a bit forced to make these kinds of judgments when it is one picture of every party leader. It is difficult when you don't have more.

Gustav: Yes, it is always like that. When one reads these kinds of texts and everything, it is easy to overinterpret, I think.

This scenario elucidates how effective a disclaimer can be in a discussion: Gustav immediately accepts and confirms Erik's claim that the analysis he has just conducted lacks authority. In contrast to Johan's analysis in the previous example, which was made between his



own disclaimers, Gustav's interpretations were performed without this type of safeguarding. By calling attention to the need for more pictures of party leaders, Erik changes the level of explanation. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that he answers another question: not how gender is constructed in the picture, but rather whether this picture is representative of how gender is constructed in pictures of party leaders in Sweden. After this discussion on overinterpretation, the group turns to the topic of how differences in age can explain why the two women are portrayed differently.

Disclaimers may also take the form of jokes or irony. In the group scenario below, a certain amount of irony can be heard throughout the discussion. In this way, the students (group 1) distance themselves from the material presented as well as from the assignment. However, in the part of their discussion presented below, irony and humour work at the same time to make a structural analysis possible.

Maja: [turning over pages in a book] To fight...What was it they said Ohly did?

Daniela: Wasn't it something... *demanding* ministerial posts.

Maja: While she, Wetterstrand, would very much *like to have* something...

Daniela: Yes. It is a bit of fun; 'demand' and 'would very much like to have...'

Maja: Please, sir, can I have some more?

In this brief exchange, the students discuss the differences in expressions chosen by the journalists between male and female politicians wanting a seat in the government. Maja confirms the feminist analysis and strengthens the case by jokingly rephrasing the expression ascribed to Maria Wetterstrand. Choosing to quote Charles Dickens in English, she makes the (female) "would very much like to" sound even more submissive in relation to the (male) "demand". We interpret this as an enabling disclaimer. It is possible for her to strengthen the argument, but, at the same time, she inserts a moment of doubt regarding her own inclusion in this perspective.

We conclude that there is apparent uncertainty regarding the authority of the gender perspective that results in the use of disclaimers. A disclaimer inserts ambivalence because it is a way of saying, "I'm doing it, but I'm not"; that is, it is a statement that both *conditions* and *enables* what is to come in the ensuing conversation.

#### 4.4 Retaining Innocence

Disclaimers can be understood as expressions of a student's reluctance against an understanding of gender relations in terms of power. We stress the complexity of the students' struggle with the contradiction between structuralist perspectives and what we interpret as a basically liberal idea of power.

More specifically, interpretations in terms of power and structural inequality are positioned against explanations that focus on individual choice. In the following scenario, the students (group 4) appear to argue that if, for example, the politicians themselves have the opportunity to decide how they are pictured in the paper, then the pictures themselves cannot be interpreted as signs of a gendered social structure.

Erik: But, hasn't she chosen to sit in the sandbox? I think she has chosen to sit there.

Lars: I think so, but it doesn't look like she thinks it is a particularly good idea to be photographed.

Erik: I was thinking that she wanted to convey some sort of like, "I have a rock hard attitude", although she is sitting there with her [baby]... So, "I am damn tough, but I am sitting here with a little baby".

Lars: You thought like that. I just get the feeling that she really doesn't like it there.

Erik: Then it is really stupid that she has ended up there.

Lars: But, isn't she looking really damn tough also because the copying is damn bad? It looks like she is smiling a bit maybe. Actually.

In the above quote, the students are concerned with establishing whether the pictures are the results of the politicians' free choice. If the politicians have freely chosen how they are represented, this rules out the possibility that this representation is a question of power. The issue of free choice explains the effort that the students put into establishing the politicians' state of mind. Is she smiling in the sandbox? Is it his choice to be hugging a tree? (Group 4)

The idea of free choice is accompanied by the idea of individual responsibility. In the discussions, the students begin from a liberal understanding in which inequality and illegitimate power differences only can be said to exist if they can be attributed to specific actors. The implication is that there must be an individual victim as well as an individual actor who is responsible for the inequality for an interpretation in terms of power to be possible. When discussing Wetterstrand in the sandbox, one student states that if she has accepted the newspapers' coverage of herself, then the responsibility is hers; therefore, the article cannot be interpreted as an indication of gender inequality.

The issue of individual responsibility appears to be closely tied to ideas of blame and guilt. Positioning Wetterstrand as the responsible agent serves the purpose of establishing innocence. Neither the paper nor the journalist is guilty of upholding gender inequality because Wetterstrand herself has not objected to how she is portrayed.

The students also actualise ideas regarding what reality "really looks like" in a way that rules out a power perspective. This means that if the media representations convey "the true story", then the



representation cannot be interpreted in terms of gender inequality. One example is when a politician's personality – that is, how the person actually "is" – is proposed as a justification for the differing ways the politicians are portrayed. To support these interpretations, the students build upon what they see as their own first-hand knowledge of the politician's character traits. The leader of the left party is very informal and walks around town in a jeans jacket, according to the students (group 2). Such bits of supposedly correct information about the different personalities are offered as "proof" that the media representations are, in fact, value-free and cannot be interpreted as examples of a gender structure.

We want to emphasise that the students appear to rely upon an implicit understanding that power can only be present between specific individuals and enacted by one person over another. This is the classical liberal position as described by Robert Dahl in his famous definition, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl 1957, 202-203).

In Dahl's terms, the students perform a number of analytical steps. First, they look for a female B who has been treated unfairly. Various facts are proposed to indicate that no unfairness is present because she wanted it or did not object to a certain representation, and the representation simply reflects the individual's personality. When no ill-treated individual can be identified, there cannot exist an A. Once the fact that there is no A is established, the argument goes on to state that no power is present, which, in turn, can be reflected as a statement that there is no political matter at all. Hence, the statement, "She just likes children".

One important consequence of the liberal paradigm is that students are placed in a position where they believe that they are required not only to note a victim but also to identify the person who is guilty of acting badly. Interpreted in this way, it is not difficult to understand why students hesitate and why they attempt to avoid passing judgment, laying blame and distributing guilt.

## 5 Concluding Discussion

In this study, we aimed to understand the learning processes involved in what can be seen, from a feminist instruction and educational studies perspective, as students' resistance to a structural gender perspective. The ways that the students handle the learning challenges posed by a structural gender perspective lead us to conclude that what is at stake is the relationship between taken-for-granted liberal values and premises, on the one hand, and a structural power perspective, on the other. The students are placed in a position where this tension must be negotiated. From previous research, we know that resistance towards structural theories of gender is connected to making privileged positions visible and thus destabilising identities of both women and men. Accordingly, the theoretical tension that is actualised in the assignments may hold deeper

motivations for resistance. However, being in a situation in which this theoretical tension must be addressed provides an opportunity for a learning process to occur.

We can conclude that the students' learning processes exhibit alterations between different frameworks. More specifically, we have shown that the students recurrently introduce explanatory frameworks that are based on positivist ideas of science as well as liberal understandings in which the given and primary unit of analysis is the individual. In many cases, the students enter this framework without effort, although it conflicts with what has just been said. Another example is that when a structural analysis is questioned through the introduction of a positivist framework that aims to test what students identify as the hypothesis that a gender order exists, the specific questions that the students answered changed to questions such as, "Is there a gender order?" and "Might there be confounding variables that explain gender differences?" If so, no gender order exists. In other words, an analysis from a structuralist perspective regarding the function of the gender order is replaced by an analysis that aims to establish whether there is a gender order at all.

Students can relate gender differences to structures and can identify the male norm when comparing men and women. However, they have a more difficult time identifying how structural norms are reproduced where the norm cannot be contrasted with anything. One example is the students' difficulty in seeing how heteronormativity is reproduced in newspaper articles in which no LGBT persons are represented. Faced with this challenge, the students reformulate the question in terms of discrimination and thereby change to a liberal, common-sense framework that focuses on the individual. We have identified different ways that students change to this framework, which entails certain assumptions about the nature of power, democracy, justice and freedom of choice. We would like to stress that the students' answers should not be interpreted as "misconceptions" (see, for instance, Vosniadou, Brewer 1992). Rather, the answers become reasonable and make sense because they emanate from other frameworks (cf. Caravita, Halldén 1994).

From a learning perspective, the problem is, of course, not liberal values and notions in themselves but the fact that they are taken for granted and given interpretative prerogative and are therefore hidden from scrutiny. Establishing the terms of the discussion is the privilege of a hegemonic framework. In this sense, liberal presumptions condition the analysis the students can make, even when the assignment is to use a structural gender perspective.

This liberal hegemony has consequences in other areas as well. Feigenbaum (2007, 337) notes that as universities have adjusted to a neo-liberal paradigm in which values such as competition and self-sufficiency are dominant, a harsh individualism has gained priority. Feminist research has also underscored that a backlash



against feminist values and ideals is a consequence when universities and higher education organisations adapt to political demands and ideological shifts, such as neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideas (Good, Moss-Racusin 2010; Rönblom 2009; Webber 2006). When employability overrules critical thinking as the central value, this has adverse effects on students' incentives to engage intellectually in critical perspectives.

As feminist researchers and teachers, we want to provide students with the tools necessary to scrutinise taken-for-granted understandings. An implication for teaching is the need to clarify the differences between these perspectives. One way to do this is to explicitly discuss the underlying presumptions of the perspectives (cf. Tiberghien 1994; Caravita, Halldén 1994; Halldén 1988), which may help students to recognise applied premises, thereby enabling them to distinguish the types of explanations that are relevant when working from a particular perspective. Such an endeavour may also avoid placing students in a position where they – like the students in the present study – attempt to make structures visible by allowing explanations on an individual level to prove or disprove the existence of social structures.

The paradox here is, of course, that for students to effectively use a structural power perspective, teachers must actively engage with basic liberal assumptions. In other words, successful teaching about a structural gender perspective also involves teaching about liberalism. Liberal premises and values are taken for granted to such an extent that it becomes necessary to relate to them even if the intention is to introduce a different framework. The choice seems to be to either actively engage these assumptions in the classroom or to allow the same taken-for-granted assumptions to impede student learning.

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#### Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> In Swedish higher education, students take one course at the time. During an academic year students enroll in 8 courses of 5 weeks each.

<sup>2</sup> "Tree-huggers" (Sw: trädkramare) is a somewhat pejorative term for environmental activists.



## Aviv Cohen

### Methodological Aspects of Documenting Civics Lessons in Israel

In this paper the author wishes to shed light on some methodological aspects of documenting civics classes as part of educational research. Rooted in the research traditions of grounded theory and the use of ideal types, this study concentrates on one case of a civics course taught in an Israel high school. Touching on the empirical and theoretical aspects of this case, this study will present the contributions of using such methodologies, particularly regarding the ways in which contextual factors such as the students' academic level and socio-economic factors influence the teaching of this subject-matter. Practical pedagogical implications that were identified as a result of this study will also be presented.

#### Keywords:

Civics, citizenship, Israel, methodology, grounded theory, ideal types

#### 1 Introduction

In a chapter titled "On seeing of moral in teaching" Hansen (2007) explains that "seeing as a human experience constitutes more than the biochemical operations of the eye" (p. 35). While pointing to the role of researchers working in classroom settings, he stresses the importance of focusing on "the ordinary, the everyday, and the apparently humdrum and routine in classroom life" (p. 43) in order to better understand the complexity of such educational processes. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate this "art of seeing" while relating to the teaching of the civics subject-matter in the Israeli context.

In order to better understand such methodological aspects of documenting and learning from Israeli civics classes, following I will display some of the guidelines and considerations that I have as a researcher rooted in the qualitative traditions. Based on my own experiences in educational inquiry, I will detail one specific case study while highlighting both its empirical and theoretical aspects. First, I will offer some theoretical insights regarding the research methods of grounded theory and the use of ideal types. Afterwards, I will display the case study itself and will conclude by pointing to the lessons I learned from the research of this one case.

#### 2 Background

My particular interest in this study was how conceptions of citizenship manifest into a civics classroom setting. This field of study is based on the fundamental notion that such conceptions of citizenship are an important aspect of the teaching of civics that must be considered. Inspired by the biblical proverb, "where there is no vision, the people perish" (Proverbs 29: 18), it is clear

that philosophical conceptions of citizenship function as ethical aspirations that gear the educational practice. This notion was brought forth for example in the well-known study by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), who explained that the practice of civic education is influenced first and foremost by predispositions regarding conceptions of citizenship and that the choice of a specific conception is not arbitrary, but rather influenced by "political choices that have political consequences" (p. 237).

In order to understand the ways in which such conceptions of citizenship manifest in an Israeli civics classroom, I utilized a qualitative instrumental case study approach (Stake, 1995), influenced by the research traditions of grounded theory and the use of ideal types. I was inspired by scholars such as Glaser and Strauss (1967), Geertz (1973) and Britzman (2003), adopting the approach that enables the researcher to touch upon practical knowledge and thus provide some insights regarding how we understand the educational arena. It is important to point out that the purpose of such research is not to simply supply a description of what occurs in a classroom, but rather to explore the ways in which different ideas, narratives and ideologies play out in reality.

In their groundbreaking approach, Glaser and Strauss (1967) presented the notion of grounded theory, offering an inductive research method in which theory is to be discovered based on what is found in the field. They offered a complex protocol of fracturing and coding based on categories and sub categories in order to understand main patterns and themes that in turn may generate general insights. Followers of this research tradition such as Marshall and Rossman (2010) point to the difficulties in inducting theories derived exclusively on what is found in the field. Therefore, they offer a more subtle approach in which the review of literature of the topic of study supplies general theoretical constructs, categories, and properties that can be utilized in order to organize the new data and to understand what is being

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observed. Several researches in the field of social studies education have implemented this methodological approach in numerous studies over the years (Hess, 2002; Larson & Keiper, 2002; Parker & Gehrke, 1986; Wade, 1995).

The modified grounded theory research method resembles the notion of ideal types, presented by one of the founders of the social sciences, the German sociologist Max Weber (1949). Weber defined ideal types as a “mental construct for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of individual concrete patterns which are significant in their uniqueness” (p. 100). He proposes the use of an ideal display of a phenomenon that has been created by what he refers to as an “analytical accentuation of certain elements of reality” (p. 90). With the ideal types in hand, Weber explains that the next step of research is the comparison of the actual phenomenon to these ideals. This comparison may generate insights regarding the manner in which the phenomenon approximates or rather exceeds the ideal. With this heuristic device, a researcher may better understand the social circumstances of reality at a given place and time. Based on this notion, several typologies of ideal types of civic education were composed (Cohen, 2010; Rubin, 2007; Sears & Hughes, 1996; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Acknowledging these methodological foundations, I defined the phenomenon I wish to study as the manifestations of conceptions of citizenship in one Israeli civics classroom. As will be presented herein, by combining these research traditions, I was able to identify the main characteristics of civic education as they appeared in the ongoing academic discourse and their appearance in the specific case study. In this manner I was able to approach this complex and nuanced topic with some sort of a foundational insight, but also maintain my sensibility to the particular nature of the case as it unfolded.

### 3 Methodology

The collection of data<sup>1</sup> for this study took place in the Dagan School,<sup>2</sup> a public state Jewish secular high school from the Jerusalem area. Being both Israel’s capital<sup>3</sup> and its largest city,<sup>4</sup> Jerusalem schools offer a good representation of the main social issues and political tensions encountered by teachers nationwide.

The Dagan School is aimed at students who were expelled from other institutions and thus may be seen as the last chance before students decide to quit their studying altogether. This school’s main goal is to make sure that the students pass the nationwide matriculation exam, known in Hebrew as the *Bagrut*, which is seen as the most important barrier that the students should pass. The civics subject-matter, usually taught in duration of 2-3 hours per week over the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades, is a mandatory part of this matriculation protocol and thus its content is dictated by national curriculum standards.

Most of the students in this school come from the lower socio-economic class.

Ben is the teacher of the 12<sup>th</sup> grade civics course. He has 5 years of experience as a civics and history teacher, all of which he has spent in the Dagan School. He is a homeroom teacher and since the 2011-2012 school year he serves as part of the school’s administration, mainly in charge of the school’s extracurricular activities.

Course Observed	Civics
Grade Level	12th
Teacher	Ben
Lessons Observed (the duration of the lessons was 90 minutes long)	22 lessons
Interviews with Teacher	3 interviews
Documents Analyzed	1 test 2 worksheets 3 information sheets

Data Collection Summary Table

The data for this research was collected over a period of six months in an attempt to grasp the holistic educational process in this site. Data was gathered based on three resources: (1) observations of the classroom lessons; (2) semi-structured interviews; and (3) analysis of teacher-generated materials such as handouts, assigned projects and exams.

The goal of implementing this three-stage process of data collection was to trace how conceptions of citizenship appeared in the classroom activities. It is important to point out that I did not reveal my own thoughts regarding the different existing conceptions of citizenship to Ben. In this way I reduced the possibility of creating any bias and thus broadened the possibilities of my own interpretation. Over the official interviews and throughout the short conversations after the observations, Ben was given opportunities to discuss wide aspects of the issue of conceptions of citizenship and how they play out in his classroom. Following Creswell’s (2009) model of spiral data analysis, I used a four-stage process in order to analyze the data and generate theoretical insights based on the data that was obtained.

### 4 Findings

Following the tradition of grounded theory, I will display the main findings of this study in relation to this setting, concentrating mainly on Ben’s assumptions, goals, pedagogy and relationship to the national curriculum standards.



#### 4.1 Overview

When coordinating my first observation with Ben, I was surprised to learn that the Dagan School is set in an unpredictable part of Jerusalem – the school is set in the city center not far from one of the city's loudest and busiest pedestrian malls. Approaching the school for the first time, I encountered what one would expect when arriving at the center of a large city – lines of stores, busy people in suits hurrying to work, groups of loud tourists and quiet Arab sanitary workers beginning their day. Walking to the school, I could not ignore the plaque on the street wall a couple of blocks away, commemorating the victims of a terrorist suicide attack that happened on this street in the mid 1990's.

The Dagan School is housed in a building that does not seem to have any special educational benefits. It is set in a row of similar buildings that you enter after passing a souvenir shop and a store that sells sunglasses. Right in front of the building entrance stands a popular falafel stand. Whereas the first floor consists of administrative offices, only a climb to the classrooms on the second floor reveals that this is indeed a school. The classrooms are medium sized, each with 3-5 rows of desks that can accommodate around 20 students. This small size is not a regular sight in Israeli schools and I at once sensed a feeling of intimacy. Over the course of my observations, I was to find that one of the school's declared goals is in fact to create a feeling of intimacy between the students and the teachers.

One of the first things I learned from my first meeting with Ben at the Dagan School was the fact that all of the teachers held a copy of a key that opens the door to the teachers' lounge and to the staff bathroom. I learned that despite my initial feelings of intimacy these two important areas are off-limits to students. It became clear that the culture of this school is more complex than what I first encountered. The feeling of intimacy was accompanied by the not so intimate feeling of clear borders that were set between the students and the teachers.

Thus, as I was to learn throughout the observations, this school's atmosphere and culture could be characterized by what seemed like a combination between close and personal student-teacher relationships on the one hand and a clear set of rules and regulations on the other. A good example was something I nicknamed as "Ben's daily routine," which opened almost every one of the civics lessons I observed in Ben's classroom. The routine included the following: when the lesson is supposed to begin Ben enters the classroom, usually to find 1-3 students (in some cases these students are not even part of his class). He then walks down the steps to the street level, not far from the falafel stand, where the students tend to hang out. They greet him, and he invites them to come up to class. After 5 minutes or so Ben returns to his classroom. Some of the students follow him, some do not. As the lesson begins, students continue to trickle into the class. Ben

once mentioned to me in a conversation that some teachers in the school don't bother to walk all the way down the steps to gather their students from the street level. Instead, they stand at the balcony that overlooks the busy street from the teachers' lounge and holler at their students to come up to class.

With these general impressions I was soon to learn that the Dagan School does not enforce any serious learning culture. In order to illustrate this insight, during one specific observation, I noted and found that all together, over the lesson's duration of an hour and a half, there were 11 cases in which different students entered the class late. This lesson officially started at 9:00 a.m. with Ben conducting his regular routine. After Ben returned from gathering his students from the street at 9:09, there were five students sitting by the desks in the class. Additional students entered the class as individuals or in pairs at the following times: 9:16, 9:17, 9:18, 9:26, 9:28, 9:30, 9:42, 9:52, 9:57 and 10:02. It is important to note that Ben seemed indifferent to these late entries. He allowed all of the late students to enter and take their place behind the desks. To some of the students he even said "I know that you come from far away." On the other hand, when one of the late students asked a question about something that was written on the board, Ben replied angrily saying "if you wouldn't have been late you would have known the answer." This too is a sign of the culture of the Dagan School, a mixture between openness and strictness.

Throughout the observations I noticed that students would walk in and out of the classroom freely, sometimes leaving the class not to return. Although in general there was a quiet learning atmosphere in Ben's lessons, only a minority of the students had a notebook on the desk in front of them and even fewer actually used it to write down the material being taught. I received an explanation of this phenomenon at the beginning of one lesson, in which I overheard one student say "I made photocopies of summaries of the lesson so I don't have to write anything in class." Students playing with their cell phones, talking quietly to one another and solving crossword puzzles were common throughout these observations.

It became clear to me that this school culture was highly influenced by what Ben described in an interview as the students' "difficult backgrounds." For example, he explained, when he encounters some mode of intolerance between the students, he would explain to them that each student in this school has her/his own personal problems and psychological baggage and that most students respect and understand this fact. I asked Ben if this had to do with the students' socio-economic status, and he agreed, saying that most of the students in the observed class do indeed come from a lower socio-economic level. He continued to explain that this atmosphere, in which each student is aware that the other students also have complicated personal stories, leads to fewer incidents of violence and that in general



the school is characterized by a feeling of tolerance and respect. During another interview, Ben raised this point again, explaining that “in this type of school each student comes with his own baggage and they respect that and in that sense it is like a democracy that promotes pluralism and tolerance.” In this interview Ben was reminded of one example when, in a private conversation, one of his students decided to tell him that he is gay. Ben remembers that the student was surprised at his teacher’s open and tolerant response. The student told Ben that he was expecting a very different reaction, as he was used to receiving when talking to his teachers in schools where he studied in the past.

Throughout the observations it became rather clear that the students in Ben’s class are of a very low level of achievement and had a hard time dealing with complex thinking skills. For example, in a lesson about the Diaspora Jews, Ben understood midway into the lesson that the students did not understand the basic meaning of the word Diaspora. Therefore he stopped the flow of the lesson in order to supply a clear definition of this term. Later on in the same lesson Ben talked about the special connections between the Diaspora Jews and the state of Israel. He began the following discussion:

Ben: So how is this connection maintained?

Amnon: On the phone.

Ben: I mean the connection between the states, not between people.

This is an example of how the students in Ben’s class have a problem comprehending abstract and theoretical ideas and concepts. I learned that they mainly relate to a concrete and down-to-earth mode of thought. This may be why Amnon imagined regular people talking on the phone when Ben asked about maintaining a connection between a state and a population.

Another challenge that the students in Ben’s class have to deal with is their low level of language skills and vocabulary. For example, when explaining the issue of the Diaspora Jew’s own feeling of security, Ben made a connection to the Israeli Law of Return about which they have already learned in a previous lesson. Nevertheless, throughout the explanation it became clear that the students were confused regarding the name of the law:

Zvi: So the Diaspora Jews are afraid of a second holocaust, Holocaust part 2?

Ben: Correct, now this has to do with a law that we learned about, which one?

Alon: The law of settlement!

In this case Alon understood the issue and was even able to make the connection to the law that was studied in a previous lesson. Nevertheless, he got confused between the Hebrew word ‘return’ as in the first law that Ben was referring to (SHVUT) and the similar word for

settlement (HIT-YA-SHVUT) that is pronounced in a similar fashion.

In an interview relating to an exam he gave his students, Ben admitted that most of the students did not understand a certain question because the reading was too hard for them and that the passage they read was too long. In a different interview he was reminded of a professional development class he attended in which the instructor told him that he should have his students read and learn certain topics from the civics curriculum on their own at home. Ben laughed while remembering this incident, explaining, “I can’t even give them homework ... they will never read anything on their own,” while continuing to laugh for several more minutes.

A good illustration of the fact that the students themselves are also aware of their low academic level is a heartbreaking story that Ben spoke of in one of our interviews:

There was this one case when we went to a memorial tent for Yitzchak Rabin. The students were quiet so the instructors at the tent tried to get them to participate. My students answered back saying that they are not intelligent enough to participate when compared to the students from other schools in the city that were also present at the memorial tent.

From this incident we can learn something about the very essence of the way in which these students perceive themselves as part of society, a perception that as will be demonstrated following, was adopted by Ben. In this case the student admitted to his lack of ability to take part in the public discourse.

The culture and atmosphere of the Dagan School do not appear to encourage a high level of academic achievement. For example, in Ben’s lessons the students are not required to have a notebook or to open the textbook. Ben explains this practice saying:

I have no problem that the students don’t write things down in their notebooks. I don’t need them to write down stuff without really understanding, that is just false consciousness. Of course, when I feel like I am talking to myself I will try to arouse them but I really don’t need them to write or to open a book, those are all control mechanisms and I don’t need them. It is also part of the school culture, for example, we don’t give homework in this school.

Another aspect that characterizes the Dagan School is a type of racial tension that exists between the students. For example, the following exchange was observed in one lesson when Ben mentioned the American Jews that come to visit Israel on the famous “Birthright” trips:

Tamar: So those are those Americans we see in town that look like they are Russian?

Leah: Is there a problem to look like a Russian?!?

At the time of the observation I assumed that Leah had Russian origins, a fact that was confirmed by Ben in a following conversation. This exchange reflects the social



tensions that were apparent in this class on a regular basis.

In sum, the school's location, the students' low socio-economic background and a school culture that does not encourage a high academic level all create a mixed atmosphere of friendliness while maintaining a clear distance between the students and the teachers. When I asked Ben about this in an interview he explained that "it is all part of the school culture. The students are friends of mine on Facebook. There is a very casual school culture." The one limitation that Ben raised regarding his relationships with his students is the fact that Ben will not tell them who he plans to vote for in the general elections, thus transmitting a message that despite his likable approach, he is not really their friend.

As will be developed in the following Discussion section, an explanation to this school atmosphere is the assumption that was confirmed in a conversation with Ben. In general, the students that study at the Dagan School are treated in a manner that is in congruence to the way they are perceived, as belonging to a social class that feels underprivileged by society. These students are seen by the school teachers and administrators as expressing a genuine distrust in the political system and social surroundings that have discriminated them and their families over the years. Therefore, the rebuilding of such a trust between the students and the school as an institution is one of the Dagan School's main goals. As will be presented following, this goal was apparent in Ben's civics lessons as well.

#### 4.2 Assumptions

Two fundamental assumptions stand at the base of Ben's teaching of civics. First, he assumes that an important element of citizenship is a feeling of respect toward the national entity and its institutions. Second, he sees importance in the ability of citizens to potentially participate in the social and political sphere, emphasizing this potential rather than their actual participation. He explained these two dimensions of the teaching of civics in the following manner:

The way I see it there are two circles: the first is the general circle between people. People need to be tolerant toward one another and to understand that you can trust other people ... this touches on the basic issue of civility. The second circle is the political circle. This includes knowing about the political system in the state, believing in it and understanding that if there are problems with the system we can change it ... So there is the basic circle of how to act to other human beings and then there is the circle of the democratic regime.

Ben expressed this first assumption in an interview claiming that he thinks, "a good citizen has to feel solidarity ... they have to feel something toward the state." Therefore, it was not surprising that this idea was conveyed while teaching different topics from the national civics curriculum standards. A good example is

when Ben taught the philosophical term of the social contract. In one part of the lesson he decided to summarize the topic through the following exchange:

Ben: So what is a social contract?

Tal: It is an agreement between the state and the citizens.

Ben: This is correct; the social contract is a type of agreement.

At this point Ben turned to the blackboard and wrote this definition on the board: "an agreement between the state and the citizens." He then turned to the class and asked "What does each side give to the other? I mean, what does the state give to the citizens and what do the citizens give to the state?" To this question Eyal answered that "the state needs to provide security and order and that the citizens give money in taxes."

This exchange represents a specific type citizenship, one that is characterized by a relationship between the state and its citizens that is seen mainly in legal terms. As Ben mentioned, it is seen as a contract in which each side has to "give" something to the other. Interestingly, when teaching this topic, Ben did not mention other aspects that are affiliated with this term, such as the feelings of solidarity or mutual commitment between citizens.

In an interview Ben explained the second assumption that stands at the base of his teaching of civics. He mentioned that while working on his Master's thesis he read the book "The Civic Culture" by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. He explained that the idea of the citizens' potential to participate resonated with him. He said he liked the idea that not all the citizens can be active all the time, and therefore the need to emphasize the potential of each citizen to be active when they see fit. It became clear that this insight had influence on Ben's teaching philosophy. For example, when asked about the goals of teaching civics, Ben explained that he wants his students to:

Know about the political system in the state, believe in it and understand that if there are problems with the system we can change it. Being a citizen isn't just sitting in tents all day and constantly posting stuff on Facebook. The civic culture is the understanding that you don't need to be active all the time. But, when something bothers you, you do have a way to change it. For me, it is the potential of being active that is important.

He continued to explain that:

Some teachers want their students to be active and organize demonstrations, I don't. I want them to know about their rights, to understand how the system works and that if a red line is crossed they will know how to act and what to do.

The basic assumptions that guides Ben in his teaching of civics is a portrayal of the good citizen as a person who phrases his relationship with the state in legal terms,



emphasizing the official commitment of the citizens toward the state, and the responsibility of the state to supply security in return. In addition, he stresses the potential ability of his students to be discerning citizens, choosing when to participate and be active, but not necessarily participating at all times.

### 4.3 Goals

Naturally, these fundamental assumptions had direct influence on Ben's teaching of civics. Foremost, one of Ben's main goals was to develop within his students a feeling of respect toward the formal national institutions and symbols. For example, when asked about these goals, Ben explained that he wants:

Citizens to show respect toward the representatives in the Knesset ...<sup>1</sup> they should respect the judges, the institutions, they should respect the fact that this is the only way to manage life here ... I don't want the ideal citizen to be angry toward the institutions. They should be happy with what we have. Of course we need to fix the things that can be fixed but we need to appreciate what we have here.

This point of view derives from an authentic feeling of fear that Ben expressed. This feeling of fear mainly relates to the state of indifference that characterizes the youths' relation toward the political sphere. It is exactly this fear that gave rise to this somewhat surprising confession from Ben:

To tell you the truth and this might sound bad, I am indifferent to the students saying "kill all of the Arabs" whereas I get mad when they say "all of the politicians are corrupt." Of course it is all connected, but we need to remember that larger context ... when they say "all of the politicians are corrupt" it is just a sign of their ignorance – and that is why I go mad. I think that this kind of statement touches a nerve for me because of its implications – that it isn't worth going to vote and that all of the system is worthless. I don't see a reason for it to be this way. I am afraid of a situation where someone will come with a catchy slogan and the day after everybody will believe it. That is what I am afraid of.

In relation to the current situation in Israel, and of course in connection to the context of Ben's school and students, Ben represents a view that points to apathy as one of the main dangers to Israeli democracy, dangerous even more than signs of racism.

This leads to Ben's second main goal, that of the transmission of knowledge regarding the state's institutions and of the formal venues in which the citizen can be potentially active, if they choose to be so. In other words, it is Ben's belief that in order to create the ability of citizens to be potentially active, they need to have acquired certain essential bodies of knowledge.

A good example of the translation of this goal to the classroom setting was Ben's lesson about the political procedure of a referendum. After he explained the

concept of referendum, Ben continued on to explain the advantages and disadvantages of this procedure. He wrote two lists on the board, side by side, of all of these advantages and disadvantages. Afterwards he said "after we see the advantages and the disadvantages of a referendum, we can think for ourselves if a referendum is a good thing." In other words, first Ben set a basis of foundational knowledge for his students, in this case the meaning of the term referendum and the list of its advantages and disadvantages. Only then did he move on, asking his students to formulate their own value-based judgmental personal views on this topic.

This goal resonated with some of the students in Ben's class. For example, in another lesson, Ben taught the philosophical terms freedom and equality and explained the inherent contradiction between them. After this explanation one student said "wait, I don't understand and I want to understand, I want to have the knowledge!" This is a sign that at least this specific student internalized Ben's goal that sees value in the holding of knowledge.

A third goal that was identified in Ben's class was the development of a feeling of commitment between the citizens and the state, and the hope that with this commitment the citizens will contribute to the national goals. Specifically in Israel, in light of the mandatory military service, Ben explained that for him:

It is not a goal that the students go to the army, but I do want them to do some kind of national service after the 12th grade. I will be disappointed if a student doesn't go to the military or to some kind of national service. The idea that there is some kind of national burden that we all need to take part in is something I believe in.

Later in the interview he added that he does not like the whole popular discourse around the issue, which he framed as "the issue of what did the state do for me?" echoing his views regarding the issue of the individual citizens' feeling of commitment to the larger political entity.

### 4.4 Pedagogy

These educational assumptions and stated goals yielded a pedagogy that was mainly composed of the dictation of the basic concepts and terms that were seen by Ben as essential for any citizen that lives in the state. As he himself explained in an interview "I think it is important to teach the basic concepts of citizenship." Therefore, throughout the lessons Ben emphasized the definition of key terms while writing the definitions on the board and having the students, at least those who were willing, copy them to their notebooks. On one occasion he even told the students: "I want you to be able to repeat this material even in your sleep."

The following exchange demonstrates this type of pedagogy. The topic of this specific lesson was the term 'democracy':

---

<sup>1</sup> The Israeli parliament.





Ben: So what is the meaning of the word democracy?  
Eyal: A referendum.  
Ben: No, does anyone remember the meaning of the word?  
Oded: Demos means many.  
Arnon: It means that anyone can say whatever they want.

At this point in the lesson Ben writes down the word Democracy on the black board and asks again:

Ben: What is the meaning of this word?  
Doron: It is the opposite from dictatorship  
Ben: The origin of the word is from Greek. Now think - what characterizes a democratic regime?  
Doron: It's not a lone leader.  
Ben: So who decides?  
Doron: The people!

From this exchange between Ben and his students we learn that despite the fact that the students were correct in their line of thought regarding the democratic regime, it was important for Ben to pinpoint the exact institutionalized definition of the term being taught.

Another good example of Ben's use of this type of pedagogy was observed in a lesson about the connections between the Diaspora Jews and the state of Israel. This seemed like a good lesson in which the students were highly involved – they answered Ben's questions, asked questions of their own and some of them were even busy writing down what Ben wrote on the board in their own notebooks. In a conversation afterwards, Ben agreed that this was a good lesson due to the high level of student engagement. A description of the way in which Ben used the board throughout this lesson will provide a good illustration of the pedagogy that characterizes his lessons. In the beginning of the lesson Ben wrote the title of the lesson on top of the board:

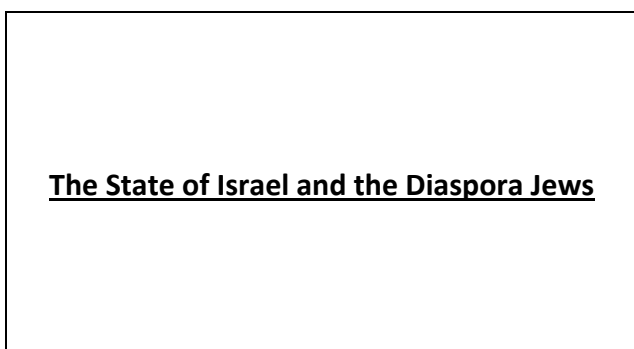


Figure 1: Description of Blackboard

He then divided the board into two parts:

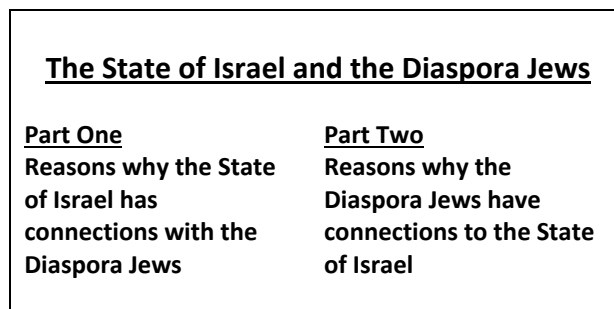


Figure 2: Description of Blackboard

Throughout the lesson he listed the reasons under each relevant part, beginning with three reasons for part one and then three reasons for part two. At the end of the lesson the board looked like this:

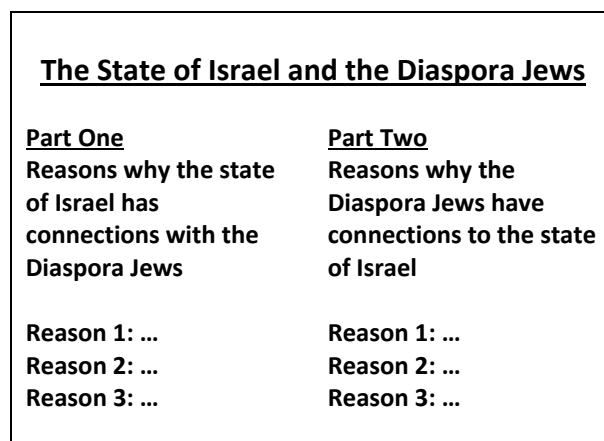


Figure 3: Description of Blackboard

In my view, this is not just a decision about how to graphically design the board, but rather a pedagogical approach that Ben adopted based on his basic assumptions and goals. Ben's pedagogy was organized and methodical: He began by presenting the topic itself and how he was going to present it to the students. He then made sure to detail the different reasons in order. This is not to say that he did not divert to different topics as well, but he always came back to this structure of the lesson.

This approach was also apparent in the evaluation of several documents that were utilized in Ben's lessons. For example, he used newspaper articles to clarify foundational issues regarding Israeli society, such as an article about Jewish ultra-orthodox religious groups that do not recognize Israel as a state due to religious reasons, and an article about the growing socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor in the state. It is important to point out that in both cases the articles were not critical in their nature, but rather informative. Therefore the use of such articles may be seen as a way to bring the lessons to life when transmitting these units of knowledge.

#### 4.5 National curriculum standards

The nation-wide curriculum standards seem to match Ben's own conceptions of citizenship. As he explained:

The way I see it, the curriculum is framed in a way that if someone learns it seriously they can have the knowledge about how to act in the system, like who to go to when you have a problem, which organizations exist. So, it is not that I expect my students to go on demonstrations every Friday, but that if they want to they will know what they can do.

Ben reserves similar feelings towards the *Bagrut* exam. He explained that:

The *Bagrut* is an educational tool I use ... of course I have criticism about the level of the *Bagrut* and I would like to see it in a different format. But, I think it is part of the idea of respecting the rules of the game – some smart people sat down and decided how we teach civics toward the *Bagrut* and we need to respect that.

That said, Ben did voice some critique toward the official curriculum standards. For example, on one observation, after writing more definitions of key terms on the board, he told his students: "When answering questions on the *Bagrut* you need to write the definitions in this manner." Later, he admitted to the fact that personally he doesn't agree with the definition he supplied to the term *welfare state* as it appears in the curriculum standards. Nevertheless, he explained to his students: "because this is the definition that appears in the text book this is the definition that you need to know." In the same manner, in another lesson Ben told his students that "in the exam there is no place for you to express your own personal opinion. You can talk in the lessons but not in the *Bagrut* – there you need to show that you know what we learned in class."

As a response to this statement one student said "in civics the only thing we need to do is memorize definitions by heart. It is all rubbish." This remark represents one of the main challenges that Ben faced regarding the curriculum standards – the fact that there is a clear separation between civics as it appears in the curriculum and the *Bagrut* and the "real" civics that appears in the real world, such as the students' own personal opinions and experiences. This is one of the main insights that will be discussed following.

#### 5 Discussion

As an answer to the central research question of this study regarding the manifestation of conceptions of citizenship, and with the use of the methodological traditions mentioned above, these findings reveal that such a conception did indeed influenced the different components of Ben's civics lessons including both the general goals, pedagogies and evaluation methods as well as the knowledge, values and dispositions that were advanced. In congruence with the notion of the teacher as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper (Thornton, 1991), Ben was identified as a key figure who framed the

conception of citizenship that was promoted throughout these lessons.

Based on this empirical data, I offer to see Ben's lessons as a reflection of a theoretical stance that I identify as a disciplined conception of citizenship.<sup>5</sup> This conception was translated into an educational practice that may be seen as an ideal type of civic education. The construction of this ideal type was based on the empirical data obtained from this study as it resonated with the academic theoretical discourse in the fields of social studies education and political science. In this sense, this insight is a good example of the ways in which the two research traditions, of grounded theory and the use of ideal types, may be combined in order to lead to theoretical insights. As will be presented following, the identification of Ben's teaching with this ideal type is helpful when trying to better understand the connections between the teaching of civics in this specific case, and the larger social contexts and implications.

Followers of this ideal type of disciplined civic education tend to see citizenship in the democratic state in terms of a legal contract between the state and the individual citizen, following the thin and procedural model of citizenship. Therefore, the two main assumptions that stand at the base of this conception of citizenship resemble the thoughts expressed by Ben, that: (1) the good citizen should respect the national entity and the political institutions; and (2) the good citizen should be able to potentially participate in the social and political processes. These assumptions are influenced by the philosophical stance that society is composed of individuals, and thus civic education should cultivate the role that the individual takes in the public sphere (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996).

In order to develop this role, supporters of this conception stress the required intellectual and practical tools necessary for life in a democratic state (Lawry, Laurison, & VanAntwerpen, 2006). Emphasis is put on the teaching of procedural knowledge, such as understanding the voting process or the official venues necessary to connect with elected representatives, as well as on developing values related to the individual's behavior, such as independence and personal merit. The aspiration of this approach is that such independent and responsible citizens will be willing to contribute to the state's national goals (Ben Porath, 2007).

These goals yield a pedagogical approach that emphasizes the acquaintance of the students with basic political concepts and terms. For this purpose the teachers will mainly dictate the meanings of these foundational conceptual building blocks and use primary sources in order to clarify them. The assumption is that such an approach will develop the students' feeling of respect toward the national entity and political institutions. Supporters of this conception will also support a mandatory nationwide curriculum that includes the teaching of such terms and concepts. Thus, the evaluation process will be mainly composed of the



ability of the students to memorize these key foundational elements.

A good illustration of this conception was observed in the lesson in which Ben discussed the mechanism of a national referendum. At one point in the lesson Ben posed the following question to his students:

Ben: So what are the advantages of a referendum?

Omer: In a referendum they ask me!

Amit: And that is a real democracy!

From this short exchange we learn about how the term *democracy* is framed in this regard. The “real democracy” is a mere procedure in which the citizens are asked questions directly, through a set institutionalized mechanism. This perception of citizenship resonates with my overall impression of Ben’s educational approach – teaching his students how to be fair and equal players in the democratic game.

Two aspects of this conception of civic education may be criticized. First, some scholars argue that the emphasis on procedural knowledge alone is not satisfactory in the complex reality of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, Barber (2004) stresses the importance of cultivating active participatory citizens who hold various civic responsibilities. This participation should be rooted in a strong value basis that acknowledges this need to be active citizens. Therefore, he will claim that the teaching of the procedural aspect of citizenship alone is simply not satisfactory. In addition, scholars such as Kymlicka and Norman (1994) argue that any debate regarding citizenship must relate to the social and cultural plurality of citizenship that characterizes our times. The emphasis of this disciplined conception on the individual citizen, they will argue, is simply irrelevant for our current age.

These points of critique help in shedding light on the contextual aspects of Ben’s civics lessons, aspects that yield important theoretical insights regarding the general topic of teaching civics in Israel and worldwide. The fact that Ben teaches in a school that will enroll any student means that many of his students have been expelled from their previous placements. Therefore, it was clear that Ben saw his students as citizens that have developed a feeling of distrust toward such institutions that dealt with them so poorly in the past. In addition, as detailed above, most of the students in the school are from a low socio-economic status and the low academic level of the students was also apparent.

Understanding this context helps in explaining why the disciplined conception of citizenship was chosen by Ben to be dominant in his class. For example, Ben dedicated one lesson to go over questions from the previous *Bagrut* exam. Throughout the lesson Ben read the questions out loud and stopped to explain the vocabulary to his students. These explanations included offering definitions for terms such as *privatization* and *employment service*, terms that most of the students have simply never heard of.

Ben reflected on his assumptions regarding the context of his school and of his students. In an interview he explained that he wants his students “to have the basic understanding of democracy and understand the power they have in the system – that is a lot for them, a lot.” He continued:

Don’t get me wrong, I will be happy if my students become politically active and I have students that are, but those students come from places where it is natural to be active. But other students that come from different backgrounds won’t be active at all, even if it is on issues that they are concerned about. So I won’t encourage students to be politically active just so they can say that they were. I think it is a lot more important to put emphasis on the knowledge and then create an interaction based on that knowledge.

When asked in another interview about a more critical conception of citizenship, Ben answered that “being critical isn’t worth anything if it isn’t based on basic foundational knowledge.” In fact, it is the understanding of foundational knowledge, which he believes that his students are lacking, that Ben sees as one of his main educational goals.

It was apparent that this disciplined conception of citizenship is influenced by both the school and by the students’ contexts, translated into Ben’s desire to build a feeling of mutual trust between the students and the official institutions of the state. In the lesson in which Ben taught two basic democratic principles of *freedom* and *equality*, Ben explained that a democratic state needs to translate these principles into the state’s policy. At this point Iddo interrupted and asked:

Iddo: So does Israel translate these principles?

Ben: Yes, Israel does believe in these principles and it also translates them into policy.

This is a good example of the way in which, as part of this conception, the idea of loyalty to the state is transmitted to the students. This theme was observed in several other lessons as well, such as the lesson about the social contract detailed above. In congruence with this philosophy, in this lesson Ben made a point of explaining to his students that the state does indeed supply its citizens’ basic needs such as police, fire fighters, schools and hospitals.

All of these examples point to the fact that Ben’s teaching was highly influenced by his identification of his students’ general civic orientation. In order to better understand this relationship, I build on the writings of the economist Hirschman (1970) who also offered a well-known typology of citizenship, based on the methodology of ideal types. While rooted in the field of political economy, Hirschman explains that his findings can be applicable to other organizations such as voluntary associations or political parties. It is my view that such a typology is also relevant regarding a citizen’s personal relationship to the state in which s/he lives. Hirschman



explains that when organizations show a decline in their performance, the consumer, or in our case the citizen, has two options: (1) exit – leaving the organization; or (2) voice – expressing their concerns within the organization. Hirschman explains that the option of exit does not necessarily need to be physical, but can also be emotional. For example, exit can be a citizen's feeling of apathy toward the political institutions and society in general. This insight is important when considering the fact that in most cases the option of physical exit does not really exist unless the citizen is willing to migrate to a different state. Therefore, he explains that one of the main dangers is that "the presence of the exit option can sharply reduce the probability that the voice option will be taken up widely and effectively" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 76).

Applying these insights regarding such modes of citizenship in relation to the conception of citizenship being promoted in Ben's classroom, my central claim is that Ben's perception of his students as "exit" citizens led him to frame his civics lessons while following the disciplined conception of citizenship. As stated, his main goal was to build and rebuild their trust in Israeli society and politics.

This conclusion represents the general issue of the ways in which teachers' own understanding of the context in which they teach influences the ways in which they perceive their own students and, based on this perception, influence the conception of citizenship that they wished to promote. Due to these contextual factors, Ben saw himself as a figure holding the official knowledge that his students lack, thus resembling the notion of hegemonic knowledge as presented by critical theorists such as Apple (1999). Students from the Dagan School were not exposed to a more critical conception of citizenship, despite the fact that their teacher saw them as belonging to the social group that is in need of exactly these types of experiences in order to enhance their own social situation. Instead, their experience concentrated mainly on the narrow and disciplined conception of citizenship that maintained their own social reality. In other words, from this study we can speculate about how teachers' perceptions of their own students influence the ways civics is taught, illuminating the fact that those students who are in need of enhancing their civic awareness and dispositions the most in order to enable their social mobility are not necessarily being exposed to the critical conceptions of citizenship that could have this effect.

## 6 Implications

Based on this discussion and on the methodological aspects that guided this study, one of its main conclusions is the importance of teachers reflecting on the context in which they teach and understanding the ways in which these contexts influence the ways in which they view their students and, as an outcome of this perception, their choices regarding the conceptions of

citizenship that they wish to promote in their classrooms. In my view, it is exactly this point from which we learn the importance of relating to methodological issues, such as the documentation of case studies and the use of ideal types. Exposing civics teachers and student-teachers to such typologies of citizenship and to various models of civic education may contribute to their ability to perform such reflection. As explained by Banks (1993), a prominent scholar of multicultural education, "typologies are helpful conceptual tools because they provide a way to organize and make sense of complex and disparate data and observations" (p. 7).

An additional aspect that deserves consideration in relation to the reality of the civics lessons described above is that of pedagogical practices. Despite the fact that Ben's lessons can mainly be framed in the realm of the disciplined conception of citizenship, he used several pedagogical strategies that are worth noting. These practical insights should be seen in light of the research tradition of models-of-wisdom (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Wineburg & Wilson, 1991), also known as the "good cases" approach (Hess, 2002; Shulman, 1983), that strive "to learn from the possible, not only the probable" (Hess, 2002, p. 15). It is my belief that the following list of pedagogical practices reflects educational strategies that can be put to use in congruence with different conceptions or ideal types, and in relation to diverse educational settings.

1. Dictation – In Israel the civics subject-matter is very much knowledge-based. Therefore a common teaching strategy that was identified was the dictation of terms and topics. In most cases Ben prepared in advance clear definitions to write on the board. The students then copied these definitions to their notebooks. In an interview Ben explained that in certain cases there is an advantage in choosing such a strategy based on the transmission of basic knowledge and ideas.

2. Use of Concrete Examples – One of the main characteristics of the Israeli civics curriculum is that it includes numerous theoretical terms and concepts derived from the fields of political science, law and philosophy. *Parliamentary regime, the rule of law and the social contract* are just a few examples of terms and concepts that appeared throughout the observed lessons. A common strategy that was identified in this case was the use of concrete examples in order to describe and clarify such abstract ideas. Ben described the use of this strategy in an interview and explained that such examples help the students remember the material.

3. Current Events – As expected with civics lessons in which one of the main goals is the creation of a connection between the students and their surroundings, the reference to current events was not surprising. In addition, living in a state such as Israel with dramatic news occurring around the clock, it is hard to ignore some of the events that eventually found their way to the classroom. On several occasions Ben decided



not to teach his planned civics lesson but rather refer to public events that were happening in the country. On one occasion Ben referred to the time of the year, connecting the content of his lesson to the national Memorial Day for Yitzhak Rabin that was to occur the following day.

4. Leading Classroom Discussions - Another common teaching strategy that was observed as part of this study was the use of classroom discussions. These discussions were mainly teacher-centered, meaning that once a topic was raised different students voiced their opinions, but the teacher determined who spoke and when. Several common pedagogical strategies were observed during such discussions. These included: paraphrasing the students' remarks so that the entire class could understand; clarification of key terms that came up in the discussion; reaction to the students' remarks; enhancing arguments by indicating to the students the quality of their arguments; connecting the discussions to the content being taught; maintaining order and making sure that the discussion were held in an organized fashion; playing devil's advocate by posing opinions that were the opposite of the opinions that the students presented.

5. Student-Relevant Pedagogy - Another important strategy that was identified was the connection of the content to the students' own lives. As Ben explained in an interview "the students need to have a personal connection to the material so that they can learn." Two examples from the observations expressed the strength of this pedagogical strategy. In the lesson about the Diaspora Jews, one student interrupted and said that his parent migrated to Israel from Russia in the early 1990's. Ben took advantage of this interruption and asked the students why it is that Jews of Russia felt the need to come to Israel. He continued to explain that special connection between the Jews of the world and Israel, which is seen as a safe haven. The student confirmed this explanation saying that indeed that is the reason why his parents came to Israel in the first place.

In another lesson Ben was trying to teach the concept of pluralism. Seeing the lack of response from the students regarding this topic he turned to them and asked "What kind of music do you like?" The students, somewhat surprised, began throwing answers such as pop, rock and *Mizrahi*.<sup>6</sup> To this Ben responded saying:

You see, in order for you to have developed your own personal taste you first needed to hear different types of music. What would have happened if there was only one radio station? You wouldn't even know what music you like. If you are not exposed to different opinions or styles you can't develop your own personal opinion.

6. The Teacher as a Role Model - Moving beyond the formal teaching strategies mentioned above, Ben also saw himself as an educational and civil role model. In this sense he understood that his students were monitoring his own behavior and thus made sure to maintain a behavior that reflected the civic conception that he

wished to promote. Ben explained this strategy in an interview saying that "the main thing that we do is modeling, meaning that the students look up to us and see the way we act. So for example I constantly try to show them that I don't think that all Arabs are bad." It seems like more than others, this pedagogy has to do with the main theoretical findings of this study in relation to the students' background and context. Ben wished to present an alternative model of an adult for his students. As he explained:

In a school like ours ... 90 percent of what we are doing is modeling. A lot of them come from backgrounds where they don't trust the grownups and it is our role to rebuild that trust in the way we act and in the interactions with them. In some senses it is more like a youth movement.

He added that he thinks that "it is excellent that my students meet something that they are not used to. They should meet something that is different from them; they understand that we are also humans despite our differences." For example, he was reminded of a case when he told one of his students that he does not watch a lot of television and cynically remarked how "the student's whole perception of the world shattered." In addition, Ben admitted that this type of modeling is a way of conveying the feeling of respect toward his students, explaining that "I will always be on time, and will never answer my phone during a lesson. This way I transmit to them that I am treating them seriously, this is the modeling."

## 7 Conclusions

As mentioned, the purpose of this paper was to show the advantages of documenting civics lessons building on the research traditions of grounded theory and the use of ideal types. This presentation of one case study from the Israeli educational context may be seen as an example of the ways in which the comparison between the data obtained from the field to theoretical constructs yielded important insights. In this case, these insights relate to the ways in which contextual factors influence the conception of citizenship being prompted as part of the civics lessons.

In addition, this focus on such a comparison between what happened in the classrooms and theoretical models of citizenship helped in identifying and understanding practical implications such as the importance of teacher reflection and pedagogical practices. It is in this manner this study may be a reminder of the original role of data-driven research to help enhance educational processes in classrooms across the globe.

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#### Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> See Table 1 - Data Collection Summary Table.

<sup>2</sup> All of the names that are mentioned, including the names of the school, the teacher and the students are pseudonyms. The following information was obtained from the school's web site as well as from the web sites of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Jerusalem Municipality that detail information regarding schools in the state and in the city. In order to protect the

participants' confidentiality, the addresses of these websites will not be detailed.

<sup>3</sup> Jerusalem was proclaimed as Israel's capital in 1950. Nevertheless, the U.N., the E.U. countries and the U.S.A. do not recognize its status due to the ongoing dispute with the Palestinians and other Arab countries. Therefore, most countries maintain their embassies in the city of Tel Aviv ("Israel," 2012).

<sup>4</sup> At the end of 2010 the population of Jerusalem was estimated at 789,000 (Choshen & Korach, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Of course other general conceptions of citizenship and of civic education also exist. For more on this see: Cohen (2010).

<sup>6</sup> A popular Israeli music style that is mainly influenced by Middle Eastern music.



Hiroyuki Kuno, Go Ikura

## Investigating Society “Close-up”: A Case-Study of an Individual Student, Yumiko, and the Construction of a Footbridge on Route 419

Is it actually certain that our students are changing during our social studies classes? This paper aims to reveal structural development and evaluation in social studies education which is related to national curriculum requirements and focused on particular students in order to test the effectiveness of the lesson. In order to increase students' concern for the theme, the teacher choose a topic related to the construction of a footbridge on Route 419 on the students' daily route to school as the lesson study unit.

The lesson unit took place in a 9th grade class of a Japanese Secondary School, called Asahi Chu-gakko in Kariya, Aichi, for about 40 days from September 21 to October 29, 2010. “Yumiko” is a so-called “case student” among the 37 students that is indicate effectiveness of the lesson through observing in detail his/her performance during the lesson. The authors describe whole learning tracks of the case student Yumiko through pre- and post-Lesson Commentary and Lesson transcripts as evidence of her learning.

### Keywords:

Lesson study, problem solving approach, political education, case student, lesson transcript, student-centered learning, pre- and post-lesson commentary, Japan

### 1 Introduction: Political education in Japan - fundamental principles in practice

In Japan, political education (Seiji Kyoiku/Komin Kyoiku) is an important domain as emphasized in Article 14 of the Fundamental Law of Education. Nevertheless, Japanese teachers have to remain neutral in their teaching in accordance with the claim by the political parties under the “Act on Temporary Measures concerning Assurance of Political Neutrality of Education of Compulsory Education Schools” passed in 1954 (Ohta, 1978). During the post-war era, from 1945 to the end of the 1950s, relationships between MEXT and the teachers' union was tense. Thus, social studies teachers focused on social issues of relevance to the students' lives rather than the political situation and political parties. They paid more attention to problems that students try to solve as citizens in local society (Eguchi, 2004; Kuwabara, 2004; Mizuyama, 2009; Kobayashi, 2010; Grammes 2012).

In the Japanese course of study (national curriculum: Gakushu-Shido-Youryo), the aim of political education was clarified in the revised curriculum of 1998 as being “to consider social issues from multiple perspectives and in a multi-facetted manner using documentary evidence” (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 1998, 8). In addition, in 2008, it was decided to place more emphasis on basic political and economic concepts like “opposition and agreement” or “efficiency and fairness” as fundamental literacy of politics and economics (MEXT, 2008, 7). A student would not be able to understand such concepts if they were taught in a one-sided manner. Engagement and concentration are to be produced in students through analysis of social problems which arise from their circumstances and social lives, enabling them to participate in society as active citizens (Ikeno, 2004; Sanaga, 2006; Fujiwara, 2009; Hikita, 2011; Nakadaira, 2011; Ikeno, 2012).

Based upon the above, the authors have designed aims and a Lesson Unit to assist students in developing their ability to view issues from multiple perspectives and to engage in problem solving (Kuramoto, 2005; Katakami, 2006; Matsui, 2012).

In this paper the authors describe the learning process of an individual student, described in this paper as a “Case Student”, “Yumiko”. The “art” of description in the context of the Japanese Lesson Study tradition focusses on the learning process of individual students rather than the group. This is because learning is established only in each individual. Therefore, at least one Case Student is nominated by the teacher in order to help in the evaluation of the quality of the lesson. The authors follow their learning situation as much as possible. This idea should be emphasized in social studies that nurture consciousness and viewpoints of students to the society in particular. However, it is a difficult thing to observe

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their consciousness and viewpoints occurring in the class. In this study, in order to solve this difficulty the authors selected Yumiko (fictitious name) as a “Case Student” and decided to monitor her learning as the Case Student throughout a lesson unit for five weeks concretely. The reason why the teacher chose Yumiko as a Case Student was because she showed a tendency to take primarily her own views into account and to pay less attention to the views of others. So the teacher wanted her to consider other ideas for her further development as a young citizen. If she demonstrates the development of such an attitude over the course of this lesson unit, the lessons will be deemed a success.

According to the Case Student method, the Case Student is observed and his/her process of learning during a whole lesson unit described in a precise manner, followed by an analysis of changes in his/her perception of the issue at hand during the lessons (Horikawa Elementary School, 1959, 28-34). The Case Student method has been an established practical research technique since the 1950s’ in Japan and has been used widely by elementary and lower secondary school teachers as well as in social studies education. This technique and others are practiced and improved through “Lesson Study”, that is school-based, collaborative, practical research to improve teachers’ qualifications. This practical research by teachers through Lesson Study has been extremely popular in Japan for more than 100 years, and in recent years this exercise has begun to be used more frequently further afield particularly in US, UK and in other Asian countries (Lewis, 2004; Arani et al., 2010; Dudley, 2011; Yang & Ricks, 2011; Ko, 2011; Fang et al., 2011; Grammes, 2012; Suratno & Kuno 2013; Takahashi et al., 2013).

The lesson unit chosen for this study is entitled “Social implications of the footbridge construction on Route 419 in our community” and its implementation with the 9th grade students in lower secondary school is a fruitful example of social studies classes in Japan, which are adapted to problem solving and use a student-centered approach. Ikura and Kuno had designed a series of lessons collaboratively and implemented them at the Asahi junior high school in which Ikura was placed as social studies teacher. The practical part of this paper was originally written in Japanese language for a school practical report in 2011. This paper is a fully expanded and rewritten version incorporating scientific description.

## 2 Research design

### 2.1 Research question (RQ)

The research questions of this study are as follows:

RQ1: How should we construct classes which will enable students to view social issues from multiple perspectives?

RQ2: How should we construct classes which will enable students to take the initiative in problem solving?

In RQ1, the ability to understand a social issue from several perspectives would include the following: Social

issues contain diverse aspects, and depending on various conditions and standpoints, interests of the people involved intricately overlap and make it complicated to solve problems. Consequently, people with various standpoints who are involved in social issues will be interviewed and the ability to understand multiple aspects of events and the views of different stakeholders will be nurtured.

Students also listened to their classmates views in the classroom and learn to internalize viewpoints which are different from their own.

Consequently, the teacher constructs a class in which students directly interview various interested parties and mutually listen to the content at the classroom, and thereby guide students from one-dimensional understanding of the event to multi-perspective understanding, and finally guide them from individual problem solving to an understanding from multiple perspectives with the aim of collaborative problem solving with their classmates.

In RQ2 the ability to take the initiative in problem solving does not always mean the ability to find a solution to a problem on your own. Instead it implies having an interest in social issues, clarifying the nature of the issue or problem at hand, carrying out a thorough investigation of the problem through survey and discussion activities, and striving with enhanced awareness for a solution to the problem.

### 2.2 Conceptual framework: strategies and measures

#### 2.2.1. Measures for research question 1

A strategy to nurture an ability to view social issues from multiple perspectives will use dynamic social topics that occur in our own communities as educational materials, locate a suitable venue for learning through “investigation by interviewing” in local communities, and in addition build up a lesson structure that makes students think of social issues from various standpoints (Nishimura, 2005).

**Measure 1 for RQ1:** To roll out studies which a student learns in local communities

The site of learning is the community where students were born and brought up and handling social issues which occur in their backyards would strongly attract students to the issues. This would motivate students to face topics with an earnest desire to find and investigate problems by themselves. Furthermore, by actually interviewing, students would be aware of the need to understand issues from various standpoints, such as those of residents, public administration, etc. and grasping social issues multi-dimensionally.

**Measure 2 for RQ1:** To create a class with facts which students investigated with interviews used as materials

Materials which a teacher presents in a classroom reflect a teachers’ intent and the initiative of learning remains in teachers’ hands. In this regard, however, the



survey activities such as interviewing involve learning directly from the thoughts of people involved in the social issue, in other words reflect stakeholders positions rather than the intent of teachers. A class will be rolled out, in which students can solve problems according to their own strengths and according to their thoughts, with the facts students actually saw and heard and investigated used as main materials. In this way, students will be facilitated in grasping social issues in a multidimensional, multifaceted manner.

### 2.2.2. Measures for research question 2

In order to stimulate problem solving, “whole class” group discussion will be facilitated in order to compare different ways of thinking by individual students the problem as each student perceives it during the lesson unit (Mercer & Dawes, 2008; Ichikawa 2010).

**Measure 1 for RQ2:** To facilitate a class in which students present “what they found.”

After conducting learning by interviewing, a class takes place during which a discussion on what was understood and what was not understood takes place (see the unit structure in Table 1). Through presenting what they found out from their interviews, students are able to confirm and share the information they have acquired. At the same time, by mutual listening to friends’ comments, they should realize that there are diverse ways of looking at things, and would develop their thinking while going over their own questions.

In addition, modern social issues contain diverse aspects and at the same time consist of various conditions and factors. By discussing what students have found through interviewing, elements that remain unclear to the students should emerge at this point. Of those, the problems which draw attention of students are set as the next learning questions, and learning in which students could find problems by themselves and could carry out a thorough investigation will be rolled out (See Problem Solving Cycle in Figure 1)

### Measure 2 for RQ2: A reflective class

Over the course of the unit, students’ thoughts may stagnate or become muddled. At such times, the teacher should not force the progression of the class but rather guide to reflection temporarily so that students can

determine the point at which comprehension broke down. The objective is to streamline students’ thought processes, check to where they should return and think, and help the course unit continue again with the consent of students. In such instances, the teacher should attempt to align learning questions with the students’ thought processes by setting learning questions using key words which students uttered.

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Context of the political issue

The authors selected a social issue, the construction of footbridge on a national road 419 (Route 419) which is about 200 meters away from school to nurture the capacities described above There is a crossing where the national road intersects with a city road. It is a busy crossing, where the road is severely jammed at peak times and traffic accidents show no sign of significant decline. Because it is the crossing which many students use almost daily, students are painfully aware of the



conditions.

The teacher heard that a footbridge was to be constructed at this crossing. It was welcome news in terms of both securing the safety of pedestrians and alleviating traffic jams.

In the meeting to explain the decision to local residents held last year, however, more than 30 community residents got together and many of them strongly opposed the plan. This was understandable in the light of the fact that a written request could not be submitted to the administration because the understanding of the residents was finally unable to be won, though the elementary school PTA had requested the installation of

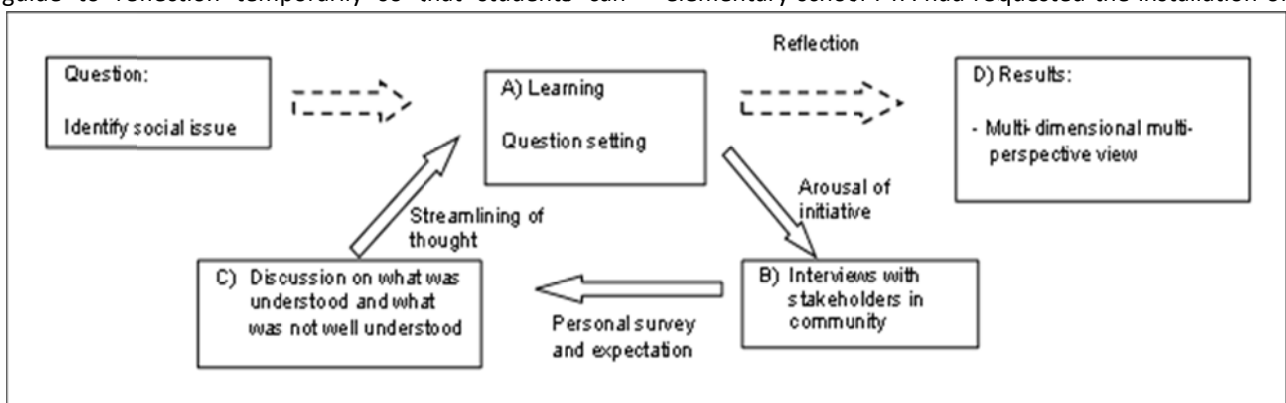


Figure 1

a footbridge. The recent decision to construct the footbridge was not made for safety reasons or at the request of local residents, but as a measure associated with the construction of a four-lane roadway for Route 419. This project had two aspects: one to construct a four-lane roadway for Route 419 to alleviate traffic jams of automobiles and the other to install a footbridge as a safety measure for pedestrians. The teacher thought that this social issue could be a good case for learning about complexity and conflicts in modern society and would give students an opportunity to observe society from multiple dimensions.

### 3.2 Context of Learner (Case Student “Yumiko”)

In this research, the authors chose a “Case Student” observation method (Dudley 2013). This focusses on the selected student’s learning process as deduced from written records and utterances in class.

The Case Student “Yumiko” acquires knowledge relatively quickly and has a high capacity to think. She is not a leader type, has few close friends and cannot be said to be sufficiently cooperative. She is generally modest and does not actively seek to be involved with classmates. Her hobby is reading. She likes music and once became a leader when a class singing group was being formed, but had too strong a one-dimensional thought process and forced her views on her classmates without knowing the situation, isolating herself several times.

Through participation in this unit, the teacher hoped that Yumiko would not cling to her way of viewing or way of thinking but would feel instead the need to look at things multi-dimensionally and in a multi-faceted manner. While interviewing people with various standpoints and listening to the diverse ways of viewing and ways of thinking of her classmates while they in turn listen to her, the teacher hopes Yumiko will come to appreciate the value of respecting other students and shaping her thinking together with her classmates.

### 3.3 Context of lesson

The central learning method of this unit is learning through interviewing. This method has the drawback of accepting the interview content without question and believing that the student has understood the problem. The teacher should advise students to understand the problem that is their own problem and to ask constantly themselves how they should think of the problem. In order to achieve this, after carrying out interviewing activities, a site for students to present what they have found should be set up and they should have a chance to observe social issues in a multi-faceted manner

In addition, in order for one public works project to take place, the desires of many stakeholders including residents come into play. Conflicts would exist but we should think that all public works projects are for

people’s happiness. This reflects the concepts of “confrontation and agreement” and “efficiency and fairness,” which have been newly stipulated in the national curriculum guidelines on Social Studies. The teacher assists students in realizing and understanding using the example of the construction site of a footbridge how both parties make some compromise and how the event of public work project comes into existence, under the judgment criteria of “efficiency and fairness” in order to form consensus as democratic value in Japanese society.

### 3.4 Data collection

In this research, data related to the above unit was collected with 9th graders for about 40 days from September 21 to October 29, 2010.

Two types of data were collected. The first set related to the class as a whole and the second to the case student.

Relating to the class as a whole is a lesson transcript. The lesson transcript is the record created by video-taping and transcribing main classes such as discussions, etc. The other data related to the lesson in general is the “notes and file” for lesson development. This “notes and file” was created by Go Ikura, the teacher, by scrupulously carrying out advanced resource research (Kyozaï Kenkyū) and collecting lesson content while the unit was being implemented. In the notes and file, 1) data obtained such as maps, construction plans, etc., 2) records of interviews with residents and records such as students’ notebooks, 3) hand-written memos relating to the design of the class, 4) Black board documentation, 5) lesson transcripts of main hours, etc. are recorded.

The other data collected for the case student took the form of “Pre-Lesson Commentary” and “Post-Lesson Commentary” which the case student, Yumiko, wrote. In many Japanese lower secondary schools, before starting the class, Pre-Lesson Commentary is practiced as preparation of the lesson, in which students’ thoughts are streamlined in advance with respect to the topics which will be the subject of the next class, and Post-Lesson Commentary is practiced, in which learning is reflected on directly following a class. This approach provides insights into the types of learning taking place for each student. Extracts from the pre- and post-lesson commentaries have been translated into English (below).

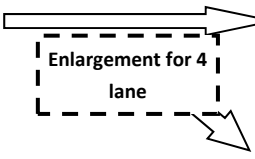
### 3.5 Lesson Unit

The Lesson Unit studied in this research was performed according to the following processes. The left sign of “A” to “D” relates to the problem solving cycle in the figure 1.


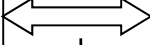

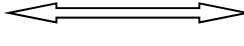


Cycle	Phase			
<p>Question</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>A<sub>1</sub></p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>Phase A</p> <p>Talking about what Student G wants to appeal on the issue on the Route 419 “Many people including the elderly and small children cannot cross the 419, because traffic light changes so fast” <i>(1/13hrs: September 21)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “I have been getting irritated because we have to wait for a long time for the signal to change.”</li> <li>- “Sometimes I see traffic accidents happening on that road.”</li> <li>- “I feel that corner across the 419 is dangerous.”</li> </ul> <p>→ Learning Question 1: What should that dangerous corner on the 419 be like? <i>(2/13hrs: September 22)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Is it possible to reset the time of traffic light to make it longer for pedestrians?”</li> <li>- “This “cross walk” should change to “pedestrian scramble”.”</li> <li>- “Median strip on the 419 should be made wider.”</li> <li>- “Footbridge is good solution!”</li> <li>- “More traffic lanes are needed to reduce the traffic jams on the 419.”</li> </ul>			
<p>B1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>Phase B</p> <p>What the people living around the 419 would think of when a footbridge was built? <i>(3/13hrs: September 27)</i></p> <p><b>Interview 1 (to local residents)</b></p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;"> <p><u>Interview to vice principal of elementary school</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Our Principal sent demanding paper Letter of request? to the city council at the request of the parents asking them to approve the building of a footbridge.</li> <li>- While leaving school in big group, we often see long queues of children to wait for signal. If there would be footbridge, it is safe for pupils.</li> <li>- Drivers are in difficulties to turn left because pupils need time to cross the 419.</li> </ul> </td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;"> <p><u>Interview to traffic director</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I have to stop small pupils because they can't walk fast</li> <li>- Sometimes pedestrians have to wait for signal on the median strip</li> <li>- On Mondays and Thursdays both of primary and secondary students come to the road in a crowd.</li> </ul> </td> <td style="width: 33%; padding: 5px;"> <p><u>Interview to pedestrians</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is dangerous for my little child that the 419 does not have a footbridge.</li> <li>- Horn from the road sounds quite noisy every day.</li> <li>- It is inconvenient to go up and down the footbridge by bicycle and I would not use it even if it were done.</li> </ul> </td> </tr> </table>	<p><u>Interview to vice principal of elementary school</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Our Principal sent demanding paper Letter of request? to the city council at the request of the parents asking them to approve the building of a footbridge.</li> <li>- While leaving school in big group, we often see long queues of children to wait for signal. If there would be footbridge, it is safe for pupils.</li> <li>- Drivers are in difficulties to turn left because pupils need time to cross the 419.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Interview to traffic director</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I have to stop small pupils because they can't walk fast</li> <li>- Sometimes pedestrians have to wait for signal on the median strip</li> <li>- On Mondays and Thursdays both of primary and secondary students come to the road in a crowd.</li> </ul>	<p><u>Interview to pedestrians</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is dangerous for my little child that the 419 does not have a footbridge.</li> <li>- Horn from the road sounds quite noisy every day.</li> <li>- It is inconvenient to go up and down the footbridge by bicycle and I would not use it even if it were done.</li> </ul>
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<p>C1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>→ Talking about What we have understood and not well understood: Part 1 <i>(4/13hrs: September 28)</i></p> <p>Sure enough, bridge is useful.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Now everyone can across the 419 safety.</li> <li>- That is good news for drivers to reduce traffic jam.</li> <li>- Why did they not build it earlier?</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;">↑ ↓</p> <p>Is it really useful?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Footbridge is inconvenient for bikes and baby buggies</li> <li>- I think many people would not use it. Because it is inconvenient.</li> <li>- I suppose that there are people against it</li> </ul>			
<p>A2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p>→ Learning Question 2: What is purpose of construction of the footbridge?</p> <p>In order to clarify this Learning Question an officer from the construction office is invited to participate in an interview.</p> <p>Phase C</p>			



B <sub>2</sub> ↓	<p>Let's hear a story from the Chiryu construction office about the footbridge built newly built on the 419 (5+6/13hrs: September 30)</p> <p><b>Interview 2 (to administrative officer)</b></p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%;"> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Present condition of the 419</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Traffic jam occurs every day in morning and evening at the peak</li> <li>- Accidents occur frequently caused by the traffic jam.</li> </ul> </div> <div style="text-align: center; width: 20%;">  </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%;"> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Benefits from construction</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reducing traffic jams</li> <li>- Reducing traffic accidents</li> <li>- Frequency of goods transport from port</li> <li>- Reinforcement of the urgent transfer lines</li> </ul> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Measures for safety</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Construction of footbridge</li> </ul> </div> </div>
C <sub>2</sub> ↓	<p>→Talking about What we have understood and not well understood: Part 2 (7/13hrs.: October 4)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If the enlargement to 4-lanes does not take place, will be footbridge not be built?</li> <li>- I think the construction of the footbridge should be earlier than the 4-lane enlargement, if the construction office considers the security of children to be the first priority. But why not?</li> <li>- Why did the written request from the elementary school arrive so late? Did the administration ignore the demands of inhabitants?</li> </ul>
	Phase D
A <sub>3</sub> ↓	<p>→Learning Question 3: Why did it take three years for the written request to be been delivered to the local government office?</p> <p>Let's think about the fact that it had taken three years for the written request paper to build the footbridge had to come to the local government office. (8/13hrs: October 7)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I wonder had they collected supporting signatures?</li> <li>- I think they surveyed local people</li> </ul> <p>Teacher mentions the fact to students that "the principal was not able to give the written request to the local government, because the chef of district did not allow it. The chef of district was not able to give permission while many people had opposed that proposal".</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I did not expect that there would be the people who strongly objected to the setting of the footbridge</li> <li>- Who would object?</li> </ul>
	Phase E
B <sub>3</sub> ↓	<p>Let's try to interview neighborhood inhabitants about a footbridge being built. (9/13hrs: October 8)</p> <p><b>Interview 3 (to neighborhood inhabitants)</b></p> <p>*Mr Mashiko: I wonder if it will be possible to see from the footbridge into my house. Even in Summer I would not be able to open windows beside the bridge. I feel that my rooms are watched from outside and am worried about the noise and vibration from traffic. When the road is made into 4 traffic lanes, traffic will increase, and the noise and vibration will become worse.</p> <p>* Mr Yamada, Yamada Dental Clinic: If the bridge is done, the building of the clinic passes out of sight from the 419 and the neighboring scenes will be spoiled, too. I am anxious about a falling rock from the bridge. And windows become covered with oil with the exhaust gas from cars. I want more information about the footbridge built in our town.</p>
C <sub>3</sub> ↓	<p>→Talking about What we have understood and not well understood: Part 3 (10/13hrs: October 10)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The inhabitants have a problem in that their privacy is infringed.</li> <li>- There is a problem in that inhabitants feel observed from the bridge and never relaxed.</li> <li>- It is troublesome that their houses shake whenever a truck goes past.</li> <li>- The noise from the road is serious.</li> </ul> <p>→I am unsure of my opinion as to whether the footbridge should be built or not.</p>



<p>D<sub>1</sub></p> 	<p><b>Phase F</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b>Is this footbridge really necessary?</b> (11+12+13/13hrs: October 14)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 45%;"> <p><u>To give priority to the security of the walker</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There are various problems, but it is the most important to keep human life.</li> <li>- If an accident happens, then it is late.</li> <li>- The footbridge is necessary for children in particular.</li> <li>- Many inhabitants still need it.</li> </ul> <p><u>To give priority to reducing traffic jam</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Constructing 4 traffic lanes is required in order to solve traffic jams.</li> <li>- Because drivers are irritated under the present conditions of the route 419, accidents are easy to happen.</li> <li>- The route 419 is an important industrial road, and becoming it needs for 4 traffic lanes for the development of industry and our economy.</li> </ul> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 45%;"> <p><u>To give priority to the Quality of Life of the inhabitants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The breach of privacy is serious.</li> <li>- The noise and exhaust gas become worse by constructing 4 traffic lanes.</li> <li>- It becomes the infringement of access to sunlight and the environmental right. This is the issue of human rights.</li> <li>- One question is left whether it is business to perform spending a large amount of tax</li> </ul> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin: 10px 0;">  </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- I am troubled when I think of the person of various positions.</li> <li>- Is it only few people to be damaged? But I cannot decide it easily.</li> <li>- How may we get rid of uneasiness of Mr Mashiko?</li> </ul> </div>
<p>D<sub>2</sub></p> 	<p><b>Phase G</b></p> <p><b>Thinking about why local government had given priority to 4-lane construction.</b> (14+15/13hs: October 29)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 20%;"> <p><u>Pedestrians</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Safety</li> <li>- Life</li> </ul> </div> <div style="text-align: center; width: 40%;"> <p>Local Government made decision through comparing between two positions (role of "Public")</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 20%;"> <p><u>Inhabitants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Privacy</li> <li>- The noise and exhaust fumes</li> <li>- Human rights</li> </ul> </div> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto; margin-top: 10px;"> <p><u>Drivers</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduction of traffic jam</li> <li>- Prevention of accident</li> <li>- Development of industry and economy</li> </ul> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin: 10px 0;">  </div>



#### 4. Result

##### 4.1 Teacher had raised students' interest in social issues using the school diary of student G (Phase A)

School diary of student G "Road and my life" (July 5)

I am constantly kind of concerned about a road at an intersection in front of Yamada Dentist, or rather think it dangerous.

The reasons are that sometimes there are people crossing even on a red light, or the green signal is shorter for the zebra zone going straight from a coffee shop than for the zebra zone from the coffee shop to Yamada Dentist. Therefore, the green light sometimes begins to blink before I finish going across the intersection or I am still at the middle of the intersection even when the signal has turned red. It is dangerous and I have to run to cross at the intersection. So, I am hoping that the green signal lighting time could be set a little longer. (underlines by authors)

When the teacher told students to write an essay on "Road," one student wrote an essay as above. It mentions the danger of this intersection, and his/her comment that "the green signal lighting time could be set a little longer" suggests that some kind of actions must be taken to rectify the current situation, in which priority is given to vehicles rather than pedestrians. The teacher thought to present this essay when introducing the unit in order to attract students to the learning subject.

Pre-Lesson Commentary by Yumiko: "Let's think of what student G wants to appeal" (September 21)

- In particular, children in their early elementary school years are not safe because they are unable to cross the intersection if the green signal lighting time is short and they are too small to be seen from cars.
- That place would be particularly problematic because the zebra crossing distance is too long.
- In actuality, I have a similar problem near my house, too. When I was small, I could not wait for the change of the longer signal and crossed at the zebra crossing against the red light. Considering the long red traffic signal, the traffic is not so busy and I think this is inefficient.
- The traffic signal is designed with priority given to vehicles.

In this Pre-Lesson Commentary, Yumiko accurately clarifies the problem of the intersection, "short period of green light for the long zebra crossing," from the viewpoint of pedestrians. She thinks of this problem with sympathy felt towards small children who cross at this intersection every day, saying "in particular, children in their early elementary school years are too small."

In addition, Yumiko usually does not use this intersection. However, in saying that "In actuality, I have

a similar problem near my house, too," she is relating the topic more closely to her own life.

In this regard, however, we can see that the Case Student feel displeased with the current situation which priorities vehicles in her view from here statement that "the traffic is not so busy" and "this is inefficient". This indicates a strong propensity for having one-sided views from the side of a pedestrian.

##### 4.2 To become aware of the need for a footbridge by interviewing people in the community (Phase B)

The teacher wanted Yumiko to understand problem of this intersection multi-dimensionally and in a multi-faceted manner and encouraged activities such as interviewing people with various standpoints.

First of all, people in the community were interviewed. Before interviewing the people, the teacher told students to anticipate what the people to be interviewed would say with respect to "What the people in the community would think of when a footbridge is built?"

Anticipation of Yumiko: "What the people in the community would think of when a footbridge was built?" (September 22)

I think it would be a good idea to build a footbridge, but as Student G said, it is not only pedestrians who use that road but people who ride a bicycle use the road, too, and they would suffer inconvenience if a footbridge is built and they would have to use it. The footbridge would have a big disadvantage for senior citizens with poor mobility too. The footbridge would be effective from the viewpoint of the reduction of accidents, but this is a complex problem. Originally, at roads, drivers yield to pedestrians. A little more consideration should have been given, such as adopting a "scramble crossing" where traffic lights allow pedestrians to cross in any direction simultaneously, and so on.

Before interviewing, Yumiko thinks that "a footbridge is inconvenient for the people who use a bicycle" because she herself uses a bicycle as her main means of travel. Furthermore, she links the footbridge to the difficulty of use by elderly people and does not strongly feel the need for footbridge construction by commenting that a "footbridge would have a big disadvantage." Rather, she remains in the viewpoint from the standpoint of her own by proposing a "scramble crossing".





Yumiko enthusiastically interviewed teachers at Asahi Elementary School and passers-by at the intersection. After the interview, the teacher set up a discussion class incorporating presentations of what the students had discovered. According to the transcript, Yumiko talks about the need for footbridge construction on the basis of interviewing the first-grader teacher by commenting “first-graders walk slowly” (Yumiko15). This remark is extracted from remarks of C13 and C14 on the basis of interviewing the Vice-Principal and School Security Volunteers. Because remarks by classmates who interviewed other people were similar to the information which Yumiko obtained, she may be more convinced by what she herself had discovered.

Lesson Transcript of whole class discussion: “What the people in the community would think of when a footbridge was built?” (September 27)

\*Yumiko = the Case Student; C = Other Students; T = Teacher

C13: I remember what the Vice-Principal of our elementary school said that Monday and Thursday we, elementary school students, simultaneously leave school and go home, causing inconvenience to vehicles drive on the road, and it is therefore a blessing for us if a footbridge is built.”

C14: According to the School Security Volunteers, too, children in the elementary school leave school and go home all together at same time twice a week, and said that footbridge construction would be a relief because children could go home safely.

Yumiko 15: I have heard from a first-grade teacher in the elementary school that first-graders walk slowly and it would be a great help for them if a footbridge were constructed, because it is much safer to walk on a foot bridge than to cross at a zebra crossing.

...

C25: I heard from Mrs. F of the PTA (Parent Teachers Association), that they have asked the police department to build a footbridge for a long time. I felt happy to hear that the footbridge was finally to be built after so many years.

T26: After listening to all these stories of the interview, what have you realized?

C27: Almost all the interviewees respond favorably. The footbridge has the disadvantages of being slippery when it rains or it is quite hard work for a person to climb up and down the footbridge, but not being involved in accident and being free of any damage comes first.

Yumiko28: By building a footbridge, we have the big advantage of securing safety and there are so many people who support the footbridge construction. In contrast, a footbridge suffers the disadvantages of causing hard work or being dangerous on wet days or others.

In the latter half of the class, the teacher asked a question “After listening to all these stories from the interviews, what have you realized?” (T26). Yumiko answered “we have a big advantage” (Yumiko28), indicating that she comes to feel the danger of the intersection and the need of footbridge construction through interviewing. At the same time, she still has the viewpoint from her own standpoint as a bicycle user, commenting that a footbridge “causes hard work.”

Post-Lesson Commentary by Yumiko: “What I have understood and what I could not understand well” (September 27)

A footbridge made me think of effort and difficulty because there are steps, but thinking of the feeling of the people from the local community before the footbridge was built in this way, I realized that the footbridge is an important means of crossing a street safely.

Although the footbridge has disadvantages, the advantages are greater, the first priority is safety as C27 mentioned and I thought that the footbridge is all in all necessary. In this regard, however, I wondered why the footbridge was not built much sooner.

In the post lesson commentary, Yumiko shows a certain level of understanding of the construction of a footbridge through discussions, commenting that the footbridge is a “important means of crossing a street safety” and “a footbridge is all in all necessary.” In addition, from the remark of Yumiko15 which the Case Student captured by interviewing the first-grader teacher of the elementary school and from the remark of C25 of “after so many years,” she finds that there are many people who await the footbridge construction and begins to consider a new



action assignment concerning “why the footbridge would not have been built much earlier.”

#### 4.3 To continue looking at the problem multi-dimensionally and in a multi-faceted manner through interviewing the administration (Phase C)

The teacher provided an opportunity for interviewing an employee of the National Construction Office regarding unresolved issues around the construction of the footbridge. This particular employee is responsible for the recent footbridge construction project.

Mr. Nakata from the Construction Office explained the rationale for the project on the basis of data prepared for meetings with local residents held the previous year; however, almost all the explanations Mr. Nakata offered related to the construction of the four-lane motorway and related less to the footbridge. Mr. Nakata only briefly explained that “a footbridge would be installed at the intersection west of Asahi Elementary School as one of a range of safety measures relating to the four-lane roadway.”



Lastly, a question-and-answer session was held. What the students were most interested in was the issue around whether the construction of the four-lane roadway and the footbridge were linked, i.e. did the construction of the bridge depend on the completion of the four-lane roadway project. Mr. Nakata responded that “It would have been difficult (the footbridge was not constructed),” and this answer confused the students.

Yumiko’s Post-Lesson commentary written after the end of this class was as follows:

Post-Lesson Commentary by Yumiko: “After Interviewing to Mr. Nakata” (September 30)

- I did not know that Route 419 is an important road that is used in an emergency. In addition, I also learned that Route 419 has the important role of developing the industry of Aichi Prefecture, and I thought that Route 419 which has been familiar to me is really something remarkable.
- I understand that the project involving the construction of the four-lane Route 419 led to the

construction of the footbridge, but did they know of the residents’ request lodged many years before? How did they respond to that request?

The Case Student, Yumiko, consistently looked this event from the pedestrian perspective but as a result of the interview of Mr. Nakata, she realized the roles of Route 419 as a highway and an industrial road, saying “Route 419 is an important road and has an important role.” She began to realize that this event of footbridge construction not only had a safety aspect but also in addition an economic and industrial one. On the other hand, Yumiko had not yet found the answer regarding why the footbridge had not previously been constructed.

#### 4.4 “Is anyone troubled by the construction of the footbridge?” Find a new action assignment (Phase D)

In the following class, the teacher asked the students to present what they had understood from Mr Nakata’s contribution. At the heart of the discussion was the issue as to why a footbridge was not already in place.

Lesson Transcript of whole class discussion: “What was well understood and not well understood: Mr. Nakata’s presentation and Q&A” (October 4)

- C35: Mr. Nakata told us that the footbridge would be built after the four-lane roadway was built. I thought that the footbridge would have been built first.
- C36: I have heard that 5 years have passed since the inquiry about a footbridge was made, but I did not think that it would take such a long time.  
(Other student: I think it would take time, don’t you think? They must take various measures. Haven’t you really listened to Mr. Nakata?)
- C37: The administration formulated a work plan in 2008 and the work began in 2010. If the administration formulated a plan immediately after the inquiry was made, the work should have been started much earlier.
- C38: The prefectural administration must do many other things, and they surely have money issues, too. Even if they draw up a plan, they might be unable to implement that immediately.
- Yumiko39: Mr. Nakata said that they receive money from the national government to execute the project. I thought 5 years would be needed because they need to make applications and need cooperation with various parties to execute the project of constructing a footbridge.
- C40: But Mr. Nakata said that it was 2008 when he first heard the request for a footbridge. Until then, the prefecture could not do anything?  
...(cut)
- T52: (Lastly, the teacher told the students of the fact that the permission was not obtained from the District Manager.)



Taking the advantage of C35 starting to explain that “I thought that the footbridge would be built first,” critical voices against administration action continued, such as C36 “I did not think that it would take such a long time,” and C37 “If the administration formulated a plan immediately.” Following C38, *Yumiko* made mention in *Yumiko*39 “they have to make applications and need cooperation from various parties to execute the project of constructing a footbridge.” This indicates that she tries to solve his/her own action assignment while sharing the views with Mr. Nakata from the administration.

Thereafter, in response to the remark by C40, “it was 2008 when Mr. Nakata first heard the request for a footbridge,” the teacher explained “that permission was not obtained from the District Manager” and closed the class. The following is the *Yumiko*’s post-lesson commentary.

Yumiko’s Post-Lesson Commentary: “What was well understood and not well understood” (October 4)

The reason why the District Manager did not give his stamp of approval is that, I think, he was opposed to a footbridge. Because a District Manager must act for all residents, I think that some of the residents were opposed to the footbridge. The District Manager might have valued the opinion of such people and did not sign. In this regard, however, to think of what kind of people would oppose the footbridge, what kind of people would feel troubled by the construction of a footbridge, I cannot think of such persons. Maybe, I thought there might be some people who do not know exactly “such and such a footbridge is built” and might be opposed to the construction. I hope that such people would know “the administration” designs the footbridge taking various things into account and zebra crossings are decided to be left.

Based on the fact that the permission was not obtained from the District Manager, *Yumiko* assumed that “there were residents who were opposed to construction of the footbridge” but could not understand the reason why they were opposed to the construction, saying that “there would be no people who feel troubled by the construction of the footbridge.” In this point, she finds a new action assignment “is there any person disadvantaged by the construction of the footbridge?” This may suggest that she shows understanding of the work of the administration as a result of conducting interviews and begins to understand the advantages of footbridge construction.

In addition, since *Yumiko* has an inkling that “some people who do not know exactly such and such footbridge is built” and has a desire “I hope that such people would know ‘the administration’ designs the footbridge taking various things into account,” indicates that *Yumiko* has begun to view this problem multi-

dimensionally through the activities of interviewing the administration through several whole class discussions.

#### 4.5 Becoming aware of and realizing seriousness through interviewing and discussing (Phase E)

In order to address the question as to whether there are peoples troubled by the proposal to construct a footbridge, the students returned to interview members of the community again. Students decided that they should interview with the residents who actually lived close to the location where a footbridge was to be constructed at this time.

Pre-Lesson Commentary of *Yumiko*: “What was found and thought after interviewing” (October 7)

- There are environmental problems of noise, vibration, etc. The residents feel concerned about privacy. But the four-lane roadway project attempts to reduce for noise in various ways, such as adopting low-noise pavement and others, and screens are constructed to respect privacy.
- There are people who want to move to other places. Considering that such desire is results from construction of the footbridge and four-lane roadway, I could understand the objections to the construction.
- I feel sorry for the people who complain that their relatives do not want to visit them to sleep over because of noises and vibrations.

By interviewing, Case Student *Yumiko* discovered the fact that there were people who were opposed to the recent project due to the problems of noise and vibration as well as privacy. In this regard she does not accept this as a compelling serious problem yet, however she had shown an understanding of the administration up to the previous class and had valued the administration that has recognized these problems and taken measures such as low-noise pavement or screens that are installed beside passage of a footbridge. In addition, *Yumiko* wrote “I could understand the objections to the construction” or “feel sorry for their relatives” but she does not realistically understand what kind of distress the residents have endured because of the problems of noise and lack of privacy. Therefore, the teacher organized a discussion-based class again incorporating what the students had found out.

*Yumiko* commented that there were people who had trouble primarily with vibration, while admitting her one-sided point of view, such as “I only thought of the people who use the footbridge” and “residents in the vicinity of the intersection feel annoyed about vibrations and others” (*Yumiko* 5). She was followed by another student, who mentioned the privacy problem saying “I was able to imagine that the people living around the intersection would hear the noise but I did not realize the privacy problem, such as catching the eye of a pedestrian who crosses the footbridge” (C6), indicating that they





had definitely expanded their viewpoints on this problem through interviewing. Thereafter, it was followed by remarks that specifically dealt with annoyance felt by residents resulting from violation of their privacy, such as “I just cannot stand catching the eye of a pedestrian when I wear less clothing” (C7) or “Feeling of paranoia. Feel as if I were looked even though I am not.” (C8)

Lesson Transcript of whole class discussion:

“What we have understood and have not understood, when I heard comments by local residents” (October 8)

Yumiko 5: I have only thought of the people who use the footbridge and never thought that there are people who are opposed to the footbridge construction, but I have realized that the people who are opposed to the footbridge construction are not those who use the footbridge but residents who feel annoyed about vibrations and others living nearby.

C6: When I saw the contrary opinions, I could imagine noise, etc., but I never realized that the position of the footbridge is on same level as the second floor and Mr. Inoue and Mr. Yamasaki may catch the eyes of pedestrians who cross the footbridge, and they cannot open windows, which is quite troublesome.

C7: I thought same way, too, when I heard that they could not open windows. In the summertime, we wear less clothing or sometimes wear only underwear at home. I just cannot stand catching their eye when I wear less clothing and I have to be aware of it all the time.

C8: This would be a mere addition, but Ms. M told us that she might catch the eyes of pedestrians, and it might be feeling of paranoia, feeling as if I were looked even though I am not. If I were Ms. M, I would be really nervous about it. I thought that they would not be opposed so much if the administration built the footbridge at a location, at least, where people do not have to worry about catching the eye of pedestrians.

Yumiko wrote in the transcript “to prevent a pervert from looking in from the footbridge” and “privacy is a serious problem.” By listening to classmates’ opinions, she has second thoughts that the seriousness of this problem lies in privacy rather than in vibrations, and specifically empathizes with the pain. She has shown an understanding of the workings of administration but expresses in her writing her frustration that administrative efforts have not been completely communicated to residents, saying “Mr. Nakata should have explained the project to residents...” The teacher felt that she has found a new action assignment and at the same time, at this point, there might be a tip for the development of better relations between the administration and residents when it comes to town planning.

Post-Lesson Commentary of Yumiko: “What was well understood and not well understood” (October 8)

The footbridge is designed with consideration given to privacy but still needs more features designed to ensure privacy.. Screens would not mean anything if a pedestrian’s head is higher than the screen. I thought that such features should prevent a pervert from forcibly looking in from the footbridge. I think that privacy is a serious problem for residents once again.

What I thought was that Mr. Nakata would have explained the project to residents in the same manner as he did to us but the explanation for the footbridge was not completely communicated to residents. Maybe, residents might not have listened carefully to his explanation and this may have caused the current problem

#### 4.6 To identify problems by reflecting in class and identifying new action assignments (Phase F)

At the closing stage of the lesson unit, the teacher set up a class for discussing whether the footbridge was really necessary or not as well as for reflecting on what students have learnt from this lesson unit and comprehensively assessing this public project.



Pre-Lesson Commentary of *Yumiko*: “Is this footbridge really needed?” (October 14)

Even if we follow an opinion of the majority (approval), I do not think that we are able to obtain consensus. After all, the unpleasant feeling felt by those who oppose the idea would not disappear. Because whether or not the footbridge is necessary or where the footbridge should be located varies in accord with individuals, it would be impossible to organize their opinions into one. Above all, the construction has already been started and it is impossible to stop it now.

I could understand the meaning of “public welfare” but it seems to me that that’s not the point. To ask me what is right, I cannot choose either one because opinions, for and against the project, are valid.

The teacher thought that based on what has been learnt to date, from the viewpoint of “efficiency and fairness,” *Yumiko* would insist that the footbridge would be needed even if people whose human rights are infringed remain. In this regard, however, confusion of assertion rather resulted in her saying “whether or not the footbridge is necessary, where the footbridge should be located varies in accord with individuals,” and “it would be impossible to organize their opinions into one.”

The reason for this confusion seems to be attributed to problems in the course work itself. “Is this footbridge really needed?” is a two-alternative course work, to choose need or no-need, and the stage of discussing whether or not the footbridge is needed is already over as *Yumiko* says “the construction has already been started.” Even if the human rights of neighboring residents are infringed, the significance of executing this project must be considered by students.

Therefore, the teacher set up an “a discussion class including presenting what they have found” to confirm “where the confusion occurred.” When talking together, it was found that the majority of students were confused about the meaning of “public welfare.” Students compared the “safety (of a large number of pedestrians)” with “human rights (of specific neighboring residents),” and said that they could understand that priority must be given to the safety of many people in accordance with public welfare but were not completely convinced by it as *Yumiko* writes in the latter half of transcript as follows: “I could understand the meaning of public welfare,” and “I cannot choose either one because opinions for and against the project are valid.”

Then, some students made the following remarks:

C: “Mr. Nakata said that if Route 419 had not been expanded to a 4-lane roadway, the footbridge might not have been constructed. Don’t you think that if priority is given to the safety of pedestrians, a footbridge should have been built first before a 4-lane roadway is built?”

This question links to the confusion the students experienced with Mr Nakata’s answer in that if the four-lane roadway had not been planned, the footbridge might not have been constructed. (See 4.3 Phase C). This question would be linked to the project enhancing the multifaceted nature of this project, which cannot be solved simply by references to safety. The teacher hoped to set up this question for the next piece of course work and to allow students to realistically and deeply grasp the multifaceted nature of this project.

Pre-Lesson Commentary of *Yumiko*: “Let’s think of the administration that aims at building a 4-lane roadway first” (October 26)

Does this mean that the world is unreasonable? In the previous class, safety was weighed against human rights and we came to the conclusion that “safety was more important than human rights” but in reality, “convenience was more important than safety, which was weighted more heavily than human rights?” The reason why the footbridge was not built unless a 4-lane roadway was built may be that there was an unsubstantiated view that no accident would occur on a two-lane roadway. There might be a flow in that with a two-lane roadway, it is inconvenient → a four-lane roadway should be built → accident may occur → a footbridge is constructed.

Apparently, the view of the majority, because there are more people using Route 419 by car than the people using the footbridge, has not changed.

#### 4.7 Initial thoughts about the form that future local administration should take (Phase G)

With respect to the action assignment exposed by students in the previous class regarding why the administration has been aiming to build a four-lane roadway at first, *Yumiko* pointed out the reason that priority was given to convenience rather than to safety, and composed a picture of “convenience > safety > human rights” in her mind. According to the statement in her Pre-Lesson Commentary on October 26, *Yumiko* shows a certain level of understanding of giving priority to convenience of an overwhelmingly large number of people over the human rights of a small number of people. In this regard, however, we know from her final sentence that she has not been fully convinced as she states that, “...the view of the majority, (cut) has not changed”.



Post-Lesson Commentary of *Yumiko*: “Let’s think of the administration that aims at building a 4-lane roadway first” (October 29)

I could generally understand the reason why the administration gave priority to building a 4-lane roadway. Choosing the happiness of tens of thousands of people compared to that of four or five people can be justified. Also in terms of the economic effect, there may be no choice. This does not mean though that we should turn our backs on those four or five people. In particular, Dentist F. We cannot agree with the fact that Dentist F was not notified of construction of footbridge at all because Dentist F did not live in the doctor’s office, though he actually worked at the office. The administration should make sure that it has all of the relevant information needed to contact those affected.

Those 4 to 5 people should have taken more action. Failure to get more interested in what affects them will be a source of regret later. Meetings had been held to inform local residents and they had abundant sources of information available to them such as direct inquiries to administrative bodies etc. The principle of local autonomy should have been much more fully applied.

The local administration must work more closely with communities. Residents must get more involved with local issues, These are action assignments found on this occasion. I felt the need to get to know the community better so that the local community which we will take up in years to come could clear these action assignments.

The transcript reveals that *Yumiko* has a greater understanding of the decision by the administration to implement this project as illustrated by her references to the happiness of tens of thousands over the happiness of four or five. This indicates that *Yumiko* viewed this project in a multidimensional manner from multiple perspectives and also took the needs of the economy and industry into account. At the same time she emphasizes the importance of respecting the view of the minority.

*Yumiko* feels the administrators must be fully informed of the circumstances of those impacted by their decisions and demanded that the administration have more humanity in communications to actually step into the site and communicate face to face with residents. She insists that the four or five residents who were unhappy should have taken more action and borne more responsibility themselves. She requests of them that they not leave the problem to others and insists that meetings help to inform them. She asks them to participate directly in politics, respecting the principle of local autonomy. Thus, we know that *Yumiko* does not judge the problem only according to convenience from the residents’ perspectives but incorporates the views of admi-

nistration, car drivers and others in her analysis of the issue.

*Yumiko* lastly writes “the local community which we will take up in years to come” in the transcript and strongly realizes that she is a member of the community. Given also her recognition that residents should participate more in local politics, we can see an interest in social issues developing as a result of this unit.

## 5 Discussion

### 5.1. Discussion 1

In this study, the authors pose two Research Questions and four related measures: These are now considered in relation to the learning process undergone by *Yumiko* in this unit.

**Research Question 1:** Was the *Yumiko* able view social issues from multiple perspectives?

**Measure 1 for RQ1:** To roll out studies which students learn in local communities

**Measure 2 for RQ1:** To create a class with facts which student’s gathered using interviews to generate data?

#### Measure 1

The teacher decided to develop learning within the local community. *Yumiko* learned throughout this lesson unit by using local material with keen feeling and concentration, and was able to work on this problem solving process.

In particular, the school diary of student G “Road and my life” which was introduced at the beginning of the lesson unit gave *Yumiko* a positive impetus to involve herself in this real social issue which needs to be solved for the stakeholders.

#### Measure 2

The teacher decided to introduce interviewing to stakeholders including the local inhabitants and administration who have different concerns and interests (Table 1). *Yumiko* was able to, in this way, understand each situation and way of thinking. From this, *Yumiko* was able to analyze this social issue from different angles and grasp difficult social phenomena.

### 5.2 Discussion 2

**Research Question 2:** How was *Yumiko* enabled to take the initiative in problem solving?

Re RQ2, the authors took the following two approaches. In the following section, we consider how these impacted upon *Yumiko*.

**Measure 1 for RQ2:** A class in which students presented what they had found out.

**Measure 2 for RQ2:** A class in which students reflected on what they had discovered.

#### Measure 1

The teacher decided to design lessons to talk about what students had discovered through interviews (Table 1). The discussions following the interviews exposed *Yumiko* to ways of thinking that differed from her own

and thus expanded her perspective on the issue. Furthermore, *Yumiko* identified a new problem by processing from interviewing to the discussion stage and was able to work on the investigation more eagerly.

## Measure 2

The teacher organized reflective lessons on students' learning as needed. When the student were confusing their investigative goals, the teacher introduced a phase of reflection on their upcoming process of learning. During this phase, the progress of the unit was stopped and problem was clarified through reflection on the process of the lesson unit. And then the lesson unit could continue with the students' levels of motivation restored, (Kuramoto 2005).

## 6 Conclusion

The following is an article for the school paper written by *Yumiko* following completion of the unit described above:

"This class was really stimulating. I went the off school campus to hear from local citizens at the third period of the lesson unit. I had learned before in the conventional class based on established documents, but this activity was fresh. After interviewing, I returned to the classroom and discussed the responses with classmates. I repeated the procedure with administrators and continued to talk again afterwards.

Through "hearing" and "talking", "understanding" was born. In contrast, what I did not understand came to the fore.

However, it never became an unpleasant feeling to me. It was really worthwhile to talk about the questions that arose because focus comes from solving a difficult problem like in mathematics. We extended the lesson twice to solve unresolved questions and I have never been so engaged. I will not forget the inspiration when we solved the last question throughout my life.

"*This class was really stimulating.*" *Yumiko* began to write of the deep impression made by the learning through this unit explicitly. The reason why she was so excited was because the lesson unit is constituted with listening at its core unlike "*having learned in the conventional class based on established documents*". She felt that "*this activity was fresh*" and therefore she engaged eagerly with activities outside of the conventional classroom.

*Yumiko* felt fulfilled by engaging in a cycle of problem solving. She demonstrates an awareness of the process of independent thinking and has begun to ask herself why things are as they are.

In addition, *Yumiko* described how what she did not understand came to the fore but also wrote that [...] *it never became unpleasant feeling to Me.*" further

expressing her view that discussion around misunderstandings was particularly worthwhile. These comments show that *Yumiko* has changed as a result of this lesson.

Finally, *Yumiko* wrote that *we extended the lesson twice to solve unresolved questions and I have never been so engaged. I will not forget the inspiration when we solved the last question throughout my life.* She felt a strong sense of fulfillment as a result of this unit and has learned not only how to research social issues but values commitment to social issues in her own life.

*Yumiko* appears to have obtained a sense of fulfillment from the learning that resulted from this Lesson Unit. This encompasses her joy in replacing her one-sided view of social phenomenon with a more versatile one. She approached a social phenomenon following a process of inquisitive, deep learning. Setting a learning question, using the students' reality as a starting point, investigating an issue and interviewing stakeholders, class discussions and a focus on what is and is not understood represents a problem solving cycle.

The unit described above concerns administrative issues around an urgent local problem and concerns the difficulty of prioritizing the needs of different stakeholders. As a result, this unit led students towards an understanding of "opposition and agreement" and of "efficiency and fairness" as promoted by the National Guidelines on Social Studies in Japan since 2008. *Yumiko's* responses to the Unit indicate that this exercise in social studies was a useful way to approach these concepts.

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**Maria Rönnlund**

## Justice in and Through Education? Students' Participation in Decision-Making

Drawing on one year of ethnographic work in three Swedish lower secondary schools, this article problematizes students' participation in decision-making in everyday school life in the perspective of social justice. In order to extend the traditional liberal understanding of justice and include also relational, procedural, social and cultural aspects of justice, the analysis focuses on the range, depth and breadth of the participation. The analysis highlights how students' participation in decision-making was curtailed and restricted in ways that referred to both the range and the depth of the participation. There were also deficiencies as regards the breadth. The analysis indicates inconveniences as regards students' participation in decision-making in the perspective of social justice. At the same time it raises questions about social justice in educational contexts – to what extent is it possible to reach a social just school and classroom culture? Based on this analysis, it is argued that school actors need to be more explicit about the institutional frameworks and boundaries that regulate and frame students' participation in decision-making in school. Such an approach might facilitate for students and staff to negotiate within the frameworks to a greater extent than was the case in these three schools. It is also argued that more students need to be involved in decision-making.

### Keywords:

Participation, decision-making, social justice, lower secondary school, ethnography

### 1 Introduction

Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child, the so-called participation article, states that children have the right to participate in decision-making processes that may be relevant in their lives. This refers to decision-making within the family, the community and the school. By emphasizing children's participation rights, the convention links participation to citizenship and gives expression to a model of citizenship that includes children. Participation is in this sense about being counted as a member of the community; about governing and being governed (Roche 1999).

The complexity that lies within the idea of children as citizens becomes apparent when problematizing processes of participation – and citizenship – in practice. This applies not least to participation in decision-making in educational contexts (e.g. Öhrn et al. 2011). One complication regards balancing student participation in decision-making as a children's right with the fostering and educating task. To what extent can students exert influence in school without jeopardizing educational goals? Another complication regards understanding participation as an individual right issue, but also as relational, and as socially and culturally related. 'The children's rights movement' presupposes and encourages children's agency and advocates a view of a competent and autonomous child (Reynaert et al. 2009,

521). But highlighting individuality, competence and autonomy risks obscuring the social and cultural aspects of participation. Being autonomous and 'participative' are expectations that young people, depending on social class, gender and cultural capital adapt differently to. The discourse of the autonomous and competent child, tends to emphasize the children's rights perspective and make the individual child responsible for to what extent participation in decision-making is realized or not, without recognizing differences in children's social and cultural backgrounds (Reynaert et al. 2009).

In this article, children's participation in decision-making in educational practices is problematized in the perspective of social justice. Drawing on one year of ethnographic work in three Swedish lower secondary schools with focus on students' participation in collective decision-making with the underlying understanding of decision-making as a process (Rönnlund 2011), the aim is to highlight the complexities that lie within students' participation in decision-making in everyday school life, and to discuss these in relation to the concept of justice. In order to extend the traditional liberal understanding of justice that permeates many studies on children's participation, and include also relational, procedural, social and cultural aspects of justice, the analysis focuses on three dimensions of participation: the range, depth and breadth of the participation (Young 1990; Cohen 1971). In my analysis, the range refers to the scope of issues being the subject of the decision-making processes; what issues are discussed? The depth refers to the quality of the participation in relation to opportunities for real influence; to what extent does the participation refer to actual negotiations respectively giving-voice situations? The breadth of participation refers to the amount of participating individuals; how

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many of the students participate and who do participate? With references to the work on justice provided by political scientist Iris Marion Young, the article closes up by discussing how social justice can be attained in and through education.

## **2 Participation in European, Nordic and Swedish contexts**

Promoting student participation in decision-making has long been an important issue in international and national education policies. As the European Union regards, the promotion of active participation has been a central issue in European education policy since the 1990s. In 2005, the European Commission identified students' active participation as a priority area for the European education policy, and the same year was proclaimed by the Council of Europe as the European Year of Citizenship through Education (e.g. Birzea 2005; Eurydice 2005; Kerr et al. 2010; Nelson, Kerr 2006).

Promoting student participation has historically been particular characteristic for the Nordic countries. As regards participation in decision-making processes, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland have distinguished themselves by highlighting and seeking participation and student participation not only in special committees, but also in the classroom. Student participation and student influence in everyday decisions, has in a Nordic perspective traditionally been viewed as a prerequisite for a democratic school, and as an important part of students' democratic education assuming that young people will grow as citizens through active participation in school (Arnesen, Lundahl 2006; Mikkelsen 2004).

Schools shall model the kind of society in which active citizenship is encouraged, by providing all young people with opportunities to participate in decision-making and influence in school. This applies not only to councils and committees, but also to the everyday school life. By participating in the planning and evaluation of the daily teaching, the students are supposed to develop citizenry competence. Through this process they are expected to become active citizens who participate in joint decision-making when they become adults. Similar expectations are linked to the ability to formulate opinions and to participate in discussions. By participating in discussions and conversations, students are expected to develop a future active citizenship. Citizenship education in the Nordic countries is thus characterized by its emphasis on a participatory and democratic culture in the classroom, with the central premise that students learn democracy, participation, and citizenship by practicing or 'living' it (Arnesen, Lundahl 2006; Eurydice 2005; Mikkelsen 2004).

In Sweden, students' participation and influence has been stated in educational governmental documents and curricula since the 1960s. During the 1970s and the 1980s students' right to influence and participation was as an important issue in Swedish educational policy. In policy documents from that time period, student

influence was given a rather formal and collective character; formal councils such as student and class councils were required in order to meet students' right to influence and participate in decision-making. Overall, student influence was presented as a common, collective task of a political nature and emphasized that students, as a collective, had the right to influence in the school. The issue was given further attention in 1990, when Sweden, like many other countries, ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Since then, the convention, which addresses children's right to express their views on matters that concern them in different social and institutional settings, has had great impact on Swedish curricula. The present curriculum for the nine-year compulsory school states for example that students have the right to "influence over their education", and should be encouraged to "take an active part in efforts to further develop education" (Lgr 11 § 2.3). However, what issues this influence specifically concerns is not made clear. Neither does it provide explicit information about how the influence shall be organized and stimulated. Furthermore, and a difference in relation to curricula from the 1970s and the 1980s, is that students' participation is mainly described and depicted as an individual capacity or capability, based on a particular set of individual knowledge, skills and dispositions (Skolverket 2001; Rönnlund 2013). This implies also an emphasis on the students' individual responsibilities (c.f. Reynaert et al. 2009).

## **3 Theoretical framework**

Within the framework of modern liberal democracies, justice tends to be identified with the social order that follows the principle of equal rights of all individuals. Linked to this definition is the right to equal protection before the law; that individuals are equals in relation to the law, and shall be impartially rewarded or punished for their acts. The right to equal protection before the law without discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sexuality, color, ethnicity, religion, age or other characteristics, makes the concept justice merge into the concept of social justice (Young 1990).

The concept of 'justice' is also commonly defined and discussed in terms of values such as equality, solidarity, human rights and dignity. The many and different understandings or 'kinds of justice' (Budd 2013), emphasize different aspects and dimensions of what is considered to be moral right. These understandings can be categorized into two contrasting approaches that have polarized the debate on justice: One focuses on distribution, the other on justice as a process. Within the distributive paradigm, the access to material and immaterial goods, and/or the proper allocation of social positions, welfare, power, reward, respect among different people indicates whether the situation is "just" or not. Within the process paradigm, justice relates to the various and ongoing power relations that affect the everyday life. Depending on the chosen approach, justice



is mainly defined and evaluated from “results”, or as a process.

Political scientist Iris Marion Young was one of the postmodern political philosophers who in the late 1980’s and 1990’s challenged universal theories of justice within the distributive paradigm, by claiming that the call to be ‘just’ is procedural and always situated in concrete practices. In *Justice and the politics of difference* (1990), she argues for a “reflective discourse” useful to discuss and make claims about justice in practice. Starting from claims of excluded groups in decision-making procedures in US in different historical times, she criticizes critical theory for its unifying discourse regarding justice and its inability to grasp differences. She sympathizes with the postmodern turn on this matter, arguing that an enlarged and flexible conception of justice is needed: justice is procedural, relational and situated (Young 1990).

Within this procedural and wide perspective (in relation to the traditional liberal conceptualizing of participation), Young sees participation as a key component of what constitutes justice: Participation in joint decision-making processes is a fundamental prerequisite for a socially impartial, democratic and just society. When theorizing participation in relation to justice, Young highlights the range, the depth and breadth of the participation. The three dimensions do not appear as explicit as when for example Cohen (1971) elaborates on them in relation to democracy. Still, they permeate her theorizing in *Justice and the politics of difference*, pointed out as participatory dimensions that should be satisfactory provided for in order to strive for – and attain – social justice. The range refers to the scope of issues being the subject of the decision-making processes, and whether the issues are experienced to be important. The depth refers to the degree of real influence. A qualitative strong and deep participation with a high degree of real influence refers to participation in direct negotiations, representative systems included. A qualitative weak participation refers for example to consultations – a kind of participation where participants are supposed to give voice to their opinions but not to participate in actual negotiations where decisions are taken. The third dimension, the breadth of participation, refers to the amount of participating individuals – how big part of the population that takes part in decision-making processes – and to participation patterns in relation to social and cultural factors. Young’s argument is here that justice requires that everybody, regardless of gender, social background, age and colour of the skin, do participate in decision-making processes of importance for their own actions and influence the preconditions for this (Young 1990).

This last dimension, the breadth of participation, and its close relationship to social justice, is further elaborated and discussed in *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000). In this volume Young advocates the idea that a strong democracy requires inclusiveness:

The normative legitimacy of a democratic decision depends on the degree to which those affected by it have been included in the decision-making processes and have had the opportunity to influence the outcomes (Young 2000, 5-6).

Striving for inclusive decision-making processes means enabling a wider range of social groups to have access to decision-making processes, and also adapting the decision procedures to meet the needs of a wider range of social groups. Young’s argument stems from the perspective of social justice, but also from a deliberative influenced theoretical thinking. The emphasis on decision-making as communication and deliberation links her theorizing to deliberative democracy theories. Although she enters in controversy against some of Habermas’ expositions, the “communicative democracy model” which she elaborates in the essay *Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy in Intersecting Voices* (1997), has many components in common with deliberative democracy attaching great importance to specifically deliberation and exchanging of experiences. By including a wider range of social groups in decision-making, she argues that a wider range of perspectives is included in the political process, something that contributes to deliberation and qualitative well-grounded decisions, but also to individual participants’ knowledge and insights:

Not only does the explicit inclusion of different groups in democratic discussion and decision-making increase the likelihood of promoting justice because the interests of all are taken into account. It also increases that likelihood by increasing the store of social knowledge available to participants (Young 2000, 83).

The theories on justice and participation, and how they are linked together in the work by Iris Marion Young, provide the theoretical framework for the analysis that follows. But first some words about the methodological framework and the data collection.

#### **4 Method, data collection and process of analysis**

The analysis draws on ethnographic work (Hammersley, Atkinson 2007), conducted over the course of one school year (2007/2008) in three Swedish lower secondary schools (Rönnlund 2011). The schools were located in ethnically homogeneous and socioeconomically middle-class areas. Thus, the large majority of the students, participating in the study had middle-class backgrounds and were ethnically Swedish.<sup>1</sup>

In general I spent one or two days a week at each school. At these occasions I conducted classroom observations (I followed one class at each school; one grade 8 class and two grade 9 classes) during as many lessons as possible, taking notes by hand but also tape recording some of them. The fieldwork also included



observations of class- and student council meetings with students in grade 7, 8, and 9. The observations focused decision-making processes that involved both students and teachers with special attention to how decision-making was initiated, the issues in focus and whether they were brought up by students or by teachers, what kind of decision-making and participation that took place in relation to real influence, and finally the amount and selection of students that participated.

The fieldwork further included interviews and informal conversations with students, teachers, and headmasters. The student interviews, representing the main source of data for the analysis outlined in this article, focused on the students' experiences of participating in decision-making in school – how did they see their role in decision-making, what issues did they find important etc. In total, the data consists of 217 participative observations covering various participation situations and 72 interviews.

The ethnographic work enabled me to explore the everyday practices of students' participation in decision-making over time – to grasp decision-making as a process (c.f. Young 1990; Thomas 2007). Spending time in the schools and following decision-making processes over time, made it possible to understand how decision-making processes were initiated, and to get sight of their outcomes. It also enabled me to talk to students and teachers about ongoing decision making processes, and get to know their views and thoughts while being involved.

The process of analysis involved identifying critical moments within decision-making processes; situations that highlighted deficiencies and complexities related to the range, the depth and breadth of the participation. As regards the range, the process of analysis involved separating out the issues that teachers and students brought up and to check for correspondence/non-correspondence. Further, the issues being subject for decision-making were categorized as important respectively non-important according to the student interviews. As regards the depth, the process involved distinguishing between direct negotiations and consultations – where the former refers to a higher degree of real influence than the latter (Hart 1997, 40-45). To this last form of participation I referred situations where the students were invited to give voice to their opinions, but not to participate at the stage where decisions actually were made (c.f. Shier 2001). As regards the third dimension, the breadth, the situations were categorized by how many of the students that participated in decision making processes – distinguishing between situations where a majority of the students in the group/class participated and situations where only a minority participated. In this part of the analysis I also looked for the selection of participating students and selection patterns in relation to gender, social/socioeconomic background, ethnicity etc. However, the homogeneous data regarding

socioeconomic and ethnic background came to limit the analysis in this regard, and gender alone was highlighted when looking for participation patterns.

When selecting quotations, the ambition was to highlight situations that reflected common patterns within the data, but also to give account for divergent patterns. The interview notes as well as observation notes have been translated by the author. In order to improve the readability, they have been adjusted to remove repetitions, mutterings, and mumbblings. The participants have been given fictitious names.

### 5 The range of participation

In all three schools, students were invited to participate in decision-making processes in the classroom and through formal councils of different kinds (c.f. Davies 2002; Davies, Kirkpatrick 2000; Torney-Purta, Barber 2005; Öhrn et al. 2011). In class, the general pattern was that teachers invited the students to participate in discussions about the teaching by presenting their teaching plans and asking the students to comment on them. By doing this on regular basis, the teachers showed an ambition to involve the students in the planning and to invite them to participate in decision-making that concerned teaching and learning. When presenting the plans, they talked in a way that indicated an understanding of planning – and teaching – as a common concern between themselves and the class. On the other hand, the plans were presented in a rather finished state. In the following situation, the Natural Science teacher presents a plan of the term's Natural Science courses to the students:

The natural science teacher: As you can see, the first course is 'the sound'. I have decided that we will have a written assessment at the end of this course. I have also decided in which order we will take the courses, as they build on each other. Martin: Do the assessment need to be individual? Can't we have a group assessment? Teacher: We will have to decide on that, when we get there. (...) (Observation January 2008)

As the excerpt shows, the plan was presented without direct questions from the teacher; i.e. it was not specifically stated what the students were expected to comment on and give opinions about when teachers presented plans to the class. However, when they asked for the students' opinions by posing direct questions about the plans, their questions concerned a rather narrow scope of the teaching process, like for example the structure of the teaching and the order of the course elements. When the students themselves asked questions and commented the teaching, this included a wider spectrum of the teaching. In the situation below, a group of students with Siri as their spokesperson, brings up what the class experiences as an unbalanced assessment-schedule.



Siri: How come that all tests are scheduled to week 34? Teacher: You are exaggerating! You know that I have just moved the natural science test. (Observation October 2007)

Other issues brought up by the students that belonged to a wider spectrum of the teaching concerned for example work methods and time limits. They suggested other work methods and asked for more reasonable timetables for each task. Issues that often were brought up concerned assessments. In this matter, the students often suggested various and optional ways of accounting for their individual and group-based work. Furthermore, when schoolwork was handed back to students, it happened that they were critical about how their work had been assessed and graded, and argued in order to obtain a higher degree on their work. In the situation that follows, the students Nadja and Birgitta have been informed that their group work has been graded with a "G", a grade which they regard as too low.<sup>2</sup> When asking the teacher about the motive to the low grading, the teacher explains that they have not used all the material they were supposed to use, an answer that they object to:

Nadja and Birgitta argue for a higher grade, claiming that they had not been informed about the importance of using all the material. The teacher contradicts, saying that the class had been informed about that, that it was mentioned in the instructions. They discuss for about 10 minutes. Nadja and Birgitta contradict the teacher repeatedly, and compare their work with the work of another group that has got a higher degree, claiming that their work is as good as the other group's work. The teacher stands firm and says that they have learned something [to read the instructions carefully]. (Observation March 2008)

As this excerpt shows, some students were active and took initiative to influence various aspects of the teaching, in a spectrum that extended the teachers' spectrum. Bringing wider issues up in discussion with the teachers, like grading as in the situation above, indicated a low correspondence between the issues that students and teachers found important to discuss. This was confirmed in the interviews; the students argued that many of the issues in focus in decision-making in the classroom, especially those being brought up by teachers, were unimportant and uninteresting (cf. Solhaug 2003). When teaching and learning issues, that the students in general found important to discuss and have an impact on, were brought up by the teachers, the students found that this was done in a too narrow perspective.

Further, bringing wider issues up indicated that the students viewed also these aspects of the teaching possible to influence. In this specific situation the teacher engaged in a discussion with the students, in other

situations they did not. Still, according to the observations, the teachers controlled the agenda, and many issues that students wanted to discuss were crossed out. As a consequence, there were many aspects of the teaching that were not processed in the classroom, a course of events that refers to what Bachrach and Baratz (1970) conceptualize as "nondecision making" – political processes in which key issues are frequently finessed out of the public process. This is demonstrated in the following situation from a class council meeting, Nellie brings up that some lessons begin later than scheduled, because teachers are not in time:

Nellie [to the teacher]: We usually don't start the lessons in time. Teachers need to arrive better in time. You need to be in the classroom at least five minutes before the lesson is about to start. Arriving thirty seconds in advance is not enough. We need more than thirty seconds to get in and have a seat. Teacher: I understand that. Caroline: Some of the teachers even arrive after the scheduled time. Teacher: That's even worse. Caroline: They say they needed a coffee. Teacher: Do they say so? Nothing more is said. The teacher starts the lesson. (Observation October 2007)

This observation, that some issues being brought up by students were left behind without discussion, was also reflected in the student interviews. The students said that there were many aspects of the teaching that they experienced not being able to discuss with the teachers. When they brought up issues that extended the narrow spectrum, this only rarely led to further discussions in the classroom.

The observations further revealed that there were hardly any discussions in the classroom about what issues that counted as relevant for joint decision-making between teachers and students. The teachers did very seldom reject direct questions/proposals from students, arguing that a specific issue brought up by the students was not a topic for joint decision-making. On the other hand, issues brought up by students sometimes were left behind without discussions or further comments. When this phenomenon was brought up in the teacher interviews, teachers expressed that the students sometimes had "unrealistic ideas" about what issues they can influence in school.

## 6 The depth of students' participation

Even though the students were frequently invited to participate in decision-making processes in the classroom and through councils, their participation only weakly meant impact and real influence. The teachers' invitations to participation, like in the planning procedures, usually concerned consultations rather than negotiations. This applies to the natural science situation mentioned in the previous section. Another situation that highlights this pattern regards a planning situation in a Swedish class, when the Swedish teacher presents a term plan to the students:



The Swedish language teacher, goes through the plan that she has copied and distributed to the students and she encourages the students to comment on it. There are some gaps that are not completed (...). Fanny raises her hand and says that she wants to work with autobiographies and that the class has wanted to do that for a long time. She gets support from some of her friends, among them Kristina and Erika (...). The teacher [to the class]: How many of you want to work with autobiographies? Six girls and three boys raise their hands (...). The teacher: We'll see if we will have time to work with them at the end of this term. (Observation February 2008)

As the excerpt shows, the students were invited to give voice to their opinions in this issue, but they were not involved in direct negotiations with the teacher. The teacher listened to the students' reactions and direct suggestions. However, negotiations did not take place, and decisions were taken later on by the teacher when the students were not present (c.f. Shier 2001).

Still, there were some situations representing a higher degree of influence for the students – situations where students were involved in direct negotiations with teachers. These were often based on a representative system; the class selected one or several students to represent the class' opinion(s) and take part in negotiations with the teacher(s). All though these situations in my analysis represented a higher degree of influence for the student collective, the students themselves did not experience having a high degree of influence in these situations, something that I refer to the representative system these decision-making processes were based on.

One example regards planning a thematic class work, a decision-making process in which the class had chosen representatives who together with teachers should plan the work in a joint team group. The representatives discussed the issue with their classmates in order to get to know their opinions, and then they went to the first meeting in the team group, where negotiations about the work took place. However, the majority of the students (those who were not representatives) did not experience this particular decision process as qualitatively influential. When they talked about the process, they said that they had not being involved in the decision-making. Students expressed this by saying "There is still a lot of things we could not decide on." and "The teachers listen to what we say, still they don't take much notice of it, what we say does not make big difference." One student, Carl, described the process of planning the thematic work as follows:

Carl: When we decide the theme work for example, the procedure is that we, the students, sit down and list what we want to do, and then the team group

plan the work, and when the final plan is presented, the things on our list are not there, they have taken away all the things we wanted to do!

Interviewer: You mean that all the students in the class participate in making the list, and then...?

Carl: Then some of us go to the team group where also teachers participate...

Interviewer: And that's when your proposals disappear, you mean?

Carl: Yeah, kind of.

(Interview Carl April 2008)

The interviews clearly showed that the students were dissatisfied with this, and similar, decision-making processes as they felt not being "involved". Even though the process involved direct negotiations with the teachers, the students thus experienced real influence only to a low degree. In the interviews, this and other decision-making procedures of representative character, was described as "non-democratic". The argument was that the students had not been "able to influence the outcome". Disappointment and frustration were also expressed by the students that had been selected to be the class' representatives in these decision-making processes – those who had participated in the team group and in actual negotiations with teachers. Maria, the class' only representative in the team group responsible for planning the thematic class work (a second student representative had left the group), experienced the planning and her role in the decision process as problematic. This is her version of the same decision-making procedure as Carl earlier referred to:

During a lesson we wrote down what we considered to be important as regards this next thematic work. We listed things we wanted to do, and how to do I, and I brought the list to the team group. One thing that everyone in the class wanted to do and that we put on the list, was to involve construction of some kind in the work, we wanted to build or construct something as part of giving an account for the work. In the team group we discussed this. The teachers argued that construction was not possible, that this kind of giving an account of a group project did not suit this particular task, that construction did not merge with the learning objectives or cover the learning outcomes. I understood their arguments, but I got in trouble when I went back to the class to tell them about the outcome of our discussion. They did not like what we had decided, and I was individually held responsible for the outcome (...). I was the only one from our class there and I felt personally responsible. I found it difficult to explain how we had reached to that decision. I do think it is important that students participate in the planning group and negotiate with teachers, but I think it is important to be many students, not only one.

(Interview Maria June 2008)



Following Maria's story, the experienced problem within the decision-making procedure did not refer to "not being involved" but to difficulties in being a representative; explaining and giving details about the negotiations and to account for the decision to her classmates. By her story, you can sense that her classmates were critical when she reported the results of the planning process, and that she personally took on the responsibility for the decision that evoked such discontent among her classmates.

The overall pattern as regards the depth dimension was that the students participated in decision-making processes and exerted real influence, only to a low extent. Situations where students participated in real negotiations with teachers were rare, and when they occurred, the students did not associate them with a high degree of influence, something which I refer to difficulties in handling and understanding the representative system that these decision-making processes often were based on.

### **7 The breadth of students' participation**

As been argued in the previous sections, the students' right to participate in decision-making was curtailed and restricted in ways that referred to both the range and the depth of the participation. There were also deficiencies as regards the breadth of the participation. As regards the breadth dimension; i.e the amount and selection of participating individuals, the pattern was that only a few students participated in decision-making processes, and that all decision-making processes (regardless how and by whom they had been initiated and whether they were built on a representative system or not) engaged about the same group of students.

The low interest in participating was according to the student interviews connected to the issues in focus. Many students expressed a low interest in participating, arguing that, which is discussed under The range of participation, the issues were unimportant and uninteresting (cf. Solhaug 2003). Issues that did interest the students, and that they identified as important to influence, were issues related to teaching and learning. Nevertheless, when issues related to teaching and learning were brought up in the classroom by teachers, like for example when plans were presented to the students, these events did not give rise to a noticeably interest and engagement among the students. As been discussed earlier, when teaching and learning issues (that the students in general found important to discuss and have an impact on) were brought up by the teachers, the students found that this was done in a too narrow perspective.

The limited breadth in the participation was explained by the students in terms of something that 'just is'. When students were asked to comment on the fact that only a few students participated, their answers indicated an understanding that being participative or not participative was somehow a 'natural' given; that some

students are more participative, active and communicative, than others. The phenomenon was commented by students in terms of "just as it is": Some students "are" participative and communicative driven, while some are not.

When analyzing the participation pattern, the homogeneous character of the schools made it difficult to distinguish any strong and reliable pattern as regards social background or ethnicity. However, as regards gender, the pattern was strong: Girls were in general participating in influence processes to a greater extent than boys were (c.f. Davies 2002; Silva 2001; Öhrn 1997, 2005). This referred to teachers' invitations as well as students' initiatives. Something that seemed to strengthen the gendered participation pattern, was the discursively female gendering of the active and participative student role (c.f. Bjerrum Nielsen 2009; Lyng 2004); being participative was mainly talked about as in line with how in particular girls, not boys, were expected to act and perform in school (c.f. Francis, Skelton 2005; Nordberg 2008). As one of the girl students puts it in the interview: "It feels wrong to say this but girls are more engaged."

The teacher interviews revealed that the teachers recognized the low engagement as well as the gender unbalance. Their ambition was to change these participation patterns, and encourage all students to participate. However, they did find it difficult to change.

### **8 Concluding remarks**

Identified critical moments that concerned participatory range, depth and breadth dimensions, indicated deficiencies as regards students' participation in decision-making in relation to justice in the three studied schools. First, the scope of issues subject to the decision-making processes was often narrow. Secondly, the students' participation mainly concerned isolated situations of giving voice rather than processes of negotiations and influence. Thirdly, only a few students, and a certain group of students, participated in the decision-making processes.

The identified moments that referred to the range and depth dimensions, highlight the complexities that lie within carry out student participation in educational communities/institutions where the members/citizens have different positions and where institutional goals and regulations, like for example educational goals and criteria for grading, constitute frameworks for the students' individual and collective participation in decision-making. This framing was somewhat under-communicated in the three schools; teachers and students did not explicitly discuss to what extent the students could expect participating in decision-making with teachers; what issues are relevant for joint decision-making, and what issues are not? As a consequence, students and teachers did not always have the same understanding of students' participation in decision-making. This was reflected in situations when students



took initiatives to influence issues that represented a wider range of teaching and learning issues. Different understandings were also reflected when the teachers invited the students to consultations, and how the students found these consultations meaningful only to a low degree. According to the student interviews, the students expected negotiations and were dissatisfied with the giving voice situations; they asked for authority and impact/influence and wanted their participation to make a difference (c.f. Taft, Gordon 2013). The analysis shows how different understandings of student participation in decision-making caused discontentment at “both sides”; the students thought that the teachers excluded them from negotiations and from discussing/deciding certain issues, and the teachers thought the students were pressing too far. Based on this analysis, I argue that school actors need to be more explicit about the institutional frameworks and boundaries that regulate and frame students’ participation in decision-making in school.

The identified moments also highlight the difficulties that lie within collective decision-making in practice. When teachers, with the aim of involving all students in the decision-making process, organized direct negotiations with the student collective, making use of class representatives, these were not experienced as “democratic” by the students. They found it hard to see how their individual and/or collective ideas came to influence the outcome. The analysis indicates that the students had difficulties to understand and to handle collective decision-making processes based on a representative system. Since such decision structures constitute an important foundation in societal democracy, and are necessary in decision-making processes involving a larger amount of people, young people need to be strengthened in participating in collective decision-making processes with representative structure.

This part of the analysis relates closely to the breadth dimension. The students’ experienced low degree of depth in collective representative based decision-making processes systems, referred to experiences of limited breadth in the participation; a feeling of not being involved. The interaction of the breadth and depth dimensions in this situation, reminds us that the three dimensions interact. This specific situation, in which the breadth and depth dimensions interact, highlights the importance that students learn strategies how to involve all individual participants in decision-making processes, regardless if they are built or representative systems or not. Here, deliberation in the form of an internal class discussion between the representatives and the class turns out as important.

In order to strengthen democracy and participation and taking all three dimensions into account, Young argues for the need of finding “systems” in order to include individuals from all social and cultural groups in decision-making processes on different levels. In this

argumentation, she emphasizes the need for a democratic structure that combines representative, participatory and deliberative ideals, as these ‘mutually require each other’ (Young 2000, 124). Representation is, she argues, a prerequisite for an inclusive democratic and a social just practice, as it enables marginalized groups to participate in decision-making. Representative systems need however to be strengthened from a deliberative point of view, something that clearly shows in this analysis. According to the results presented here, there is a need for finding systems to encourage students to say their opinions, both in situations where all students are present and in representative systems. The arguing refers to the students’ right to participate in decision-making, but also their right to practice and learn participation. The fact that some students get to practice participation and citizenship in school more than others, creates an unbalance in the citizenry education provided by the schools. From the children’s rights perspective, representative participatory systems are of great importance for guaranteeing resources for marginalised groups to make their voices heard. However, in order to encourage all students to participate, and by those means strengthen all students’ participatory competence, they need to be combined with participatory and deliberative systems.

Analyses of the range, depth and breadth of the students’ participation in decision-making in school can be used to make claims about how this participation needs to be widened, deepened and broadened. My argument is that they can help to formulate more precise and more realistic expectations about what schools actually can achieve in this matter. They can also be used as a starting point for discussions about students’ participation in decision-making between school actors – what issues can and shall students have influence on, and what kind of participation is reasonable and just? Such a discussion might facilitate for students and staff to negotiate within the institutional frameworks that regulate and frame students’ participation in decision-making in school to a greater extent than was the case in these three schools. Analyses of this kind, can also be used in discussions about how to involve more students in decision-making in their everyday school life and affect decision-making in school, representative based decision-making included, towards a more participative and deliberative democratic process. In order to obtain social justice in education and to promote justice through education, we need to find systems for students to participate in direct negotiations in issues of importance for them, so that their participation makes a difference in the everyday practice. By those means, more students are likely to be involved in decision-making and get their participatory competence strengthened.





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**Endnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> The intention was to obtain variations among the participating schools. However, this was not possible (see Rönnlund 2011, 74-75), and the analysis must be considered in relation to the strongly middle-class coded schools.

<sup>2</sup> At the time for the study, the grading system in lower secondary school in Sweden consisted of four grades: IG (failed), G (passed), VG (passed with distinction) and MVG (passed with great distinction).



## Adolf Reichwein (1937)

### Der fliegende Mensch

#### **Mit Anmerkungen von Heinz Schernikau (Kommentar 1) und Tilman Grammes (Kommentar 2)**

##### Quelle:

Adolf Reichwein. Schaffendes Schulvolk. Tiefenseer Schulschriften 1937–1939. Pädagogische Schriften. Kommentierte Werkausgabe in fünf Bänden, Band 4, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Karl-Christoph Lingelbach und Ullrich Amlung. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt 2011, S. 24-185; Auszüge hier S. 26f., S. 33ff., S. 80-93

*Mit freundlichem Dank an Prof. Dr. Roland Reichwein sowie den Verlag Julius Klinkhardt für die Genehmigung zum Abdruck dieses Auszuges in deutscher Sprache sowie die Publikation einer englischen Übersetzung (Auszug).*

##### Vorwort (WA Bd. 4, S. 26f.)

Mit dieser Schrift lege ich nicht einen Plan vor oder einen Vorschlag, wie es gemacht werden sollte, sondern den Bericht einer Wirklichkeit. Nicht die Gestaltung einer möglichen, einer gedachten Erziehungsgemeinschaft ist hier vorgezeichnet, sondern die Gestalt einer verwirklichten, einer bereits geleisteten Arbeit nachgezeichnet. Und doch enthält diese Darstellung nicht nur ein ‚Bildnis‘, sondern öffnet den Blick auf die Gründe und geistigen Vorgänge, die zu jener Wirklichkeit führten. Es ist der Versuch, Bericht und Deutung in Einem zu geben...

Wenige wissen draußen, außerhalb der Schulwelt, etwas von der Landschule, wie sie wirklich ist. Viele urteilen noch nach den Vorstellungen aus großväterlichen Zeiten. In einer Zeit aber, die ihre Erneuerung aus den Kräften des Landvolks sucht, sollte jeder, auch der Städter, die Schule dieses Landvolks zu seinem inneren Anliegen machen. Darum wendet diese Schrift sich über den Kreis der Erzieher hinaus auch an alle, die an der Formung eines kommenden Volkes durch lebendige Erziehung Anteil nehmen.

Tiefensee, im Herbst 1937.  
Adolf Reichwein

##### I. Von der Gestaltung (WA Bd. 4, S. 33ff.)

Wir führen diese Jugend nicht in eine wohlbereitete Heimat, sondern in das offene Gelände einer Zukunft, die sie sich selbst mitbauen muß. Welch beneidenswertes Schicksal! Wieviel Unsicherheit enthält es, wieviel Fragen, deren Entledigung ganz von unserer Antwort abhängt! ... Das Kind soll, im Bereich seines persönlichen Schaffens, immer bei seinem Selbst gelassen, gewöhnt und imstande sein, mit seinen Fähigkeiten nicht nur auf Anruf, sondern aus freiem Antrieb frei zu schalten. Ja dieses Auf-sich-selbst-angewiesen-sein soll ihm Lust bereiten. Nur aus der Lust wachsen Leistungen, auch

wenn sie Pflicht bedeuten. Wenn wir bei Kindern von Pflicht sprechen, können wir nur die Lust an der Pflicht meinen ...

##### II. Wie wir es machen

##### Winter (WA Bd. 4, S. 80-93)

##### 2. Beispiel

So wie die Vertiefung der *geschichtlichen* Anschauung zum dörflichen Schulwinter gehört, führt diese Jahreszeit auch ganz von selbst den Umgang mit der Gestalt unserer Erde, die Erdkunde, in Betrachtungen hinein, die mehr Überschau als Anschauung sind. Was während des Sommers auf der Großfahrt und bei vielen kleineren Gelegenheiten an unmittelbarer Anschauung gesammelt, notiert und vorgemerkt wurde, wird nun zu größeren erdkundlichen Vorhaben verdichtet. Eines Winters haben wir so das Fliegen und die Fliegerei zum Leitmotiv unserer erdkundlichen Arbeit gemacht. Die Dringlichkeit des Themas ist aus der deutschen Gegenwart ohne weiteres zu begreifen. Das Vorhaben versprach in seiner Breite wie in seiner Tiefe Ergiebigkeit. Mannigfaltige Vorarbeiten lagen bereit und bedurften nur der Zusammenfassung, der inneren Zuordnung auf das leitende Motiv. Ja, die Gelegenheit ließ sich noch weiterspannen: Der fliegende Mensch als geschichtliche Erscheinung, als Gestalt, ist ja bereits von unserem Wissen um die Erde nicht mehr zu trennen. Er hat Teil an der endgültigen Eroberung ihres äußeren Bildes, er ist tausendfältig verwoben in das raumpolitische Schicksal des Planeten. Im Menschenflug sind verkörpert und unlöslich verkoppelt menschlich-geschichtliches Schicksal und geopolitische Gestaltung. Prophetische Sage, Anekdote, Ereignis- und Tatbericht, ja die Dichtung spiegeln mit der stärksten und unmittelbarsten Ausdruckskraft unserer deutschen Sprache das umwälzende Geschehen des Fliegens wider. Die Eroberung der dritten Dimension für das Auge des Menschen - gewiß für dieses nicht allein -



bedeutet auch viel für die Bereicherung unseres Bildes von der Erde, für die anschauliche Erschließung und Verdeutlichung der Kräfte, die von der Erdgestalt als solcher auf die menschliche Gemeinschaft wirken. Erdkunde im weiten Sinne des Wortes vom fliegenden Menschen her nacherleben, bedeutet deutsches und menschliches Schicksal geopolitisch sehen lernen.

Wir hatten seit langem schon, wie auf allen Gebieten, im Rahmen unserer Bildersammlung - aus Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Kalendern - alles, was sich aufs Fliegen bezog, ausgesondert. Die einzelnen Mappen waren nach Themen geordnet: Geschichte des Menschenflugs, Segelflug, Verkehrsfliegerei, Luftschiff, Luftbild, Flieger-schulung, Kriegsfliegerei usw. Etwa 15 Mappen lagen vor. Die Kleinsten kannten schon „Fritz der Wolkenfahrer“<sup>1</sup>, die Mittelstufe war mit Sagen und Anekdoten vertraut, besaß aus Lesebogen ein geschlossenes Bild der Gesamtentwicklung, die Größeren wußten viel einzelnes, das beim Sammeln der Bilder zur Sprache gekommen war. Die gemeinsame Ausgangsfrage stellte sich nun so: „Wie sieht der Flieger eigentlich unsere Heimat?“ Täglich überflogen die dreimotorigen Verkehrsmaschinen, die flinken Schulmaschinen unser Dorf. Wie zeigte sich ihnen unsere kleine Welt? Diese Frage führte uns zum Bau des Reliefs unserer engsten Heimat. (Rahmen zwei x zwei Meter.) Daß wir das Meßtischblatt lesen konnten, war die Bedingung für seine Übersetzung in die dritte Dimension. Die Maße der Flächen wie der Höhe mußten richtig aufeinander bezogen werden. Da es uns aber auf Plastik vor allem ankam, bauten wir eine zahlenmäßig festgelegte Überhöhung ein. So entstand in langer, mühsamer Arbeit, Schicht um Schicht wachsend, der Lehmern unserer Reliefs, der Rohbau unserer heimatlichen Landschaft, wie sie sich aus eiszeitlicher Gletscherarbeit, jahrtausendelanger Wasser- und Wetterwirkung gebildet hat. Über diesen Kern wurde, aus vielen wechselnden Schichten von Papier und Leim verbunden, ein zweites, ablösbares Papprelief gezogen. Bald bekam es Farbe und durchgearbeitete Gestalt. Blau leuchteten die Seen zwischen den Wäldern aus isländisch Moos - ein Stück Urlandschaft war da. Straßen wurden über Dämme geführt, Eisenbahnen über Brücken. Die Feldflur belebte sich. Nach dem Bestellungsplan des letzten Sommers nahmen die einzelnen Schläge Farbe an. Und schließlich fügte sich zu dieser Landschaft, die in Natur gebettete kulturelle Leistung zeigte, das Dorf. Holzgeschnitzt, farbig, reihte sich längs der Straße Haus an Haus, Hof an Hof. Kein Ställchen durfte fehlen. Wir hatten das Werden unserer Heimat aus ihrer Urform, wie der Mensch sie einst antraf, bis zum gegenwärtigen Gesicht im Geiste nacherlebt. Die Hand hatte das Geschehen nachgeschaffen. Ist es hier auch nur in Stichworten aufgefangen, so hoffe ich doch, daß aus jeder Andeutung hervorleuchtet, zu wieviel Gedanken, Klärungen, Überlegungen und Einsichten diese Arbeit Anlaß war. Am Ende hatten wir unter unserem Auge, was der Flieger sieht:

„Kultur in der Landschaft“. Menschliches Schicksal - ja, unser eigenes - war da verwoben in das Wirkbild der Natur, und alles zusammen: ein Bild der Heimat.

Um dieses Relief kreisten nun täglich unsere Gedanken, von hier, von der Heimatgestalt, spannten sie Brücken hinaus in den weiten Raum der Erde. Sie zogen mit den Vögeln. In Rossitten<sup>2</sup> hatten wir ja selbst, auf unserer Ostpreußenfahrt, die Vogelwarte besucht. Wir hatten also eine Ahnung, vielleicht sogar einen Begriff von der Bedeutung dieser Wissenschaft des Vogelflugs. Auf der Nehrung wohnten sie ja als Nachbarn beieinander: Vogelforschung und Segelfliegerei. Wir paarten Bilder von Segelflugzeugen und Vögeln im Flug, verglichen und fanden Formverwandschaften, und hörten von den engen Beziehungen, die zwischen der Flugtechnik der Vögel und der Menschen bestehen. Der Mensch hatte der fliegenden Kreatur Geheimnisse abgelauscht und das dort Gefundene nachgestaltet. So schufen wir uns Bildreihen und Bildbänder, die von den einfachsten Fluggeräten draußen in der Natur bis zum heute vollkommensten Fluginstrument des Menschen führten, von dem Flugsamen des Löwenzahns, der „Pustelblume“, bis zum Fallschirm, vom rotierenden Ahornsamen zum Propeller, vom Schmetterling zum schwanzlosen Flugzeug und von der Möwe zum „Rhönadler“ auf der Wasserkuppe. Wir folgten in Gedanken den Störchen aus Rossitten bis nach Südafrika, griffen zum Vergleich nach der Karte der Luftverkehrslinien und fanden zu unserer Überraschung, daß die großen europäisch-afrikanischen Luftstraßen des Menschen und die der Zugvögel sich fast deckten. Kartenskizzen häuften sich, alpine Gebirge und Meere wurden als Hindernisse, Meerengen, Küsten und Inseln hingegen als Magneten für den nach Sicherheit strebenden Luftverkehr erkannt. So spannte sich vor unseren Augen ein fliegerischer Rahmen, von dem dann binnenwärts, bis ins Herz des schwarzen Erdteils, die transafrikanischen Linien der Air France strahlten, und die Flugwege der Störche nach Senegal und Niger. Welche Wandlung, wenn man an Wißmann, Stanley und Livingstone dachte!<sup>3</sup> Die Erschließungsprobleme eines - von Europa aus gesehen - politisch jungen Kontinents bekamen durch die Flugtechnik für uns ein neues Gesicht, die Integrierung riesiger Kolonialzonen, wie der englischen im Osten, der französischen im Westen, schien uns jetzt erst, durch das Flugzeug, wirklich möglich geworden. Manches, was wir seither von der „Erde“ her gesehen und beurteilt hatten, bekam nun aus der „Luft“ ganz neue Züge! Und wieder griffen wir zu der eigenen Plastik, um uns ein räumlich sprechendes Bild von den Zusammenhängen aufzubauen. Wir schufen uns selbst ein Relief von Afrika. Farbig stuften sich die Höhenzonen, zogen Flüsse ihren Weg, und über dem

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. im Kommentar 2, S. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Erläuterung: Rossitten ist der Standort einer bekannten wissenschaftlichen Vogelflugwarte sowie einer Segelflugschule. Da im Vertrag von Versailles 1919 Deutschland der Bau von Motorflugzeugen verboten worden war, bot die Segelfliegerei die aeronautische Alternative.

<sup>3</sup> Erläuterung: Mit Wißmann, Stanley und Livingstone sind berühmte Afrikaforscher genannt.

Ganzen schwebten - als farbige Kleinstmodelle aufgestellt - die ziehenden Scharen der Zugvögel und Verkehrsmaschinen.

Die Zersplitterung des europäischen Luftverkehrs führte uns zu dem Vergleich mit dem einfach gefügten, transkontinental bestimmten Luftverkehrsnetz Nordamerikas. Auch hier half das selbstgebaute Relief, das natürlich, wie jedes Relief, vor allem die räumlich-natürliche Gestalt, die Raumkräfte dieses Erdteils sinnfällig macht, die räumliche Bedingtheit der Linienführung erkennen läßt. Die Pässe des Felsengebirgs, greifbar im Relief, erwiesen sich als die Richtpunkte der großen ost-westlichen Linien. Die einfache Ost-West- und Nord-Süd-Gliederung aller großen Linien vermittelte das Bild eines auf den Groß-raum zugeschnittenen Systems. Gerade im Vergleich mit dem dichten, auf nationale Verkehrskreuzen bezogenen Liniennetz Europas wurde deutlich, wie die natürliche und politische Gestalt eines Erdteils seinen Verkehrscharakter bestimmen. (Wir hätten dieses Bild leicht vom Eisenbahn- und Straßenverkehr her vervollständigen können.)

Zur Ergänzung unserer eigenen Reliefarbeiten, denen der Gesamtplan leider enge Grenzen zieht, hatten wir bildliche Reliefdarstellungen deutscher Landschaften gesammelt: das Rhein-Main-Gebiet, zwischen Taunus und Odenwald gebettet, Schwarzwald, Bodensee, Erzgebirge. Sie waren uns bei der Gewinnung eines treuen Bildes der deutschen Landschaftscharaktere zur unentbehrlichen Hilfe geworden. Sie gaben uns nun, da wir sie bewußt als Vogel- und Fliegerschau begriffen und nutzten, eine Zusammenschau des Einzelnen zum Ganzen, eine Landschaft in ihrer Gliederung auf einen Blick als Einheit zu umfassen und schließlich eine Fülle von Beziehungen: der Standort der Städte wurde einleuchtend, weil er sich aus dem Bau der Landschaft ergab, die Standortsbindung der Industrien an die Gewässer, die uns seither nur als geschichtliches Ergebnis nahegekommen war, wurde uns am Reliefbild unmittelbar und zwingend begreiflich, denn wir sahen, wie sich die alten kleingewerblichen Bildungen Württembergs und Thüringens den kleinen Gebirgswässern anschmiegen und wie auch die groß-industriellen Ballungen der Rhein-Main-Landschaft sich des breiten Verkehrsbedtes führender Ströme und Flüsse bedienen. Eine ganze Wirtschaftskunde Deutschlands erschloß sich uns aus diesen Bildern, „wie sie der Flieger sieht“.

Ja, wenn wir schärfer zusahen, durchschauten wir plötzlich die Oberfläche und entdeckten Schicht um Schicht eine ganze Geschichte Deutschlands. Das Verkehrsamt einer alten, schicksalsreichen Stadt hatte uns einen als Reliefbild dargestellten und für Verkehrswerbung gedruckten Plan geschickt, der uns zum Muster einer in einem einzigen Bilde gesammelten Stadtgeschichte wurde. Da war, um den Fluß gruppiert, der Stadtkern des Mittelalters, alte, schmalgiebelige Häuser, winkelige Gäßchen, und inmitten der Dom. Da breiteten sich um diesen Kern die breiten und hohen,

vielfenstrigen Häuserblocks der Renaissance und des Barocks, steinerne Zeugen eines großartigen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs. Der sie umschließende zackige Ring von Grünanlagen enthüllte uns auf den ersten Blick die Befestigung des 17. Jahrhunderts. Und dann war offenbar der Strom der Säfte ins Stocken geraten, die Stadt stand still, die Wirtschaft wurde konservativ, sie bewahrte das Gewonnene und begnügte sich damit - bis, nach einem Schlaf von über hundert Jahren, ein neuer ungestümer Strom die Dämme des Festungsgürtels durchbrach und sich in die freie Landschaft ergoß. Das war kein geordnetes Wachsen mehr, kein gesunder Ansatz von Ring um Ring, sondern wucherte planlos ins Weite. Vor den Wällen und Gräben wurden sternförmig schier endlos weite Straßen gebaut, Dörfer eingesaugt in diesen Strudel der hemmungslos um sich fressenden Stadt, die Häuserblocks nahmen riesige Formen an, Siedlungen wurden wie Vorwerke weit hinausgeschleudert ins Land, dichte Bündel von Gleisanlagen, von Bahnhofshallen wie von Magneten angezogen und gesammelt, das entfesselte 19. Jahrhundert war hier leibhaftig in einem einzigen Bilde gefaßt. Wie gerufen fiel uns da ein Büchlein in die Hand, das die Stadtgrundrisse Hamburgs, ein Jahrtausend umspannend, durch die Jahrhunderte enthält. Hier war eine Entwicklung in Schichten, in historische Querschnitte zerlegt, die in jenem Reliefplan zu einem Bild verdichtet erschien. Die Hamburger Querschnittpläne bestätigten uns im einzelnen, was wir mit etwas geschultem geschichtlichen Blick auch aus jenem Bildplan herauslesen konnten. (Daneben allerdings schenkten uns die Hamburger Pläne eine Fülle geschichtlicher Einsichten, sie wurden uns zum Zeugnis der gewaltigen Leistungen einer Geschlechterkette, die in tausend Jahren aus Wasser, Sumpf und Wald einen Welthafen geschaffen hat.)

Reliefs und Pläne führten uns geraden Wegs zu unserer Luftbildsammlung. Die menschliche Siedlung, klein und groß, immer an landschaftliche und geschichtliche Kräfte gebunden, bekam ganz neue Züge, wenn wir sie aus der Fliegerschau betrachteten. Jetzt begriffen wir erst recht die Bedeutung der Siedlungsform und durch diese die Kraftströme der Geschichte. Da war Nördlingen zum Beispiel, heute noch in die Mauer seiner mittelalterlichen Blüte eingeschlossen, ein in sich und seiner Landschaft ruhendes, ausgeglichenes Gebilde - und dort war Chemnitz, ein brodelnder Kessel von Industrie. Hier eine einsame Wind- oder Wassermühle - dort eine moderne Mühlenanlage mit riesigen Vorratssilos für das lagernde Getreide inmitten eines rauchenden Industriebezirks. Und schließlich hier unser eigenes Straßendorf, und dort hessische Haufendörfer, sächsische Rundlinge, einsame Marschhöfe. Jede dieser Formen birgt ein geschichtliches Schicksal, und jede erzählte uns davon. Dann griffen wir einmal hinaus in die Welt. Mittelholzer<sup>4</sup> bringt Bilder

<sup>4</sup> Erläuterung: Walter Mittelholzer (1894-1937), Schweizer Luftfahrtpionier und Reiseschriftsteller. Die Ausdrucksweise „Negersiedlungen“ für afrikanische Dörfer entspricht dem Wortgebrauch der Zeit.



primitiver Negersiedlungen, hier wahllos gewürfelte, ungekonnte Hütten, und daneben hoch entwickelte, streng geordnete, "staatlich" gedachte Dorfanlagen. Wir fanden also auch "draußen" das Beieinander formloser Zufälle und bewußt geformten, planvollen Lebens. Und so warfen wir immer wieder einmal den Blick hinaus, jenseits der eigenen Volksgrenze, rissen die Fenster auf und fanden, daß auch im Entferntesten, in der fernen Welt wie in der nahen Heimat, die Formen des organisierten Lebens durch Grenzen zu Rängen gestuft und voneinander geschieden sind. Wo also auch immer uns das Luftbild "Strukturen" menschlichen Lebens enthüllt, immer sind sie Sinnbild einer bestimmten Artung und haben ihr eigenes Gesetz.

Wenn wir Luftwege verfolgten, wenn wir Bildberichte von Forschungsflügen in uns aufnahmen oder Tatsachenberichte von Probe- und Pionierflügen lasen - immer wieder stießen wir auf die Grenzen, die der Luftfahrt durch Klima und Wetterlage gesetzt sind. Wir erfuhren auch, wie in Forschungsanstalten und im Flugzeugbau selbst unentwegt daran gearbeitet wird, diese Grenze zu erweitern und die natürlichen Schranken zu durchbrechen. Und wiederum konnten wir auf eigene Beobachtung und Ergebnisse zurückgreifen, die wir in Jahren gesammelt hatten. Es lohnte sich nun, Tag um Tag Temperaturen und Barometerstände zu notieren, Niederschläge, Bedeckungsverhältnisse und Nebelbildung nicht zu vergessen. Jetzt waren wir auch glücklich, daß wir in den vergangenen Jahren alle diese Ergebnisse unermüdlich auf dem Millimeterpapier in Kurvenbilder übersetzt hatten. Wir brauchten nur die Rollen auszubreiten und erinnerten uns auf den ersten Blick der Zusammenhänge zwischen Luftdruck, Temperatur und Niederschlägen, lasen aus den eigenen Beobachtungen Grundsätze der Wetterkunde ab, wie sie der Flieger im Gefühl und im Kopfe haben muß. Und indem wir unsere eigene, an das Dorf wie an einen Punkt gebundene Beobachtung mit den Wetterkarten verglichen - die deutschen gelegentlich durch englische, weit in den Atlantik reichende, ergänzend -, fanden wir Großräume der Wetterbildung, die zunächst mit den Sinnen des Fliegers nacherlebt wurden, aus denen wir aber dann auch das Wetterschicksal unseres eigenen Dorfes deuten konnten. Aus der Wetterkunde gewannen wir schließlich auch die Begriffe, die für den Bau unserer kleinen Segelflugmodelle unentbehrlich waren: Bestrahlung, Wind, Thermik, Auf- und Abwinde usw. Die einfachsten Dinge des Modellbaus, Lastverteilung, Form des Tragdecks und der Steuerung, wären uns ohne sie nicht begreifbar gewesen. Und ohne dieses Grundwissen bliebe im weiteren Verlauf die Steuerwirkung - die Kuppelung von Höhen-Seitensteuer und Verwindung -, nicht nur der Segelflug als solcher, sondern auch das Bewegungsspiel der Motormaschinen, nämlich die Kernprobleme der Verkehrs- und Kriegsfliegerei um die Begriffe Last, Steigfähigkeit und Schnelligkeit, unverständlich. Nun aber, nach dem Vorhergegangenen, waren wir imstande, gerade diese Probleme zu einer

wahren Fundgrube unseres Rechenunterrichts zu machen. Alle Rechenarten, alle Altersgruppen waren hier anzusetzen, um in arbeitsteiliger Gemeinschaft die wichtigsten Zahlenbeziehungen des Flugwesens zu erkunden und an diesen immer wieder aufs neue fesselnden Berechnungen das Können zu festigen. Und damit schließt sich der Kreis unserer Betrachtung. Wir kehren zurück zu Vogelflug und Landschaft, zu Raum und Raumbewältigung, kurz zu der geopolitischen Mission des Fliegens überhaupt. Wir haben mit kurzen Sätzen, wie mit Siebenmeilenstiefeln, hier das Arbeitsfeld von Monaten umspannt. Wir wollten ja nur ein Beispiel geben, wie aus hundert und aber hunderten von Zubringerdiensten, die über Jahre verteilt sind, aus den mannigfaltigsten Ansätzen und Einzelvorhaben - um deren inneren Zusammenhang und geheimes Ziel nur der planende Erzieher wußte - schließlich ein großes Gesamtvorhaben zusammenwuchs, und um ein Leitmotiv - vom Fliegen - eine ganze kleine Volks- und Weltschau. Wenn der Sättigungspunkt erreicht ist, bildet sich der Kristall.



## Heinz Schernikau

### Kommentar 1:

#### Die Erde aus der Vogel- und Fliegerschau.

#### Ein Unterrichtsbeispiel aus der Volksschule Tiefensee (1933-1939)<sup>5</sup>

#### Abstract:

Die vorliegende akribische Interpretation des berühmten Projektberichts „Der fliegende Mensch“ (1937) von Adolf Reichwein aus seinem Schulbericht „Schaffendes Schulvolk“ (SSV) geht von einer textnahen Rekonstruktion der inneren Logik des pädagogischen Handelns aus. Es wird in einen geistesgeschichtlichen Kontext mit der Deutschen Klassik – Herder, Goethe, Humboldt - und ihrer Lehrplantradition gestellt.

#### Keywords:

Erdkundeunterricht im Nationalsozialismus, Gesamtunterricht, Goethe, Herder, Humboldt, Deutsche Klassik, Projekt, Reformpädagogik, Tiefensee, Weltanschauung, Vorhaben

Der Sozialist und Reformpädagoge Adolf Reichwein (1898-1944) wurde 1933 vom Amt eines Professors an der Pädagogischen Akademie in Halle, das er nach einem Jahrzehnt mehr praktischer Volksbildungsarbeit innehatte, aus politischen Gründen suspendiert. 1944 wurde er als Mann des konspirativen Widerstandes gegen die NS-Diktatur von den Schergen des Unrechtsregimes zum Tode verurteilt und hingerichtet. Zuvor aber bekam er

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<sup>5</sup> Eine frühere, umfangreichere Fassung dieser Kommentierung wurde publiziert in reichwein forum 2004, 4, S. 22-28. Vgl. Schernikau 2009, S. 151-155. Lingelbach schreibt in seiner Rezension (in reichwein forum 2011, Nr. 16, S. 36f.): „Mit dem Hinweis auf die ‚deutsche Klassik‘ meint Schernikau nicht die literarische Epoche als ganze, sondern bestimmte Werkauschnitte von dreien ihrer Repräsentanten: Johann Gottfried Herders universalhistorische Studien, Goethes morphologische Reflexionen und Untersuchungen zur Metamorphose der Pflanzen, Alexander von Humboldts kosmologische und geographisch-naturkundliche Forschungen. In diesen naturphilosophisch begründeten Werken gelangte ... eine neue, vom analytischen Denken der Aufklärung abgesetzte, ganzheitliche Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung zum Durchbruch. Konkretisiert wurde sie in neuen Wissenschaftsparametern, insbesondere in den biologischen, geographischen und völkerkundlichen Disziplinen. Im Bereich der Schulpädagogik führte die geistesgeschichtliche ‚Wende‘ vom ‚katechetischen Unterricht des Aufklärungszeitalters zu dem auf Anschauung und Werkätigkeit gegründeten reform-pädagogischen Lehren und Lernen‘ ... Schernikau (verzichtet) darauf, das ‚neue Denken‘ als eine spezifisch deutsche Angelegenheit zu charakterisieren, die sich gegen die französische Aufklärung und den englischen Empirismus abgrenzt. In den Werken, der von Schernikau ausgewählten Trias fehlt, wie er herausstellt, dieser nationalpolitische Akzent. Seine Repräsentanten der ‚deutschen Klassik‘ denken vielmehr universalhistorisch und, soweit sie sich politisch engagieren, weltbürgerlich liberal und antifeudalistisch.“

seinem Wunsch entsprechend die Möglichkeit, in Tiefensee, einem kleinen Ort in der Nähe Berlins, eine einklassige Landschule zu übernehmen. Es gelang ihm dort, einen Schulversuch auf den Weg zu bringen und in seinem „Schaffenden Schulvolk“ ins gedankenreiche Bild zu fassen, der bis heute als „Schulmodell Tiefensee“ Eingang in die Diskussion um die reformpädagogische Gestaltung von Schule gefunden hat.

Von zentraler Bedeutung in SSV ist das werktätige praktische Lernen (Schernikau 2009, S. 257-262), sei es mit dem Ziel, in gemeinschaftlicher Arbeit ein „brauchbares Werk“ (wie zum Beispiel ein Gewächshaus) zu schaffen; sei es in der Form kleinerer Werkaufgaben (wie zum Beispiel die Anfertigung von Erdoberflächen-Reliefs). Sie sind an den Knotenpunkten des Unterrichts als motivierender Impuls und greifbare Repräsentation des Lerngegenstandes in den Lernprozess eingebaut. Im Folgenden wird auf diese Form des praktischen Lernens näher einzugehen sein.

Das Vorhaben (Projekt) „Die Erde aus der Vogel- und Fliegerschau“ ist im Kanon der didaktischen Gestaltungen, von denen der Tiefenseer Landschullehrer berichtet, eines der Profiliertesten. Es ist geprägt von der Signatur und dem Charisma eines Mannes, der vor seiner Zeit in Tiefensee eine abenteuerliche Weltreise unternommen und als passionierter Flieger ein eigenes Sportflugzeug besessen hatte - der Propeller seiner Maschine stand noch an der Rückwand des Klassenraums in Tiefensee. Er wird hier aber vor allem als ein engagierter und kreativer Vertreter reformpädagogischer Lehrkunst und Lernkultur Beachtung finden, der dem zunehmenden völkischen Trend der NS-Zeit die Weltoffenheit seines Denkens und Handelns entgegenstellte.

Das Vorhaben „Die Erde aus der Vogel- und Fliegerschau“ hat aber nicht nur eine unverkennbare Beziehung zur Biographie seines flugbegeisterten Initiators, sondern auch zur Lerngeschichte der Tiefenseer Landschule. Es geht auf eine Reise mit den älteren Schülern der „Einklassigen“ nach Ostpreußen zurück, die zur Begegnung mit der Kurischen Nehrung als Urlandschaft und Standort von „Vogelforschung und Segelfliegerei“ führte. Und auch eine Bildersammlung zu den Themen „Geschichte des Vogelflugs, Segelflug, Verkehrsfliegerei, Luftschiff, Luftbild, Fliegerschulung“ lag bereits vor: „Was während des Sommers auf der Großfahrt und bei vielen kleineren Gelegenheiten aus unmittelbarer Anschauung gesammelt, notiert und vorgemerkt wurde, wird nun zum größeren erdkundlichen Vorhaben verdichtet. Eines Winters haben wir so das Fliegen und die Fliegerei zum Leitmotiv unserer erdkundlichen Arbeit gemacht. Das Vorhaben versprach in seiner Breite wie in seiner Tiefe Ergiebigkeit.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 80).

Es wurde dann aber in seiner endgültigen Gestalt nicht nach Maßgabe der noch recht unscharf gefassten Formulierung „Fliegen und Fliegerei“ und der Bildersammlung in der Vielfalt ihrer Themen realisiert,

sondern in inhaltlicher Konzentration auf das Thema: „Die Erde aus der Vogel- und Fliegerschau“. Es war im Geiste des Fliegers und des Weltreisenden Reichwein darauf angelegt, die zunehmende national-zentrierte Engführung des geographisch-geopolitischen Denkens der NS-Zeit (Schernikau 2009, S. 137ff.) in globaler Orientierung zu überschreiten bzw. zu unterlaufen.

#### **Ideologische Motive des nationalsozialistischen**

##### **Geographieunterrichts**

(Inhaltsanalyse fachdidaktischer Texte des Zeitraums 1925-1944: Zeitschriften-Aufsätze, Buchpublikationen, die NS-Lehrpläne und Richtlinien 1937/38 der Volksschule, 1938 der Höheren Schule, 1939 der Mittelschule, 1942 der Hauptschule und Schulbücher)

##### **1. Heimatkunde:**

Liebe zur Heimat und Liebe zur Natur - Vaterlandsliebe - Nationalstolz – Opferbereitschaft – Großstad-tfeindlichkeit - „Blut und Boden“ – Ideologie

##### **2. Geopolitik und Politische Geographie:**

Das „Diktat von Versailles“ und seine Überwindung -. Deutschlands bedrohte Grenzen und seine Lage in Mitteleuropa -. Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum - Geopolitische Weltlage und ihre Neuordnung - Frankreich, Großbritannien, USA und Sowjetunion als Feinde Deutschlands - Italien und Japan als Verbündete - Erläuterung des Krieges - „Lebensraum“- Ideologie

##### **3. Rassenkunde:**

Die nordische Rasse als herausragende Rasse - Rassenhygiene (Minderwertigkeit von Mischrassen) - Minderwertige Rassen - Die Juden

##### **4. Wehrgeographie und wehrgeistige Erziehung:**

Sicherung der bedrohten deutschen Grenzen - Militärische Geländebeschreibung - Wehr- und Opferbereitschaft – Wehrgeographie von Großräumen

##### **5. Kolonialgeographie und kolonialer Gedanke:**

Die Rückforderung der deutschen Kolonien - Afrika als wirtschaftlicher Ergänzungsraum Europas - Die Deutschen als glorreiche Entdecker und koloniale Wohltäter - Die Weißen als Herren der Eingeborenen - Untaten anderer Kolonialmächte - Sonstige ideologische Elemente: Hitler als Mythos“.

(aus Heske 1988, S.139)

Seiner Erarbeitung lag die auf die deutsche Klassik - Herder, Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt – zurück-führbare Methode der universellen „gegenseitigen Vergleichung“ (Carl Ritter) zugrunde. (Schernikau 2009, S. 120 und S. 281)

Das erprobte methodische Gestaltungsmuster beginnt mit einem „Einstieg“, oftmals im Rahmen eines gelenkten Gelegenheitsunterrichts. Es führt sodann zur Sammlung, Sichtung und Ordnung einschlägiger Texte und Bilder und zur Erarbeitung des Themas im Zusammenhang mit thematisch bedeutsamen Werkaufgaben. Es läuft schließlich auf die Begegnung mit Phänomenen vergleichbarer Erscheinung und analoger Struktur hinaus. (Schernikau 2009, S.280f.)

1. Der Einstieg ging für die Kinder, deren Ort in einer Einflugsschneisen des Berliner Flughafens liegt, von der Frage aus: „Wie sieht der Flieger eigentlich unsere Heimat?“ Und alsbald folgen vermutlich die Fragen: „Wie

sehen die Störche unser Dorf?“ „Wie sahen sie unser Dorf in vergangener Zeit?“ „Können wir auch unser Dorf von oben sehen wie der Flieger und die Störche?“

Diese Fragen führten zum „Bau des Reliefs unserer engsten Heimat“. Die Kinder begannen, die erdgeschichtliche und kulturhistorische Entwicklung ihres Dorfes mit der Hand nachzugestalten. Sie formten die Basis des Lehmkerns, die von der Gletscherarbeit der Eiszeit geprägte Erdoberflächengestalt, und den Mantel des Pappreliefs, die Urlandschaft und ihre schrittweise Veränderung durch den Menschen. Sie vergegenwärtigten sich in imaginierender plastischer Rekonstruktion „das Werden unserer Heimat aus ihrer Urform“.

„So entstand in langer, mühsamer Arbeit, Schicht um Schicht wachsend, der Lehmkern unseres Reliefs, der Rohbau unserer heimatlichen Landschaft, wie sie sich aus eiszeitlicher Gletscherarbeit, jahrtausendelanger Wasser- und Wetterwirkung gebildet hat. Über diesen Kern wurde, aus vielen wechselnden Schichten von Papier und Leim verbunden, ein zweites, ablösbares Papprelief gezogen. Bald bekam es Farbe und durchgearbeitete Gestalt. Blau leuchteten die Seen zwischen den Wäldern aus isländisch Moos - ein Stück Urlandschaft war da. Die Feldflur belebte sich. Nach dem Bestellungsplan des letzten Sommers nahmen die einzelnen Schläge Farbe an. Und schließlich fügte sich zu dieser Landschaft, die in Natur gebettete kulturelle Leistung zeigte, das Dorf. Holzgeschnitzt, farbig, reihte sich längs der Straße Haus um Haus, Hof um Hof. Kein Ställchen durfte fehlen. Wir hatten das Werden unserer Heimat aus ihrer Urform, wie der Mensch sie einst antraf, bis zum gegenwärtigen Gesicht im Geiste nacherlebt.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 81)

Damit war nicht nur die Erde aus der „Vogel- und Fliegerschau“ in den Anschauungshorizont der Kinder gerückt, sondern auch die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen Natur- und Kulturlandschaft, zwischen Boden, Klima, Verkehrslinien, Siedlungsformen. Dieser Schlüsselfunktion der Einstiegsphase und dem Abstraktionsniveau des auf Kartenarbeit abgestützten Unterrichts entsprach die besondere didaktische Qualität des Lernens in historisch-genetischer Perspektive auf den Ebenen der ausführenden (enaktiven), der ikonischen und der symbolischen Repräsentation des Lerngegenstandes.

2. Das Heimatrelief war sodann Ausgangspunkt und Grundlage des weiterführenden Unterrichts. „Um dieses Relief kreisten nun täglich unsere Gedanken, von hier, von der Heimatgestalt, spannten sie Brücken hinaus in den weiten Raum der Erde.“

Die Kinder folgten in Gedanken dem, im Zusammenhang mit der Großfahrt bereits erarbeiteten, Weg der Störche aus von der ostpreußischen Vogelwarte Rossitten (Standort der Deutschen Segelflugschule) nach Afrika. Sie verglichen dabei die fast identischen Linien des Vogelfluges und des Luftverkehrs auf der physisch-geographischen Karte und anhand eines selbst erstellten Reliefs von Afrika: „Dieses Relief ist das physische





„Grundmodell“, mit dem für das Kind wichtige Inhalte anschaulich verbunden werden: Flugzeug- und Vogelmodelle, im Kleinstformat geschnitten werden aufgesteckt und veranschaulichen die Wege des Vogelzugs und Luftverkehrs, farbige Papierschnitte machen das staatliche und koloniale Bild des Kontinents sinnfällig, farbig gestaltete Tierfiguren lokalisieren die bedeutsamen Arten der Tierwelt und auf ähnliche Weise werden die Erzeugungszonen der wichtigsten Kulturpflanzen (Ölpalme, Kakaobaum, Baumwollstaude usw.) eingepägt“. (WA. Bd. 4, S. 54f.)

3. Der welterfahrene Regisseur des vielschichtigen Lehr-Lern-Prozesses legte sodann dem weiteren Verlauf des Unterrichts eine kontrapunktische Komposition zugrunde: den Vergleich der Verkehrsnetze Nordamerikas mit denen Europas. „Die Zersplitterung des europäischen Luftverkehrs führte zum Vergleich mit dem einfach gefügten, transkontinental bestimmten Luftverkehrsnetz Nordamerikas. Auch hier half das selbstgebaute Relief, das natürlich, wie jedes Relief, vor allem die räumlich-natürliche Gestalt, die Raumkräfte dieses Erdteils sinnfällig macht, die räumliche Bedingtheit der Linienführung erkennen lässt. Die Pässe der Felsgebirge, greifbar im Relief, erwiesen sich als Richtpunkte der großen ost-westlichen Linien. Die einfache Ost-West- und Nord-Süd-Gliederung aller großen Linien vermittelte das Bild eines auf den Großraum zugeschnittenen Systems. Gerade im Vergleich mit dem dichten, auf nationale Verkehrskreuzen bezogenen Liniennetz Europas wurde deutlich, wie die natürliche und politische Gestalt eines Erdteils seinen Verkehrscharakter bestimmen.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 82)

4. Im Mittelpunkt der folgenden Sequenz des Lehr/Lernanges standen sodann Luftbildaufnahmen deutscher Landschaften:

„Zur Ergänzung unserer eigenen Reliefarbeiten, denen der Gesamtplan leider enge Grenzen zieht, hatten wir bildliche Reliefdarstellungen deutscher Landschaften gesammelt: das Rhein-Main-Gebiet, zwischen Taunus und Odenwald gebettet, Schwarzwald, Bodensee, Erzgebirge. Sie waren uns bei der Gewinnung eines treuen Bildes der deutschen Landschaftscharaktere zur unentbehrlichen Hilfe geworden. Sie gaben uns nun, da wir sie bewusst als Vogel- und Fliegerschau begriffen und nutzten, eine Zusammenschau des Einzelnen zum Ganzen, eine Landschaft in ihrer Gliederung auf einen Blick als Einheit zu umfassen und schließlich eine Fülle von Beziehungen: der Standort der Städte wurde einleuchtend, weil er sich aus dem Bau der Landschaft ergab, die Standortsbindung der Industrien an die Gewässer, die uns bisher nur als geschichtliches Ergebnis nahegekommen war, wurde uns am Reliefbild unmittelbar und zwingend begreiflich, denn wir sahen, wie sich die alten kleingewerblichen Bildungen Württembergs und Thüringens den kleinen Gebirgswässern anschmiegt und wie auch die großindus-

triellen Ballungen der Rhein-Main-Landschaft sich des breiten Verkehrsbetts führender Ströme und Flüsse bedienen. Eine ganze Wirtschaftskunde erschloss sich uns aus diesen Bildern, „wie sie der Flieger sieht“. (WA Bd. 4, S. 82 f.)

Und an anderer Stelle:

„Die menschliche Siedlung, klein und groß, immer an landschaftliche und geschichtliche Kräfte gebunden, bekam ganz neue Züge, wenn wir sie aus der Fliegerschau betrachteten. Jetzt begriffen wir erst recht die Bedeutung der Siedlungsformen und durch diese die Kraftströme der Geschichte. Da war Nördlingen zum Beispiel, heute noch in die Mauer seiner mittelalterlichen Blüte eingeschlossen, ein in sich und seiner Landschaft ruhendes, ausgeglichenes Gebilde – und dort war Chemnitz, ein brodelnder Kessel von Industrie. Hier eine einsame Wind- oder Wassermühle – dort eine moderne Mühlenanlage mit riesigen Vorratssilos für das lagernde Getreide inmitten eines rauchenden Industriebezirks. Und schließlich hier unser eigenes Straßendorf, und dort hessische Haufendörfer, sächsische Rundlinge, einsame Marschhöfe. Jede dieser Formen birgt ein geschichtliches Schicksal, und jede erzählt uns davon.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 84)

5. Und schließlich erfolgt noch einmal „Der Griff hinaus in die Welt“

„Dann griffen wir einmal hinaus in die Welt. Mittelholzer bringt Bilder primitiver Negersiedlungen, hier wahllos gewürfelte, ungekonnte Hütten, und daneben hoch entwickelte, streng geordnete, „staatlich“ gedachte Dorfanlagen. Wir fanden also auch „draußen“ das Beieinander formloser Zufälle und bewusst geformten planvollen Lebens. Und so warfen wir immer wieder einmal den Blick hinaus, jenseits der eigenen Volksgrenze, rissen die Fenster auf und fanden, dass auch im Entferntesten, in der fernen Welt wie in der nahen Heimat, die Formen des organisierten Lebens durch Grenzen zu Rängen gestuft und voneinander geschieden sind. Wo also auch immer uns das Luftbild „Strukturen“ menschlichen Lebens enthüllt, immer sind sie Sinnbild einer bestimmten Artung und haben ihr eigenes Gesetz.“ (ebd.)

Bemerkenswert an diesem Vergleich der deutschen Siedlungsformen mit den afrikanischen ist, dass Reichwein hier die im engeren Sinne geographische Perspektive übersteigt in Richtung auf eine allgemeine lebenskundliche Deutung: Die Erscheinungen des gegenständlichen Lebens und seiner Symbolisierungen werden von ihm in Übereinstimmung mit dem humanistisch-kosmopolitischen Weltverständnis Goethes als gesetzmäßig hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses von Inhalt und Form gedeutet. Zwischen dem Nahen und dem Fernen besteht für den Humanisten Reichwein also nicht ein Verhältnis der Differenz nach Maßgabe der rassistischen Denkmuster seiner Zeit, sondern eines der grundsätzlichen Identität.

Zur didaktischen Partitur des Ganzen gehören nicht zuletzt auch die vom erdkundlichen Hauptstrang des



Unterrichts abzweigenden bzw. die mit diesem parallel laufenden Themen und Lernaktivitäten:

- von den „Fluggeräten draußen in der Natur“ zu den „Fluginstrumenten des Menschen“,
- die begleitende Lektüre von Sachtexten,
- die Wetterkunde auf der Grundlage „eigener Beobachtungen und Ergebnisse“
- die Physik und Technik des Fliegens als Gegenstand des Rechenunterrichts.

Die Verflechtung des Unterrichts mit seinen Neben- und Parallelthemen führt aber nicht zu der als „Klebe-konzentration“ bekannten Fehlform des Gesamtunterrichts, sondern zu einer fach- und sachlogisch gegliederten Bauform: Das sinnstiftende Motiv des erdkundlichen Leitthemas durchzieht und verklammert durchgehend das differenzierte Ganze. Mit den Worten seines didaktischen Baumeisters gesagt: „Wir wollten ja nur ein Beispiel geben, wie aus hundert und aber Hunderten von Zubringerdiensten, die über Jahre verteilt sind, aus den mannigfaltigsten Ansätzen und Einzelvorhaben – um deren inneren Zusammenhang und geheimes Ziel nur der planende Erzieher wusste - schließlich ein großes Gesamtvorhaben zusammenwuchs, und um ein Leitmotiv - vom Fliegen - eine ganze kleine Volks- und Weltanschauung. Wenn der Sättigungspunkt erreicht ist, bildet sich der Kristall.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 93)

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[www.klinkhardt.de/ewr/978340725510.html](http://www.klinkhardt.de/ewr/978340725510.html)



## Tilman Grammes

### Kommentar 2

#### Schaffendes Schulvolk – Reformpädagogik an einer Volksschule im Nationalsozialismus (1933-1939)

##### Abstract:

Dieser Kommentar 2 informiert über den äußeren Kontext der schulpädagogischen Arbeit von Adolf Reichwein in der Landschule Tiefensee im nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Reich Mitte der 1930er Jahre, soweit dies für Verständnis und Einordnung des Projektberichts „Der fliegende Mensch“ („*Human Flight*“) unerlässlich scheint: biografische Angaben, Volksschule/Landschule im nationalsozialistischen Erziehungssystem, Projektdidaktik (Vorhabendidaktik) im Rahmen der internationalen Reformpädagogik, Fliegen als innovatives Unterrichtsthema, zeitgenössische Rezeption und Editions-geschichte. Der Bezug zum Schwerpunkt „art of documentation“ wird aufgegriffen durch den Bild-Text-Verbund von „Schaffendes Schulvolk“ (SSV). Weiterführende Fragen zum Verhältnis von Pädagogik und Politik geben Anregungen für die Arbeit in der akademischen Lehrerbildung.

Mit Blick auf die Zugänglichkeit der Informationen und weiterführender Studienmaterialien für eine internationale Leserschaft wird möglichst häufig auf Internetquellen sowie auf englischsprachige Fachliteratur verwiesen.

##### Keywords

20. Juni 1944 (Verschwörung gegen Hitler), Arbeitsschule, Camouflage, Emigration, innere; Flugmodellbau, Rolf Gardiner, Gesamtunterricht, Hilfsschule, Kreisauer Kreis, Landschule, Medienpädagogik, Nationalsozialismus, Progressive Education, Projektpädagogik, Reformpädagogik, Adolf Reichwein (1898-1944), Werkpädagogik, Widerstand gegen Hitler, Volksschule, Vorhabendidaktik, Weltanschauung.

##### Abkürzungen

SSV – Schaffendes Schulvolk (1937)

WA – Werkausgabe, 5 Bände, 2011ff.

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#### 1. Deutschland 1936/37: Oppositionelle Räume im totalitären Erziehungsstaat?

„Eines Winters haben wir das Fliegen und die Fliegerei zum Leitmotiv unserer erdkundlichen Arbeit gemacht.“ Mit dieser berühmten Stelle beginnt der Bericht über das Unterrichtsprojekt „Der fliegende Mensch“, das der Reformpädagoge Adolf Reichwein Mitte der 1930er Jahre mit den Landarbeiterkindern einer dörflichen Volksschule in der Nähe von Berlin realisiert und in einem mitreißend formulierten Bericht publiziert. „Schaffendes Schulvolk“ (1937), im renommierten Verlag Kohlhammer publiziert, hat in seinen verschiedenen Auflagen und Bearbeitungen bis heute immer wieder faszinierte Leserinnen und Leser gefunden.

Am 30.1.1933 hatten der Diktator Adolf Hitler und seine NSDAP endgültig die Macht im Deutschen Reich „ergriffen“. In rascher Folge wurden alle staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen mit der nationalsozialistischen Doktrin „gleichgeschaltet“. Es liegt im Wesen des Begriffs einer totalitären Diktatur (Faschismus), dass es in ihr keine erfolgreiche ideologische Opposition geben kann. Im „Behemoth“ – so bereits die zeitgenössische Strukturanalyse des Nationalsozialismus des Politikwissenschaftlers Franz Neumann (1944) aus der Exilperspektive – gibt es Konflikte nur innerhalb der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie und eines polykratischen Machtapparats („totalitärer Pluralismus“). Ebenso kann es vom Begriff her in einer totalitären Diktatur keine „politische Bildung“ geben, die an Aufklärung und Mündigkeit als Erziehungszielen orientiert ist.<sup>6</sup> Im Nationalsozialismus als totalitärem „Erziehungsstaat“ finden wir daher nur Formen einer „politischen Schulung“, eine alle Lebensbereiche systematisch umfassende Indoktrination und Propaganda.

So wirkt es nur auf den ersten Blick überraschend, dass der Nationalsozialismus kein eigenständiges Unterrichtsfach Staatsbürgerkunde kennt, das an die zögernden Anfänge aus der Weimarer Republik (1918-1933) anschließen würde (vgl. das Fallbeispiel zur Völkerbundpädagogik: Busch 2011 [www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1168](http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1168)). Jetzt gilt: Alle Erziehung ist politisch, Pädagogik ist nur als „Politische Pädagogik“<sup>7</sup> denkbar. Alle Schulfächer und das gesamte Schulleben werden der nationalpolitischen Erziehungsdoktrin dienstbar gemacht (vgl. Dokument 1). In den außerschulischen Formationen der Hitlerjugend (HJ) und des Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM) tritt der explizite Anti-Intellektualismus sogar teilweise in konflikthafte Konkurrenz zu Lernanforderungen und Wissensvermittlung der Schulen, unterminiert das pädagogische Genera-

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. zum Begriff „Bildung“ im Editorial dieser Ausgabe, S. 2.

<sup>7</sup> „Politische Pädagogik“ lautet folgerichtig auch die Benennung des Lehrstuhls des Chefideologen der nationalsozialistischen Pädagogik an der Berliner Universität, Alfred Baeumler (1887-1968).

tionenverhältnis und die Schuldisziplin. „Nationalsozialist wird man nur im Lager und in der Kolonne!“<sup>8</sup>, so der für Erziehung und Volksbildung zuständige Minister Bernhard Rust (1935). Es gilt: „Jugend führt Jugend!“ – was auch hier den Widerspruch nicht ausschließt, dass die Führer von oben eingesetzt werden.

Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung ist in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten intensiv der Frage nachgegangen, inwieweit es in Erziehung und Unterricht in Deutschland<sup>9</sup> 1933 einen Bruch gegeben hat? Oder ob untergründig auch eine Kontinuität der kulturellen Formen und Strukturen pädagogischer Praxis und ihrer Theoriereflexion besteht? Lassen sich noch unter totalitären Rahmenbedingungen subtile Unterschiede zwischen Indoktrination und Bildungsanspruch ausmachen? Gibt es Rückzugsräume für das, was Ernst Bloch einmal den „aufrechten Gang“ genannt hat? Eine „pädagogische Provinz“<sup>10</sup> für pädagogische Opposition, Zivilcourage und Widerstand?

### Zum Erziehungssystem im Nationalsozialismus

1) Deutsches Historisches Museum: Lebendiges Museum online (LEMO)

[www.dhm.de/lemo/home.html](http://www.dhm.de/lemo/home.html)

-> NS-Regime -> Alltagsleben

2) Pädagogik und NS-Zeit. Zugänge zum Wissen über die NS-Zeit

<http://paedagogikundns.wordpress.com/>

Ausführliche Arbeitsmaterialien, Kommentare und Video-Materialien zu Schlüsselszenen in dem Projekt der Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main (Benjamin Ortmeier, gefördert von der Hans Böckler Stiftung)

Kneller 1941, Peukert 1982, Blackburn 1985, Wegner 2002, Pine 2010

## 2 Der Lehrer: Adolf Reichwein

Adolf Reichwein wurde 1944 vom sogenannten „Volksgerichtshof“ in Berlin in einem Schauprozess wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat verurteilt und hingerichtet. Als Widerstandskämpfer im engsten Kreis der Verschwörer des „20. Juli“ gegen Hitler ist sein Name auch heute international weithin bekannt (zum militärischen Widerstand gegen Hitler zuerst Schlabrendorff 1946/1948).<sup>11</sup> Als bedeutender Vertreter einer anti-

totalitären politischen Reformpädagogik wird sein Name im internationalen Kontext nur gelegentlich angeführt.<sup>12</sup> Die derzeit im Verlag Julius Klinkhardt erscheinende fünfbändige Werkausgabe der pädagogischen Schriften Reichweins (2011ff.) könnte diese Rezeption verändern und differenzieren. Die betreuenden Herausgeber, Ullrich Amlung und Karl Christoph Lingelbach, hoffen, das „pädagogische Wirken Reichweins im Kontrast zu den Realitäten, der Sprache und der Ideologie des Dritten Reiches als eines auf den einzelnen Menschen bezogenen Handelns wieder erkennbar zu machen. Darin dürfte die dauerhafte Aktualität der pädagogischen Arbeit Reichweins bis heute begründet bleiben.“ (Verlagsankündigung)

Wer ist dieser Adolf Reichwein? Die „Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand“ in Berlin gibt folgende Kurzbiografie:<sup>13</sup>

„Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg setzt sich der Pädagoge Adolf Reichwein für den Aufbau von Volkshochschulen, die Erwachsenenbildung und die Lehrerfortbildung ein. Er ist ein besonderer Vertrauter des preußischen



Kultusministers Carl Heinrich Becker. 1930 wird Reichwein Professor für Geschichte und Staatsbürgerkunde an der neu eröffneten Pädagogischen Akademie in Halle und wird dort aus politischen Gründen von den Nationalsozialisten am 24. April 1933 entlassen. Die folgenden Jahre verbringt er als Landschullehrer in Tiefensee bei

Berlin, später als Museumspädagoge am Staatlichen Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde [heute: Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, TG] in Berlin. Seit 1940 hat Reichwein Kontakt zu den Widerstandskreisen um Wilhelm Leuschner und Julius Leber und gehört selbst dem Kreisauer Kreis an. Im Sommer 1944 hat er nicht nur Kontakte zur militärischen Opposition, sondern trifft sich am 22. Juni 1944 gemeinsam mit Julius Leber mit den kommunistischen Widerstandskämpfern Anton Saefkow und Franz Jacob. Die Teilnahme eines Gestapo-Spitzels an diesem Treffen führt Anfang Juli 1944 zur Festnahme von Julius Leber und Adolf Reichwein. Adolf Reichwein wird am 20.

<sup>8</sup> Zu einer etwas abweichenden Haltung beim Marschieren in der Kolonne vgl. das Foto „Die Rückkehr vom See“, Abb. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Für andere totalitäre Erziehungsstaaten, wie z.B. das faschistische Italien oder Japan, vgl. Hinweise in Benner/Schriewer/Tenorth 1998.

<sup>10</sup> Der Ausdruck „pädagogische Provinz“ oder „pädagogische Insel“ bezeichnet eine vorbildliche Erziehungsgemeinschaft. Er wurde von Goethe für die Erziehungsutopie in dem Bildungsroman „Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre“ geprägt. Wilfried Huber bezeichnet Tiefensee als Versuch, eine pädagogische Insel innerhalb einer Diktatur zu aufrechtzuerhalten.

<sup>11</sup> Die häufig vorgetragene Vermutung, Reichwein sei als Kultusminister des Deutschen Widerstandes vorgesehen gewesen, beruhe auf

unsicheren Quellen. Das bislang Reichwein zugeschriebene Kreisauer Dokument „Gedanken über Erziehung“ (18.10.1941) stammt vermutlich von einem anderen Verfasser, wie Hohmann (2007) textkritisch zeigt.

<sup>12</sup> Routledge's „Fifty Modern Thinkers on Education“ (Palmer 2001) kennt als deutschsprachige „Pädagogen“ nur: Martin Heidegger (\*1889) und Jürgen Habermas (\*1929). Gerade diese beiden Denker sind als eher erziehungsfern einzuschätzen.

<sup>13</sup> Zur maßgeblichen Biografie von Amlung 1991 in englischer Sprache: Seeligmann, Chaim (1997): A Political Pedagogue. A Review of Ullrich Amlung's Adolf Reichwein, 1898-1944. In: European Education: a journal of translations. 1997, 1, S. 21-23.

Oktober 1944 vom Volksgerichtshof zum Tode verurteilt und am selben Tag in Berlin-Plötzensee ermordet.“

(Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand  
[www.gdw-berlin.de/de/vertiefung/biographien/biografie/view-bio/reichwein/](http://www.gdw-berlin.de/de/vertiefung/biographien/biografie/view-bio/reichwein/))<sup>14</sup>



Abb. 2: Reichwein, stehend vor dem sogenannten Volksgerichtshof (1944), am rechten Bildrand mit den Rücken zum Betrachter Richter Roland Freisler.

[bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reich-foto/reich-foto-1068.jpg](http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reich-foto/reich-foto-1068.jpg) (Reichwein Archiv, Bibliothek für bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung, Berlin)

Nach dem Krieg muss Reichweins Witwe Rosemarie Reichwein, wie viele andere Verfolgte des Naziregimes, bei den Behörden zehn Jahre lang um die Anerkennung ihrer Versorgungsansprüche in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland kämpfen – auch das ein Stück deutscher Geschichte. (Meding 1992)

Weltanschaulich versteht sich Reichwein als Sozialist, der gesellschaftlich für genossenschaftliche Strukturen eintritt.<sup>15</sup> Charakteristiken aus seinem Umfeld erwähnen übereinstimmend den „faszinierenden Eindruck“ und das Charisma des Pädagogen. „Es strahlte gleichsam ein inneres Feuer von ihm aus, das sich ohne jegliches Pathos, jede Spur von Eitelkeit oder Schwärmerei äußerte, im Gegenteil, er war eher verhalten, nüchtern

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. auch die Selbstbiografie: Adolf Reichwein. Bemerkungen zu einer Selbstdarstellung (vom 10. Juni 1933!). In: WA 3, S. 483-491.

Biografie auf der Homepage des Kreisauer Kreises [www.kreisau.de/kreisauer-kreis/mitglieder/reichwein.html](http://www.kreisau.de/kreisauer-kreis/mitglieder/reichwein.html) und auf der Homepage des Reichwein-Vereins [www.adolf-reichwein-verein.de/Vita.html](http://www.adolf-reichwein-verein.de/Vita.html)

<sup>15</sup> In der Sekundärliteratur ist umstritten, ob er mehr dem linken oder dem rechten Spektrum der Sozialdemokratie, einem „undogmatischen“ Sozialismus (WA Bd. 1, Editorial S. 27), einem religiösen Sozialismus (um Paul Tillich) oder nationalen, deutschem Sozialismus zuzuordnen ist. Die Mitglieder des Kreisauer Kreises (vgl. [www.kreisau.de/kreisauer-kreis.html](http://www.kreisau.de/kreisauer-kreis.html)) entwickelten konspirative Pläne für eine Neuordnung Deutschlands. Nicht übergangen werden darf, dass das Politikverständnis vieler Mitglieder des Kreisauer Kreises durchaus in einem Spannungsverhältnis zur parlamentarischen Demokratie und zum Parteienwesen der Weimarer Republik stehen konnte! Reichwein gehörte zu jener „Zwischengeneration“, „die nicht einfach zu den Verhältnissen Weimars oder des Kaiserreichs zurückwollte, die aber andererseits nicht mehr an die Möglichkeiten des liberalen Parlamentarismus zu glauben vermochte“ – so der Historiker Hans Mommsen (Urban 2005, 578).

denkend, dem englischen understatement zugeneigt.“ (Susanne Suhr im Vorwort zu Schulz 1974, S. 4)

Karl Korn, Mitbegründer und Feuilletonchef der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung, charakterisiert Reichwein in einer Rezension der Biografie von Henderson (1958) folgendermaßen: „Es ist leicht gesagt, dass Reichwein den Fehler gemacht habe, nicht über eine Partei in die Politik zu gehen. Er schlug in der Tat den ungeeigneten Weg ein, den die meisten jungen Geistigen damals (und heute?) gingen. Er nahm den Weg über bündische Gruppen und akademische Debattevereine und ging nach seinem Studium als Schüler des deutschen philosophischen Idealismus in die Erwachsenenbildung. Reichwein hatte darin schöne Erfolge wie manche andere. Aber politisch änderten sie gar nichts. Typisch für den umgetriebenen, beinahe unrastigen Mann, der eine merkwürdige Einheit von Manager und deutscher Bildungspädagoge war, ist eine tiefe Lebenskrise ums Jahr 1925. Da geht er aus der Enge hinaus und beweist, dass er eigentlich aus modernerem Stoff gemacht ist als der durchschnittliche deutsche Professor. Er lernt fliegen, trampelt durch die Vereinigten Staaten, Mexiko, den fernen Osten. Er ist ein typischer Generationsgenosse des Wandervogels, scheut sich nicht, als Matrose durch die Welt zu kommen, erwandert sich den Globus mit Studenten und Arbeitern auf Hungermärschen durch Lappland und den Balkan. Reichwein muss ein von Kraft und Temperament strotzender, gelegentlich ein über das Maß der Kräfte hinaus sich vergeudender Mensch gewesen sein.“ (FAZ vom 25.10.1958)

Korn spricht hier die ausgedehnten, oft abenteuerlichen pädagogischen Reisen an, die Reichwein vor 1933 unternimmt, die ihn zudem zu einem ausgewiesenen Weltwirtschaftsexperten machen (Die Rohstoffwirtschaft der Erde, 1928) und die als Erfahrungshintergrund für das Vorhaben „Der fliegende Mensch“ natürlich eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Sie führen ihn mit Arbeiterbildungskursen der Volkshochschule oder den Lehrerstudenten der Pädagogischen Akademie zur Skifreizeit in die Mittelgebirge oder zum Zeltlager im Landschulpraktikum, einmal bis hinauf nach Lappland (Hungermarsch durch Lappland, 1941), auf den Balkan, als wirtschaftsgeographische Exkursionen nach Amerika (Blitzlicht über Amerika, 1930), Mexiko (Mexiko erwacht, 1930), auf einem kurzen Abstecher sogar als Schiffsarbeiter über den Pazifik bis nach Ostasien (Erlebnisse mit Tieren und Menschen zwischen Fairbanks, Hongkong, Huatusco, 1930).

In der deutschsprachigen Erziehungswissenschaft zählt Adolf Reichwein längst als ein Klassiker der Pädagogik des 20. Jahrhunderts (vgl. Amlung/Lingelbach 2003). Straßen und auch Bildungseinrichtungen sind in Deutschland nach Adolf Reichwein benannt.

Das Adolf-Reichwein-Archiv befindet sich seit 1997 in der Bibliothek für bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung in Berlin (<http://opac.bbf.dipf.de/reichwein.html>).

Über neue Forschungen informiert in unregelmäßiger Folge das reichwein forum ([www.adolf-reichwein-verein.de/Forum.html](http://www.adolf-reichwein-verein.de/Forum.html)), das vom Reichwein-Verein herausgegeben wird.

Zu deutschen Pädagogen im Widerstand gegen die Diktatur vgl. aus DDR-Sicht Drobisch/Hohendorf (1967) und Mitzenheim (1974); Lebenserinnerungen oppositioneller Lehrerinnen und Lehrer - Juden, Protestanten, Katholiken, Sozialdemokraten, Kommunisten - bei van Dijk (1990).

### 3 Tiefensee – eine deutsche Volksschule (Landschule)

Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung hatte unmittelbar die Entlassung („Beurlaubung“) an der als „rot“ geltenden Pädagogischen Akademie in Halle im April 1933 zur Folge.<sup>16</sup> Der Sozialdemokrat Reichwein entscheidet sich nach einer Anfrage bei der „Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland“ wohl bewusst dafür, ein informelles Angebot aus der Türkei für eine Professur im Bereich der Wirtschaftsgeographie nicht weiter zu verfolgen.<sup>17</sup> Stattdessen gelingt es nach vielen Wirren

und Demütigungen, dass ihm eine Anstellung als Lehrer an einer einklassigen Landschule in Tiefensee zur „Bewährung“ übertragen wird, immerhin unter nachträglich gewährter Fortzahlung seiner Bezüge als Hochschullehrer. „Tiefensee liegt 36 km von Berlin (ich will mir baldigst einen Wagen anschaffen!), hat 270 Einwohner und 30 Schulkinder. Kein eigentliches Bauerndorf, sondern stark auf Ausflugsverkehr eingestellt. Aber schulisch günstig.“ (Reichwein am Tag seines Dienstantritts, am 1. Oktober 1933 in einem Brief an seinen Freund Hans Bohnenkamp, Schulz 1974, S. 122). Und Reichweins Frau Rosemarie (Pallat), die als Dozentin für Gymnastik an der Pädagogischen Akademie Halle ebenfalls entlassen worden war, erinnert sich: „Es war kein Bauerndorf, sondern mehr ein Ausflugsort mit mehreren Gasthäusern und einem Gut mit Landarbeitern.“

Im Deutschen Reich bestanden in den 1930er Jahren etwa 50 000 solcher Volksschulen, darunter waren ca.

<sup>16</sup> Die „Rechtsgrundlage“ dafür ist das Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7.3.1933:

[www.dhm.de/lemo/html/dokumente/berufsbeamten33/](http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/dokumente/berufsbeamten33/)

<sup>17</sup> Es gilt in der Reichwein-Forschung als nicht ganz sicher, ob ein solches Angebot vorgelegen hatte bzw. die Option auch zu realisieren gewesen wäre. Zur Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler in die Türkei auf Initiative der Atatürk-Administration vgl. Kreft 2011. Eine weitere bedeutende Pädagogin der Pädagogischen Akademie Halle, Elisabeth Blochmann (1892-1972), verlor ebenfalls im Frühjahr 1933 ihren Lehrauftrag und emigrierte noch im selben Jahr nach England. Zur immer noch wenig erschlossenen deutschen Exilpädagogik vgl. Feidel-Mertz 1981.

30 000 ausgesprochene Landschulen. Ungefähr 30% der damaligen deutschen Bevölkerung arbeitete in landwirtschaftlichen Berufen. Tiefensee ist eine einklassige ländliche Volksschule, das bedeutet, dass die fast 40 Schülerinnen und Schüler zwischen 6 und 14 Jahren gemeinsam von ihrem Lehrer unterrichtet wurden. Die zuletzt fünfköpfige Lehrerfamilie wohnt im Schulhaus. In der Ecke des Klassenzimmers steht der Propeller von Reichweins verkauftem Segelflugzeug.<sup>18</sup> An den Wänden hängen das „Band der Geschichte“ (vgl. 131); aber auch das erforderliche Hitlerportrait. Da das Klassenzimmer auch als Kirche genutzt wird, wird das Hitlerbild sonntags immer zugunsten eines Kreuzes abgehängt. (vgl. Kunz 2011)

Abb. 3: das ehemalige Schulhaus Tiefensee, heutiger renovierter Zustand, Nutzung als Kindertagesstätte ([www.adolf-reichwein-schule.com](http://www.adolf-reichwein-schule.com)).



Die Inschrift der Gedenktafel an der Vorderseite des ehemaligen Schulgebäudes lautet:

Adolf Reichwein 1898 – 1944  
Hochschullehrer in Halle an der Saale  
1933 seines Amtes enthoben  
Angehöriger des Kreisauer Kreises  
im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus  
am 20.10.1944 in Berlin-Plötzensee hingerichtet,  
als Lehrer an diesem Ort 1933 – 1939  
schuf er eine humane, lebendige Schule.

In Tiefensee genießt Reichwein eine gewisse Protektion durch den zuständigen Kreisschulrat Georg Wolff, des ehemaligen Vorsitzenden des Deutschen Lehrerverbandes (DLV), mit dem er noch aus der Zeit vor 1933 bekannt ist. Wolff äußert sich in seinen Visitationsberichten positiv über die schulische Arbeit in Tiefensee (WA Bd. 3, S. 511ff. und S. 516ff.; Bd. 4, S. 426f.). Im Sommer 1936 finden im nur eine Autostunde entfernten Berlin die Olympischen Spiele statt. Sie sind eine geschickte propagandistische Inszenierung des Regimes (vgl. den entsprechenden Eintrag in der Essener Schulchronik, Dokument 2), die zu einer kurzen „Liberalisierung“ zu führen scheint. Während Reichweins

<sup>18</sup> Der „Flugzeugprofessor“ Reichwein verkauft seine „Silver cloud“, als er gezwungen werden soll, ein Hakenkreuz auf seiner Privatmaschine anzubringen.

Tätigkeit in Tiefensee kommt es aber auch zu zwei anonymen und unangenehmen Denunziationen (WA Bd. 3, S. 520), was zeigt, wie exponiert und gefährlich die Arbeit zu jeder Zeit war.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4 Internationale Reformpädagogik und Projektdidaktik („Vorhabendidaktik“)

Reichwein, wie viele Reformpädagogen international orientiert, schreibt im Februar 1939 an seinen Freund Rolf Gardiner nach England: „Ob das ‚Schaffende Schulvolk‘ für England und Engländer etwas in der heutigen Lage zu sagen hat, könnt ihr natürlich allein entscheiden. Dass ich mich freuen würde, wenn es in englischer Übersetzung eine Brücke zwischen unserer Arbeit schlagen würde, ist klar ... Und wenn Marabel [Gardiners Frau, TG] sich an das Werk der Übersetzung machen würde, könnt ihr sicher sein, dass ich mit besonderer Freude alles tun würde, ihre Arbeit zu erleichtern.“ (Brief an Rolf Gardiner, Tiefensee 1.2.1939, in Schulz 1974, S. 150f.; vgl. Schittko 2012) Zu einer solchen Übersetzung ist es in den Wirren des 2. Weltkrieges freilich nicht mehr gekommen, so dass ein zusammenhängender Auszug aus SSV unseres Wissens hiermit zum ersten Mal in englischer Übersetzung vorliegt.<sup>20</sup>

Ein Jahr zuvor, im Sommer 1938, hatte Reichwein eine vierwöchige Vortragsreise nach England auf Einladung Gardiners unternommen, der auf seiner Farm ökologische Landschaftsregeneration und Volkshochschularbeit zu verbinden sucht. Reichwein referiert dort mehrfach über das Thema "Ländliches Erziehungswesen in Deutschland". Er kann sich ein genaues Bild vom englischen Konzept der Central Schools verschaffen. Gardiner besucht im Gegenzug noch im Februar 1939 Tiefensee. Der englische Freund schreibt über Reichwein und Tiefensee 1946:

„In 1938 Reichwein lectured on ‚German rural education‘ in south-west England, once again with a consummate skill in avoiding any political stigma. I helped to arrange this tour and accompanied him. Reichwein first showed a film which depicted elementary schoolboys of eight to ten years of age making a model of a farmhouse and farmyard. The materials for these models were extremely simple and uncostly ... the schools managed to be hives of creative activity. He illustrated this by describing the work of his own school. The children, aged six to fourteen, some forty in all, came to school at seen in the morning and stayed until 12.30. The majority returned in the afternoon, which in German primary schools is voluntary, and engaged in further practical activities.“

(Gardiner 1946. WA Bd. 4, S. 452f.; zu den Beziehungen Reichwein – Gardiner vgl. WA Bd. 4, S. 442-467)

Die Entscheidung Adolf Reichweins, an eine Landschule zu wechseln, ist keine sogenannte „innere Emigration“; sie war politisch und pädagogische zugleich motiviert und mit einer längerfristigen bildungspolitischen Perspektive verbunden. Reichwein beteiligt sich an verschiedenen Landschulaktionen im Nationalsozialismus und hat mit seiner pädagogischen Modellarbeit Erfolg. (Link 2006) Bereits kurz nach Aufnahme seiner Tätigkeit in Tiefensee regt Reichwein in einem Beitrag für die Frankfurter Zeitung schulorganisatorisch die Bildung von „Landschulgruppen“ an: „So wie in der einzelnen Schule die freien Gruppen sich zusammenfügen, so sollten auch zwischen den Schülern der engeren Nachbarschaft, drei, fünf oder sieben Dörfer, je nach der Dichtigkeit umfassend, feste Beziehungen gestiftet werden. Es sollten Landschulgruppen entstehen, in denen mehrere Landschulen – Lehrer und Kinder – sich gegenseitig ergänzen, tragen und befruchten.“ (Reichwein, Adolf: Deutsche Landschule. In: Frankfurter Zeitung vom 21.01.1934, S. 6. WA Bd. 3, S. 319-323)

SSV integriert unterschiedliche Ansätze und Strömungen der deutschen sowie der internationalen Reformpädagogik (progressive education). Arbeitsschule, Erlebnispädagogik, Kunsterziehungsbewegung bilden eine „konstruktive Synthese wesentlicher Teilrichtungen der Reformpädagogik“ (Klafki 1993, Vorwort).

„Projekt“ in der englischsprachigen Reformpädagogik, „Komplexmethode“ in der russischen Reformpädagogik, wird von der damaligen deutschsprachigen Reformpädagogik meist als „Vorhaben“ bezeichnet (vgl. WA Bd. 4, S. 494ff. Annotation 38). 1935 waren in einer Reihe „Pädagogik des Auslands“ in deutscher Übersetzung eine Auswahl von Schriften von John Dewey und William Kilpatrick erschienen, geschrieben „aus persönlichem Erleben der [amerikanischen, TG] Landschule als Schüler und Schulaufsichtsbeamter“ (Dewey/Kilpatrick 1935, S. 180). Bekannt wurde daraus der Projekt-Bericht „Welches sind die Ursachen für den Typhus bei Herrn Smith?“

Reichwein berichtet in SSV von fünf Vorhaben, jeweils zwei aus der Arbeit des Sommerhalbjahres (1. Beispiel: Bau eines funktionstüchtigen Gewächshauses; 2.

<sup>19</sup> Eine andere pädagogische Enklave und „verlorenes Paradies“ ist das Jüdische Kinder- und Landschulheim Caputh, ein Dorf südwestlich von Berlin. Die jüdische Pädagogin Gertrud Freitag führt hier seit 1931 ein reformpädagogisches Kinderheim für zunächst 35 Kinder. Aufgrund der Vertreibung jüdischer Schüler von den Schulen erweiterte sie ihre Kapazität durch Anmietung von Nachbarhäusern, darunter des Sommerhauses von Albert Einstein, auf 80 Personen. Häufige Übergriffe der Nazis und ein Überfall im Zusammenhang der Pogromnacht von 1938 („Reichskristallnacht“) mit Zerstörung der Inneneinrichtung erzwangen die Schließung des Hauses. Gertrud Freitag wurde in das KZ Auschwitz deportiert und dort 1943 ermordet.

<sup>20</sup> Es gibt eine japanische Ausgabe von SSV und auch eine begrenzte Reichwein-Rezeption in Japan (vgl. die Arbeiten von Imai 2005 und Tsushima 1993 und 2001 im Literaturverzeichnis) und indirekt in China (Huang 1999). Übersetzungen von SSV in weitere Sprachen sind bislang nicht bekannt. In englischer Übersetzung liegt bislang nur vor Reichweins frühe Dissertation: China and Europe. Intellectual and artistic contacts in the eighteenth century. With 24 plates. Translated by J.C. Powell. London : Kegan Paul & Co.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925.

Beispiel: Bau eines durchsichtigen Bienenbeobachtungskastens), zwei aus der Arbeit des Winterhalbjahres (1. Beispiel: Entwicklung des Hausbaus; 2. Beispiel: Der fliegende Mensch). Es folgt noch der Bericht über vorbereitende Festgestaltungen zu Weihnachten, Erntedank oder dem 1. Mai als dem Tag der Arbeit.

Bei dem dokumentierten Vorhaben „Der fliegende Mensch“ handelt es sich um sog. „Gesamtunterricht“. Der Gesamtunterricht gehört neben „Training“ und „Vorhaben“ zu den Elementarformen des Volksschulunterrichts. Die Trennung zwischen Fächern des Stundenplans ist aufgehoben, im Mittelpunkt der Arbeit steht jeweils ein Thema, wie hier „Der fliegende Mensch“. Margot Hönsch, eine ehemalige Schülerin in Tiefensee, erinnert sich noch 2005, hochbetagt, in einem Zeitzeugeninterview: „Ja. Wie soll ich das sagen, wir haben ja nicht so mit einem Lehrbuch gearbeitet. Wir sind von einer Sache, bei der wir angefangen haben dann immer ganz woanders hingekommen. Wir haben keinen Stundenplan gehabt – das nimmt uns heute auch keiner mehr ab. Ich habe mit einem Stundenplan erst gelernt, als ich dreizehn, vierzehn war.“ (Margot Hönsch im Interview mit Lothar Kunz, 2011, S. 7)

### 5 Flugkunde – ein neues Fach nationalpolitischer Erziehung

Das Vorhaben „Der fliegende Mensch“ steht im Zentrum von SSV (WA Bd. 4, S. 17 Editorial). Leserinnen und Leser mag es verwundern, dass für das Case Archive von JSSE für die Zeit 1933-1945 ein – auf den ersten Blick jedenfalls - erdkundlich ansetzendes Vorhaben als exemplarisch ausgewählt worden ist, und keine im engeren Sinne weltanschaulich-politische, staatsbezo-

gene Thematik (Schultz 2003). Aber es ist „Erdkunde im weiten Sinne des Wortes“ und das bedeutet, „deutsches und menschliches Schicksal geopolitisch sehen lernen“, an anderer Stelle des Projektberichts „das raumpolitische Schicksal des Planeten“. Der Weltreisende und ausgewiesene Weltwirtschaftsexperte Reichwein unterrichtet eine „Weltkunde“, die „zur Wahrnehmung eines global erweiterten Erfahrungs- und Verantwortungshorizontes führen sollte“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 501, Annotation Nr. 51 der Herausgeber). „Zukunft“ ist eine zentrale Perspektive in Reichweins Schulpädagogik.

Die auffällige Auslassung staatspolitischer Themen kann gerade die Differenz markieren. Reichwein formuliert 1938 im Vorwort zu „Film in der Landschule“ taktisch: „Wichtig ist mir der Hinweis, dass bewusst nur die Unterrichtsfilm der RfdU [Reichszentrale für den Unterrichtsfilm, TG] und nicht auch die 'Staatspolitischen Filme' behandelt worden sind, weil diese wieder Probleme ganz eigener Art stellen; das betrifft sowohl ihren Einsatz, wie auch ihre erzieherische Auswertung.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 238) Unter den Bedingungen des totalitären Staates, in dem alle Erziehung „politische“, d.h. politisierte Erziehung zu sein hat, ist dieses Ausweichen interpretierbar als ein noch möglicher subversiver Beitrag zur politischen Bildung. In seiner „Kleinen Schule des Sehens“ leitet Reichwein die Volksschüler zur formalen Dekonstruktion der Suggestivität filmischer Propaganda-Bilder an, die vielleicht einzig verbliebene Chance einer inhaltlichen Aufklärung, die nicht sofort der Zensur unterliegen müsste. Strengste Sachorientierung kennzeichnet die Weltkunde Reichweins, man nehme nur die minutiösen technischen Ausführungen und das dazugehörige Fachvokabular im Vorhabenbericht: „Das Kind muss zuvor bereit, hellichtig und aufmerksam gemacht werden für das innere Geschehen im äußeren Ablauf.“ (WA Bd. 4, S. 272; vgl. zur widerständigen Medienpädagogik Reichweins Imai 2005)

Abb. 4: Reichweins Bericht erwähnt eingangs „Fritz der Wolkenfahrer“, ein erfolgreiches Kinder- und Jugendbuch, dessen Erzählungen im Sinne der Arbeitsschule eingesetzt werden sollen.<sup>21</sup> Die neue Sicht auf die Welt durch die „Eroberung der dritten Dimension für das Auge des Menschen“, die Möglichkeit des Fliegens ist ein viele Menschen in den 1920er und vor allem 1930er Jahren faszinierendes Thema. „Die Dringlichkeit des Themas ist aus der deutschen Gegenwart ohne weiteres zu begreifen“, heißt es anspielungsreich gleich am Anfang in Reichweins Bericht. Das innovative Thema findet Eingang in die Lehrpläne und die Arbeit der Schulen. Es werden attraktive Rundflüge für Schulkinder organisiert (vgl. den Eintrag „Rundflüge mit der Kindermöve“ in der Essener Schulchronik, Dokument 2).



<sup>21</sup> Dieses von zwei Oldenburger Lehrern verfasste Kinderbuch erscheint zuerst in der Weimarer Republik, dann im Nationalsozialismus und bis in die 1960er Jahre der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in immer neuen Auflagen.



Der Erlass des Reichsministeriums für Unterricht zur „Pflege der Luftfahrt“ vom 17. November 1934 verlangt:  
„Es ist daher erforderlich, dass alle Kräfte zusammengefasst und eingesetzt werden und das Interesse und Verständnis für die Luftfahrt schon bei der Jugend geweckt wird ... Es gibt kein Schulfach, das nicht zu seinem Teil mitwirken könnte, den Luftfahrtgedanken in geeigneter Form der Jugend nahezubringen ... Darüber hinaus müssen fliegerisch begabte Schüler der höheren Schulen und der Berufs- und Fachschulen vom 16. Lebensjahre ab dem praktischen Segelflugsport zugeführt werden. Er ist eine Schule für die Stählung des Charakters. Wer fliegen will, muss den Körper geschmeidig, zäh und kräftig erhalten, muss an straffe Zucht, an Anstrengung und rasches Zugreifen gewöhnt werden.“<sup>22</sup>

**Flugkunde: Titel aus der Entstehungszeit von SSV**

Ernst Wecker (1933): Der Mensch fliegt. Deutsche Jugendbücherei Nr. 480. Berlin: Hillger 1933

Supf, Peter (1935): Flieger sehen die Welt. Mit einem Geleitwort von Hermann Göring. Berlin: Reimer

Knappe, Alfred (1936): Die Luftfahrt im naturkundlichen Unterricht der Volksschule. Eine Einführung anhand zahlreicher Versuche mit einfachen Mitteln. Leipzig: Quelle&Meyer

Winkler, Horst (1935): Handbuch des Flugmodellbaus. Theorie und Praxis. Berlin-Charlottenburg: Volckmann

Schütt, Karl (1935): Grundriß der Luftfahrt. Flugzeuge und Luftschiff. Ausgabe A (Unterstufe). Ausgabe B (Oberstufe). Berlin-Charlottenburg: Volckmann

(1936): Verwegene Burschen fliegen! Von Pimpfen, Jungfliegern und ihrem fröhlichen Weg in die Luftwaffe. Berlin: Mittler

Rieger, Hermann/Gäckle, Ernst/Wienrich, Walter (1937): Die Luftfahrt im Unterricht: Ein Hand- und Hilfsbuch für den Lehrer. Der neue Stoff, Bd. 4. Stuttgart: Francke, 96 S.

Luftfahrt und Schule: Zeitschrift zur Förderung der Luftfahrt und des Luftschutzes an deutschen Schulen. Hrsg. in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Reichs- und Preussischen Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung und dem Reichsluftfahrtministerium. Enthält die Beilage: Luftschutz und Schule. Erscheint 1935-1942/43.

<sup>22</sup> Dieser Erlaß wird im Dezember 1939 noch einmal präzisiert, erweitert und auf die Bedürfnisse eines Angriffskrieges zugeschnitten. Desweiteren gibt es Richtlinien für die Ausbildung von Lehrern im Segelflug (1934).

**Dokument 1:**

Mathematik im Dienste der nationalpolitischen Erziehung  
Aufgaben aus dem Gebiet des Luftschutzes  
Von Studienrat Oskar Degosang

A. Die Luftgefahr

1. Rüstungen der Staaten

Aufg. 183. Friedensstärke der Landheere einiger europäischer Staaten (in 1000)

	Deutsches Reich	Osterreich	Ungarn	Tschechoslowakei	Polen	Sowjet-Union	Frankreich	Japan
1914	700		500		1200			680
1935	1)	30	30	180		1300	90	328

Vergleiche die Heeresstärken der Vorkriegszeit mit denen der Gegenwart, besonders hinsichtlich der Deutschland umgebenden Staaten.

Aufg. 184. Ausgaben einiger Staaten für Rüstungen.

	Gesamtausgaben in Millionen	Heeresausgaben in Millionen	Umsatzsteuer in %	Einwohnerzahl (in Mill.)
England . . .	790,44 £	123,69 £	1 % ≈ 12,45	46,2
Frankreich . .	?	17530 Frs.	100 Frs. ≈ 16,40	41,8
Sowjet-Union .	48879 Rubel	2873 Rubel	1 Rubel ≈ 2,16	163
Polen . . . . .	2432,5 Zl.	761,7 Zl.	1 Zl. ≈ 0,47	32,1
Tschechoslowakei	7631 Kr.	2000 Kr.	100 Kr. ≈ 10,45	14,7
Jugoslawien . .	?	1394 Dinar	100 Dinar ≈ 6,50	13,9
Rumänien . . .	22600 Lei	6500 Lei	100 Lei ≈ 2,50	18
Italien . . . . .	20636 Lire	4999 Lire	100 Lire ≈ 22	41,8
Japan . . . . .	2309,4 Yen	851,8 Yen	1 Yen ≈ 0,71	64,4
USA . . . . .	4486,6 \$	803,9 \$	1 \$ ≈ 2,49	122,8

Berechne die Rüstungsausgaben der einzelnen Staaten in Reichsmark, ihren Anteil an den Gesamtausgaben sowie den auf den Kopf der Bevölkerung des betreffenden Staates entfallenden Anteil. Stelle die Ausgaben graphisch dar.

...

Aufg. 186. Zahl der Kriegsflugzeuge einzelner Staaten

	England	Frankreich	Italien	USA	Japan	Sowjet-Union	Polen	Tschechoslowakei
1927	814	1286	577	1063	500	—	—	—
1932	1600	1969	1093	1935	1597	—	—	—
1935	1671	5400	2100	3058	2050	4325	~ 1450	~ 1000

Berechne die jährliche absolute und prozentuale Zunahme der Flugzeuge in den Zeiträumen 1927/1932, 1932/1935 und stelle die Anzahl der Flugzeuge in den einzelnen Staaten für das Tausend der betreffenden Einwohnerzahl fest.  
(Dorner 3/1936, S.71f.)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Solche militaristisch oder rassistisch eingekleideten Textaufgaben sind in Schulbüchern der NS-Zeit üblich. In der rezeptions- und wirkungsanalytisch orientierten Schulbuchforschung ist umstritten, ob durch die ideologischen Inhalte solcher Rechenaufgaben eine bruchlose Indoktrination perfektioniert wurde? Oder ob, da eine erfolgreiche mathematische Lösung solcher Aufgaben nur in Absehung und Abstraktion von der jeweiligen ideologischen Einkleidung möglich war, dadurch gerade eine „heimliche“ Erziehung zum funktionalen Charakter befördert wurde. Der funktionale Charakter kennzeichnet Schreibtischtäter wie Adolf Eichmann und die „Ganz normalen Männer“ (Christopher Browning) der mordenden Einsatzbattalione der

„Die deutsche Jugend fliegt“ – lautet der Titel von der wichtigsten nationalsozialistischen Schülerzeitung, „Hilf mit!“<sup>24</sup>, Die Ausgabe vom Februar 1936 enthält die Beiträge „Im Flugzeug des Führers“, „Der Jagdflieger: Zwei Geschichten aus dem Leben Hermann Görings“, „Wir fliegen mit der Lufthansa“ und „Berufe in der Fliegerei“.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich die Differenz der Arbeit Reichweins zur herrschenden nationalsozialistischen Pädagogik durch folgende Merkmale markieren:

1. Geschlechterrollen: Die nationalsozialistische Flugkunde richtet sich ausschließlich an männliche Jugendliche.<sup>25</sup> Welches Rollenmodell dagegen für weibliche Jugendliche im NS-Staat vorbildlich ist, illustriert die bereits erwähnte Schülerzeitschrift „Hilf mit!“ (1936, 5, S. 156f.) unter dem Titel „Unser Hausmütterchen“. Geschildert werden die Erlebnisse eines Mädchens namens Lore in den Sommerferien bei den Großeltern auf dem Lande. „Nach drei Wochen muß Lore wieder nach Hause reisen. Als die Mutter sie vom Bahnhof abholt, springt sie ihr entgegen und sagt: ‚Ich möchte auch so viele Geschwister haben wie die Christel, und ich möchte auch so ein Hausmütterchen sein.‘“ (ebd., S. 157) In den Vorhaben in SSV dagegen werden Jungen und Mädchen meist gleichberechtigt und koedukativ beteiligt (vgl. das Photo in SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 107; einschränkend WA Bd. 4, S. 507f., Annotation Nr. 60).

2. Militarismus: In der zeitgenössischen Unterrichtsmethodik wird diskutiert, ob das neue Fachgebiet „Flugmodellbau“ ausschließlich eine funktionale Fluglehre bieten oder im Sinne einer „Deutschen Luftfahrtkunde“ den ideologischen Zielen des Nationalsozialismus direkt zuspähen solle (Knappe 1937; vgl. dazu auch Anmerkung 26). Entsprechende militaristische Unterrichtsmaterialien werden von Reichwein ignoriert. Erst, wenn man Reichweins Textauswahlen mit denen

der nationalsozialistischen Pädagogik kontrastiert, wird die konsequente Sachlichkeit und Zivilität seiner Pädagogik deutlich. Die Literaturliste zu dem Filmbeigleitheft (Reichwein 1938, WA Bd. 4, S. 206) kann geradezu als „alternative Literaturliste“ gelten.<sup>26</sup>



Abb. 5: Blick vom Führerstand aus in den Fluggastraum der Ju 52

Illustration in: Verkehrsflugzeug im Flughafen Berlin. Von Professor Dr. Adolf Reichwein. Beiheft der Reichsstelle für den Unterrichtsfilm. W. Kohlhammer. WA Bd. 4, S. 195. Es handelt sich bei allen Filmen um Stummfilme.

3. Sozialdarwinismus und Rassismus: Zur Gruppe der Kinder in Tiefensee gehört wahrscheinlich ein sog. lernbehindertes Kind. Nach dem „Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses“ (1933) und zahlreicher Ausführungsbestimmungen wurde zunehmend die getrennte Einschulung in sog. „Hilfsschulen“ (= Sonderschulen) gefordert. Reichwein bleibt jedoch konsequent bei dem Tiefenseer Schulkonzept als „Lebenseinheit der Nachbarschaft“ und folgt nicht der nationalsozialistischen Aufforderung zur eugenisch-rassistischen Aussonderung von Kindern. Eine der aus heutiger Sicht vielleicht bemerkenswertesten Formulierungen in SSV lautet: „Der Erzieher weiß es am besten aus seiner Erfahrung mit den Sorgenkindern ... Es darf, so schwer die Verwirklichung ohne Fördergruppen auf dem Lande auch sein mag, kein Kind vernachlässigt oder gar, angeblich 'minderen Anspruchs', aus der Nachbarschaft offen oder insgeheim ausgeschieden werden. Es gehört ja gerade zum sozialen Reichtum dieser Nachbarschaft, daß sie die Schwachen mitbesorgen und mittragen

Polizei – die „Banalität des Bösen“ (Hannah Arendt: Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil, 1963).

<sup>24</sup> Die Schülerzeitung „Hilf mit!“ wurde vom Nationalsozialistischen Lehrerbund (NSLB) herausgegeben. Die Auflage liegt bei über fünf Millionen Exemplaren und dürfte die gesamte deutsche Schülerschaft ab der 5. Klasse erreicht haben. Propagandistische, rassistische und antisemitische Artikel, werden geschickt gemischt mit harmlos erscheinenden Alltagsthemen. Die Zeitschrift ist online zugänglich über die Forschungsstelle NS-Pädagogik an der Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main:

<http://forschungsstelle.wordpress.com/erziehungswissenschaftliche-und-paedagogische-zeitschriften-der-ns-zeit/>

Ein vollständiges Inhaltsverzeichnis aller Jahrgänge ist abrufbar: <http://benjaminortmeyer.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/gesamttabelle-hilf-mit-1933-1944.pdf>.

Vgl. Ortmeier 2013 mit sehr instruktiven Auszügen.

<sup>25</sup> Es gibt Flugpionierinnen, die auch in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus populär sind. Bekannt sind Marga von Etdorf (1933) oder Elly Beinhorn, deren erfolgreiches Jugendbuch „Ein Mädchen fliegt um die Welt“ (Berlin 1932, zahlreiche Auflagen bis 1939) auch in englischer Sprache erschienen ist („Flying Girl“, 1935). Es wäre sehr reizvoll, Beinhorns Sicht auf Afrika und ihre Bewohner, auf die deutschen Kolonien oder die sog. Auslandsdeutschen mit der Sicht Reichweins in „Der fliegende Mensch“ zu vergleichen.

<sup>26</sup> Den Unterschied von ziviler Luftfahrtkunde und Kriegsverherrlichung kann auch an den Unterrichtsfilmen selbst nachvollzogen werden. Der Film der Reichsstelle für den Unterrichtsfilm (RWU) „Fallschirmjäger“ (1939), nur zwei Jahre später als „Verkehrsflugzeug im Flughafen Berlin“ (1937) entstanden, zeigt den Unterschied zwischen der Ästhetik strenger Sachlichkeit und Kriegspropaganda. Vgl. hierzu das minutiöse Feldprotokoll und die qualitative Sequenzanalyse von Niethammer 2014.

kann.“ (SSV WA Bd. 4, S. 178; vgl. die Kommentierung ebd. S. 529ff. und die Interpretation bei Tsushima 1993/2006); zur Hilfsschule, Auslese und schließlich konsequenter „Ausmerzungen“ von Behinderten im Nationalsozialismus vgl. Ellger-Rüttgardt 2008, S. 242-290)

Die Landschulpädagogik bleibt bei Reichwein auch in einem nationalsozialistischen Umfeld auf riskante Weise weltoffen. Sie steht im Widerspruch zum nationalsozialistischen Leitbild der „Dorfeigenen Schule“ mit agrar-romantischer, strukturkonservativer Tendenz. „Das Ziel, die Vision vom ‚Schaffenden Volk‘, ist gekennzeichnet durch die Abwesenheit von Krieg und sozialdarwinistisch oder rassistisch begründeter Selektion. Unverkennbar befand sich die in ‚Schaffendes Schulvolk‘ beschriebene Pädagogik in einem prinzipiellen Widerspruch zur Herrschaftspraxis und den politischen Ambitionen des Regimes. (WA Bd. 4, S. 16f., Editorial) Um diesen Herrschaftsanspruch für den schulischen Alltag konkret nachvollziehbar zu machen, seien hier Auszüge aus der Schulchronik einer „normalen“ Volksschule in einem städtischen Vorort im Ruhrgebiet aus der Zeit wiedergegeben (Dokument 2). Auch Tiefensee war all den dort als Erfolg vermerkten gleichgeschalteten Aktivitäten ausgesetzt und auch in den Dörfern waren die Schülerinnen und Schüler in der Staatsjugend (HJ, BDM) organisiert. Der Druck des totalen Staates darf auch in der „pädagogischen Provinz“ nicht unterschätzt werden!

„Reichwein bringt es fertig, die Probleme einer nahe Berlin gelegenen Schule und Schulgemeinde im Jahre 1937 zu beschreiben, als gäbe es gar keinen Machtapparat des ‚Dritten Reiches‘, keine Hitler-Jugend, keine ‚Partei‘, keine SA und SS, keine eintönige nervtötende Propaganda über sämtliche öffentlichen Medien, keine Aufmärsche und vor allem keinen ‚Führer‘. Nicht mit einem Wort oder Hinweis wird dies alles erwähnt. Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen: Die Gesellschaft, auf die dieser Pädagoge seine Tiefenseer Landarbeiterkinder vorbereitet -, und die er mit vagen Begriffen wie ‚Volk‘, ‚Gemeinschaft‘ oder ‚das Ganze‘ eher verschleiert als beschreibt – ist *nicht* die Gesellschaft des Faschismus.“ (Lingelbach 1980, S. 396)

## 6 The art of documentation – die Medienpädagogik

Reichwein beginnt seinen Praxisbericht programmatisch: „Mit dieser Schrift lege ich nicht einen Plan vor oder einen Vorschlag, wie es gemacht werden sollte, sondern den Bericht einer Wirklichkeit.“ (SSV Vorwort; hier S. xxx) „The art of documentation“ - Schwerpunktthema von JSSE (2014-1 und JSSE 2014-2) – ist in dem Projektbericht gleich auf zwei Ebenen vertreten:

- Unterricht: als Beobachtung „aus der dritten Dimension“ mit dem Auge des Menschen sowie
- Forschung: als Beobachtung der pädagogischen Arbeit der Kinder zu diesem Thema.

Reichwein kann als Pionier der Medienpädagogik gelten, auf den Gebieten der Filmpädagogik, der Funkpädagogik sowie der Museumspädagogik. Im

Sommer 1934 wird Reichweins Landschule zur filmischen Versuchsschule der „Reichsstelle für den Unterrichtsfilm“ (RfDU) erklärt. Die Schule wird dafür mit einem Schmalfilm-Vorführgerät sowie mit Filmmaterial ausgestattet. Als zweiter Bericht aus der Arbeit in Tiefensee erscheint „Film in der Landschule. Vom Schauen zum Gestalten“ (1938). Reichwein schreibt wenige Wochen nach Kriegsbeginn, er sei vom Reichsintendanten des deutschen Rundfunks aufgefordert worden, „den gesamten Schulfunk, der täglich von 9.30-10.00 gesendet wird, pädagogisch zu betreuen ... die erste Sendung des von mir geplanten Landschulfunks habe ich selbst gemacht, und zwar sind wir mit einem Funkwagen nach Tiefensee gefahren und haben die Aufnahme dort gemacht ... Militärisch bin ich bis jetzt nicht angefordert worden.“ (Brief an die Eltern vom 25.10.1939, Schulz 1974, S. 152ff.)

In SSV verzichtet Reichwein fast durchgängig auf Literaturangaben. Gleich die eindrucksvolle Fotomontage auf dem Titelblatt der Erstausgabe von 1938, zusammengestellt aus verschiedenen Aufnahmen aus der Tiefenseer Schulpraxis, macht deutlich, dass dagegen Fotografien bei der Dokumentation der pädagogischen Arbeit eine zentrale Rolle spielen sollen (Abb. 6). In dem bereits erwähnten Brief an Rolf Gardiner überlegt Reichwein, es „wäre auch von vornherein am Text einiges zu ändern und von den Bildern könnte man einige herausnehmen und neuere dafür einsetzen, wenn überhaupt Bilder erwünscht wären.“ In den zeitgenössischen Besprechungen der beiden Tiefenseer Schulschriften wurde die fotografische Ausstattung einhellig positiv hervorgehoben.<sup>27</sup> Für Reichwein ist die für SSV ausgewählte Serie von 48 Fotos, angeordnet in 6 Reihen zu je 8 Aufnahmen, ein wesentlicher Bestandteil seines Erfahrungsberichts – sie wirken wie Standbilder (*stills*) aus einem Dokumentarfilm. Das Medium Bildreihe wird deutlich gegen die Darstellungsform Textillustration abgesetzt. In einer akribischen Analyse der Text-Bild-Relation arbeitet Lingelbach (2007) heraus, dass es sich bei SSV daher „nicht um ein illustriertes Buch, sondern in Wirklichkeit um einen *Medienverbund* handelt, bei dem die Serie der 48 Fotos für sich betrachtet bereits einen *Abriss des Geschehens* veranschaulicht, das der geschriebene Text ausführt, begründet und vertieft. Und bereits die Anordnung der Bildreihen im Buch weist darauf hin, dass der Leser die fotografischen Aufnahmen genau in diesem Sinne wahrnehmen sollte. Denn der Schulbericht, der nach der Einleitung mit dem 2. Kapitel: ‚Wie wir es machen‘ einsetzt, beginnt *nicht* mit dem Text, sondern mit der ersten Fotoreihe. Erst nach seiner Betrachtung der 8 Aufnahmen des Schullebens in Tiefensee trifft der Leser auf den Text, der das alles erläutert ...“ (Lingelbach 2007, S. 64) Die redaktionellen Eingriffe der Nachkriegsausgaben verändern die Anzahl

<sup>27</sup> Die Aufnahmen sind von den Fotografen Dr. Ulner und Henning Nolte vom Mauritius-Verlag im Auftrag der R.f.d.U. angefertigt worden und befinden sich heute ebenfalls im Reichwein-Archiv der Bibliothek für bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung in Berlin.

und Anordnung der Bildsequenzen und beeinträchtigen damit die ursprüngliche „überlegte Zuordnung von Bild und Text“ in Richtung konventioneller bloßer Illustrationen. Die „weltoffene Schulwerkstatt“ von Tiefensee werde auf ein heimatkundliches Landschulmodell zurechtgestutzt. (ebd.)

Im Reichwein-Archiv sind einige dieser Fotografien online verfügbar, hier ergänzt um die jeweiligen Bildunterschriften aus SSV:



Abb. 6: Die Rückkehr vom See

Die neuen Marschgesänge werden erprobt.<sup>28</sup> Manche „Singstunde“ zwischen vier Wänden erübrigt sich, wenn draußen, so oft wie möglich, „in Kladder“ gesungen wird. Die Feinarbeit an Einzelstimmen und Melodieführung, an Ton und Sprache ist dann Sache der Singerziehung „zu Hause“. Aber das wichtigste bleibt ja ein natürlich und mit Lust ersungener Volksliedschatz, ein sicherer Bestand, der immer bereit liegt, gesunden zu werden. – Und der kleine Reiter? Ein bisschen Fußverletzung. Macht nichts. Singen wir. (SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 69)

<http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reichfoto/reich-foto-0712.jpg>

„Das tägliche Brot“ steht im Mittelpunkt eines sommerlichen Vorhabens ... (SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 43)

<http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reichfoto/reich-foto-0681.jpg>

Der Bau von Behelfsmodellen ist Aufgabe kleiner Sondergruppen. Das Bedürfnis danach ergibt sich aus den Notwendigkeiten der unterrichtlichen Arbeit ... Hier

<sup>28</sup> Dieses Fotomotiv konterkariert, ja verhöhnt geradezu nationalsozialistische Körperinszenierungen marschierender Formationen. Der verletzte, „schwache“ Junge im Huckepack an der Spitze ist noch dazu ein Anklang an ein traditionelles Motiv verpönte christlicher Pädagogik, die biblische Gestalt des hilfreichen Christopherus. Das Motiv sprüht geradezu vor unbändiger Lust am Wandern und Singen „aus voller Kehle“; allein die Gefühlsregung der „Lust“ – am Beginn des Bildkommentars (Abb. 6) – steht in markantem Kontrast zum „Dienst“ in Reih und Glied, der in der Pädagogensprache des LTI hier eher zu stehen hätte (Klemperer 1947/2002). Vgl. zur Bildmetaphorik und politischen Sozialisationswirkung der Körperinszenierungen Schmidtke 2007, mit vielen forschungsmethodischen Anregungen zur „art of documentation“.

wird das Modell einer Drahtseilbahn ausprobiert. Sie gilt als Beispiel eines kräftesparenden Transportmittels und gehört in das größere Vorhaben „Verkehr“. (SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 87)

<http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reichfoto/reich-foto-0722.jpg>

Das „laufende Band der Geschichte“ ist nie „fertig“. Immer wieder wird es im Laufe der Jahre ergänzt. Aber es darf nicht überladen werden. Denn es soll ja nur den Grundgehalt der geschichtlichen Arbeit widerspiegeln. Es ist das lebendige, im Raume stets gegenwärtige, geschichtliche Gewissen; Erinnerer und Prüfer. Alte Stiche, Holzschnitte, Photos unterstreichen die Bedeutung der Worte. (SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 154)

<http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reichfoto/reich-foto-0800.jpg>

In SSV kommen auch die Schulkinder mit ihren sog. Gemeinschaftsberichten zu Wort. Sie werden z.B. nach den „großen Fahrten“ anhand der Reisenotizen erstellt und sind „vom Lehrer offenbar stilistisch überarbeitet“. „Inhaltliche Differenzen zwischen den Absichtserklärungen des Lehrers und den Erfahrungsberichten der Schüler springen ins Auge.“ (WA Bd. 4, Annotation der Herausgeber, S. 509ff.). Das Nicht-Glätten von Differenzen zwischen Absicht und Wirkung – auch dies wäre ein Gütekriterium für die Kunst der Dokumentation.

Fahrt übers Haff (Schülerbericht)

„Plötzlich gab es ein Schürfen auf dem Grund, und wir saßen fest. Ein paar Lichter drüben am Strand verrieten uns: da liegt Labagienen [ein Ortsname in der Nähe von Königsberg/des heutigen Kaliningrad, T.G.]. Da wir nicht loskamen, riefen wir zum Ufer hinüber. Es kam Antwort. Bald tauchte wie ein Schatten ein kleines Boot vor uns auf, im dem zwei Männer standen. Die holten, ohne viel Worte zu verlieren, ein paar Räder und Jungens zu sich herüber und ruderten an Land. Das machten sie fünfmal. Wir sagten, das ist unsere Pionierübung. Die beiden Burschen gehörten nach Labagienen. Wir haben eine schöne Erinnerung an sie. Als wir ihnen zum Dank etwas geben wollten, sagte einer: ‚Wir sind S.A.-Leute, und das heißt dienen.‘ Darüber haben wir viel nachgedacht.“ (SSV, WA Bd. 4, S. 105)

Nach 1945 sind mit ehemaligen Schülerinnen und Schülern Reichweins in Tiefensee wiederholt Zeitzeugengespräche geführt worden, die in ihrer Gesamtheit noch auszuwerten sind (Kunz 2011).

## 7 Schaffendes Schulvolk – Rezeption und Wirkung

### 7.1 Erstauflage 1937

Unmittelbar nach Erscheinen von SSV rezensiert die Lehrerzeitschrift „Die deutsche Volksschule“ in einer Sammelbesprechung unter dem Titel „Zum Neubau der deutschen Schule“:

„Ein Buch, das eine scharfsinnige erziehungswissenschaftliche Untersuchung mit einem spannenden Bildbericht von dem Leben einer kleinen einklassigen Schule durchschlingt, legt uns Adolf Reichwein in ‚Schaffendes Schulvolk‘ vor. Er wendet sich von der üblichen Schulgestaltung ab ... Jeder Satz verrät eine Persönlichkeit, die mit eigenwilliger Gestaltungskraft zu dieser Lebenswelt der Kinder vorgestoßen ist. Man nimmt – das ahnt der Verfasser vermutlich kaum – am inneren Ringen um die Verwirklichung seiner Ideen und ihren Einbau in die politische Gegenwart teil und freut sich, wie prächtig hier ein geistreicher Schulversuch in der Einsamkeit durchgeführt wird. Die sachlichen und persönlichen Vorbedingungen sind aber nicht Normalfall; man kann also nicht einfach nachahmen. Wir wünschen dem aufrüttelnden Buch einen großen Erfolg.“ (Klößen 1938/39, S. 97)<sup>29</sup>

Die Bemerkung „in der Einsamkeit“ spielt auf die relativ isolierte Position der Arbeit Reichweins im „Waldasyl“, der erzwungenen „pädagogischen Provinz“ Tiefensee an. Der Rezensent stellt die Arbeit Reichweins durchaus in eine Tradition der Reformpädagogik und der Landeschulpädagogik, wenn er Bezüge zu prominenten Pädagogen wie Peter Petersen (Jena-Plan), Fritz Blättner (Die Methoden der Jugendführung durch Unterricht, 1937) oder Wilhelm Kircher (Das Haus in der Sonne, eine Landschule im Westerwald) benennt. Eine indirekte Kritik des Rezensenten bzw. der Schriftleitung am Tiefenseer Schulmodell könnte darin zum Ausdruck kommen, wenn unmittelbar anschließend ein weiterer „aufschlußreicher Tatsachenbericht“ gelobt wird. In einem Sammelband zum sog. „Landjahr“<sup>30</sup> werde die „politische Wendung der Erziehung zum Lande“ zur tragenden Idee. „Auf glückliche Weise wird die Verschiedenartigkeit der Erziehung: Schulung im Lager, Arbeit bei Bauern, der Handwerker, Leibeserziehung, Feiargestaltung, Fahrt

usw. aus einem Geist stammend, einem Ziel zustrebend verdeutlicht.“ (Klößen 1938/39, S. 97) Es ist dieser Einheitsgedanke, der bei Reichwein offensichtlich nicht genügend gewürdigt wird. Seine Pädagogik vermag daher aus der Sicht des Rezensenten nicht so sehr dem „dienstbaren Begleiten“ (Hohmann 2007) beim Neubau der deutschen Schule zu nützen!

Immerhin kann Reichwein an seinen Freund Gardiner schreiben: „Hier in Deutschland greift die Wirkung des Buches übrigens immer weiter um sich. Die Zeitschrift ‚Der Deutsche Erzieher‘, die von den 250 000 deutschen Lehrern gelesen wird, hat mich aufgefordert, für sie zu schreiben; auch Bäumlers<sup>31</sup> ‚Weltanschauung und Schule‘. Aber daran etwa geknüpft Hoffnungen werden sofort durch die Einsicht vermindert, dass alle Dinge bei uns – durch uns selbst, nicht durch die ‚böse‘ Welt – im tiefsten unsicher sind und man darum nie weiß, was morgen sein wird.“ (Reichwein in einem Brief an Rolf Gardiner, Tiefensee 1.2.1939, zitiert nach Schulz 1974, S.150f.)

## 7.2 Editions-geschichte nach 1945

Reichweins Witwe hatte unmittelbar nach Kriegsende beim Berliner Schulamt das Anliegen vorgetragen, die schulpädagogischen Werke ihres Mannes neu herauszubringen, war damit jedoch auf Ablehnung bei den Behörden gestoßen. Ein Gutachten des Berliner Schulamtes 1946 kam zu dem Ergebnis, dass SSV sowie Film in der Landschule „im beträchtlichen Umfang nationalsozialistisches Gedankengut enthalten“. Die Nachkriegsausgaben von SSV, die Reichweins Freund Hans Bohnenkamp betreut und herausgibt, sind daher in vielen Passagen verändert; vier Photos, die sich auf das Vorhaben „Der fliegende Mensch“ beziehen, sind weggefallen, weil man militaristische Assoziationen befürchtet. Das von Reichwein verwendete Wort „geopolitisch“ war durch „weltpolitisch“ ersetzt worden, um keine Assoziationen zum militanten Revisionismus der nationalsozialistischen Schulgeographie und sozialdarwinistischen Nationalismus der NS-Ideologie hervorzurufen (WA Bd. 4, S. 501f.). Noch im Geleitwort zur dritten Auflage von 1964 wird auf diese nachträglich vorgenommenen Textänderungen nicht hingewiesen. Auch die kommentierte Neuausgabe von Wolfgang Klafki 1993 greift auf die Bohnenkamp-Fassung zurück, dokumentiert immerhin die Text- und Bildänderungen erstmals akribisch (durch Ullrich Amlung, S. 166ff.). Erst mit der Werkausgabe liegt seit 2011 der originale Text von 1937 wieder leicht zugänglich vor.

An heutige Leserinnen und Leser stellt der Originaltext daher einige semantische und stilkritische Herausforderungen. Wie weit gehen „taktische Anpassungen“ an die „Sprache des Dritten Reiches“, die „Lingua Tertii Imperii“, wie sie der Dresdener Romanist Victor Klemperer akribisch in seinen Tagebüchern notiert hat (Klemperer 1947/2002)? Wo handelt es sich um

<sup>29</sup> WA Bd. 4, S. 25 bibliographiert insgesamt 12 zeitgenössische Rezensionen. Darunter sind auch Rezensionen in *Wille und Macht. Führerorgan der nationalsozialistischen Jugend* (6, 24, S. 55-56) sowie *Weltanschauung und Schule. Zentralverlag der NSDAP* (2, S. 335-336). Erklärbar werde dieses positive Echo auf SSV im Reichserziehungsministerium (REM), im Reichsnährstand (RNSt), in der Hitlerjugend (HJ) und, nach einer gewissen Zeitverzögerung, auch im Nationalsozialistischen Lehrerbund (NSLB) „vor dem Hintergrund einer tiefgreifenden Zäsur in der inneren Entwicklung des ‚Dritten Reiches‘. Sie setzte mit der Verkündung des Vierjahresplanes im September 1936 ein, dessen Ziel die Rohstoffautarkie ist ... Dominierte während der Anfangsjahre der Machteroberung und Machterweiterung noch die Forderung nach ‚weltanschaulicher‘ Linientreue, waren nun, Loyalität vorausgesetzt, Kompetenz, Leistungsbereitschaft und professionelle Effizienz gefragt.“ (WA Bd. 4, Editorial, S. 15 und WA, Bd. 4, S. 474f. Anmerkungen)

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. zur Relevanz des „Landjahrs“ den Eintrag in der Essener Schulchronik (1937, Dokument 2). Bereits in der Weimarer Republik gab es unter der Bezeichnung Landhilfe ein arbeitsmarktpolitisches Angebot für Jugendliche, die nach dem achten Schuljahr ihre Vollzeitschulpflicht abgeschlossen hatten und die Schule verließen. In der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus wurde diese Maßnahme fortgeführt, 1934 beginnend ausgeweitet und als Landjahr für diese Schülergruppe verpflichtend. Dauer in der Regel von April bis Dezember. Die einberufenen Jugendlichen wurden streng nach Jungen und Mädchen getrennt in Landjahrlagern zusammengefasst und erhielten dort auch eine „Nationalpolitische Schulung“.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl: Anm. 7.

Camouflage? Inwieweit handelt es sich um eine unpräzise Sprache, die einer „unaufgeklärte Rhetorik von Jugendbewegung und zeitgenössischer Reformpädagogik“ verpflichtet ist (WA Bd. 4, Editorial, S. 18). Entnazifizierung der Hauptschriften nach dem Krieg hatte nicht zuletzt anstößige Begriffe zum Gegenstand wie das „Volk“, „deutsch“, auch „Soldat“ oder „Front“. Wenn Reichwein zeitgebunden von „Kampf“ spricht, dann sei das nicht „sozialdarwinistisch gemeint wie in der NS-Biologie, sondern eher im lebensphilosophisch-vitalistischen Sinn als eine Form gesteigerten Lebens im Kampf mit der Natur und mit dem politischen Gegner“; im „Dienst der Aufgabe“ stehend, „bestehende Lebensordnungen zu verteidigen und zukünftige aktiv handelnd Gestalt werden zu lassen“ (Schernikau 2009, 237). Begriffe wie Volk, Volkstum, Volkstümlichkeit, volkstümliche Bildung; Nation und national; Deutschtum, Heimatgebundenheit, Bodenständigkeit, Bindung an die Scholle; Grenzlandarbeit; Gemeinschaft und Volksgemeinschaft, Rasse, Geopolitik usw. sind vieldeutig und tauchen bereits in der Weimarer Republik in den unterschiedlichsten politischen Spektren auf. Erst im Nationalsozialismus erhalten sie eine bestimmte, gleichsam offizielle Bedeutung, die diese Begriffe für uns heute noch prägt. Es sei also unzutreffend, so Klafki (2000, S. 47), denen, die diese Begriffe vor 1933 benutzten, ohne weiteres bewusste oder unreflektierte Sympathien, Affinitäten oder offene Zustimmung zum Nationalsozialismus zu unterstellen. Ebenso unzutreffend sei es aber auch, „die Verwendung solcher Begriffe in der Zeit nach 1933 bei denjenigen, von denen man heute weiß, dass sie Systemgegner waren, als scheinbare Anpassung an vermeintlich genuin nazistisches Vokabular zum Zwecke der Tarnung deuten zu müssen. Die Vieldeutigkeit solcher Begriffe ermöglichte es auch Reichwein vielmehr, dieses Vokabular zu verwenden, ohne die eigene Deutung offen zu legen, während überzeugte Nationalsozialisten darin dann durchaus eine Bestätigung ihrer offiziellen Lesart sehen konnten.“ (Link 2006, S. 58f.)

## 8 Pädagogik und Politik

### Weiterführende Fragestellungen für die Arbeit in der Lehrerbildung

Aus der Perspektive des akademischen Lehrers bilanziert Menck (2011), dass Reichweins Texte für erziehungswissenschaftliche Lehrveranstaltungen unerlässlich seien. Über die Gestaltung eines entsprechenden Projektseminars an der Universität berichtet Kunz (2005).

Einige Schulen, die nach Reichwein benannt sind, dokumentieren auf ihren Webseiten Materialien, die zeigen, wie sich junge Menschen heute mit Leben und Wirken dieses Pädagogen und politischen Menschen auseinandersetzen. Ein Beispiel ist der Film, den Schülerinnen und Schüler der Adolf-Reichwein-Schule Berlin-Neukölln einem Projekt über den Namenspatron ihrer Schule produziert haben:

[www.vincentino.de/wordpress/adolf-reichwein/](http://www.vincentino.de/wordpress/adolf-reichwein/)<sup>32</sup>

Als Anregung zu einem Unterrichtsprojekt zu Adolf Reichwein vgl. Geiger (2004), Schittko (2006), Kunz (2005). Schernikau (2009, S. 11–15) hat in Seminaren und Schulprojekten die Werkpädagogik Reichweins - die praktische Geometrie der Faltarbeiten mit Papier, aber auch: Anfertigung von Supermarkt-Modellen zur Verdeutlichung von „Einkaufsfällen“, Kakaoanbau in Ghana, Weltbild der Astronauten unserer Tage - immer auch praktisch umgesetzt und erfahrbar gemacht.

Jeder bedeutende Text wächst durch seine geschichtlichen Interpretationen und bleibt prinzipiell unausschöpfbar – diese hermeneutische Grundhaltung empfiehlt Schernikau (2009, S. 25) auch gegenüber diesem pädagogischen Klassiker. Eine teilweise anders akzentuierte Rekonstruktion und aktualisierende Lesart der didaktischen Komposition und Bauform von „Der fliegende Mensch“ legt Lingelbach (2005) vor. Es gehe in der „weltoffenen Schulwerkstatt“ Reichweins zukunftsorientiert um die „Eroberung einer historisch neuen Weltsicht“. Herausgearbeitet wird die Nähe der didaktischen Bauform und Komposition zur Weimarer Bauhaus-Didaktik.

Eine abschließende Auseinandersetzung mit unterschiedlichen Bewertungen der Schulpraxis in Tiefensee kann verdeutlichen, welche Rolle historische Bildungsforschung in der Ausbildung von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern nicht nur sozialwissenschaftlicher Unterrichtsfächer spielen könnte. Ambivalenzen gehören unabdingbar zur Lebensgeschichte eines Menschen. Das Studium von Lebensläufen in inneren und äußeren politischen Umbruchphasen stellt für politische Erzieher eine Art „Wetzstein“ dar, um die eigene Rolle, Verantwortung und pädagogische Ethik zu schärfen. Zusammenfassend seien daher exemplarisch vier aktuelle Positionen aus der Sekundärliteratur zur Einordnung von SSV dokumentiert:

#### Erstens: Subversiver pädagogischer Widerstand

Reichwein „gehört zu den faszinierendsten und überzeugendsten Vertretern einer *demokratischen Reformpädagogik* in Deutschland.“

(Mitzlaff 2004, S. 143)

Er hat „subversiven pädagogischen Widerstand“ geleistet.

(Koppmann 1998, S. 120)

#### Zweitens: Kontinuität - Längerfristig orientierte Landschulreform

„Die kreative, inspirierende, ja teilweise brillante reformpädagogisch orientierte Schulpädagogik, die Adolf Reichwein in der einklassigen Dorfschule von Tiefensee realisierte, war kein pädagogischer Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus. Sie war vielmehr Teil einer

<sup>32</sup> Als Filme liegen vor: Klaus Bentzin/Eric Thiele (1988/DDR) und Wolfgang Brenner/Karl Hermann „Der Mut des Fliegers“ (WDR Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1998). Vgl. zur vergleichenden Beschreibung Kunz 2005, S. 42.

längerfristig orientierten Landschulreform, deren Wurzeln in der Weimarer Republik lagen und die auch im und mit Nationalsozialismus weiterverfolgt wurde. Das Schulmodell Tiefensee war somit nicht singulär und stand nicht in einem diametralen Gegensatz zum Nationalsozialismus ... Adolf Reichwein vermittelte seinen Schülern durch seine reformpädagogische Schulpraxis zweifellos umfangreiche Kompetenzen und Vertrauen in die eigenen Fähigkeiten. Das taten allerdings andere – nationalsozialistische – Landschulreformer auch ... Förderung der Fähigkeiten der Schüler, ihre aktive Integration in die Lernprozesse auf der einen und Integration in das Leben im NS-Staat auf der anderen Seite sind der deutlichste Ausdruck dieser pädagogischen Ambivalenz, die auch für Adolf Reichweins Schulpädagogik gilt.“

(Link 2006, S. 65f.)

(Steinbach 2004, S. 174 und S. 182ff.; vgl. Neumann 1943)

„Der Professor? Wissen Sie, der hat unsere Kinder frei gemacht.“ – erinnert ein Vater nach dem Krieg seine Eindrücke von Reichweins Arbeit in Tiefensee.

(Bohnenkamp 1964, S. 8 im Vorwort der Neuausgabe)

### **Drittens: Dienstbares Begleiten und später Widerstand**

„Der Pädagoge Adolf Reichwein, 1944 von den Nazis in Plötzensee hingerichtet und in der historischen Bildungsforschung bis heute geradezu als Märtyrer verklärt, war keineswegs von Anfang an ein Widerstandskämpfer ... und stand 1933 eben nicht in Konflikt mit den Grundideen des Nationalsozialismus ... Reichweins in der NS-Zeit in einer Volksschule durchgeführter Unterricht könne nicht als ‚heimlicher Widerstand‘ angesehen werden. Dr. Hohmann ... zeigt auf, wie sich Reichwein im NS-Staat zielgerichtet um öffentliche Anerkennung seiner pädagogischen Arbeit bemühte und dabei die Zusammenarbeit mit NS-Gliederungen, darunter auch der SS, nicht scheute. Ihr Fazit: Adolf Reichwein trug Mitschuld am Funktionieren des NS-Staates, wobei der spätere Widerstand - er wurde Mitglied des Kreisauer Widerstandskreises gegen Hitler - nicht verkannt werde.“

(Ankündigung der Dissertation von Hohmann 2007 durch die Pressestelle der Universität Wuppertal, <http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news209423>)

### **Viertens: Ambivalenzen - Grenzen verfließen in Diktaturen**

Reichwein „erregte ebenso Aufsehen mit seiner Art des Unterrichts, wie er auch öffentliche Anerkennung erhielt, die ihn möglicherweise sogar belastete. Grenzen verfließen in Diktaturen. Das Verfließen ist Kennzeichen eines totalitären Systems, das strukturelle Differenzierungen aufhebt und nicht zuletzt zu einer semantischen Nivellierung neigt ... Die Irritationen, die manche Äußerungen Reichweins aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1939 hervorzurufen vermögen, spiegeln die Herausforderungen einer bewussten politischen Existenz in der Diktatur ... Reichweins Leben macht deutlich, welche Brüche dabei zu bewältigen, welche Verantwortlichkeiten zu klären waren. Denn er stand ja niemals allein für sich, sondern hatte eine Frau und vier Kinder, die seiner bedurften.“



**Dokument 2:**  
**Chronik der Evangelischen Schule Essen-Borbeck**

(Schuljahr 1935/36 und 1936/37) (Auszüge)

(Die H.J.-Fahne wird gehißt)

Da fast 100 % aller Kinder der Oberstufe den NS Jugendverbänden angehörten (s. o.), durfte die H.J.-Fahne angeschafft und gehißt werden. Die Fahne wurde von einigen Damen der NS Frauenschaft Borbeck genäht. Im Februar des Jahres 1936 (22.) fand die erste feierliche Flaggenparade auf dem Schulhofe statt. Der Stammführer des Jungvolkes, Vertreterinnen der Frauenschaft und einige Schuljugendwalter und Eltern nahmen teil als Gäste. Der Stammführer Pg. Kurtz ergriff ebenfalls das Wort und sprach über den Kampf der Hitlerjugend. (1. Programm)

(100 % in der H.J.)

Am 15.3.36 waren 100 % in der H.J. bzw. im BDM.

(Rundflüge mit der „Kindermöve“)

Auf dem Flugplatz in Essen-Mülheim fanden im Sommer Rundflüge für Schulkinder statt. Der Preis für den etwa 10 Minuten dauernden Flug betrug RM 2,50. Von der hiesigen Schule erhielten etwa 20 Kinder die Gelegenheit, das engere Heimatland aus der Vogelschau zu betrachten ... Durch diese Rundflüge sollte in den Kindern das Interesse für die Luftfahrt gesteigert werden.

(Arische Abstammung d. Schulkinder)

Im Oktober hatten alle Kinder anzugeben, ob sie von arischen Eltern abstammen oder nicht. Volljuden und Halbjuden wurden nicht festgestellt.

(Luftschutzkurse für Lehrer)

Alle Lehrer wurden in Luftschutzkursen geschult.  
(Veranstalter - Reichsluftschutzbund, Ort: Gymnasium Borbeck)

(Landjahr 1937)

Wie schon in den vorhergehenden Jahren wurden im Monat Dezember die Kinder für das Landjahr ausgewählt ...

(Segelflugmodellbau)

Der Segelflugmodellbau liegt in den Händen der Lehrer Dabbert und Siegmann. Im Monat Februar fand in der Mittelschule in Borbeck eine Ausstellung von Segelflugmodellen statt. Auch die hiesige Schule war mit einigen guten Schülerarbeiten vertreten. Die Kinder der Oberklasse besichtigten die Ausstellung, ein eindringliche Werbung für den Luftfahrtgedanken.

(Deutsche Truppen besetzen a. entmilitarisierte Zone 7.3.36)

Der letzte Monat des Schuljahrs bringt dann noch zwei weltgeschichtliche Ereignisse, die das ganze deutsche Volk mit großer Freude und mit ungeheurem Stolz erfüllen, nicht zuletzt auch die Schuljugend. - Am 7. März um 12 Uhr marschierten auf Befehl des Führers, welcher um diese Zeit noch zu den Reichstagsabgeordneten sprach, deutsche Truppen wieder in die sogenannte entmilitarisierte Zone ein. Das Rheinland war frei - Deutschlands Ehre wiederhergestellt. -

(Treuebekenntnis zum Führer 29.3.36)

Am 29. März legte dann das deutsche Volk ein Treuebekenntnis zum Führer ab, wie es wohl nie das Staatsoberhaupt eines anderen Volkes je erhalten hat und erhalten wird. 99 % aller Wahlberechtigten gehen zur Wahlurne, 99 % derselben stimmen für den Führer und schenken ihm das Vertrauen. (Ergebnis im Wahllokal Mallis, Schloßstraße in welchem Unterzeichneter Wahlvorsteher war: Abgegebene Stimmen 775, Ja-Stimmen 768, Nein-Stimmen 7) ...

(Olympische Spiele 1936)

Der Sommer stand im Zeichen der Olympiade in Berlin und des Bolschewistenaufstandes in Spanien. - Hier feierlicher Kampf der Nationen, dort furchtbarster blutiger Terror, ein Lehrbeispiel, wie es besser der heranwachsenden Jugend nicht geboten werden konnte. Die Olympischen Spiele enden mit einem eindrucksvollen Siege Deutschlands. Die deutsche Jugend ist begeistert.

(Urlaub Dabbert)

Herr Dabbert war für die Zeit vom 20.8.-20.9. ebenfalls beurlaubt und zwar zur Teilnahme an einer militärischen Übung.

(Hitlerfreiplatzspende)

Für die Hitler Freiplatzspende stiftete das Kollegium der Schule 16,50 RM.

(Erneuerung des Innenanstrichs)

In den Sommerferien wurde dann auf Grund meiner Jahr für Jahr wiederholten Anträge der Innenanstrich der Schule erneuert. Zu gleicher Zeit wurden in 4 weiteren Klassenräumen die Lichtleitungen gelegt. Mit Schulbeginn nach den Ferien machte die Schule wieder einen freundlichen Eindruck. Der nationalsozialistische Grundsatz „Schönheit der Arbeitsstätte“ war damit verwirklicht.

(Kartoffelkäfer)

Im Kampf gegen den aus dem Westen vordringenden Kartoffelkäfer sollte im Bedarfsfalle auch die Schuljugend eingesetzt werden. Eine Nachrichtengruppe hatte in den Ferien die Aufgabe, alle nicht verreisten Kinder zusammenzurufen. Glücklicherweise brauchte diese aber nicht in Aktion zu treten.

(Reichskolonialbund)

Allen Lehrern und Lehrerinnen wurde empfohlen, dem Reichskolonialbund beizutreten. Alle Lehrkräfte der hiesigen Schule wurden Mitglied der genannten Organisation.

(100 % in der Staatsjugend)

Am 1.5. waren alle Kinder in den ns. Jugendverbänden organisiert (Borbeck I); die von der Hitlerjugend durchgeführte Werbung, die an der hiesigen Schule durch alle Lehrkräfte immer wärmstens unterstützt wurde, hatte einen vollen Erfolg, 100 % in der Staatsjugend.

Quelle: Jugend! Deutschland 1918-1945.

Themen: Schule in Essen 1933-1945

[www.jugend1918-1945.de/thema.aspx?s=5111&m=&v=2071](http://www.jugend1918-1945.de/thema.aspx?s=5111&m=&v=2071)  
[www.jugend1918-1945.de/thema.aspx?s=5111&m=&v=2072](http://www.jugend1918-1945.de/thema.aspx?s=5111&m=&v=2072)





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## Adolf Reichwein (1937)

### Human Flight<sup>1</sup>

#### *With Annotations by Heinz Schernikau*

##### Source:

Adolf Reichwein. Tiefenseer Schulschriften 1937–1939. Pädagogische Schriften. Kommentierte Werkausgabe in fünf Bänden, Band 4, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Karl-Christoph Lingelbach und Ullrich Amlung. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt 2011, pp. 25–185; extract here pp. 26f., pp. 33ff., pp. 80-93

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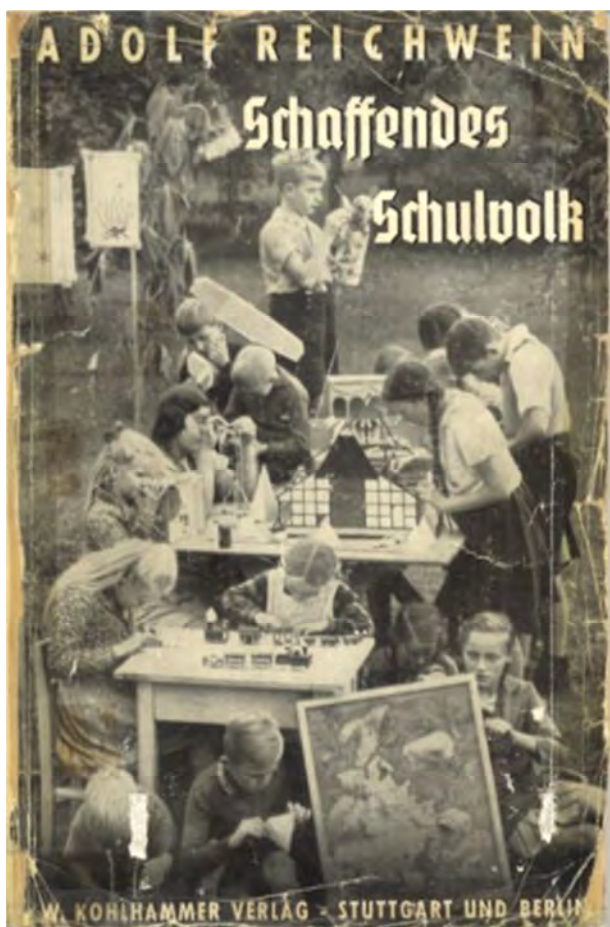


Figure 1: Title page „Schaffendes Schulvolk“ (SSV)  
[bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reich-0275/reich-0275.jpg](http://bbf.dipf.de/hans/hansphoto/reichwein/reich-0275/reich-0275.jpg)

##### Foreword (WA Vol. 4, p. 26f.)

The purpose of this manuscript is not to present a plan or a suggestion of how something should be done but is instead a report on the reality of how it was done. It describes a completed endeavor rather than a hypothetical educational situation. However, it is more than mere description in that it invites reflection on the reasons and thought processes which led to its implementation. It represents an attempt both to report on a pedagogical practice and to consider its significance....

Apart from those who actually experience them, very few people understand what country schools are really like. Many still consider them to have remained as they were in the past. In a time, however, where renewal is to come from country people, urban dwellers should not be exempt from understanding the country school. Therefore, these words are for all those who have a share in the active education of future generations, not just educators.

Tiefensee, Autumn 1937, Adolf Reichwein

##### I. Conceptualization (WA Vol. 4, p. 33ff.)

Rather than leading our young people into well chartered waters we are leading them towards a blank canvas of a future they must help to create for themselves. What an enviable fate! How uncertain, how many questions dependent entirely on our response for their resolution! ... Children should be enabled and encouraged to use their skills and competencies independently not just when they are instructed to do so. They should enjoy such self-reliance. Achievements stem from desire and enjoyment even when they are compulsory. When we speak of obligation on the part of children we must refer to an enjoyment of such obligation ...

<sup>1</sup> Translation Jennifer Bruen, Dublin



## II. How we do it

### Winter (WA Vol. 4, pp. 80-93)

#### 2. Example

In the same way that Winter in the village school encourages an in-depth engagement with history so too does this season naturally result in a search for a more integrated and coherent understanding of the forces shaping our planet, i.e. geography. Detailed observations collected and documented during the Summer over the course of many trips, large and small, are now reunited in a larger undertaking. One Winter, we choose flying as the theme [Leitmotif] for our geography classes, its significance clear in the Germany of today. As a project, it promised to yield both broad and in-depth findings. The ground work had been done and needed now merely to be reinterpreted within the parameters of the *Leitmotif* itself. Indeed, the opportunity was there for the taking: It is no longer possible to separate our understanding of our planet from the historical phenomenon of human flight. This phenomenon has contributed to our understanding of the geography of our planet as well as repeatedly to its current geopolitical state. Human history and the geopolitical state of our planet are inseparable from human flight. Prophecies, anecdotes, reports on events and deeds reflect the incredible event that is flying in the most direct and strongest manner possible in our German language. Conquering the third dimension greatly enriches our understanding of the Earth, the forces which shape it and their impact on the human community. Experiencing geography in its broadest sense from the perspective of human flight involves acquiring a geopolitical perspective on both German and human destiny.

We had been collecting and sorting pictures related to flying for quite a while from our collection of newspapers, magazines and calendars, something we do for all of our topics. The different folders were grouped according to topic: history of human flight, gliding, commercial aviation, airships, aerial views, pilot training, aviation associated with war-time etc. We had approximately fifteen folders. The youngest children were already familiar with the popular character *Fritz der Wolkenfahrer* (Fritz the Cloud Driver)<sup>2</sup> from the series of children's books of the same name, the intermediate students knew sayings and anecdotes and had, thanks to their bi-weekly science and history magazine, *Lesebogen*, a complete picture of general developments in the field, while the older group were in possession of a range of facts and details which came up for discussion while collecting the pictures. Our common point of departure concerned how someone in flight viewed our home. Every day multi-engined passenger aircraft flew in reconnaissance over our town. How did our little world appear to them? To help us answer this question we constructed a 2 x 2 meter model of our locality. We had to be able to interpret the ordnance map in order to be

able to construct the model. The horizontal and vertical dimensions had to be in the correct ratio. As we were working with plastic we built in an appropriate degree of elevation. Thus, layer by layer, we painstakingly created a shell of our native landscape shaped by thousands of years of erosion by water, ice and weather. This we covered with a layer of papier maché. Soon it was painted and began to take form. The lakes shone blue between the forests of Icelandic moss, a piece of primeval landscape. Roads were created over dams and railways over bridges. The earth was revived. Using materials gathered in the previous Summer, the different elements came to life. And finally, our town, a man-made addition to the natural world, was added. Colourful, wooden houses lined up along the street. Not even the smallest hut could be omitted. We had experienced in spirit the development of our home from its original state when humans first set foot in it to its current state. We had recreated this process by hand. Even though only the main points are captured here, I hope the degree to which this work stimulated thought, clarification, consideration and insight is nonetheless clear. Our finished product resembled what can be seen from the air, i.e. 'culture in the landscape'. Human fate, yes, our own, was there intertwined with the work of nature and everything else. It was a picture of our home.

Our thoughts focused now on this model and from here, from the creation of our home, they moved out into the wider world. They flew with the birds. On our trip to East Prussia, we had ourselves visited the bird observatory in Rossitten<sup>3</sup>. We had therefore an idea perhaps even an understanding of the science behind the flight of birds. Avian research and gliding co-exist as neighbours on the spit. We paired pictures of gliders and birds in flight, compared them and discovered similarities in their design and movement, and heard of the close relationship that exists between flight in birds and in humans. Humans eavesdropped on flying creatures and attempted to recreate that which they had discovered. Therefore, we put together series of images and recordings ranging from the simplest examples of flight in nature to man's most advanced designs, from the winged dandelion seed to the parachute, from the rotating maple seed to the propeller, from the butterfly to the tailless plane and from the seagull to the *Rhönadler* glider on the *Wasserkuppe* mountain. We pictured the storch's flight from Rossitten to South Africa, studied maps of aircraft flight routes for the purpose of comparison and discovered to our surprise that the major flight paths of European and African airlines were almost the same as those of migratory birds. Our route mappings accumulated, Alpine mountains and seas were identified as obstacles, while straits, islands and coasts were considered attractive to

<sup>2</sup> Compare Commentary 2 (Grammes).

<sup>3</sup> Rossitten was the location of a well-known scientific bird flight observatory and a gliding school. Since in the Treaty of Versailles, the construction of aircraft engine had been banned in Germany and gliding offered an aeronautical alternative.

those hoping for safe passage. Before our eyes flight paths unfolded facilitating Air France's trans-African journeys to the heart of the Dark Continent and those of the storks to Senegal and Niger. How different from the experiences of Wissman, Stanley and Livingstone!<sup>4</sup> Innovations in flight technology changed the nature of the challenges associated with the development of what Europe perceives to be a politically young continent. Colonisation by the English in the East and the French in the West now appear possible as a result of developments in aviation. Our perspectives on items previously viewed from the ground changed once they were viewed from the air. Again, we resorted to our plastic to contextualize such things and again created a three dimensional model, this time of Africa. The different altitudes were in different colours and rivers followed their paths while colourful miniatures of passing flocks of migratory birds and aeroplanes floated above them.

The fragmentation of European air travel and the more straightforward transcontinental approach taken by the North America network provided the basis for comparison. Our home-made model was helpful here too. Like any model, it revealed the natural shape of this continent and the different routes in terms of their proximity to one another. The Rocky Mountain passes, clearly visible on our model, were important land-marks on the major routes from east to west. The division of the major routes according to east-west and north-south created the impression of a system designed to fit a geographical space. It was obvious, particularly when compared with the European route-map derived from national requirements, how the physical relief and political shape of a continent can influence the nature of travel. This observation could easily have been complemented by a similar analysis of roads and railways.

We had collected German ordnance maps of the Rhein-Main region between Taunus and Odenwald, the Black Forest, Lake Constance and the Ore mountains in addition to our own model, which was sadly limited in nature. They were indispensable to us in achieving an accurate picture of the German landscape. As we were consciously taking a bird's-eye view, they now provided us with a wholistic and integrated perspective on the different elements of the landscape and their relationships to one another. The relationship between the location of the cities and the landscape became clear. For example, the locating of industry close to sources of water, something of which we had previously simply had a passive awareness, became obvious from the model as we saw how the small-scale, traditional industries in Wurttemberg and Thuringia were located close to mountain rivers and streams just as the large-scale industrial conurbations in the Rhine-Main region made use of major rivers and waterways. An image of the

entire German economy was revealed to us from the perspective of 'man in flight'.

Yes, when we looked more closely we saw beyond the surface and uncovered the history of Germany layer by layer. The tourist office of an old historical city had sent us an ordnance map designed for tourism purposes. This served as a model for us of how the entire history of a city could be contained in a single image. What had been the heart of the city in the middle-ages was clustered around the river in the form of old, narrow gabled houses arranged along winding streets with the cathedral in the centre. Moving outwards, we found the broad, high buildings of the wealthier renaissance and baroque eras. The influence of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was revealed next in the form of green space around these buildings. And then, clearly, development stalled for a while, the economy became more conservative and the city remained content with what it had achieved until, after more than a hundred years, development began again and the city began to expand into the surrounding countryside. Growth this time was no longer systematic but resembled instead a more haphazard expansion into the surrounding areas. During this period of unrestrained expansion, the city engulfed small towns, endless, wide streets appeared before the ramparts and ditches of the old city as did huge blocks of houses and far-flung residential developments. Numerous railway tracks appeared outside stations as if drawn there by magnets. The unrestrained development of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was captured here in a single image. As fate would have it, we came across a little book containing Hamburg's city plans over the course of a millennium. This contained an ordnance map for each period in the history of the city. These confirmed in more detail what we had already been able to deduce for ourselves. In addition, however, they also contained a wealth of historical insights revealing to us how over a thousand years, the generations had succeeded in creating an international port from water, swamp and forest.

Our maps and models led us directly to our collection of arial photographs. When viewed from above, both large and small-scale human settlement, consistently associated with geographic and historical forces, looked very different. It was only now that we truly comprehended the process of human settlement and as a consequence the forces shaping our history. There was Noerdlingen, for example, content and at peace within its medieval walls and there was Chemnitz, a seething cauldron of industrial activity. Here a lonely windmill or water mill, there a modern milling installation in the middle of a polluted industrial region. And, finally, here our own little village, there tiny farms huddled together in the larger Hessian villages, the typically oval shaped towns in Saxony, isolated courtyards. All of these different types of settlement developed for a reason and one which they shared with us. Then we expanded our

<sup>4</sup> Wissmann, Stanley and Livingstone are famous explorers of the African continent.



horizons. Swiss aviation pioneer, Walter Mittelholzer<sup>5</sup>, provides images of primitive negro settle-ments with indiscriminately thrown together and poorly built huts to be found next to sophisticated and carefully planned villages. Thus, the juxtaposition of random development and meticulous planning was also to be found outside of Germany. And so we repeatedly threw open the window and peered beyond our own borders to discover that forms of organized co-habitation both closer to home and in remote parts of the world were characterized by a hierarchy of different approaches. Thus, whenever an aerial image revealed the 'structure' of human life to us, it was always a symbol of a particular rationale.

We were constantly confronted with the limitations put on air travel by weather and climate conditions when we were following flight paths and viewing reports, both pictorial and factual, of pioneering journeys and those conducted for research purposes. We also discovered how both research institutes and those working on the construction of the aircraft themselves are constantly attempting to overcome such limitations. And again, we were able to draw on our own observations and findings which we had accumulated over the years. Daily recording of temperatures and pressure levels was worth it now not to mention rainfall, cloud cover and fog. We were glad now that in previous years we had graphically recorded these results with great care. Now we just needed to widen our remit somewhat and remind ourselves, in the first instance, of the relationships between temperature, air pressure, and precipitation as well as deducing from our own observations the basic meteorological principles that those flying aircraft must have at their fingertips. And by comparing our own observations, with our town as a point of departure, with German and sometimes English weather maps covering geographical areas reaching far into the Atlantic, we discovered how large-scale weather conditions first experienced by pilots influenced eventually the weather conditions in our town. We also gained an understanding from the study of meteorology of particular concepts which proved indispensable in the construction of our own small gliders related for example to radiation, wind, thermal lift, up-drafts and down-drafts. The simplest elements associated with the construction of a model would not have been possible without this understanding of, for example, load distribution, and the shape of the support deck and the controls. Similarly, without this basic knowledge, the impact of elevator and rudder controls, and torsion not only on gliders but on aircraft generally would have remained incomprehensible as would the core issues at the heart of the construction of passenger and war-planes, i.e. load, elevation and speed. Now, however, such issues greatly enriched our mathematics classes. In order to explore together the different numerical relationships related to flight, every-

one had to be involved in conducting all of the different types of calculations required thus developing and consolidating their mathematical skills and abilities. And so we have come full circle in our considerations: returning to the flight of birds and to the landscape, to the notion of space and its mastery in short to the basic geo-political mission of flying itself. This short description condenses the work of many months. We just wanted to give a flavour of how a significant undertaking, the actual objective and parameters of which were to begin with known only to the teacher in charge, developed from hundreds upon hundreds of different activities which fed into it over many years and how a deeper understanding of the world and its constituent elements was obtained using a *Leitmotif* of human flight. The crystal forms when saturation point is reached.

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<sup>5</sup> Walter Mittelholzer (1894-1937), Swiss aviation pioneer and travel writer. The expression "negro settlements" for African villages corresponds to the use of words at that time.



Heinz Schernikau

## Commentary 1

### The Earth from the Perspective of Birds and Humans in Flight

#### An example of teaching from the Volksschule Tiefensee (1933-1939)

The purpose of the following detailed interpretation of the project report is a “reconstruction of the internal logic” [Rekonstruktion der inneren Logik] (Peter Menck) of Reichwein’s pedagogical approach. It has its roots in Weimar Classicism and the works and educational philosophies of Herder, Goethe and Humboldt.

#### Keywords:

Teaching Geography under National Socialism, wholistic teaching [Gesamtunterricht], Goethe, Herder, Humboldt, Weimar Classicism, Progressive education, Tiefensee, World View [Weltanschauung], Project

In 1933, socialist and progressive educationalist, Adolf Reichwein (1898-1944) was suspended for political reasons from his Professorship in the field of education studies which he had held for more than a decade at the Pedagogical Academy [Pädagogischen Akademie] in Halle. In 1944, he was convicted by the Nazis of membership of the resistance movement and sentenced to death. Beforehand, however, his wish to takeover a small one-class school in Tiefensee near Berlin, was granted. There, he succeeded in setting up an experiment in the school and documenting it in “Creative Teachers” [Schaffendes Schulvolk] which remains relevant to discussions around progressive education today under the heading of “Model School Tiefensee” [Schulmodell Tiefensee].

Hands on, practical learning is of central importance, be it with the objective of creating something useful such as a green-house through collaborative work or in the form of smaller tasks such as the building of a model of the earth’s surface. Activities of this nature are integrated at significant points in the teaching and learning process and such tangible representations of what they are learning serve to motivate the students. The following paragraphs consider this form of practical learning in more detail.

Of the pedagogical approaches reported by the country-school teacher from Tiefensee, the project, *The Earth from the Perspective of Birds and Humans in Flight*, has received most attention in educational research. The project is infused with the character and charisma of a man ahead of his time who undertook an adventurous trip around the world and was an enthusiastic pilot in possession of his own sports plane – the propellor of which still rested against the backwall of a classroom in Tiefensee. Here, however, the focus is on the man as an engaged and creative representative of progressive

education whose global awareness and sense of cosmopolitanism countered the growing nationalism of the Nazi era.

#### Significant elements and ideological drivers for geography teaching under national socialism

A content analysis of educational texts from the period 1925-1944 - essays, books, Nazi teaching plans and guidelines 1937/38 for the *Volksschule*, 1938 for the higher level secondary school (*Höhere Schule*), 1939 for the Middle School (*Mittelschule*), 1942 for the *Hauptschule*, which offered more practical and applied subjects:

##### 1. Study of your native country [Heimatkunde]:

Love of country and of nature – love of the father land – national pride – willingness to sacrifice oneself – hostility towards cities – “blood and soil”, referring to lineage and territory, - ideology

##### 2. Geopolitics and Political Geography:

Overturing the Treaty of Versailles – Germany’s borders under threat and its position in Central Europe – borders, foreign countries and “Germanness” [Deutschtum], Reordering the global geopolitical situation – France, Great Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union as enemies of Germany – Italy and Japan as allies – explaining the way – Territory/Living Space [Lebensraum] – ideology

##### 3. The study of race:

The nordic race as the superior race – racial “purity” [Rassenhygiene] and the inferiority of mixed races – inferior races – the Jews

##### 4. Military Geography and preparation:

Securing the threatened German borders – describing military terrain – willingness to defend [Germany] and to sacrifice oneself – military geography of metropolitan areas.

##### 5. Colonial geography and the colonial mindset:

Demanding the return of the German colonies – Africa as an economic extension of Europe – the Germans as glorious explorers and colonial benefactors – Whites as masters of the natives – misdeeds of other colonial powers – other ideological elements – “Hitler myth” [Hitler als Mythos]

(Heske 1988, 139).

However, as well as being closely connected to the passions of its initiator, the project, *The Earth from the Perspective of Birds and Humans in Flight*, is also closely related to the story of the country school in Tiefensee. It has its roots in a journey with the older students, the “Einklassigen” to East Prussia which resulted in the encounter with the Curonian Spit, a primeval landscape and location for “avian research and gliding”. In addition,





a collection of pictures on the following topics had already been compiled: history of bird flight, gliding, commercial aviation, airships, aerial views and pilot training: "Detailed observations collected and documented during the Summer over the course of many trips, large and small, are now reunited in a larger undertaking. One Winter, we took flying as our *Leitmotif*, its significance clear in the Germany of today. As a project, it promised to yield both broad and in-depth findings" (WA Vol. 4, pp. 80).

In the end, however, the focus was on the topic, *The Earth from the Perspective of Birds and Humans in Flight*, rather than on the broader "Flying and Aviation" and the many and diverse topics referenced in the collection of pictures. In the spirit of the pilot and global traveller that was Reichwein himself, the intention was to subvert or overcome the growing nationalist tendencies as reflected in the geopolitical thinking of the Nazi era (Schernikau 2009, 137) with a broader more cosmopolitan approach.

Reichwein's approach derived from the Classical approaches of Herder, Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, which were based on universals and mutual comparison (Schernikau 2009, 120, 281).

The tried and tested methodological approach begins with an introduction often in the context of an apparently opportunistic lesson. It leads then to the collection, reviewing and classification of relevant texts and pictures and to further work on the topic in conjunction with thematically relevant tasks. Fundamentally, it involves confronting phenomena similar in appearance and sharing similarities and differences in terms of their structure (Schernikau 2009, 280).

1. The children, whose home was located on an approach path to the Airport in Berlin, started by considering the question: "How does someone in flight view our home? And then it is likely that this question was followed directly by the following: "How do the storks see our town? How did they view our town in the past? Can we also view our town from above in the same way that those flying and the storks do?"

These questions led to the "building of a model of our locality". The children began to create the geographical, cultural and historical development of their town by hand. They created the shell of the landscape shaped by erosion during the ice-age and covered this with papier mache to create the original landscape and chart its gradual development by man. They envisioned for themselves through their plastic reconstruction "the development of their home from its original state".

Thus, layer by layer, we painstakingly created a shell of our native landscape shaped by thousands of years of erosion by water, ice and weather. This we covered with a layer of papier maché. Soon it was painted and began to take form. The lakes shone blue between the forests of Icelandic moss, a piece of primeval landscape. Roads were created over dams and railways over bridges. The earth was revived. Using materials gathered in the

previous Summer, the different elements came to life. And finally, our town, a man-made addition to the natural world, was added. Colourful, wooden houses lined up along the street. Not even the smallest hut could be omitted. We had experienced in spirit the development of our home from its original state when humans first set foot in it to its current state. (WA Vol. 4, pp.81)

In this way, questions concerning the relationship between the natural and the man-made landscape, between earth, climate, transport routes and settlement types became relevant to the children as well as the view of the earth from above. This key function of the introductory phase and the degree of abstraction associated with teaching using maps aligned itself with a particular methodological and content-based form of learning. This form of teaching and learning involved taking a historical and genetic perspective in terms of the active, iconic and symbolic representation of the object under scrutiny.

2. The model served as a starting point and basis for the remainder of this topic. Our thoughts focused now on this model and from here, from the creation of our home, they moved out into the wider world.

Following their trip, the children pictured the storch's flight from Rossitten to Africa. In doing so, they compared the almost identical routes taken by the migratory birds and planes using ordinal maps and a model of Africa that they had built themselves. This basic model clarified key aspects for the children: Miniature models of birds and planes are used to indicate the flight paths of planes and the migratory routes of birds, colourful paper cutouts illustrate the national and colonial history of the continent, colourful animals indicate the location of significant species and in a similar fashion the key regions for the production of the most common crops (palm oil, cocoa and cotton etc.). (WA. vol.4, pp. 54.)

The director of this many faceted teaching and learning process with his extensive experience of the world, added a comparative element in the form of a comparison of the north America transport network with the network in Europe. "The fragmentation of European air travel and the more straightforward transcontinental approach taken by the North America network provided the basis for comparison. Our home-made model was helpful here too. Like any model, it revealed the natural shape of this continent and the different routes in terms of their proximity to one another. The Rocky Mountain passes, clearly visible on our model, were important land-marks on the major routes from east to west. The division of the major routes according to east-west and north-south created the impression of a system designed to fit a geographical space. It was obvious, particularly when compared with the European route-map derived from national requirements, how the physical relief and



political shape of a continent can influence the nature of travel.” (WA, Vol. 4, pp. 82)

4. The following sequence focuses on the use of aerial photographs of German landscapes:

We had collected German ordnance maps of the Rhein-Main region between Taunus and Odenwald, the Black Forest, Lake Constance and the Ore mountains in addition to our own model, which was sadly limited in nature. They were indispensable to us in achieving an accurate picture of the German landscape. As we were consciously taking a bird’s-eye view, they now provided us with a holistic and integrated perspective on the different elements of the landscape and their relationships to one another. The relationship between the location of the cities and the landscape became clear. For example, the locating of industry close to sources of water, something of which we had previously simply had a passive awareness, became obvious from the model as we saw how the small-scale, traditional industries in Wurttemberg and Thuringia were located close to mountain rivers and streams just as the large-scale industrial conurbations in the Rhine-Main region made use of major rivers and waterways. An image of the entire German economy was revealed to us from the perspective of ‘man in flight’. (WA, Vol. 4, pp. 82)

And at another point:

When viewed from above, both large and small-scale human settlement, consistently associated with geographic and historical forces, looked very different. It was only now that we truly comprehended the process of human settlement and as a consequence the forces shaping our history. There was Noerdlingen, for example, content and at peace within its medieval walls and there was Chemnitz, a seething cauldron of industrial activity. Here a lonely windmill or water mill, there a modern milling installation in the middle of a polluted industrial region. And, finally, here our own little village, there tiny farms huddled together in the larger Hessian villages, the typically oval shaped towns in Saxony, isolated courtyards. All of these different types of settlement developed for a reason and one which they shared with us. (WA, Vol. 4, pp. 84).

5. Finally we return to “Expanding our horizons”

“Then we expanded our horizons. Swiss aviation pioneer, Walter Mittelholzer, provides images of primitive negro settlements with indiscriminately thrown together and poorly built huts to be found next to sophisticated and carefully planned villages. Thus, the juxtaposition of random development and meticulous planning was also to be found outside of Germany. And so we repeatedly threw open the window and peered beyond our own borders to discover that forms of organized co-habitation both closer to home and in remote parts of the world were characterized by a hierarchy of different approaches. Thus, whenever an

aerial image revealed the ‘structure’ of human life to us, it was always a symbol of a particular rationale.” (ebd.)

Notable in this comparison of German settlements with African settlements is that Reichwein here moves beyond a geographic perspective in the narrow sense and incorporates a general cultural perspective. Life, its artefacts and its symbols are interpreted by him in accordance with Goethe’s humanist, cosmopolitan understanding of the world with regard to the relationship between form and content. Reichwein, as a humanist, did not see difference in terms of near and far but understood it instead as associated with identity.

Additional, related themes and activities contributed to the holistic experience under Reichwein’s tuition. These included:

- From aircraft in the open-air to the flight instruments
- The reading of specialized texts
- Meteorology on the basis of “personal observation and findings”
- The physics and technology of flying in mathematics.

“The integration of parallel and associated themes does not lead to a blurring of the overall learning experience but results instead in a logically developed and appropriate curricular design. The geographical Leitmotif runs logically through the whole granting it coherence. In the words of its architect: “We just wanted to give a flavour of how a significant undertaking, the actual objective and parameters of which were to begin with known only to the teacher in charge, developed from hundreds upon hundreds of different activities which fed into it over many years and how a deeper understanding of the world and its constituent elements was obtained using a Leitmotif of human flight. The crystal forms when saturation point is reached.” (WA, Vol. 4, pp. 93)

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## Commentary:

### Teaching Human Rights in Turkey: Commentaries on a Single Lesson from Multiple Perspectives

#### Keywords:

Social Studies; Human Rights Education; Citizenship Education; Turkey; United States

#### Alper Kesten

#### Reflection on Turkish Human Rights Lesson from Turkey

A lesson on human rights in Turkey is analyzed for its representativity and methodology within the Turkish teaching culture from the viewpoint of a Turkish researcher.

#### 1 Introduction

The present study is quite significant in that, for the first time in Turkey, it records, analyses, and shares with the reader, Social Studies classes at Turkish primary and secondary schools. Before writing this commentary, the paper was reviewed by two undergraduate students of Social Studies, Selen Kaya and İrfan Erdoğan, a doctoral student, Şule Egüz, and myself. Even though my students and I believe that the lesson is an ordinary one like many others at a first glance, after an in-depth reading our first impression of the lesson has changed in some manner. We all agreed that the lesson has some different points, especially from the perspective of the teacher's enthusiasm and students' participation. Teacher's enthusiasm and positive approach towards students definitely invigorates the lesson and supports students' participation positively. After analyzing the paper we decided to review it under four headings: originality of the class, lesson content, student participation and attitudes, and the points to improve.

#### 2 Originality of the class

Certain basic criteria need to be considered in order for a lesson to qualify as original in a broad sense. These can be classified as originalities pertaining to the chosen method and the lesson content, teacher performance, and student participation. In this sense, this Social Studies class, for seventh-year pupils at a school representative of Istanbul's middle and upper socio-economic circles, appears to bear similarities to classes at many Turkish schools in terms of the teaching techniques and content. As shown by other studies

conducted with teachers and students in Turkey, not only this teacher but also many others prefer lecturing in their classes and often resort to the question-answer technique in order to raise student participation (Aykaç, 2011; Çelikkaya & Kuş 2009; Demircioğlu, 2004, Ünal & Çelikkaya, 2004). So does this mean that this class is quite ordinary and no different from others? The answer is definitely 'no'. Then what is it that differentiates this class that at first gives the impression of being ordinary in terms of the teaching techniques employed?

The first answer to this question is the teacher's performance. Unlike many teachers in Turkey, this one is well-prepared, with a good command of the subject matter. Readers from other countries may be surprised by this statement, as preparation for class and mastery of the subject are expected of all teachers as a matter of course. However, it is quite common among Turkish teachers, and particularly those teaching at secondary and high schools, to come to class unprepared because of work load and class size. Since many teachers' workload is more than 25 hours and student numbers are more than 40, especially in metropolises, teachers in Turkey usually have a look in their course books a few minutes before going into class, and only use the questions available in those books during the class. However, the teacher studied in this paper draws the lines of the teaching topic and prepares the questions accordingly, which facilitates the transfer of the content through a better organized lesson.

#### 3 Student participation and attitudes

Another aspect of this class, which differentiates it from others, is student participation and the way they give answers, in correlation with the quality of the questions. The analysis of the classroom data suggests that the pupils participate at least as much as the teacher, and express their views in total freedom. Throughout the lesson, students had a chance to bring their experiences and opinions into the classroom freely and to link their experiences with lesson content and general human rights problems in Turkey. The following example from



the lesson is quite remarkable in demonstrating students' ability to show this connection.

T: Whatever you see. Is there any difference?

Yavuz: There is discrimination.

T: Ha?

Yavuz: There is discrimination teacher.

T: Tell me how?

Yavuz: Teacher, for example a thief must be sentenced to 30 years according to the law, but s/he gets only 10 years or a criminal that actually should be sentenced to 20 years gets 30 years.

T: Hmm. You say a criminal who must be sentenced to 10 years gets only 5 years and another criminal that actually should be sentenced to 5 years gets 10 years. Do you mean that?

Yavuz: Yes.

T: So you say there is injustice. What else... So why do they discriminate between two criminals?

Yavuz: I do not know, teacher.

T: Have you heard something like that before?

Yavuz: Yes, we hear about it on the news.

T: You see it on the news. So based on that do you say there is injustice?

Yavuz: Yes

...

Yavuz: Teacher, it is actually exactly the opposite. Upper class people are less equal, lower class people are more equal.

T: How? I do not understand.

Yavuz: Teacher, think of a politician's son and a vagabond/roamer from the folk.

T: Who has more advantages?

Yavuz: The son of the politician, teacher...

Let's flash back 10 minutes earlier in the lesson. Possibly, the student (Yavuz) had background knowledge of the Turkish justice system and knew the general problems associated with it, since he watches and reads daily news. He came to the classroom with this knowledge but he had not made the connection between his knowledge and lesson content yet. The teacher had two options at this point; either, he would give an opportunity to the student to share his opinions with the class and the student would get a chance to make the connection between his knowledge and course content, thus, the teacher had a chance to teach subject much more easily and support student's self-efficacy, or, he would keep lecturing and lose this golden opportunity. The teacher preferred the first option in this particular situation and he kept doing this throughout the lesson. However, in a traditional Social Studies class, student participation may drop to as low as a fifth of that in this class and teachers generally prefer second option. In line with their role traditionally cut out by society, teachers continue to see themselves as imparting the right knowledge, and the students as storing that information for later use. As a result of this, students'

talking time in the classroom drops to very low levels. Even more significantly, some students resign themselves to not talking or participating at all in the long run. When the question-answer technique is used, more often than not, students' answers are considered inadequate, with the 'correct' answers usually imposed. This hampers active participation by many students, who later become incapable of answering the simplest questions at university. For this reason, the question-answer technique skillfully employed by this teacher throughout the class and the students' participation are viewed as a significant factor for the originality of this class. In addition, the efficient use of PowerPoint, already on the increase among a number of teachers in Turkey, further raises student participation through the presence of visuals in the classroom.

#### 4 Lesson content

The last, but certainly not the least, aspect that makes this an original class is the teacher's lecturing enriched by examples that are both fun and relevant to the pupils' lives. A successful teacher of Social Studies is expected to follow the current news stories and also know about the books, films, TV series, games, etc. that are of interest to that particular age group so that effective communication can take place. This particular teacher gives the impression of possessing these qualities through his jokes and examples. It is true that the teacher's skills in this area increase students' interest and participation in the class.

#### 5 Suggestions/Points to improve

Although quite successful and original by Turkish standards, this class also shows some weaknesses compared to those in developed countries in light of the general principles of education. It is therefore suggested that teachers consider the following shortcomings if they want to use this class as an example.

However useful and indispensable for teachers the question-answer technique efficiently used in this class may be, it proves inadequate in creating the heated debates suitable for such topics open to discussion as human rights. Even though some pupils did actively participate in this particular case, the number of pupils talking is deemed inadequate for a class of 27. It should also be borne in mind that this class is composed of highly confident pupils in one of the better schools in socio-economic terms by Turkish standards. In a class of relatively lower socio-economic background, solely applying the question-answer technique might further restrict student participation. If the structural approach is to be adopted in the Turkish education system, with a more student-centered teaching environment, the classes must be enriched by further teaching techniques and the debates must be spread around the whole class and not just among seven or eight pupils.

Another weakness is the occasional digression. Too many questions being asked and the very frequent use of



the elicitation 'Anything else?' causes digression and, occasionally, off-topic contributions. For instance, there is a part of the lesson that digresses to smoking and its harmful effects. The teacher would really be expected here to stick to smoking and its infringement on other people's rights. Instead, the factors triggering smoking habits are discussed, without conclusion, and then another topic is jumped into. The problem underlying such digressions is linked to Social Studies teachers making little use of concept maps and their inadequate use of the blackboard. The analyses do not suggest that the teacher wrote the relevant concepts on the blackboard or formed a concept map. This paves the way to the topic occasionally breaking up and digressions occurring. Moreover, the teacher simply enumerating human rights concepts one after another could lead to long-term problems for the students grasping them. As the saying goes, 'verba volant, scripta manent', i.e. 'words fly away, writings remain'.

For all his commendable communication skills in the classroom, the teacher neglects the use of reinforcements. It is quite noteworthy that the data analyses reveal not a single word of praise or encouragement such as 'Thank you / Well done / Very good / Excellent'. Even though his generally positive attitude may appear to make up for this shortcoming, those teachers who might want to follow his example are advised to make a note of this.

Overall, I believe that this lesson is quite successful, despite certain weaknesses, considering Turkish teachers' general attitude to studies of this kind. First of all, it is quite a challenge to convince many teachers in Turkey to agree to their classes being video-recorded in their entirety. It is an even greater challenge to persuade them to allow their video-recorded class to be analyzed and shared with readers in an article. Our particular teacher's courage in all these respects merits praise on its own, significantly raising the importance of this study. What is of importance here is that Social Studies teachers in Turkey should get involved in similar studies, share with others what they do best, and try to minimize their shortcomings. For example, creating a web site, which provides an opportunity to upload lessons for Social Studies teachers may provide a wonderful milieu for sharing best practices among them, therefore, the teachers may see both strong and weak sides and also have a chance to discuss how to improve classroom practices. I strongly believe that computer technology has a limited effect on student learning in classroom milieu but it may be a wonderful tool for teachers' personal development if we can create this kind of sharing platform for them.

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Joan Brodsky Schur

### Commentary on a Turkish Lesson on Human Rights

A lesson on human rights in Turkey is analyzed for its content and methodology from the viewpoint of an American teacher and curriculum developer.

#### 1 Introduction

Those of us who are eager to help social studies teachers in the United States connect to their counterparts in Turkey will find "A Social Studies Education Lesson from Turkey: Human Rights" published in JSSE most useful (Açıkalin 2014). In his article Mehmet Açıkalin transcribes into both English and Turkish a videotaped seventh grade lesson on human rights held in Istanbul in March 2013. This unprecedented endeavor required a leap of faith on the part of the school principal and the teacher of the class; it behooves us to make good use of this unique window into social studies instruction in Turkey. Only by encouraging teachers to step into the shoes of their compeers elsewhere can we hope that they will engage their students in meaningful cross-cultural learning experiences via Internet platforms (McClimans and Schur 2014).

As documentarian, Açıkalin provides readers with the minimum amount of information necessary to understand the lesson. This purposeful withholding of his own commentary invites the reader to formulate his or her own evaluative thoughts and invites cross-cultural comparisons. What Açıkalin does tell us is critical to this task: He tells us when and where the lesson was held (at a public school in a well-to-do neighborhood of Istanbul), the significance of commonly used vocabulary terms in Turkish schools, and some norms of socialized behavior among school children. He also provides the seating chart and images the teacher showed to his class. Of critical use to the reader are his parenthetical explanations within the lesson, where he makes explicit the assumptions Turkish teachers and students hold implicitly.

What is the best approach to providing commentary on the lesson? I could assess it in the light of the new Turkish standards instituted by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, Curriculum Division of 2009 and alluded to by Açıkalin in this article and evaluted by him elsewhere (Açıkalin 2011). But since human rights are universal, shouldn't best practices for teaching about human rights also be universal? By this standard I would ignore the history of the educational system and development of civic rights in Turkey, as well as unfolding political events which form the backdrop of the lesson. The lesson was taught in March of 2013 just weeks before the Turkish police first cleared the Gezi Park demonstrators from Taksim Square (Arango and Yeginsu 2013). If my attempt is to become more sensitive to educational norms in Turkey, which would allow me to

collaborate more effectively with Turkish teachers, then I must also stay alert to my own ethnocentricity which leads to me to ask how Turkish schools "measure up" to American standards.

What I find most valuable about the transcript is the opportunity it affords for "close reading" in a skillful translation. In what follows I hope to offer useful commentary from the perspective of an experienced American history and civics teacher at the eighth grade level in New York City, as well as someone who has extensive experience visiting classes in Morocco. The fact that on school visits to Turkey with Ohio State University (and on my own to private schools) I was never invited into classrooms, makes this transcribed lesson all the more valuable.

#### 2.1 Commentary on the lesson: first reading

My personal and perhaps biased reactions to the lesson varied over the course of several readings. I was pleasantly surprised to see so much open discussion of human rights in Turkey. For example women's rights featured several times, raised by a female student in reference to violence against women (p. 88) and by the teacher in the right to choose a spouse (p. 87). Rather than fostering chauvinism about the Turkish nation, the lesson helps students to see Turkey in a realistic light, and it seems as if the student called Yavuz (and perhaps other students) were not expecting this:

Teacher: If I ask you to name a country that supports human rights, which country would that be? In all respects. (...)

Yavuz: Turkey!

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

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

T: So you say we just get sad.

Yavuz: Supposedly.

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

S:...[6 sec]

T: Yes. Is there such a country?

S:...

T: So there is not.

Of human rights violations (highlighted in the second lesson by photographs of women, child workers, starving children) I wondered why the teacher did not include photographs of prosperous men and women also deprived of their rights, such as journalists, but perhaps the teacher's goal was to win sympathy for the visibly oppressed. I was not surprised that specific minority groups were not mentioned in the lesson, such as Kurds, Alevis, and Armenians, as I imagined that discussion of these "hot topic" groups might generate too much



controversy within a Turkish classroom due to the founding ethos of Turkish nationalism (see Bayir 2013).

## 2.2 Commentary on the lesson: content

In the lesson the teacher first asks students to define “human rights” and then to formulate a list of human rights. He states that, “Humans are entitled to rights as soon as they are born” (p. 87) and cites the Koran (and refers to the holy books of other religions) for a definition of what makes us human (p. 86).

This opening approach, of defining and listing human rights, is one that could easily frame a lesson in the U.S. on human rights, and is not dissimilar to classes I taught. What makes the American context different is that the discussion would be based on helping students to understand the founding document in U.S. history, the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain, written by Thomas Jefferson and passed with revisions by the Continental Congress in 1776 (see Our Documents).

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.-- That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Thus any discussion of “rights” in an American context also entails a discussion of government and the rule of law; indeed the *raison d’être* for instituting a government is to secure those rights.

The lesson is ostensibly about human rights rather than the rights of Turkish citizens, but the teacher encourages his students to think about rights in the context of their own lives, and with prompting students provide examples of human rights violations in Turkey, e.g. violence against women (p. 88) or blood revenge (p. 90.) In other cases, the teacher himself provides the example such as the case in Eastern Turkey where “lawless people built barriers on the road and said to travelers that they weren’t allowed to continue their travelling” (p. 92) or “I saw the police stopping two boys” (p. 94).

What I find missing in the Turkish lesson is the role of the Turkish constitution and legal system in relation to the rights of citizens. Which of the rights students identified are codified in Turkish law? Could students identify rights that are not as yet protected by law? I find in the lesson only one reference to the “the right to defend yourself in a court” (p. 93). What recourse do citizens have if they believe their rights have been violated? How can unjust laws be changed, and are acts of civil disobedience justified when individuals believe a law is unjust? These are questions we investigate often in American classrooms, beginning with the American Revolution and culminating in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and its legacy. By high school a controversial issues approach to teaching civil rights often entails

students staging a debate over which right takes precedence when two rights come into conflict—for example, the rights of a defendant to a fair trial (Amendment Six of the U.S. Constitution) versus the freedom of the press (Amendment One).

If the teacher saw the lesson as focusing on human rights in general rather than specifically about Turkish rights and citizenship (as I suspect), the lesson could be framed in terms of international law. For a start, students could compare the impressive list of human rights they generated through the teacher’s probing questions to those in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly in 1948 (United Nations Organization) or the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Unicef)). A controversial issues approach in the Turkish context could entail a debate as to whether or not Turkey should ratify the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Hürriyet Daily News, 20.2.2009).

In the United States there is much less support for teaching about human rights in an international context than within U.S. history and civics classes. For example, not until high school do the civics standards of the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (NCSS 2013, p. 33-34) refer to human rights and international law. Turkish students might be surprised that we have no holiday dedicated to children in the United States (National Sovereignty and Children’s Day, April 23 in Turkey). The struggle of workers to gain rights and to unionize receives little attention in U.S. textbooks relative to other civil rights struggles (see Albert Shanker Institute report of 2011).

After defining “human rights” the Turkish teacher moves on to the question, “Who violates human rights?” (p. 87) and students offer examples. Here I wish the teacher had clarified the types of rights violations under categories such as: violations perpetrated by an individual, a corporation, the government of a country depriving its citizens of their rights, a nation depriving the people of another nation of their rights. I find the discussion of cigarettes as a human rights violation confusing both because it is not clear what human right(s) is being violated and who is violating it.

References to the United States and human rights appear twice in the lesson. (No other country other than Turkey is referred to in the first day’s lesson, although images of human rights violations shown to students include ones from Africa and Japan.) In the first reference the student called Yavuz exclaims, “Some countries exploit other countries” and the teacher responds:

T: Are there still colonized countries?

Yavuz: There are.

T: For example?

Yavuz: Afghanistan, for example.

T: Who exploits Afghanistan?

Yavuz: America. [...]



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

Yavuz: Petroleum. (89)

Here the teacher does not ask for evidence, or pose questions as he does elsewhere like, "Why do you think that?" The dialogue does not lead students to differentiate between the motives for the United States' invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), or to assess the standing of those invasions in international law.

In the second reference the teacher tells students about the American historian Howard Zinn (d. 2010), whose best-selling book *A People's History of the United States*, first published in 1980 "inspired a generation of high school and college students to rethink American history" (New York Times, 27.1.2010).

There is a professor in America (...) His name is Howard Zinn. He is an activist and he is against all kinds of human right violations in America and in the world. He also takes action against the wars America conducts. For years he has done a lot of research on these issues." The teacher explains that in order to write his autobiography Howard Zinn asked the FBI for the extensive files they had kept on him, including transcripts of his personal telephone conversations. "Do you want your phones to be listened to?" the teacher inquires (p. 93).

It is difficult to assess the impression these remarks might have made on the students. On the one hand, we have again an example of the United States as the transgressor of human rights. On the other hand, the teacher provides the class with an example of an American he admires, a citizen who spoke up repeatedly to criticize his country in wartime, and an advocate for human rights worldwide. Perhaps in sum these remarks reflect the great ambivalence many people feel about the world's one remaining superpower.

According to Açıkalın (2011) the new standards for fourth through seventh grades in Turkey as instituted by the Turkish Ministry of National Education Curriculum Division 2009 state that:

The purpose of social studies is to prepare Turkish citizens who embrace Atatürk's principles and revolutions, understand the Turkish history and culture, grasps democratic values, respect human rights, care about environment, know about his/her rights and responsibilities as a citizen, and think critically and creatively in order to make informed decisions [*sic*].

Of these Turkish criteria I think the lesson aimed primarily to enhance "respect [for] human rights," and in

this one transcribed lesson that goal was certainly furthered.

## 2.2 Commentary on the lesson: Methodology

Pedagogy is also the product of its historical and cultural context. This makes it difficult for an outsider to comment on "what works" in the classroom of another country. I tried to draw on several sources in my attempt to be culturally sensitive to the "culture of the school" in Turkey while reading this lesson. First, I reflected on my many visits to classes in Morocco with participants from the Bank Street College of Education. In Morocco students typically rise when they speak, repeat key parts of a lesson in unison, and wear uniforms. Yet the American visitors (counter to what they expected) found that Moroccan students seemed eager and enthusiastic to learn in this environment.

Although a transcript of a lesson cannot convey tone of voice, body language, and nonverbal interactions (see Winckler 2014), my guess is that students found this class very engaging. Many hands went up, the questions were posed rapid-fire keeping students on their toes, and the teacher made students feel vested in the lesson because he drew on their personal experiences.

I also revisited the Website of the Üsküdar American Academy (Üsküdar Amerikan Lisesi) in Istanbul, founded over 130 years ago by American missionaries and now a Turkish foundation school with instruction in English. For purposes of recruiting non-Turkish teachers who can adapt to the culture of Turkish education, the Website provides the following advice:

[Turkish] students are conditioned from an early age to respect authority and conform to laws and institutional procedures. For example, students wear uniforms to school and are expected to stand when answering questions. Students are used to, and are more comfortable with, traditional teacher directed learning. In a curious sense, Turkish students are more "at ease" with formality than with friendliness and casualness.

I view this as a word of caution to faculty candidates too eager to export American informality and innovation into a school culture that values tradition and formality. Yet in both Turkey and the U.S. new standards, mandatory in the case of Turkey and adopted state-by-state in the United States, pose challenges to teachers trying out new methodologies *within* their own societies (see Açıkalın 2013, Common Core State Standards Initiative, College, Career, and Civic Life (C3), and The Trouble with the Common Core). The Turkish social studies standards of 2009 ask teachers and students to adjust to new constructivist approaches that, " (...) shift from the traditional transmission model to a more complex and interactive model in which students are actively engaged (...)" (Açıkalın 2014, p. 46)





Thus I look at this lesson as one that aspires to move Turkish students, even if in little steps, beyond their acculturated dependence on the teacher as the source of the “right answer.” On this ground I think the lesson is successful. Even if the teacher has not demonstrated how else - through what inquiries, activities, application of skills - the students will construct knowledge on their own, this shift is potentially significant.

The teacher de-centers his role first by not lecturing. He invites students to share their own experiences of human rights as a valid source of information. “T: For example? For example? It is not necessary to give such big examples. Give examples from your own lives” (p. 87). He does not pass judgement on student’s answers as right or wrong. Instead he probes further in response to each answer with questions like: “What else?” “Do we [Turks] do that?” “Why do you believe that?” “For example what kind [of rights violation]?”

The lesson culminates with an interesting strategy on the part of the teacher. He expresses views he does not actually hold: “The police should search me” (p. 95). Only after students weigh in with their own opinions about when searches are justified does he tell his students: “Alright. Kids, in fact I lied to you” (p. 96). I imagine students felt surprised at this news. If the students cannot depend on the teacher to provide the “right” answer then they must, of necessity, think for themselves.

Because of Açıkalın’s meticulous transcription we also get a sense of how many students of what gender participate how often. As in any class there are a few “star” pupils and any teacher can rely on them too often. Because this lesson is about human rights and democracy the methodology of the lesson should ideally reflect and enact democratic principles. How might this teacher have involved more students in formulating opinions and expressing them? I would suggest the Think-Pair-Share strategy which includes “wait time” for all students to reflect, after which they share ideas in pairs and finally with the class. “This learning strategy promotes classroom participation by encouraging a high degree of pupil response, rather than using a basic recitation method in which a teacher poses a question and one student offers a response (from “Using the Think-Pair-Share Technique”).

I find a teachable moment in the following exchange, where democratic principles could have been enacted in a small impromptu debate (p. 93-94) involving many students on each side of the question, and a final vote taken by the whole class to see which side was more persuasive. Instead the teacher turns to the “star” pupil called Yavuz.

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

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

T: So? I do not want to influence you. Those of you who say “equal” raise your hands... Who say “not

equal” raise your hands. [The majority is for “not equal”] I am going to ask those of you who said “not equal” why they think this way. Yavuz [pseudonymne used] why [is everybody] not equal [in front of the law and courts]?

Finally, I am puzzled as to why students in this class and classes I observed in Morocco do not ask questions, which American students feel entitled to ask frequently, and sometimes to an annoying degree. The K-W-L (Know, Want to Know, Learned) graphic organizer provides a way to stir curiosity but to keep it focused on the task at hand (see K-W-L on the Website of the National Education Association). It is implemented at the start of the study. On the K-W-L chart each student lists under K what they know or think they know *before* the study is undertaken, under W what they want to know (here they can list questions), and *after* the study under L, what they have learned. This technique also focuses the goal of the lesson at the start and asks students to self-assess at the end.

### 3 Conclusion

The arduous task of transcribing and translating a classroom lesson for international educators is well-worth the effort. It provides readers such as myself with a rich source of potentially valuable insights, as I hope my comments have demonstrated. No one class, however well-taught, could possibly provide all the information we would like to have about human rights education in another country, and no teacher works in a vacuum. The work of this teacher is both helped and hindered by new standards and the textbooks he is required to use. It would be useful to compare this lesson to the observations made by Arife Figen Ersoy (2013) on national and global citizenship in Turkey, based on her analysis of social studies textbooks in Turkey.

To fully explore the benefits of this form of documentation, I would suggest that this lesson be evaluated alongside transcriptions of 7th grade human rights lessons from the United States and elsewhere.

It is harder than I would wish to engage teachers in cross-national curricular activities with their students, something I did (when I was still a classroom teacher) with a teacher in New Zealand (Schnell and Schur 1999). I have come to the conclusion that we must first engage teachers-in-training in cross-national Web-based activities and Skyped conversations, after which I think they would be far more likely to implement these exchanges in their own classrooms. Thus I suggest that professors of education at universities in Turkey and the United States pair their classes so that their students can share and compare their responses to this lesson and other transcribed lessons on human rights.

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## Kudret Gürsoy

### Review: İnsan Hakları Dersi (Teaching Human Rights)

A lesson on human rights in Turkey is analyzed for its content and methodology from the viewpoint of a German teacher.

As in Germany, the study of human rights is a core component of the teaching of the social sciences in Turkey.<sup>1 2</sup> A seventh grade lesson on “Human rights and their violation” was documented by a teacher at a state school in Istanbul Prof. Açıkalin<sup>3</sup> and published in JSSE-1. It would appear that diagrams or similar teaching aids were not used in this lesson.

Before analysing the lesson in question, we note that a teacher is a role model for his/her students, and this essentially influences the learning atmosphere in the classroom. The Hattie Study (and also my own experiences at a comprehensive school as well as at a grammar school in Hamburg) shows that students pay particular attention to the personalities of their teachers. The students’ perception of their teacher immensely influences the learning atmosphere. In this sense, this review intends to emphasize the teacher’s personality and to analyse it from the point of view of critical-constructive dialectics.<sup>4</sup>

The teacher in question is 34 years old and has been teaching for 12 years. Lohmann, according to his typology of teachers (2003), would call him an “expert” and “social pedagogue” who designs his lessons with the help of technical expert terms and topical, relevant content.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he is probably a social pedagogue (Turkish: *rehber öğretmen*) accompanying, guiding and

supporting his students.<sup>6</sup> Perceived by the students as somebody commanding respect, it is not just the teacher’s attitude that is norm-setting, it is probable that he also has strong informal or non-teaching related ties to his students. Due to being accepted and thus commanding respect, actual subject teaching may run smoothly. For me, as a teacher at a German comprehensive school, this is quite a rare experience, for over here a teacher’s personality is instead understood to be that of a “moderator” not “guiding” his/her students but moderating and accompanying them as an “expert”. In Germany, a teacher is less seen as somebody “commanding respect” as is the case with this teacher in Istanbul. Thus, in Germany, a teacher’s informal ties to his/her students are comparably weak.

The lesson starts with a short introduction followed by a longer period of working oneself into the matter in the form of a longer conversation in class and a link to the following lesson which, however, is very short and open: “We will continue next lesson, kids.” After a short introduction to the topic, the teacher asks sweepingly what the students think about the Human Rights. The ensuing conversation in class is very much guided by the teacher – a “ping-pong” match of questions and answers between teacher and students, consisting mostly of leading questions and answers, the teacher himself giving the answers in most cases.

SM (Male Student): Humans.

T (Teacher): Godzilla or the humans? [Laughing.]

SM: The humans.

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

S (Student): ... [2 sec]

Bora: They do not vest/acknowledge rights.

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

Ferit: Not all people are treated equally.

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

Furthermore, the teacher employs elements of moderation. He structures that what is relevant, connects certain aspects, identifies problems at suitable passages, insists on meanings, substantiates and demands substantiations from his students, explains,

<sup>1</sup> *sosyal bilimler*, dt. *Sozialwissenschaften*, taught in Hamburg as *Sozialkunde* oder *Gesellschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> On this see the Hamburg framework curricula for the teaching of politics, society and economy (e. g. [www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2372648/data/lb-gesellschaftswissenschaften-sts.pdf](http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2372648/data/lb-gesellschaftswissenschaften-sts.pdf).) See also the framework curriculum of the Turkish Ministry of Education. Social Sciences. Forms 6 and 7. (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı. Sosyal bilgiler 6. - 7. sınıf programı) (<http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/www/ogretim-programlari/icerik/72>, last access 30.07.2014.)

<sup>3</sup> Additionally, the essay provides some information about the school and the teacher: <http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/issue/view/135>, last access 02.08.2014.

<sup>4</sup> Critical-constructive didactics were developed by Wolfgang Klafki. (1.) In this context, students participate in the teaching process, they do not only absorb what they have learned but contribute their own ideas to the lesson. (2.) The teacher involves the students in the teaching. (3.) By way of examples, teaching should involve meaningful discovery. (4.) The teacher includes the students in his plans for communicating knowledge. (5.) This communication is a social process. Critical-constructive didactics is a further development of education-theoretical didactics: the latter states that curricula must be analysed for their content. For this purpose, Klafki developed didactic analysis, consisting of five basic questions about (a.) contemporary relevance, (b.) future meaning, (c.) exemplary meaning and (d.) accessibility. Rather, these questions serve the teacher’s problematizing and reflection aids. See Meyer (1997), II.

<sup>5</sup> Lohmann, Gert: *Mit Schülern klarkommen. Professioneller Umgang mit Unterrichtsstörungen und Disziplininkonflikten*. Berlin 2003, p. 36 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Rehber (öğretmen = teacher)*. In the Turkish language this word has many meanings, such as „leader“, „guide“, or „spiritual leader“. The Society for the Turkish Language ([www.tdk.gov.tr](http://www.tdk.gov.tr).) defines it as somebody showing someone the way, the right thing to do/ the truth/what is suitable. Thus, the term „social pedagogue“ does not really covert he term *rehber*. For the latter does not only accompany, lead and support but he/she also shows the students what is right, true and/or suitable for them. It may be a topic of discussion in how far this is a task of a teacher. However, it is significant that both the teaching profession and being a student are culturally influenced.

gives reasons, draws conclusions and demands conclusions from the students. Doing so, the teacher increases his share of the conversation (up to 83.2%<sup>7</sup>). The most frequent questions asked by the teacher are: “What kind of a right is x?”, “How are they violated?” In case of topical questions the teacher is able to give satisfying answers. On one occasion he presents an example by acting out a scene to a certain degree, thereby allowing for an alternative approach. Furthermore, what is conspicuous is that he repeats the students’ questions (“Lehrerecho”) and the questions he is asked (s. a.). It may be that that in this way he hopes to buy some time for himself, to be able to give purposeful answers. Furthermore, he detours from the main discussion now and then in order to provide examples (e. g. „Then kids, eventually he asks the CIA... What is the CIA?“). However, it is not possible to say if these methodical elements are purposefully employed and provide kind of a “common thread” or if they are improvised.

I come... [he calls on a male student from the first row] “stand up, stand up, turn around” [talking to him like a policeman]. Let’s say your mother, your wife are there. I do not know... imagine you have your beloved girlfriend or boyfriend with you. But somebody says “turn around, take out your ID” [talking like a policeman] and you say “what have I done?!” “Turn around, take out your ID.” Is this right? Ok, you can sit down. [to the student] Then, is it enough only to assume?

As I understand it, the goal of this lesson is to gather a collection of basic human rights as well as their violations. This way, the teacher takes stock of the human rights situation and calls up contents of the students’ stock of knowledge. Now and again he gives examples his students know from everyday life. This way they are given an opportunity to connect their own life to the human rights under discussion. Furthermore, these students’ who are only in seventh grade display a relatively high level of general knowledge. However, the teacher does not provide an opportunity to deal more intensively with the issue.

According to Can (a student), the first right is “the right to live”, according to another student it is “the right to choose”. Man, he says, is entitled to choose some things, e. g. during shopping: an apple – others do not have this right, such as his parents. This is when the students start discussing real life examples. But the teacher interrupts and starts discussing the topic of human rights violations: “Who violates human rights [...]: Godzilla or the humans?”

<sup>7</sup> To analyse this, in the original text (in the Turkish language) the teacher’s share of the conversation was calculated in per cent, by counting the complete numbers of words spoken by the teacher and the students. The students achieve a total number of 607 words (16.8 %), and the teacher alone achieves 3,000 words (83.2 %).

Furthermore, from the documentation one cannot tell whether the human rights articles mentioned, “fruitful moments” of the lesson as well as preliminary results were recorded. If this is the case in the lesson presented here, in subsequent lessons the teacher will be able to go on working on the basis of his students’ contributions. If not, the function of this conversation in class must be called into question.

The teacher does not discuss the issues presented in detail. Thus, concerning this lesson we cannot identify any moral or political judgement as such. What can be recognized, however, are phenomena which may be considered elements of frontal teaching. This way, the students’ judgement can be influenced, for sometimes the teacher answers his own questions, thus controlling the lesson somewhat. It would be interesting to analyse the follow-up lessons, in the course of which it might be that political judgements are made. In this context, one would have to analyse if e. g. the “ban on overwhelming students” according to the Beutelsbach Consensus is respected.<sup>8</sup> This consensus stipulates that students should not be implicitly led in particular directions and prevented from making up their own minds.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore I assume that frequently the teacher implicitly and sometimes, by way of his statements, explicitly controls the lesson. In that case the teacher is the one who controls communication and interaction processes.<sup>10</sup>

T: Did the police ever embarrass you? So, what would you think [if you were treated this way by the police]? Would you get embarrassed or...? Your friend said he would. Would you be embarrassed?... I personally am sensitive concerning this issue. The police should search me... I can be anybody, I can be a bomber. Even when the officer gets bored or suspects me s/he should stop and search me... Even if there is not a policewoman there at the moment, a policeman can search my wife! Because our lives and safety are important. The police is for our safety. That is what I think on this issue. Tell me what do you think? Yes.

Further below: T: Alright. Kids, in fact, I lied to you. I would not want such a thing to happen to me. I mean, if I was certain that I was innocent I would not want the police to stop me and search me in the midst of people. I would not want my wife to be searched inappropriately and undergo an identity check. Because this is not

<sup>8</sup> Is the teacher allowed to force his/her opinion upon his/her students? The Beutelsbach Consensus answers this question. It represents a consensus stated by the Baden-Württemberg Agency for Citizenship Education on basic principles of teaching. In short, these principles are: 1. Ban on overwhelming 2. Controversy: What is considered controversial among the sciences, must be presented in the same way in teaching 3. Students must be enabled to analyse a political situation as well as their own interests. See Reinhardt 2005, p. 30

<sup>9</sup> Reinhardt 2005, p. 30

<sup>10</sup> These are elements of frontal teaching. See Meyer, Hilbert: Unterrichtsmethoden. Praxisband. Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 183.

something normal. This is not a normal thing. Imagine experiencing this every day. Every day when you enter school you got searched.

On the whole, this teacher represents a teaching attitude which is of interest in particular regarding the Hattie Study. He provides a positive learning atmosphere without cooperative learning. Furthermore, his share of the conversation (83.2%) is very high, thus controlling the lesson to a considerable extent.

Certainly, from a German perspective, it may be useful to analyse this kind of teaching approach for example where students or their families come from different cultural and religious backgrounds, for example a Muslim background. The parents' culture enormously influences the students, the students influence one another and thus undoubtedly the teaching and learning culture itself. Being the child of a family of Turkish immigrants, I have myself felt these dynamics. I have myself tried to establish informal ties with my teachers and was partly successful. I perceive the same with my students in Mümmelmannsberg (a neighborhood in Hamburg with a large proportion of immigrants). In this sense, the answer to the following question would be of interest: To what extent does the students' culture influence lessons (the learning atmosphere), or to what extent are lessons actually affected by gaps in the knowledge of teachers, and what must a teacher's attitude be like to reach his/her students?

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